

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROYAL, SHAKAN PERIOD SITES OF NANDI'S GRAVE,
KWABULAWAYO AND COWARDS BUSH**

**Gavin Whitelaw
Natal Museum Institute for Cultural Resource Management
Private Bag 9070
Pietermaritzburg**

8 June 1993

INTRODUCTION

This project arose out of a concern, expressed by community leaders and Prince Gideon Zulu of the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC), that Nandi's grave had suffered considerable neglect. The KMC currently maintains the graves of a number of people who figured prominently in the history of the Zulu kingdom, and it was felt that the grave of the mother of Shaka kaSenzangakhona, under whom the Zulu kingdom rose to power, should be accorded a similar respect. The KMC therefore decided that Nandi's grave should be inspected and recommendations submitted for its ungrading. Furthermore, the KMC proposed that the complex of Shakan period sites in the area, made up of Nandi's grave, kwaBulawayo and Cowards Bush, be investigated with respect to their tourist and educational potential. Because of pressures on KMC staff, G. Whitelaw of the Natal Museum Institute for Cultural Resource Management was contracted to carry out the investigation. The project was divided into two phases; a short orientation phase took place in June 1992 and a more detailed investigation was carried out in August and September 1992. The second phase focused primarily on kwaBulawayo. In this report the results of the investigation are described and a set of recommendations on the possible future development of these sites are presented.

NANDI'S GRAVE

Nandi's grave is situated in a field on an east-facing hill slope nearly two kilometres south of the road P230 between Eshowe and Empangeni, and some 40 km from Eshowe (Fig. 1). The hill has a relatively flat top, but drops steeply from below the grave into a narrow valley. From the top of the hill there a wonderful panoramic view

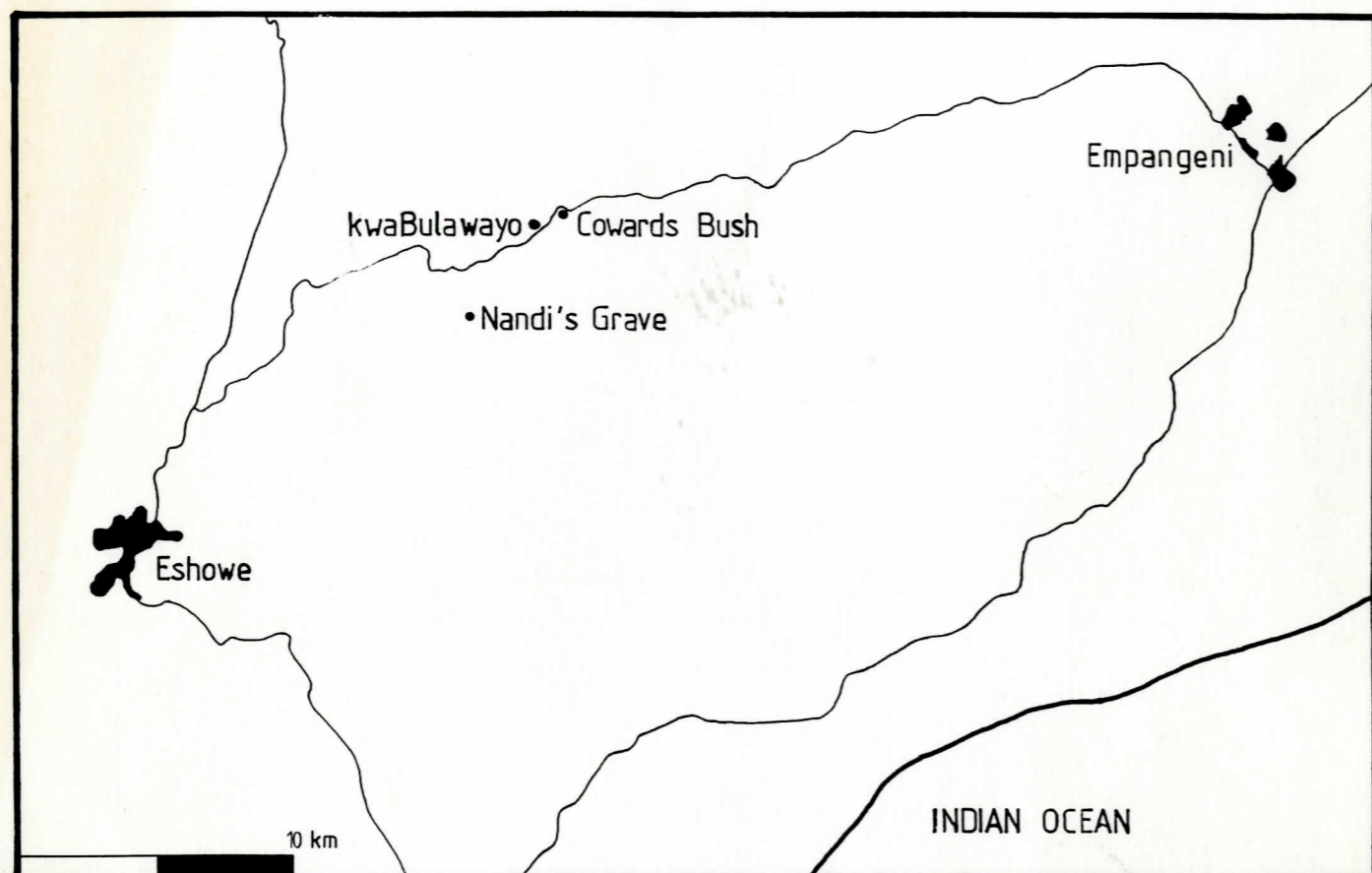


Fig. 1. The sites and their location.

of the hills on the other side of the valley which appear to encircle the site of the grave (Fig. 2).

In June 1992 the road to the grave site was poor, although it was passable in a two-wheel drive vehicle. Plough scars on the hillside on which the grave was situated indicated that the field was used for agriculture. As a result of a directive from the KMC, the grave marker had recently been fenced and a woman from the community appointed as caretaker of the grave (Van Schalkwyk pers. comm.). The grave marker had been disrupted by the growth of a termite mound and was in a poor condition (Fig. 3). Damage may also have been caused as a result of water flowing down termite ventilation shafts which opened close to the grave marker. Sherds were scattered on the surface in the general area, both within and outside the fence.

During the second phase of the assessment, KwaZulu Department of Works began upgrading the roads in the area, including the access to Nandi's grave. This had been completed by April 1993. In addition, the top two or three centimetres of earth in the area around the grave appeared to have been skimmed from the surface. The grass had regrown and generally the site looked neat. The gravestone, however, was still in a state of disrepair. Sherds and slag were found on the surface, but these probably were in disturbed context as a result of the upgrading of the site.

KWABULAWAYO

The aim of the project was to locate kwaBulawayo precisely on the ground through plotting the position of surface artefacts. The same strategy was followed with

considerable success at Ondini (Rawlinson 1985). It was hoped that the layout of kwaBulawayo could be reconstructed, allowing the site to be used for educational and tourist purposes.

A secondary benefit of this project is that it goes some way to contributing to historical and archaeological research interests. In the first published account of an archaeological excavation at Mgungundlovu, Parkington & Cronin (1979: 148) concluded that the 'similarity between Mgungundlovu and other military establishments such as Bulawayo, and the transition from traditional homesteads to military barrack towns remain questions for future research'. Efforts to answer these and other questions began in the early 1980s when the KwaZulu Monuments Council initiated a project on the military homesteads or *amakhanda* of the Zulu kings of the nineteenth century. The project began with a survey of the site of Cetshwayo's capital, Ondini (Rawlinson 1985). Nodwengu, Mpande's capital, has also received attention, while the sites of *amakhanda* in the region around modern Ulundi have been identified (KMC records). Work at Dingane's capital, Mgungundlovu, is currently under the direction of F. Roodt of the Natal Provincial Museum Services, but little research has been carried out on Shakan period sites (but see Brooks 1992). This project therefore, had the potential of answering at least the first of Parkington and Cronin's questions, and possibly providing the beginnings of an answer to the second.

In the following section, the documentary evidence dealing with kwaBulawayo is assessed.

Documentary evidence

Historical Background

Although not in line for the chieftomship, Shaka was placed at the head of the Zulu chieftom by Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa around 1816. He quickly took control and under his direction, the Zulu soon became the most powerful tributary chieftom to the Mthethwa. Shaka's first administrative capital was Gibixhegu, located in Makhosini on the banks of the Mhodi, a tributary to the Mkhumbane River. After Dingiswayo was killed and the Mthethwa defeated by the Ndwandwe, the Zulu, who as allies of the Mthethwa posed a significant threat to the Ndwandwe polity, came under attack. The Zulu suffered badly and retreated southwards, destroying homesteads and burying grain. Possibly weakened and overextended, the Ndwandwe could not push home their advantage and the Zulu were able to gain respite.

To resist further Ndwandwe offensives, the Zulu needed food and men. These they obtained from chieftoms on their southern borders, such as the Qwabe, Chunu, Mkhize and Ngcobo, which were incorporated into a Zulu-dominated alliance with varying success through a mixture of rough diplomacy and military intervention. The Qwabe, situated on the coast between the Mhlatuze and Thukela rivers, were the most powerful and thus the most important of these chieftoms. Shaka initially tried to draw them into an anti-Ndwandwe alliance peacefully. However, the Qwabe chief, Phakathwayo kaKhondlo, scornfully rejected the Zulu approaches. After a short period of tension between the two chieftoms, the Qwabe were defeated in a surprise attack by the Zulu and Phakathwayo was killed. His brother, Nqetho kaKhondlo, a man sympathetic to Shaka and at the time exiled in Zulu territory, was installed as chief.

Bolstered by the resources of the Qwabe and other chiefdoms, the Zulu were able to defeat the Ndwandwe in their next major confrontation in 1819.

Shortly after the defeat of the Ndwandwe, Shaka moved Gibixhegu to a site between the Mhlatuze and Mlalazi Rivers (between modern Eshowe and Empangeni). The site chosen was close to the site of Emtandeni, Phakathwayo's capital, and in the centre of Qwabe territory. This new *ikhanda* later became known as kwaBulawayo. The reasons for the move were various. First, important sections of the Qwabe chiefdom continued to resist Zulu domination. Secondly, the Ndwandwe, although defeated in the 1819 war, had not yet been crushed and continued to pose a threat on the northern borders of the enlarged Zulu polity. Thirdly, by the early 1820s, Shaka was increasingly focusing on the region south of the Thukela as a potential source of resources. The relocation of Gibixhegu may therefore have been an attempt by Shaka to control Qwabe resistance and to shift the centre of the Zulu chiefdom away from the Ndwandwe threat and closer to the new resource base. Late 1826 Shaka ordered the construction of a new *ikhanda*, Dukuza, south of the Thukela River where modern Stanger now stands. By the end of 1827 kwaBulawayo had lost its status as Shaka's administrative centre to Dukuza (Fynn 1969, Hamilton 1985, Webb & Wright 1982, Wright 1989).

In 1824 the first permanent colonial settlement was established at Port Natal by British traders. Most important of these, from the point of view of the records they left behind, were Henry Francis Fynn and Nathaniel Isaacs. Isaacs (1970), who arrived in Natal in 1825, first recorded the name of the Shaka's capital as Gibbe-Clackee (Gibixhegu), but noted the change to Umboolalio (kwaBulawayo) in his diary on the 15 July 1826.

Descriptions of the site (hereafter called kwaBulawayo) are found in the writings of both Fynn (1969) and Isaacs (1970). In addition, there are references to kwaBulawayo in the James Stuart Archives (Webb & Wright 1976 1979 1982 1986). All these references lack detail and it is possible to sketch only a rough outline of the appearance of the site, one which is based on knowledge of the layout of Mgungundlovu and Ondini.

The Site of kwaBulawayo

Descriptions of the overall appearance of kwaBulawayo are limited. Isaacs recorded the impressions of James Saunders King who commented that from the summit of a mountain he could see 'the king's residence, and numerous other kraals, on an extensive plain, encompassed by a chain of hills' (Isaacs 1970: 27). When Isaacs first visited Shaka, he entered kwaBulawayo at night but later described the *ikhanda* as follows: 'its appearance was singularly magnificent...The kraal was situated on an eminence forming an oblong square, within a circumference of about three miles, and partly encompassed by a deep ravine. The whole was surrounded by high and irregular land, covered with lofty and thriving timber, the shaking branches of which added much to the interest excited by the landscape' (Isaacs 1970: 49). Fynn (1969: 71) was less wordy, stating only that kwaBulawayo had a circumference of 'nearly two miles'.

Isaac's description of the shape of kwaBulawayo, an oblong square, suggests that the *ikhanda* was similar in shape to Mgungundlovu and Ondini (Parkington & Cronin 1979, Plug & Roodt 1990, Rawlinson 1985, Roodt 1992). The estimates of kwaBulawayo's size, however, are almost certainly too large. A circumference of 'nearly two' or 'about

three' miles would enclose a circle with a diameter of between 955 m and 1528 m. Mgungundlovu and Ondini, however, only measure between 550 m and 650 m in length from the *isigodlo* to the lower gate, and between 500 m and 550 m in breadth (Parkington & Cronin 1979, Plug & Roodt 1990, Rawlinson 1985, Roodt 1992). It is unlikely therefore, that kwaBulawayo was as large as Fynn and Isaacs estimated.

In other respects the descriptions seem reasonably accurate. KwaBulawayo hill and the surrounding terrain are surrounded by what appears to be a chain of hills. This is particularly evident from the crest of kwaBulawayo hill. The deep ravine which Isaacs saw is more difficult to identify. Behind the site, from the top of the hill, a steep-sided ravine drops away to the flats of the Mhlatuze Valley. In addition, a relatively deep gully partially surrounds the hill (Fig. 4). It was probably a combination of these topographic features to which Isaacs was referring. It is likely that 'numerous other kraals' were situated in the vicinity of kwaBulawayo as, when Shaka moved his capital to the site of kwaBulawayo, most of his regiments moved and were settled in *amakhanda* nearby (Hamilton 1985). In addition, evidence from later periods indicates that *amakhanda* were not self supporting but drew their supplies from homesteads in the area (Parkington & Cronin 1979, Watson & Watson 1990). Archaeological research has shown that this settlement location pattern, with a number of secondary and tertiary settlements clustering closely around a primary settlement, occurred elsewhere in southern Africa and in other periods (eg. Huffman 1986). The Zulu are known to have conformed to this pattern because, although *amakhanda* typically were situated throughout the chiefdom, about half of them were clustered around the capital (Rawlinson 1985: 3).

It is clear from Fynn's and Isaacs' descriptions that kwaBulawayo was situated on a hill slope and that the entrance was at the bottom end of the settlement. This is in line with the standard pattern of homesteads of all Bantu speakers in southern Africa. Isaacs (1970: 64) records that he entered at the 'lower gate', a phrase which implies that there was more than one gate. According to Dinya kaZokozwayo, one of Stuart's informants, Fynn's party was directed to enter by both gates before proceeding up the meeting place of the council towards the *isigodlo* (Webb & Wright 1976). The main gate at Mgungundlovu evidently was divided into two by a 'clump of poles' (Parkington & Cronin 1979: fig. 4) and it is possible that it was this kind of set-up to which Dinya was referring. Isaacs' implied other gate, however, may have been an exit situated higher up in the *ikhanda* boundary fence.

When Isaacs first entered kwaBulawayo (then Gibixhegu), he described the experience thus: 'from the great noise which the people made by their shoutings, we concluded at the moment they were numerous. As we walked on through the kraal we observed a great many fires, round which the people were regaling' (Isaacs 1970: 33). His description gives the impression that he was surrounded by people, yet not walking among them. It is probable that he and his party were walking up the centre of the parade ground, around which the warrior residences or *izinhlangothi* curved. *Izinhlangothi* in later *ikhanda* were divided into sections or *izigaba* (Rawlinson 1985) with each *isigaba* housing a particular regiment. Apparently, one of the regiments residing at kwaBulawayo was that of Shaka's father Senzangakona, the amaWombe, which moved from the original Gibixhegu with Shaka (Webb & Wright 1979).

The kwaBulawayo parade ground was evidently of considerable size as both Fynn and Isaacs recorded gatherings in it of many thousands of people. Although the figures they provide, up to 80 000, are probably exaggerations, the parade ground was large enough for Fynn and Francis George Farewell to gallop around several times (Fynn 1969). The men's assembly area was situated at the upper end of the parade ground where 'a multitude of natives had congregated and were seated in the form of a half circle' (Isaacs 1970: 33). Fynn (1969) records that it was here where Shaka sat when consulting with his council. According to Fynn, after morning consultations, Shaka retired to an 'apartment' to bathe (Fynn 1969: 28). At Ondini, Cetshwayo carried out his daily ablutions in an enclosure situated between the assembly area and the *isigodlo* (Rawlinson 1985) and it is probable that Shaka's bathing enclosure was similarly situated at kwaBulawayo.

'At the head of the kraal, on an eminence' was Shaka's 'palace' or *isigodlo* with about 100 huts where 'none but girls live' (Isaacs 1970: 35). Fynn (1969: 25) described the *isigodlo* in some detail. It was situated in the upper part of the *ikhanda*, measuring 'about 300 yards in length by 200 in breadth' and divided from the rest of the *ikhanda* by a 1.5 m wooden fence. Similar fences divided the *isigodlo* into compartments in which huts were situated (the Mgungundlovu *isigodlo* was similarly divided [Rawlinson 1987]). The *isigodlo* housed 3--400 girls and women, excluding those to whom Shaka was related. Shaka himself had several huts for his own use in the *isigodlo* (Fynn 1969). Fynn's explicit separation of the *isigodlo* women into those related and those unrelated to Shaka suggests that the *isigodlo* may have been divided into black and white sections, as was the case at both Mgungundlovu and Ondini. At both the later sites the black *isigodlo* was

the elite section where Dingane's and Cetshwayo's huts were situated (Rawlinson 1985, Roodt 1992).

Behind the kwaBulawayo *isigodlo* was a small homestead called Cele. An informant of James Stuart, Baleni kaSilwana, commented:

Cetshwayo had small kraals, like Mapotweni [at Mpande's Nodwengu], outside and above his main kraals...These small kraals were attached to Cetshwayo's kraals. The women bore their children at these kraals. Cattle were also milked there. The cattle for milking stood there. The king used to go there on short visits. In these kraals the king's grain was stored in the ground. There were either one or two of these kraals. I do not know the names of those of Tshaka. I know that Dingana's at Mgungundhlovu was called Beje...

Attached to Bulawayo kraal was the Cele kraal, i.e. Tshaka's private quarters (Webb & Wright 1976: 24).

It is clear from Baleni's evidence that the Cele homestead was the equivalent of the Bheje at Mgungundlovu. His apparently contradictory statements on the naming of the homestead may have been the result of a degree of confusion caused by the two relocations of Shaka's capital. Further evidence for the existence of this particular feature of *amakhanda* during Shaka's reign comes from Isaacs. During his first journey to kwaBulawayo, Isaacs stayed at an *ikhanda* north of the Thukela River which he described as having a circumference of about a mile (giving it a diameter of 510 m -- most probably an exaggeration) with some 400 huts, excluding those of the palace (*isigodlo*) and 'its appendages' (Isaacs 1970: 33; italics mine).

Roodt (1992) has argued persuasively that the Bheje at Mgungundlovu was used to seclude female initiates. The most likely girls to have been involved were the maidservants or *izigqila*, daughters of people killed on the orders of the king or girls abducted during raids (Roodt 1992: 11). It is probable that girls who had suffered similar misfortune formed part of Shaka's *isigodlo* community. By providing a place where these girls could be secluded during initiation, Shaka and heads of other *amakhanda* were acting in lieu of the girls' fathers who, in conventional homesteads, would have arranged for the seclusion of their daughters (Krige 1936, Roodt 1992). Roodt suggests that the use of these homesteads by the royal wives to give birth was a later development.

Although limited, the documentary evidence suggests that kwaBulawayo had a similar layout to the capitals of the later Zulu kings. This is not surprising as the *amakhanda* layout was essentially a transformation of the traditional homestead layout. What is particularly interesting, however, is the information on the *isigodlo* and attached homesteads. According to Fynn (1969) and Mkando kaDhlova (Webb & Wright 1982), Shaka was the first king to gather girls and women into *isigodlo*. Whether this is true or not, the *isigodlo* and attached homesteads, which some informants regarded as part of the *isigodlo* (Roodt 1992), were probably related to the civil strife and militarisation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Hamilton 1985). In a sense, the attached homesteads were a necessary consequence of the presence of large numbers of young girls who had been removed from the care of their families. As such they are on-the-ground evidence of conflict.

The site

KwaBulawayo lies on a hill just north of the road P230 between Eshowe and Empangeni, about 43 km from Eshowe (Figs 1 & 4). The area is hilly generally but to the north drops steeply towards the plains of the Mhlatuze Valley. The Ngoye Forest is visible on the skyline to the southeast of the site. Geologically, kwaBulawayo is situated in an area dominated by the Vryheid Formation which has been extensively intruded by dolerite. KwaBulawayo hill itself is capped by dolerite, but towards the southern edges of the site the soil is increasingly shaley.

KwaBulawayo hill is currently used for agriculture and, at some time in the recent past, suffered earthmoving operations which created a series of terraces and trenches following the contours of the slope. Similar earthmoving operations were carried out on other hills in the vicinity. On the southern side of the road, opposite the monument marking the site, is the homestead of Inkosi Zulu.

The monument is situated on the edge of the road. Above it the hill rises for about 200 m. In a report, dated 6 June 1985, on an inspection of the site by G.A. Chadwick and R. Rawlinson, Chadwick commented 'that the knoll below which the complex was built gives a wonderful panoramic view while it would seem that it [presumably kwaBulawayo] stretched away eastwards so that the present monument is in fact somewhat south of the original site' (National Monuments Council, Pietermaritzburg, ref. H2/5/7/3).

On the phase 1 visit to kwaBulawayo by L.O. van Schalkwyk and myself in June 1992, sherds were found scattered across much of the hill, from the road near the monument

to the crest. Accordingly, at the start of the second phase of the project, I started the survey near the crest of the hill.

The survey

The survey was carried out by myself and initially one, then later, two assistants. It involved first, the establishment of control points (A--E). Thereafter, the site was divided into arbitrary blocks, measuring approximately 20 m by 10 m. Each block was searched for artefacts. When found, their position was marked with coded wooden pegs. The position of the pegs was then plotted with a theodolite and staff.

Towards the end of the fieldwork period, a more extensive but less detailed survey was carried out whereby the position and extent of middens and a scatter of slag on the site were plotted. These middens were evident visually from concentrations of bone fragments and pottery on the ground surface, but their mapped extent was determined on the basis of bone concentrations. Wooden pegs marking the position of bone fragments were placed into the ground in straight lines radiating out from the approximate centre of the midden to its edges. The point at which four or more metres separated two pegs was taken as the edge of the midden. The same system was used to map the slag scatter.

Nearly 5000 readings were taken in an area of 36920 m². For each reading the artefact type, middle hair reading, distance from the control point, direction and vertical angle were recorded in a field book. The data were entered into a computer using the cadastral-based software, Compuplot, at the KwaZulu Department of Works, Survey and Mapping, Mpumalanga. Four maps were generated at a scale of 1:500 (Maps 1--4). These show the

distribution of sherds (Map 1), bone fragments (Map 2), artefacts such as beads and porcelain (Map 3) and the position of the control points (Map 4). The area surveyed is blocked in Figure 4. A simplified composite map, based on Maps 1--4 and showing the detail of the blocked survey area, is illustrated in Figure 5.

The finds

Ceramics

Most of the sherds were undecorated body sherds. Some rim sherds were found but these were too small to provide an indication of the shape of the pots. Two sherds had pierced bosses, presumably to facilitate suspension of the pot. These were close to one another on the ground and probably came from the same pot. On two sherds part of a flat base was preserved. These were not necessarily from the same pot.

Decoration, when applied, took the form of cross-hatching, impressions and neat rows of impressions separated into bands by lines of incision. A few sherds are burnished. No sherds with *amasumpa* were found. *Amasumpa* occurred on sherds at Mgungundlovu (Rawlinson 1987), but according to Roodt (pers. comm.) they are not common. Whether this rarity has a spatial dimension, with *amasumpa* more common on vessels used in particular parts of the site, is not yet known.

Exotic ceramics

A fragment of Chinese blue-on-white porcelain and a fragment of earthenware, possibly dating to the early nineteenth century (T. Maggs pers. comm.), were found. The earthenware has a white glaze with a blue line along the rim.

Beads

The 32 beads found during the survey were collected. A preliminary assessment suggests that most are drawn beads. Two may be wound beads. Ten are mould-pressed beads and these are larger than the others. No mould-pressed beads were recovered from Mgungundlovu and Ondini (Van der Merwe et al 1989), so it is probable that these are later introductions onto the site. Most of the beads have a circular shape, one is tubular and the wound beads have a donut shape (for shapes see Karklins 1985, Saitowitz 1988).

Bead colours varied although white is the most common colour (Table 1). One is an Indian red-on-green cored bead. One is transparent, two are translucent but all the others are opaque.

A single copper bead was found. It was made from a flat strip of copper, bent to join the two ends.

TABLE 1

kwaBulawayo beads and colours. Bead colours do not conform to the Munster chart

<u>colour</u>	<u>mould-pressed</u>	<u>other</u>
white	-	11
blue	2	-
royal blue	1	-
blue-green	-	2
pale-green	-	1
green	1	-
yellow	3	1
orange	1	-
red	2	2
Indian red-on-green	-	1
black	-	2
grey	-	2
total	10	22

Iron-working remains

Apart from the slag concentration (Fig. 5), a single tuyere fragment was found.

Metal

Fragments of rusted utensils were found. These include broken three-legged pots, hoes and a fragment of a knife blade. Although their positions were plotted, most, if not all, are probably modern intrusions.

Discussion

Many of the readings taken during the field survey recorded the position of small nodules of baked daga (mud). Daga was an unexpected find because there was no indication in the documentary sources that kwaBulawayo had been burnt. Indeed, the small size of the daga pieces agrees with the absence of such a reference. However, it was assumed that

the daga nodules were derived from fireplaces within the huts and that their distribution would provide an accurate picture of the location of huts on the site. A similar plot of the surface daga distribution at Ondini had resulted in the accurate identification of the residential areas (Rawlinson 1985). The assumption that a plot of the kwaBulawayo daga would be equally fruitful was apparently supported by the distribution of the daga, which petered out towards the southern edge of the surveyed area. The edge of the daga distribution coincided with the edge of the distribution of other artefacts such as sherds, apparently marking the edge of the site.

However, the extent of the daga was such that it coincided with bone and sherd concentrations. This coincidence suggests that the distribution of daga does not match the distribution of huts in kwaBulawayo as huts would not have been built on middens. It is conceivable that agricultural activities in the years since the abandonment of the site may have scattered the daga to such an extent that it no longer provides an accurate reflection of the position of huts. This is unlikely, however, because agriculture has evidently not affected the distribution of sherds and bone to the same extent. Furthermore, research at Ondini showed that while ploughing may destroy features, it did little to affect the distribution of artefacts (Rawlinson 1985). This also appears to be the case at kwaBulawayo where concentrations of artefactual debris are clearly evident. I believe therefore, that most, if not all the daga pieces are natural phenomenon, possibly formed by the repeated burning of bush on the site. In this connection it is interesting that the edge of the daga distribution coincided not only with the edges of the distributions of other artefacts, but also more or less with the line of contact between the dolerite and Vryheid Formation-derived soils. The formation of the daga may therefore be related to

the properties of dolerite-derived soil.

Because of the time spent plotting the daga nodules, the survey of kwaBulawayo was not completed in the time available. Nevertheless, sufficient coverage was obtained to provide an indication of the position and layout of the site. The artefact scatter peters out on the southern slopes of the hill, but sweeps down the northeastern slope, to the north of the monument, supporting Chadwick's suggestion that the monument is somewhat to the south of the site. Indeed, the northeastern slope of the hill is the slope on which kwaBulawayo most likely was situated as it is longer and more gentle than the other slopes.

The middens on the site lie in an arc on the upper parts of the northeast slope, with a small scatter of bone fragments and sherds closer to its base, west of the road (Fig. 6). Much of the area within the arc is covered with comparatively dense thorn bush. Nevertheless, a preliminary assessment indicates that there are no middens in this area. Similarly, only a few minor sherd scatters were noted on the lower slope, east of the road. At Ondini, middens are situated above the *isigodlo*, around the outer edges of the *izinhlangothi* and against the edge of the parade ground (Rawlinson 1985: fig. 2). Although the full distribution of middens on Mgungundlovu is unknown as yet, extensive middens are situated behind the *isigodlo* (eg. Parkington & Cronin: fig. 5, Plug & Roodt 1990: fig. 1, Roodt 1992: fig. 2), and it is likely that this site also has the Ondini pattern. Because the documentary evidence indicates that kwaBulawayo had the same layout as Mgungundlovu and Ondini, it too can be expected to conform to the Ondini midden pattern. Figure 6 shows the possible layout and position of kwaBulawayo, superimposed

onto the hillside, together with the middens which have been identified.

The position of the kwaBulawayo middens was evident from concentrations of sherds and bone fragments. The distribution of bone fragments is less extensive than that of sherds (Maps 1 & 2). This is not surprising because, for health reasons, bone waste is likely to have been discarded with more care than broken pots. Sherds on the other hand, are likely to occur both in the residential areas and middens. However, I would expect the parade ground and the outer edge of the site to be marked by a drop in the density of sherds. Both the apparent low density of artefacts within the arc of middens and the abrupt decrease in density of sherds in the southern part of the surveyed area are in line with this expectation.

A plot of the position of all the sherds on the site would therefore, provide an accurate indication of its total area, the position of the residential areas and the middens. However, it is questionable whether a survey of this detail is necessary. The similarity between the layout of kwaBulawayo and Ondini suggests that the size of kwaBulawayo could be established with reasonable accuracy by mapping the middens on the site. This survey has shown that the extent of middens can effectively be identified by plotting the distribution of bone fragments. Bone fragments therefore, provide more important spatial information than do sherds.

Other artefacts which provide spatial information are beads, metal-working remains and possibly grindstones. At Mgungundlovu, beads were recovered from the Bheje, the *isigodlo* and the entrance but not from the warrior's residences (Van der Merwe *et al*

1989). Moreover, the proportion of types of beads has been found to vary according to the status of people living in different parts of the settlement (Roodt 1992, Van der Merwe *et al* 1989). Beads on kwaBulawayo were found in middens near the top of the hill which are probably related to the *isigodlo* and Cele homestead. The middens lower down the hill were not subjected to as detailed a survey as those near the top of the hill, but it is tempting to wonder if the apparent absence of beads from the lower middens indicates that bead distribution on kwaBulawayo is similar to that of Mgungundlovu. Clearly further work is required on both sites before this question is resolved.

The surveyed area includes the waste from what appears to be an iron-working area (Fig. 5). This is situated near the top of the hill, on the left hand side if looking downhill. Both Mgungundlovu and Ondini have a brass-working area behind the *isigodlo* (Parkington & Cronin 1979, Plug & Roodt 1990, Van Schalkwyk pers. comm.). At Mgungundlovu it is situated to the left of the Bheje (looking downhill) and thus in a similar position to the slag dump at KwaBulawayo. Unfortunately the site of the brass-working at Ondini has probably been destroyed by recent construction (Rawlinson 1985). It is not yet known whether both brass and iron were worked on kwaBulawayo, or whether brass-working in this position replaced iron-working on the later sites. To the west of the slag and tuyere dump is a midden containing sherds and large pieces of bone which may have been related specifically to the iron workers themselves. Middens in the equivalent positions at Mgungundlovu have been shown to contain a different range of skeletal parts to middens associated either with the Bheje or the *isigodlo* (Plug & Roodt 1990). Whether kwaBulawayo has a similar distribution of skeletal parts is a question for future research.

Finally, grindstones may have been used only in certain sections of the settlement for, although the warriors in *amakhandas* were provided with meat, the bulk of their food came from nearby homesteads (Booth 1967 referenced in Parkinton & Cronin 1979, Watson & Watson 1990). Boy attendants may have prepared grain food for the warriors, but if it was supplied already processed, then it is probable that grindstones would be uncommon in the *izinhlangothi*. In contrast, grindstones are likely to be more common in the *isigodlo* where the women lived and behind which the king's grain was stored.

Conclusion

The survey of kwaBulawayo was not completed, principally because considerable time was taken up plotting the position of daga pieces which, in the end, proved to be of no value in understanding the layout of the site. This is contrary to the situation at Ondini where the daga distribution was shown to conform to the position of the residential areas. Despite this disappointment, enough work was done to show that the layout of kwaBulawayo was similar to that of later *amakhandas*, confirming the hints in the documentary sources. Importantly, the survey demonstrated that the recent terrace formation on the hill does not appear to seriously have affected the integrity of the features which are preserved.

There are two respects in which kwaBulawayo appears to differ from the later sites. First, it was considerably smaller than suggested by both Isaacs and Fynn. The results of this survey suggest that it had a diameter of 200--250 m. If kwaBulawayo had the same proportions as Mgungundlovu and Ondini, as is suggested by Isaacs' description of the shape of the site (an oblong square), its length probably was around 300--350 m (Fig. 6).

Thus, Isaacs' (1970: 35) estimate of 1400 huts at kwaBulawayo certainly is too high; the much bigger Mgungundlovu probably had only about 1100 huts (Parkington & Cronin 1979). These estimates of kwaBulawayo's length and breadth are supported by the topography of the hill as there is simply insufficient space for a settlement the size of Mgungundlovu. Mgungundlovu may have been a particularly large and impressive *ikhanda*, as it was on Mgungundlovu that Cetshwayo evidently chose to model Ondini (Watson & Watson 1990).

Secondly, and more tentatively, it is possible that a homestead was situated on the hill immediately to the north of kwaBulawayo hill where midden concentrations were found. If these remains are contemporary with kwaBulawayo, their position so close to the back of kwaBulawayo suggests they were associated with someone of importance or with a secluded activity. It seems possible that the principal metal-worker lived on this hill or, that this was the position of the Cele homestead.

COWARDS BUSH

Cowards Bush is situated a short distance to the northeast of kwaBulawayo. The bush is a kei apple tree, evidently the original specimen, which Shaka apparently used as a site of execution (Smail 1969). It is marked by a monument and is well-known in the community. During the survey of kwaBulawayo, a large number of people pointed the bush out to me, usually with amusement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The principal aim of this investigation was to assess the tourist and educational potential

of the complex of royal, Shakan period sites situated between Eshowe and Empangeni. The main focus of the investigation was an assessment of kwaBulawayo which involved an attempt to locate the site precisely on the ground by plotting the distribution of surface artefacts. Despite the fact that the job was not completed, the success of the survey indicates that sufficient remains of kwaBulawayo to allow its use as an educational resource.

At the time of the survey there was considerable interest in the project from a number of Eshowe residents, one of whom visited the site while the fieldwork was in progress. This person has since taken other visitors to the site. Other interested parties included people living within the immediate area and a group of tourists from France and Reunion. The latter were chance visitors who, in search of Shakaland, took the wrong turning. Despite the absence of dancers and beadwork, they found their visit to the site stimulating. The interest of these people suggests that this complex of royal sites have significant tourist potential.

To exploit the potential of these sites fully, however, I consider it important that kwaBulawayo is developed. Nandi's grave and Cowards Bush do not stand on their own as tourist drawcards or educational resources. Without their context they are simply a grave marker and a bush. It is kwaBulawayo which gives them their context; it is the hub around which they revolve. Because kwaBulawayo lacks the remains of daga floors, it would not make sense to erect beehive huts as has been done at Ondini and Mgungundlovu. KwaBulawayo therefore requires innovative interpretive techniques, displays, possibly including guided tours and open (but protected) archaeological

excavations.

With these comments in mind, the following specific recommendations should be considered.

Nandi's grave

1. Nandi's grave currently is neat and well looked after. The fence is secure and should prevent damage by domestic livestock. However, the grave marker has been damaged by the growth of a termite mound beneath the stones and urgently requires attention (Fig. 3). It may be necessary to poison the termites to prevent further damage. The plaque on the grave should be replaced as Nandi's name on it is spelt 'Nindi' (Fig. 7). To prevent erosion around the grave marker, grass should be encouraged to grow on the site of the grave rather than be cleared from it.
2. There is a wonderful panoramic view from the top of the hill which contributes greatly to the tourist potential of the site. The site would make a fine picnic spot and its development as such should be considered. It may be necessary to plant some shade trees on the top of the hill above the grave.

kwaBulawayo

3. The survey of kwaBulawayo should be completed. I argued above that the relative position of middens, the most prominent features on the site, would provide a reasonably accurate picture of the layout of the site. This survey has shown that the size and position of middens can be established accurately by plotting the distribution of bone fragments, and that sherds provide comparatively little spatial



Fig. 7. The plaque on Nandi's Grave.

information. I believe therefore, that in the follow-up survey, the position of all artefacts other than sherds should be plotted. The position of sherds should be plotted only if spatial information is recoverable in no other way (see point 6 below).

4. The positions of artefacts in middens should not be plotted in detail as in most cases these are random. However, it is important that the edges of the middens are precisely determined. This will require interpretation on the part of the surveyor.
5. The position of daga pieces should not be plotted unless they can positively be shown to be artefacts. For example, the position of vitrified and moulded daga should be plotted.
6. A preliminary assessment of the lower slopes of kwaBulawayo hill suggests that there are fewer middens in this area than on the upper portion of the hill. If this impression proves to be correct then to obtain an idea of the boundaries of the site it may be necessary to plot the position of sherds on the lower slopes. This may allow the exact position of the *izinhlangothi* and parade ground to be determined. This decision will require interpretation on the part of the surveyor.
7. In the interests of cost-efficiency consideration should be given to using more sophisticated survey equipment in the follow-up survey than was used in this survey. The equipment provided by the KMC for this survey requires five bits of data to be recorded separately, a particularly time consuming activity. Indeed, the reason a second assistant was hired halfway through the project was to increase the speed at which the data was recorded, and thus the speed at which the ground was covered. In addition, it was not possible to plot accurately the position of artefacts further than 100 m from the control point with the KMC survey

equipment. This means that a greater number of control points needed to be established. It is possible that the KwaZulu Department of Works, Survey and Mapping would be able to lend more sophisticated equipment to the KMC for the completion of the project.

8. Finally, I recommend that the person employed to complete the survey spend a day with KwaZulu surveyors at Mpumalanga to develop an understanding of surveying, the production of the maps and, if necessary, the use of the loaned equipment.

Should a programme of archaeological excavation be considered in the future at kwaBulawayo, the following are pertinent problems for investigation:

1. The relationship between kwaBulawayo and the remains on the hill to the north of kwaBulawayo hill should be established.
2. An excavation programme should aim to recover a sample of glass beads for comparison with the Mgungundlovu and Ondini samples. Comparison with the later sites situated to the north may be fruitful and may reveal differences between the international trade networks into which Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo were locked. Furthermore, as already noted, beads have the potential to yield information on relative status within the site.
3. A faunal sample should be recovered to investigate differences within the site. These may be related to status.
4. The metal-working area should be investigated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly grateful to Fikile Nene and Thanda Maphumulo who assisted with the

survey of kwaBulawayo, and Kevin Suzor and his team at KwaZulu Department of Works, Survey and Mapping, Mpumalanga who spent many hours helping me process the raw survey data and produce the maps. Len van Schalkwyk and James van Vuuren provided assistance during the initial stages of the project. Tim Maggs and Aron Mazel read drafts of this report, and Val Ward processed the photographs. The project was funded by the KwaZulu Monuments Council.

REFERENCES

- Brooks, H. M. 1992. Research project on King Shaka sites: a review and assessment of documentary and oral evidence on the validity of claims made for sites associated with King Shaka in the Dukuza area (Stanger). Unpublished report to the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority Heritage Advisory Committee.
- Fynn, H. F. 1969. *The diary of Henry Francis Fynn, compiled from original sources and edited by James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter.
- Hamilton, C. A. 1985. *Ideology, oral tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Huffman, T. N. 1986. Iron Age settlement patterns and the origins of class distinction in southern Africa. *Advances in World Archaeology* 5: 291--338.
- Isaacs, N. 1970. *Travels and adventures in eastern Africa: descriptive of the Zoolus, their manners, customs with a sketch of Natal*. Revised and edited by Herman, L. & Kirby, P. R. Cape Town: Struik.
- Karklins, K. 1985. *Glass beads: the 19th century Levin Catalogue and Venetian Bead Book and guide to description of glass beads*. Studies in Archaeology, Architecture

- and History. Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada.
- Parkington, J. & Cronin, M. 1979. The size and layout of Mgungundlovu 1829--1838. *South African Archaeological Society, Goodwin Series* 3: 133--148.
- Plug, I. & Roodt, F. 1990. The faunal remains from recent excavations at uMgungundlovu. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 45(151): 47--52.
- Rawlinson, R. 1985. Approaches to reconstructing an historical Zulu capital: Ondini, Cetshwayo kaMpande's royal residence 1872--1879. Paper presented to the Biennial Conference of the Southern African Association of Archaeologists, Grahamstown.
- Rawlinson, R. 1987. A report on the archaeological and historical investigation of *Mgungundlovu*, King Dingane kaSenzangakhona's capital from 1829 to 1838, for the period 1 July 1986 to June 1987. Unpublished report to the National Monuments Council.
- Roodt, F. 1992. Evidence for girls' initiation rites in the Bheje *umuzi* at eMgungundlovu. *South African Journal of Ethnology* 15(1): 9--14.
- Saitowitz, S. J. 1988. Classification of glass trade beads. *Samab* 18(2): 41--45.
- Smail, J. L. 1969. *With shield and assegai*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- Van der Merwe, N. J., Saitowitz, S. J., Thackeray, J. F., Hall, M. & Poggenpoel, C. 1989. Standardized analyses of glass trade beads from Mgungundlovu and Ondini, nineteenth century Zulu capitals. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 44(150): 98--104.
- Watson, E. J. & Watson, V. 1990. 'Of commoners and kings': faunal remains from Ondini. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 45(151): 33--46.

- Webb, C. de B. & Wright, J. B. 1976--1986. *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples, Vols 1--4*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Wright, J. 1989. *The dynamics of power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

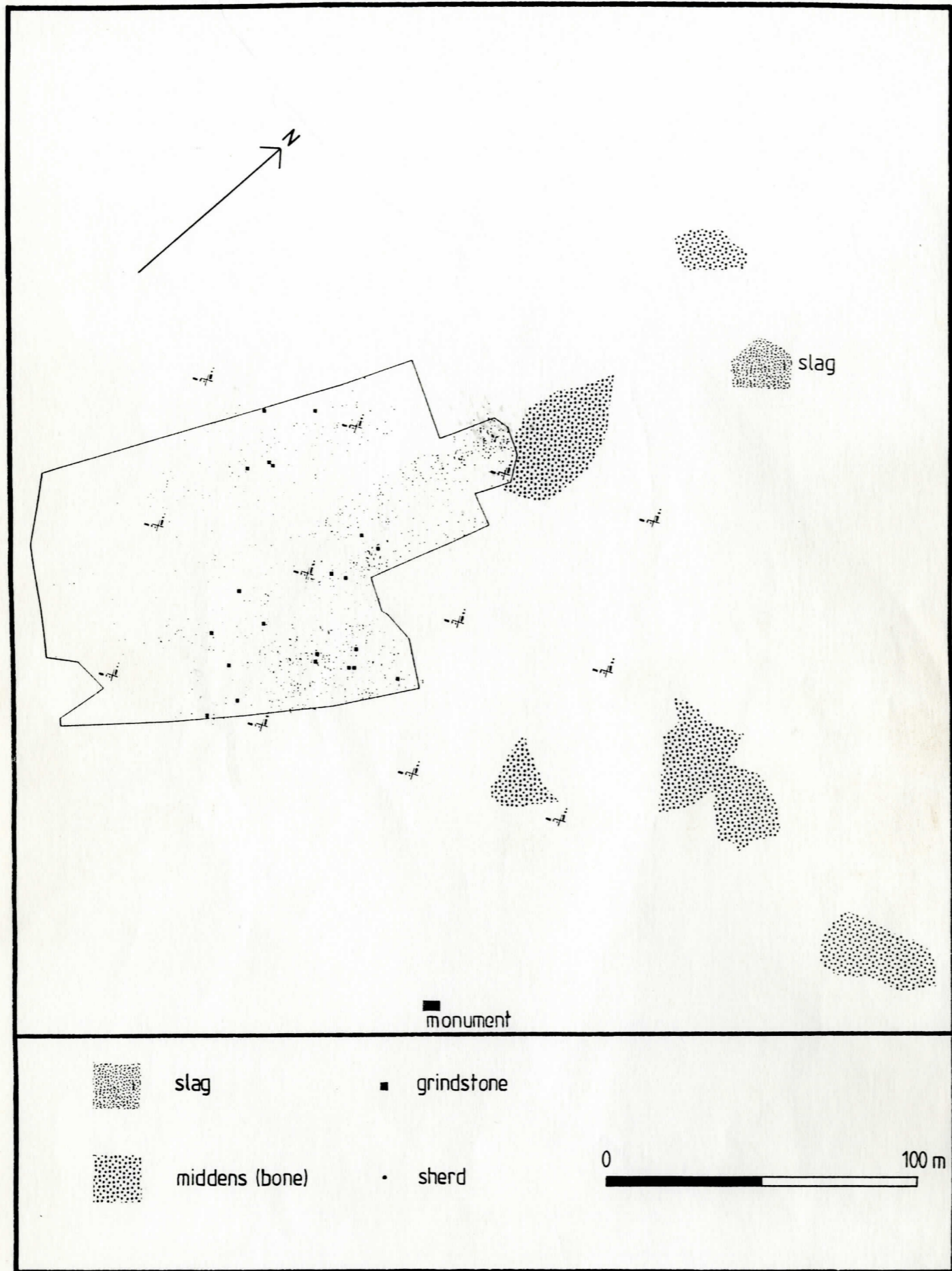


Fig. 5. Detail of blocked area in Figure 4. Area surveyed in detail is enclosed in the black border. Middens and slag concentration were surveyed less intensively.

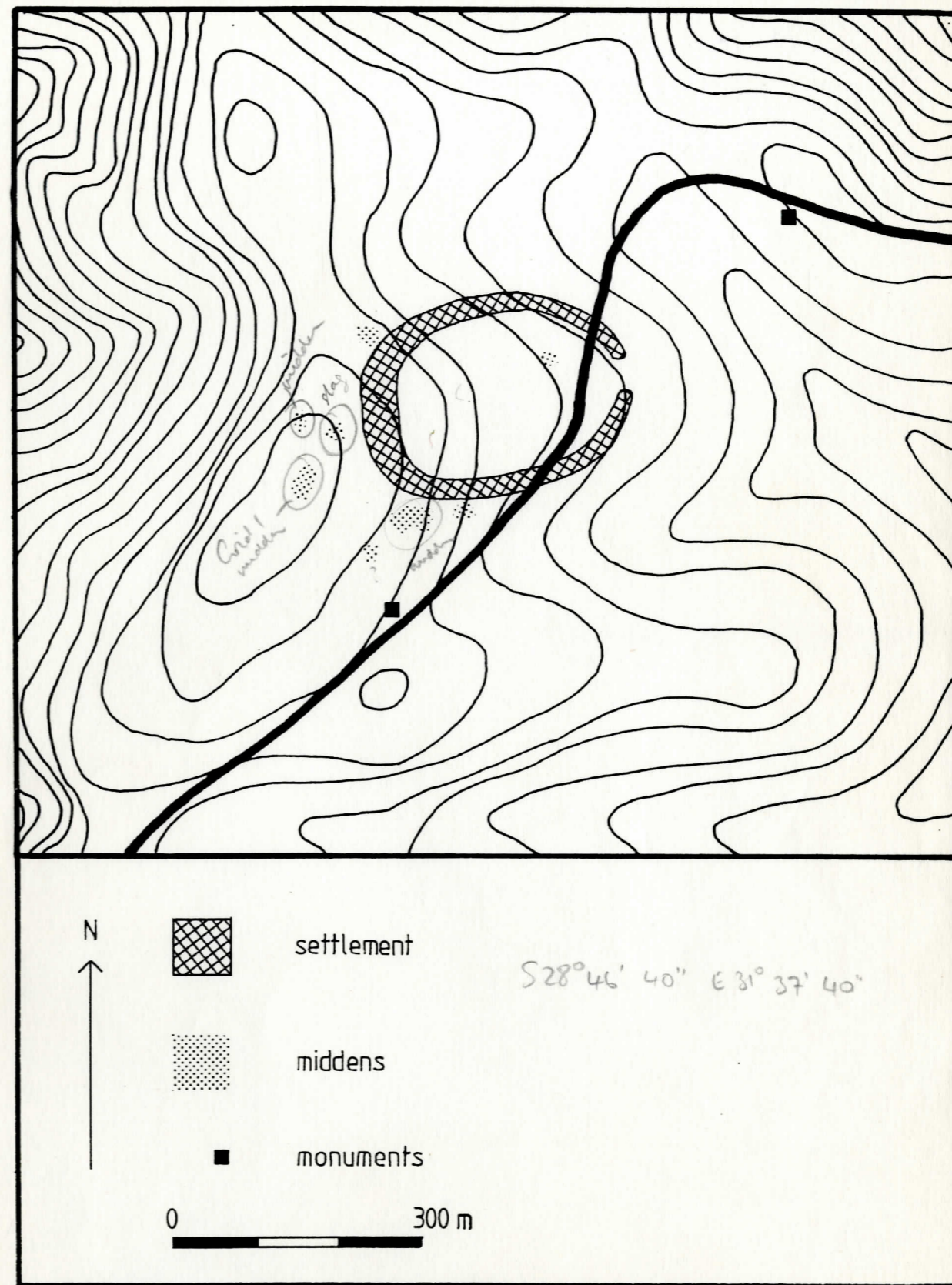


Fig. 6. Hypothesised position and layout of kwaBulawayo on the hillside. The middens are concentrated at the upper part of the site.

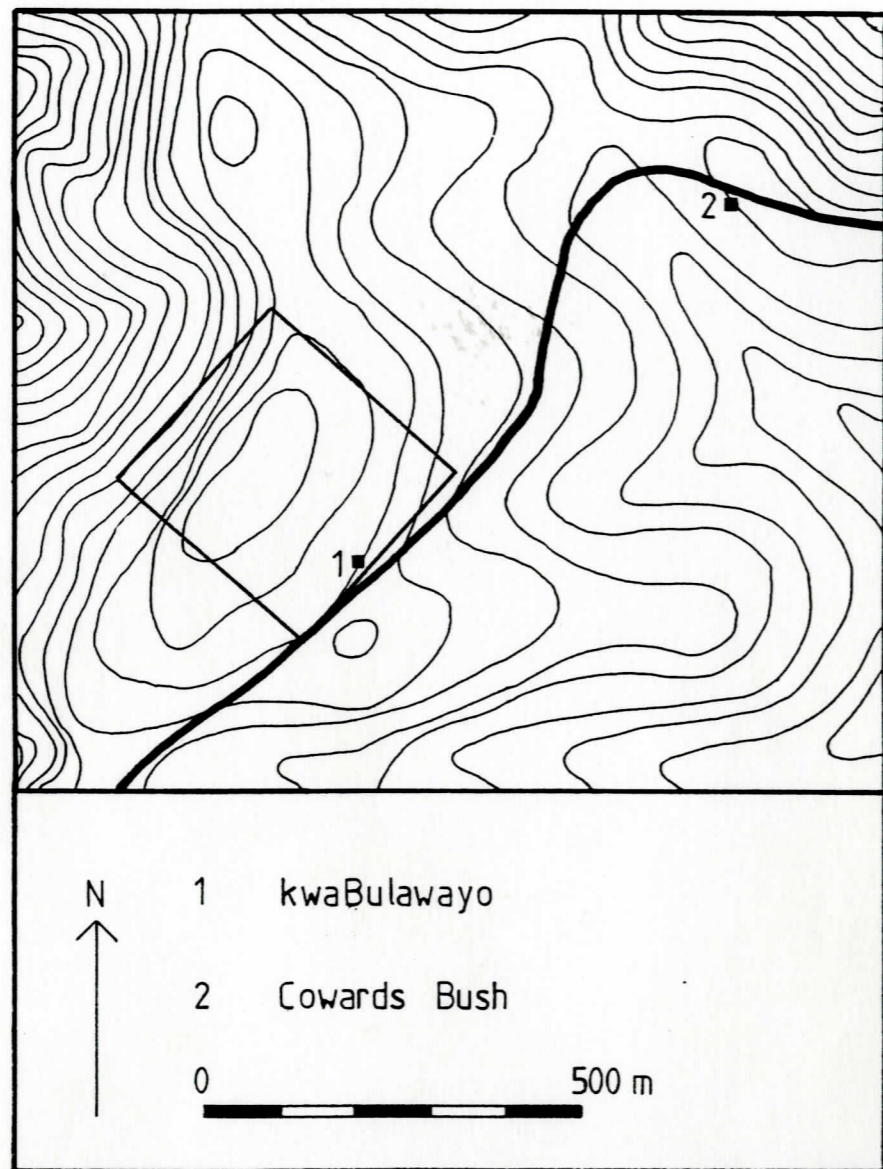


Fig. 4. Map showing the position of the kwaBulawayo and Cowards Bush monuments. Archaeological features within the blocked area are shown in detail in Figure 5.

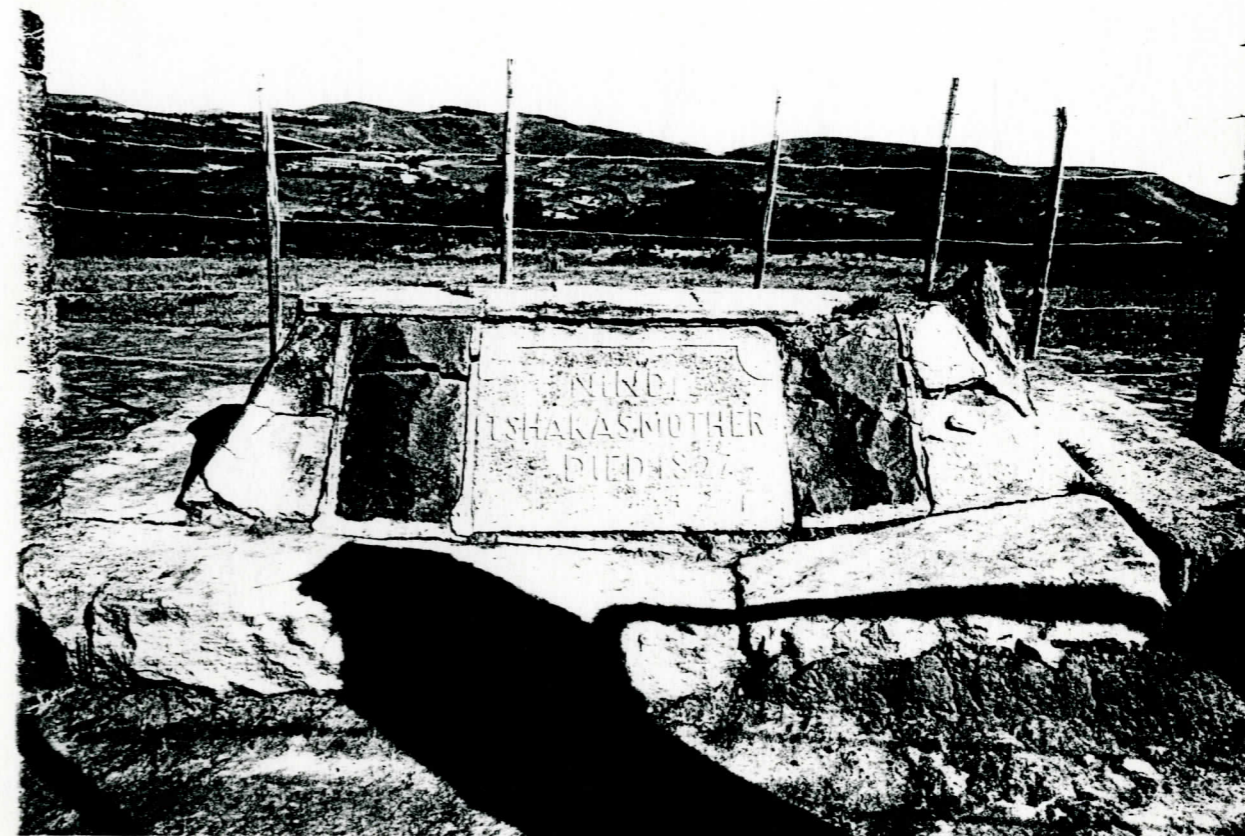


Fig. 3. Nandi's Grave. Note the disruption to the stones caused by the termite mound to the right of the photograph.



Fig. 2. The view from the hill above Nandi's Grave. The grave is fenced in the centre of the picture.