

## **John Wright: Notes on isigodlo**

The diagrams produced by Stuart and his interlocutors give the white isigodlo as the 'senior' one, i.e. the one where Dingane lived. Lunguza, who was of course an occasional visitor, not a resident, states specifically that he was called several times into the white isigodlo, where he encountered Dingane (JSA 1, pp. 304, 310, 320, 321, 339). Two of Stuart's diagrams show where Mpukane, father of Stuart's interlocutor Lunguza, had his hut: see JSA 1, pp. 309 and 340. These two diagrams in Lunguza's statements show where the two big izinduna, Ndlela kaSompisi and Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli had their huts. As does Stuart's diagram in uKulumetule, p. 16, which is based primarily on Lunguza, p. 340.

Dingane's mother also lived in the white isigodlo (p. 344). He never entered the black isigodlo (p. 344). Umndlunkulu women were to be found in both isigodlo (pp. 310, 320, 321, 339, 344). He knew nothing in particular about the black isigodlo, nor why it was distinct from the white one (p. 344). His impression was that certain huts in the black isigodlo were partitioned off from others (p. 339). He had sometimes heard that Dingane was at eBheje, but did not know what eBheje was (p. 313).

Dingane of course had no wives, so who precisely lived in which isigodlo? And what was the case in the times of Mpande and Cetshwayo, who both had wives?

On the other hand, without being specific about which king he is talking about, Bryant gives the king's wives and the adult girls of the umndlunkulu as living in the black isigodlo. Below this, on one side was the section of the white isigodlo where the king's children lived. On the other side was the section of the white isigodlo where the younger girls of the umndlunkulu lived. He specifically calls the white isigodlo the 'less important' of the two (Dictionary, 10905, pp. 187-8). He repeats this in *The Zulu People* (1949), pp. 473-4, where the white isigodlo is the 'less dreaded' one.

In her generalized synthesis, Krige follows Bryant in this (*Social System*, 1936, pp. 234-5). In the middle of it all she reproduces Samuelson's diagram of uluNdi, Cetshwayo's chief umuzi in the 1870s. This does not show a black isigodlo, but shows the white isigodlo in two small sections. This was where some of the king's wives lived and where his food was prepared. Others of the king's wives lived above the king's cattle enclosure. (Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, 1929, between p. 128 and 129, legend on pp. 245-6.)

A reference to the post in Dingane's hut covered with beads is also in Sivivi, JSA 5, p. 370.

### **Further Notes**

Baleni JSA 1, pp. 44-5

Diagram of Mpande's kwaNodwengu. White isigodlo on left, black isigodlo in centre, white isigodlo on right. King and amakhosikazi in black isigodlo, together with umndlunkulu girls who carried king's food. Other girls slept in white isigodlo.

Lunguza we have already discussed.

Mkhando JSA 3, p. 149

KwaNodwengu and three other amakhanda in Mpande's time. There were three isigodlo, the great black one where entry was utterly prohibited, the great white one, and the white one, where the huts of the wives were.

Mshaphi JSA 4.

p. 65. Story about Shaka going into the black isigodlo, where entry was prohibited. It bordered on the white isigodlo.

p. 85. Diagram of the uKhandempemvu ikhanda (in time of Mpande and Cetshwayo); shows black isigodlo behind white one.

p. 86. There were two isigodlo there, the black and the white. The white one was where the izinduna were called to drink beer.

p. 90. Refers to the amakhosikazi of the white isigodlo in Cetshwayo's time.

Ndukwana JSA 4.

p. 347. At kwaGqikazi ikhanda in Mpande's time. The white section was where the indlunkulu women were. The black section was where the king was.

p. 370. Wives were in the black isigodlo. Amakhosikazi, the mothers of the king, were in the white isigodlo. The umndlunkulu girls sent by the great men as tribute to the king lived in the black isigodlo. So did his wives and mothers.

Ngidi, JSA 4, p. 76.

At uMgungundlovu the amakhosikazi, i.e. the wives of Senzangakhona, were in the white isigodlo. When called by the king, Ngidi would enter the black isigodlo, but before puberty. After reaching puberty, he never entered it.

Thununu we have already discussed.

### **Notes on amabutho**

Magidigidi JSA 2, p. 91.

White amabutho had headrings, wives and children. Black amabutho were unmarried.

Mshaphi JSA 4, p. 75.

The young troops were the 'black' troops.

Mshayankomo JSA 4, p. 118.

The older men were the 'white' amabutho. The younger men were the black amabutho.