



HSRC
Human Sciences
Research Council

KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project

Final Report

March 2011

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Submitted by
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Chapter One

Introduction

1 Scope of the Research

1.1 Focus

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) in the KwaZulu-Natal Province commissioned research on traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal. The aim of the research was to establish a knowledge base on traditional leadership with specific reference to boundaries, local customs and the impact of white rule on ubukhosi. The research was a response to the need expressed by ISilo saKwaZulu to the Department, and to a need identified by the Department itself for the recording of the history of ubukhosi in the Province. From the Department's point of view this research is important to undertake as a way to enhance its role in supporting traditional leadership with appropriate and accurate information on the history and developments that have impacted on the institution concerned.

This research was thus undertaken for three main reasons:

- To provide information that will help the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs to effectively fulfill its supportive role to traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal.
- To provide a knowledge base on ubukhosi and amakhosi in KwaZulu Natal that may be utilized by: the Zulu Royal House, various government departments, amakhosi of KwaZulu-Natal, researchers and many other relevant stakeholders.
- To support informed preservation of cultural and customary practices that strengthens the institution of Traditional Leadership.

The research team has interpreted the terms of reference such that four main areas of focus of this history were isolated. The four areas of focus are:

- 1) Historical background
- 2) Migratory patterns
- 3) Royal genealogies, and
- 4) Succession principles and disputes

1.1.2 What is being studied?

As a concept, 'traditional leadership' is a highly contested term in South Africa. Some analysts see traditional leadership as multi-layered and having broader scope than leadership of a community as an entity. This means that traditional leadership refers to ubukhosi, ubuduna, abanumzane, and izibonda. In terms of this broader scope of use still

others regard it as including izinyanga, izangoma (which are healers), and amagosa (which are leaders of sections of communities based on age and sex) – practitioners who lead the communities in certain fields of expertise (project workshop discussion held on the 15th May 2009). Of course there is contestation on these views as some feel that the latter meaning of traditional leadership is stretching the concept too far. However, it is true that traditional leadership is more than the most senior person leading the community on the basis of local normative authority – inkosi. *Thus it is important that this project indicates that its focus is largely on amakhosi.*

In this report the adopted meaning of traditional leader and inkosi follows the meaning in the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act of 2005. According to this act ‘traditional leader’ means “any person who, in terms of customary law of the traditional community concerned, holds a traditional leadership position as Isilo, Inkosi or Induna, and who is recognized in terms of this Act or in terms of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003 (act No.41 of 2003)”. The Traditional Leadership Government Framework Act, 2003 defines a ‘senior traditional leader’ as:

A traditional leader of a specific traditional community who exercises authority over a number of headmen or headwomen in accordance with customary law or within whose areas of jurisdiction a number of headmen or headwomen exercise authority.

According to the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Leadership and Governance Act of 2005:

Induna means a traditional leader who is under the authority of, or exercises authority within the area of jurisdiction of, an Inkosi in accordance with customary law, and who is recognized as such in terms of section 27, and “Izinduna” and “Ubuduna” have a corresponding meaning.

This report has largely adopted the orientation of these definitions in so far as they are linked with governance rather than a definition which includes broader leadership roles that include indigenous expertise.

Besides the conceptual meaning of the term ‘traditional leadership’, there exists a variety of terms that refer to various leadership positions within traditional communities in different parts of the country. Inkosi, ‘nduna’, and ‘umnumzane’ have different meanings in different communities. These regional differences have an important bearing on the administration of traditional leadership as some people referred to as ‘izinduna’ in some parts of the country see themselves equivalent to ‘amakhosi’ in other regions. The case of differences in terminologies in the southern-most part of KwaZulu-Natal – eMzimkhulu – and the terminology used generally in the province bears reference.

There are other terms that are used in this report which are highly contested and sensitive. These are terms such as ‘chief’, ‘tribe’, ‘clans’, and their derivatives. Terms have a history of both the local sensitivities on them as well as academic sensitivities. ‘Chief’ is a sensitive term in KwaZulu-Natal and reference to senior traditional leaders as ‘chiefs’

resurrects the colonially-imposed status which amounted to a reduction of their role and integrity to being government instruments. However, despite the stigma of the term ‘chief’ there is no English term that actually translates fully to ‘inkosi’. To some extent the same problems of translation bedevil the use of terms such as ‘*isizwe*’ and ‘*tribe*’. But added to this is the fact that academics have unpacked the minimalist orientation of terms such as ‘tribe’ in relation to the politics of identity in general. The term ‘traditional community’ is preferred by the KwaZulu Act referred to above and this term is used in this report as well. The term polity is used more as a neutral term to refer to these communities and their governance structures. Thus, when terms such as ‘chief’ and ‘tribe’ are used in this report they are used especially in the context of the archival material which was generated at the time when their currency was unquestioned.

1.2 The Nature of the Research

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs is faced with practical challenges arising from a historical legacy under great contestation, i.e. the history of traditional leadership. History is one of the many living heritage resources that are contested in South Africa. This is partly because colonial history imposed itself over indigenous communities with adverse effects. Written colonial history is not only self-serving, but it is written in a manner omitting the fact that local governance systems and local communities had their own agendas and missions often different to the colonial agenda. As a result, history has been written from a particular perspective over decades of colonialism and apartheid. Nevertheless, it is necessary to utilize **secondary sources** with careful consideration of these limitations, while recognising the existence of a large body of literature that is of particular use in a project of this nature. No history of traditional leadership, which is the focus of this study, can be done without recourse to prior studies of the origin of traditional communities, their migration into the Southern African region, and their customs and traditions. Nor can we understand the impact of significant historical events and processes – such as the rise of the Zulu kingdom and its expansion, white settlement in the region, the Anglo-Zulu War, the Bhambatha Rebellion, the creation of the Union of South Africa, the advent of apartheid, and the introduction of the homeland system – on individual communities by ignoring the extensive literature that exists on these events and processes and their consequences.

This project thus makes use of secondary literature as a source, as well as highlighting the most relevant such sources that exist. It is recognized here that events occurring many, many years ago still have relevance today. More specifically, there is a need to go back in time to identify how communities emerged, how they changed over time, and what forces brought about these changes.

The second source in this study are **oral** sources, which present their own set of challenges – in particular, bias of time in the context where oral sources are living long after the era on which they are providing their oral testimony. This bias is accompanied by more specific issues such as nostalgia and issues confronting informants at the time interviews are conducted. Data from oral sources is also open to numerous levels of

interpretation – the informant, the characters in the source, the researcher and the reader of the information provided through this source. Nevertheless, this project provided the opportunity to gather – in a single project – the versions of the history of traditional communities provided by these communities themselves. Whatever flaws may exist in these recollections, this remains a legacy from which future generations from these communities, as well as government officials, scholars, and researchers will surely benefit.

The third source of data for this study is the existing **archives** that are relevant for a study of the history of traditional leadership. In large part, these consist of official documents generally written by white officials from the colonial era up to the end of the apartheid era. There are significant limitations in such documents, as we demonstrate in a chapter that follows. However, the archives also contain documents that include the voices of the members of the communities under study. Minutes of meetings of members of the communities, records of Commissions of Inquiry, court records of cases involving members of the community, all provide insight into significant processes and events that proved to be invaluable to this research process.

Some of the experts consulted during the course of this research suggested that the principle of starting from the known to the unknown should stand in a research project such as this one. For some of them this meant starting with oral sources before delving into the archives. However, this research was organized such that archival research and the challenges associated with it were dealt with first before empirical research was done. This was done for two reasons: the first is the inverted interpretation of ‘starting with the known’ to mean starting with the documented – while taking consideration of the noted challenges. Secondly, it was important to establish the nature and extent, the challenges, and the shortcomings of available archival sources as a way of assessing the potential for filling the gaps through empirical research, and to assess how each source complements the other – all within resource constraints.

One of the main challenges of this research is how to create usable information, designed for the context of bureaucratic intervention, from the historical and conceptual ubiquity of current data. COGTA would like to categorize its data such that it is possible to create a database of information on traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal for future reference and future update. Whilst the team has specified the elements of this research succinctly from the proposal stage (historical background, migration patterns, genealogies and succession principles and disputes), it was necessary to also devise a way to pronounce on the status of factuality or authenticity of the information. The initial thinking of the department on this matter was to oblige oral sources to only speak of information of which they are certain. This thinking had methodological implications because the Department initially wanted information from oral sources to be given under oath. The research team had some reservations on this ethical issue, while it later proved to be difficult to get informants to commit to signing the conventional consent form that the Department designs for research projects. The other problem is that people needed to be encouraged to give as much information as they could. It was eventually decided that the requirement that informants provide information under oath was unworkable.

The research team has designed a strategy to deal with the credibility of its information from oral sources so as to facilitate informed use in the future. Analysis and data capturing mechanism is such that information is categorized to capture either uncontested or validated information in the categories: historical background, migration patterns, genealogies, and succession principles. There are also categories of information that allow for information that has been identified to contain points of controversy or unresolved contradictions. There is also a category of information which is merely observations of researchers – a description of issues that were observed by researchers at the time of capturing. An example of the latter would be the observation made by an interviewer that informants appeared to skirt certain issues, or, conversely, that there was a spirit of openness in the course of an interview.

1.3 Terminological issues

There are several terms in this report whose use requires some explanation. This needs to be done so that the meaning is clear, while for some explanation is necessary because they are vernacular terms, and also because some of them have enjoyed a lot of critical reflection because of their demise and suggested disuse in certain eras. The following are such terms:

Chief was used as an English translation of inkosi. However with the advent of **chiefs** being appointed by the colonial government and some being made to comply to colonial manipulation the term ‘chief’ was loathed by amakhosi as connoting colonial manipulation.

Chiefdom is a polity historically grown from a kinship ideology of patrilineal descendency of its leadership, marriage of women into a group and some people seeking allegiance and joining that group.

Genealogy in this report refers to a patrilineal line of kinship through generations with specific indications of relationships of marriage and consanguinity. The focus in this report is on royal households over generations.

Induna/Izinduna are headmen, i.e. the leaders acting as assistants of amakhosi. They operate over izigodi, the administrative sub-categories of the chiefdoms (izizwe)

Inkosi (pl: amakhosi) is a senior traditional leader, who is usually male and commonly identified through a combination of kinship principles involving primogeniture, marriage and position of the mother, and other considerations by the appointing family council.

Isigodi (sing)/Izigodi refer to geographical sub-categories of the land of isizwe. Izigodi are an administrative category of isizwe headed by izinduna (headmen) galvanizing their operation towards reportage to inkosi and his council – who constitute a traditional council.

Isizwe is a vernacular term for traditional community – a reference to a people bound by a singular political identity as a group stemming from notions of affinity deriving though not restricted to ethnic and kinship origin. An element of large scale separates isizwe from a tribe and thus they cannot quite be used interchangeably all the time.

Polity (sing)/ Polities refer to traditional communities, lineages or clans that operate as political units. ‘Traditional communities’, ‘lineages’ and ‘clans’ or ‘tribe’ and ‘isizwe’ tend to beg for specific customization to a particular narrative context and beg for extensive explanation. In some of the narratives it is not easy to understand whether the community referred to in history had attained characteristics of ‘isizwe’, mere ‘lineage’ or ‘chiefdom’ and yet it is clear that it was functioning as a political unit irrespective of its size and influence. Thus the use of polity in this report refers to social units as political units with some form of governance recognized by those social units

Traditional community means a unit of people who hold an allegiance to the one traditional council normally under the leadership of an inkosi; some local logic such as kinship ideology and ukukhonza accounts for the community being qualified as traditional. Traditional communities are also referred to here as **polities**: the two terms are used interchangeably depending on whether it is the affinity between people or the governance issues that are important in the line of argument. (See also definition of polity/polities)

Tribe is a referent to a traditional community with an emphasis on kinship origins and thus an ethnic element in the affinity of the people who form it. It was assumed to be a polity bigger than a clan which would still have traceable kinship linkages between its members at least at the level of kinship houses or segments. The use of tribe is not qualified by use of inverted commas in this document because of its extensive use in the archival documents that were analyzed here. It is declared here that the anthropological reservations on this term are confirmed by the very nature of revelations of creation of some units with questionable ontology as polities. The reservations are acknowledged and it is used here to reflect the manner in which they were used in the context of the shifting timeframes analyzed here.

Ubukhosi refers to the actual royal leadership by a specific incumbent or specific house. Sometimes it is used to refer to the governance system of a specific traditional community (ubukhosi bakwa-, i.e. the traditional leadership of the-)

Ukukhonza means offering allegiance to a traditional leader in a way that acknowledges no kinship linkage but a willingness to subject oneself under the patronage of that leader for material security and identity.

Umndeni/family means the sum total of members from various living segments, patrilineally-related, who use certain applicable principles to ascertain property or position entitlement.

1.4 The Structure of the Report

This report draws together the reports on Phases One and Two of the research, and the research results from Phase Three of the project. Phase One of the Project involved the following activities:

- project inception: setting up project management lines with the Department, developing the administrative arrangements for security vetting for the research team, securing access to departmental files, and introductions to traditional leadership structures;
- the recruitment and training of researchers specifically for this research;
- developing the research tools;
- gathering of archival data;
- sourcing academic critique of the approach from social science experts; and
- piloting empirical research, which, due to delays on security vetting, was substituted by the in-depth analysis of archival sources.

The structure of the report is thus as follows: Chapter Two describes the research process, outlining the sources of data and challenges faced during the research process. Chapter Two focuses on the development of the research tools, including a description of the expertise brought into the project, the recruitment of fieldworkers and the type of training that was developed for this project and provided to the research assistants. A more detailed discussion of the methodology used in the project is also provided in this chapter.

The next set of chapters begins to render substantive material in response to the project objectives. Chapter Four is an analysis of archival data. This shows the extent to which migration patterns, succession issues and genealogies are captured in archival records. The chapter begins by an assessment of how these issues appear in the archives before dealing with each one specifically, given case study illustrations of factors involved. It then offers a model of understanding data in a way that formats it for database storage. Chapter Five gives the actual data of various polities identified in archival records, attempting to present factuality and controversy as read in the data. This is data of one form, not a complete picture (likely to be quite complex), which will be achieved when empirical research is done. Chapter 6 is a set of recommendations, being a mix of suggestions to the department on quality issues to be finalized as the research proceeds and on issues to consider relating to the ultimate creation of a database following from this research. A list of appendices is also included. These are on: training materials, and research tools.

Chapter Two

The Research Process

2.1 Phase One of the Project

2.1.1 The archival research process

Information-gathering in the initial Phase of the project consisted of the scoping of archival documents stored at different centers in the search for information relevant to this project. This was done to accumulate data that is required as background information on the history of *ubukhosi* of different clans in the KwaZulu-Natal province, and to identify the genealogies of each *ubukhosi*, the migration patterns, and the lines of succession lines might have been recorded by early writers on the history of the province. This is the area in which the early twentieth-century writings of A.T. Bryant, as well as C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright's five-series volume publications of James Stuart's manuscripts on oral history recordings conducted with numerous figures in the Zulu society, in particular, proved to be crucial and indispensable sources on the history of the province.

In the context of this research, the term 'archival document' is used to refer to all material in the form of correspondence between commissioners, magistrates and other government officials; as well as other written, visual and audio recordings (including manuscripts on personal observations) which are preserved and stored in archives and relate to developments involving, among others, the history of clans, *amakhosi* and *ubukhosi*, individual members of clans, as well as disputes over land, boundaries, and matters of succession.

The institutions visited during the initial information-gathering phase include the University of KwaZulu Natal's (UKZN) Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban, the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg, uLundi Archives at uLundi, the University of South Africa (UNISA) Archives at the main campus in Pretoria, and the National Archives in Pretoria. The Durban Archives in Durban, the Alan Paton Centre at the University of KwaZulu Natal's Pietermaritzburg campus, the Bessie Head Library in Pietermaritzburg, and the Old Court House Museum in Durban were also visited on one occasion each. There was very little material stored in the latter three institutions that was useful for this project.

A number of observations can be made about the available archival sources, including access to files, logistics, and the nature of information stored in each of the institutions visited. The Killie Campbell Library was most frequently visited and it proved to be very strong in the storage of both primary and secondary material in the form of manuscripts and history books that are very crucial and relevant for the review of literature for the current study. Information stored at the centre is easily accessible and the members of staff are very efficient, helpful and supportive. All the books identified through searching

the centre's on-line website were easily obtained during the numerous visits to the library. One of the archivists at Killie Campbell informed us that they had been alerted by an official attached to the National Commission into Claims and Disputes on Traditional Leadership about the tendency of unknown persons who go around systematically removing crucial documents from files as a way to destroy evidence related to claims and disputes. The official further indicated that certain files relating to the history of KwaZulu-Natal had been removed to an undisclosed location in an attempt to preserve them. Researchers attached with the project have also met various people at different archives who are conducting their own inquiries in order to discover information relating to their *ubukhosi*, possibly with the intention of lodging formal claims against *amakhosi* who they accuse of being illegitimate. The Natal Archives on the other hand proved to be strong in the storage of archival documents detailing minute papers, native commissions, as well as communication between various Natal government officials, in particular the local magistrates. The period covered in most of the documents mainly range between the latter part of the nineteenth-century and the mid-to-late twentieth-century.

The same could be said about the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg and the UNISA Archives in Pretoria in terms of accessibility and staff support. The archivists at the Natal Archives were very efficient and able to assist in explaining the complicated filing system that is in use. The Natal Archives proved to be strong in the storage of records relating to minute papers and communication between various government officials regarding matters of dispute over succession and boundaries between neighboring clans. The UNISA Archives on the other hand has a rich collection of secondary material on customary law and on native commissions. Among this collection is the seminal work on what has come to be known widely as 'The Shepstone Papers', which documents aspects of the British Native Policy, the role of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in the dispossession of blacks in the Eastern Cape province, as well as the role that he played through the 'Shepstone System' during his stint as Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal. In addition to this are the various editions of the Natal Native Commission reports. Although no relevant documents were found, the Ulundi Archives proved to be strong in the storage of audio visual recordings of a series of interviews conducted with members of different clans in KwaZulu-Natal. This consists of information on genealogies of several clans, their succession patterns, and history as well as migration patterns. A quick assessment of the Ulundi Archives revealed a wide array of audio and visual tape recordings of interviews held with several members of different clans.

A number of challenges were encountered during this phase of archival search, especially with regards to the issue of capacity in terms of accessing information required. This was apparent at the National Archives, Ulundi Archives and the Durban Archives. For instance, only two computers are available for use at the National Archives, whereas staff shortage was also very apparent as there were only two members of staff who were available to assist in the Reading Room at any given time. This led to long delays between the ordering of files and the actual issuing of the requested files; while copying of files added to the delay. Also, the information kept in files about the deposition of certain *amakhosi* following criminal convictions is very scanty. The complicated filing system makes it difficult to locate additional files providing a detailed description of the

circumstances around which the alleged criminal charge arose. At Ulundi Archives there were no documents that were relevant for this research, except for a very small collection mainly consisting of minute papers. Lack of capacity in terms of personnel and equipment was also apparent as most of the recorded information has not been transcribed into notes and there is only one Television set available for use to view stored audio-visual tapes. The tendency of the archivists to withhold information regarding what is available or not also adds to the difficulty in accessing information at the Ulundi Archives. Useful secondary literature was obtained from the Bessie Head Library in Pietermaritzburg, whereas there was no relevant material at the UKZN's Alan Paton Centre in Pietermaritzburg. A handful of useful biographical information on a number of prominent figures in the history of Natal and Zululand was available at the Old Court House Museum in Durban. But it was difficult to assess the relevant archival documents at the Durban Archives as a substantial number of documents that are cited as available at the Durban Archives either through the website or reference by personnel in other archives could not be accessed. The reason for this has not yet been established.

2.1.2 The Analysis Workshop

A four-day Workshop was held at Karridene Protea Hotel between the 15th and 18th May 2009. The opening day of the workshop consisted of an intense engagement between the research team and invited experts on Zulu history. Officials from the provincial department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs were also present. The purpose of the workshop was to introduce the project to the experts, present the methodology as well as the research tools to be used, and solicit their views on the use of archival sources and oral history recordings. On the second day members of the research team deliberated on the feedback obtained from the invited experts on the previous day. The research team spent the rest of the days of the workshop doing a rigorous critical analysis of archival data.

The position of the KwaZulu-Natal provincial Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs was also clarified to the invited guests, namely that the Department sought to acquire information in terms of the origin of individual clans, their history over the past and to identify their customs and practices with regards to conducting their affairs. Information on migration patterns was also deemed crucial in ascertaining where a particular clan used to reside before they relocated to their present location. Understanding the circumstances around which the clan relocated was also vital, and could prove to be very useful in explaining, for instance, why there are so many *amakhosi* for the Mkhize or the Biyela clans, to cite just two examples. It was emphasized that the Department was not seeking to appoint successors to the chieftainship through this exercise. This still remained the function of the *umndeni* (royal family) of the clan. The interest of the Department in the matters of succession was driven by the need to understand the procedures followed in matters of succession in each clan.

The objective of the Department through this research initiative, it was explained, was to have a proper understanding of the ways of handling governance-related matters

according to each *isizwe*. Acquiring this information would put the Department in a good stead to understand the appropriate procedures, such as when there was need for intervention to deal with matters of dispute involving *ubukhosi*. It was explained that the Department would involve *amakhosi* prior to commencing the fieldwork phase of the project. *Amakhosi* would initially be consulted via the existing formal structures, i.e. the *Provincial House of Traditional Leaders* and the *Local Houses of Traditional Leaders* as soon as these had been set up after the election of office-bearers for the provincial House of Traditional Leadership on May 22nd, 2009.

A number of suggestions were made at the Workshop. One of the suggestions was that the topic for the research should be changed from the *History of Traditional Leadership to Ucwaino Lomlando Wezizwe Zamakhosi*. The reason for this suggested change stemmed from the conviction that the term ‘traditional leaders’ has a much broader meaning than that intended by the research, in the sense that, in the all-encompassing usage, the term can also be used in some instances to refer to the monarch (*iNgonyama*), *amakhosi*, *izinduna* (headmen), *abanumzane* (group of elders who constitute what is the equivalent of what could be referred to as the Council of Elders, which is understood to have worked very closely with, and acted as advisers to, the head of the clan), indigenous healers and diviners, among others. The suggested topic clearly indicates that the focus of the research is primarily on the history of *izizwe* (traditional communities) or clans, but also encompassing their *ubukhosi*, migration patterns over the past, and the established practices in terms of succession.

Another view advanced was that the topic should remain as it is, but with specific delineation into sub-topics reflecting the angles relating to *migration patterns*, *genealogies* and *succession principles* that the study will be taking added on; and that clear time lines on the period of coverage should be made. Another issue that was raised revolved around the scientific validation aspect for the findings of the research. This question links up with the old and established debate on the scientific nature of social and human sciences in comparison to the natural sciences. Or to put it differently, the question revolved around the degree to which the research project concerned would strive to be scientific – in terms of comparison of the data kept in the archives and the one to be collected through fieldwork. In the context of this discussion, the point was made that the research should first come up with a hypothetical framework and then later on the principles/patterns identified through the information gathered should emerge. An effort should then be made to compare the two variables as a basis for validation in order for the findings to be deemed scientific. The debate was left inconclusive.

A suggestion was also made regarding the approach of the study. As indicated above, the initial view was that the approach to be adopted in the research process should be that of moving from the known to the unknown, or to put it differently, starting from the simple to the complex – implying that the point of departure of the research should be that of beginning by soliciting the views of the people in communities and then going on to review information stored in the archives. In this fashion, a researcher has to go to the field with a ‘blank slate’ or *tabula rasa* – i.e. with no prior knowledge about the phenomenon on which the researcher is conducting an inquiry: but the views of the

experts differed on this aspect. Others felt that it was useful to have prior understanding of the phenomenon that one is conducting research on, while others felt that knowledge acquired prior to the actual research may impinge on the required neutrality of the researcher. The approach of the research team on the project has been that of scoping the archives for data first before going to the field. The rationale behind this strategy is that information stored in the archives is useful as preliminary data that one requires to have before going out to the field. This strategy was adopted because the research team felt that by going to conduct fieldwork with the information obtained from archives one is put in an advantageous position which enables the researcher to ask relevant probing questions, especially when a statement which contradicts or corroborates the information that is kept in the archives is made by the respondent.

Another crucial point that was raised concerned the principles governing succession to *ubukhosi*. The point was that the principles/patterns which apply in each *isizwe* concerned are determined by historical precedence, and are usually discussed by the members of each amakhosi's family and other senior members of their clans. There is no consistency in the application of succession principles/patterns. An example was made of an instance of someone who was a potential heir being overlooked in the succession on the basis that the person concerned was left-handed. The reason provided in the above instance should not be taken at face value. There may have been more compelling reasons why this particular individual was not selected. The issue of gender was also raised. The point was made that in many instances women refuse to discuss issues of succession and claim that they do not understand the practices followed.

The review of literature was also identified as very crucial as a means of information-gathering for the research project. It was suggested that two important Commissions need to be taken into consideration in the review of literature due to the central role they played over the control of land in the history of the province of KwaZulu-Natal. These are the *Land Boundary Commission* of 1846, and the *Zululand Lands Delineation Commission* of 1902-1904. The former applies to land falling in the area south of uThukela River, while the latter deals with the land to the north of uThukela River. The two commissions were highlighted for effectively setting the scene for the separation of the province into two: one part officially falling under the political administration of the then colonial Natal government, and the other constituting the Zulu Kingdom, which later fell under the Zulu government administration under apartheid – with the Thukela River serving as a physical boundary between the two. Added to these historical phases is the period of the 1990s leading to political transition to the post-apartheid democratic dispensation. This phase was also highlighted as crucial regarding the definition of the role of *amakhosi* in South Africa, more particularly the CODESA negotiations, wherein the *Status Quo Report* was cited as a crucial reference in this regard.

The issue of sensitivity towards the use of certain terms was also raised and the discussion of these has already been done in Chapter 1. The controversy surrounding the use of various terms was highlighted as creating a dilemma in deciding which terms are most appropriate to use. In the case of KwaZulu-Natal, the isiZulu vernacular term *inkosi* (or *amakhosi* in its plural form) is preferable to the term *traditional leader(s)* – even

though the latter is most commonly used in South Africa's post-1994 policy documents and legislation. But, it was argued, in a larger context, the term 'traditional leaders' is viewed very critically as it does not apply in Western countries which feeds into perceptions that its continued use in reference to Africa is the perpetuation of the stereotype of African people being backward (traditional).

It is also within this context that terms such as *native*, *clan* and *tribe* were highlighted as inappropriate. Suggestions were also made regarding the use of terms, including the terms used in the reporting Template. There was a suggestion that the terms *migration pattern* and *succession principle* be substituted. The term *settlement pattern* was suggested in place of migration pattern, and *succession pattern* in place of succession principle. The motivation for the recommended changes was that the term 'migration pattern' conjures an image of Africans being permanently migratory people who by nature do not settle down permanently in a fixed location, whereas the purpose of this research is merely that of tracing where a particular group of people (hereby referred to as *isizwe*) used to live before they relocated to where they may be residing at present. Another suggestion was that an extra category of *Izibongo and Izithakazelo* be added in the reporting Template.

In summing up the discussion in this section, the views expressed by the invited experts on the field were many and varied. Some of them were very crucial and useful in informing the perspectives of the core team in the research project concerned, and most of the recommendations made were incorporated or taken into consideration at each stage of the research process. One-on-one interviews with some of the experts who attended the workshop was conducted during the Second Phase of this research in an attempt to expand on the knowledge they shared with the research team in the lively and highly informative engagement at the Karridene Workshop.

2.3 Phase Two of the Project

In this phase of the project the three key research exercises were dealt with concurrently: i.e. interviews were conducted with *isizwe* in four districts – uThukhela, Ugu, eThekweni and uMkhanyakude Districts – research began on documents in the files of individual communities in the archives of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; and a literature review was made.

Interviews were conducted with approximately 70 traditional communities in this phase. Perhaps the single important factor to note about the interview process in this stage was the difficulty of scheduling interviews. The process often involved more than two visits to each community, and stretched the resources of the research team. Nevertheless, the initial interviews provided the opportunity to revise the interview schedule and to provide the fieldworkers with the relevant experience of this research methodology.

The process of data capturing also began in this phase as the files in the archives of the Department proved to have a large volume of information of relevance to this project.

Archival researchers were able to review files of individual communities in the archives, noting their subject, their accessibility and the condition of the documents (whether or not they were legible, clearly typed, etc.). This was captured on an Archival Research Template, which will be useful for both officials and researchers (refer to Appendix 1) as they indicate at a glance what information is available in these files. Relevant data dealing with the key areas of the research project – historical background, migration patterns, lines of succession, royal genealogies, succession principles, succession disputes, key issues confronting the community, and the researchers’ own observations about the contents – were then captured on a Data Template. This exercise also enabled the researchers to identify significant gaps in the archival documents. It was noted, for instance, that those communities which experience significant crises, such as succession disputes, contain a wealth of information, while those which do not have very little information. In the former, relevant documents include information on the historical background, lines of succession and genealogies of the clans, while minutes of meetings of the umndeni, records of court cases dealing with succession disputes, and Reports of Commissions of Inquiry into succession disputes proved invaluable.

Finally, a literature review was conducted which revealed limited research into the history of individual clans in the province, as well as limited research into succession disputes in general. This literature review included an analysis of key events and processes in the province as they affected traditional communities. This provides a significant background to the development of historical accounts for each isizwe which needed to be done by the project team.

2.4 Phase Three of the project

This phase of the project, which began in earnest in September 2010, involved the following main activities:

- continuation of interviews with traditional communities;
- intensive research into the archives of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; and
- finalization of the files being prepared for each traditional community.

However, this phase began with significant changes in the research team, the most important being the resignation of the project leader, Dr Pearl Sithole from the HSRC. The loss of Dr Sithole, who was responsible both for initiating the project and for managing what proved to be a very difficult task, was a major setback for the project team. Her invaluable contribution to this project must be acknowledged. The contribution she made in drafting the research proposal, bringing together the research team, training the field workers and managing the research process while carrying out the research itself cannot be over-emphasized.

The research team also faced the daunting task of trying to conduct interview with the remaining 230 traditional communities that had to be interviewed in the time remaining and with the available resources. The interview process itself was slow to revive, and

interviews were scheduled sporadically with isizwe. What was evident to all researchers in this case, however, was the importance placed on this project by many amakhosi. This accounted for willing participation in the project by such amakhosi.

A team of four post-graduate students was brought into the research team to finalize the archival research. This proved invaluable, and within three months the team was able to complete the review of the files in the archives and to finalize the Archival Research and Data Templates for these files.

Finally, the process of adding to these data templates the relevant documents – Government Notices of Proclamations of Establishment of Traditional Authorities and Areas of Jurisdiction of Traditional Authorities, Letters of Appointment given to amakhosi, their Certificates of Jurisdiction, etc. – was implemented on a continuous basis. It must be noted that there were limitations in this process. Reliance was placed on the documents in the files of these archives. There are very few documents of relevance in the other archives. Thus, there may be gaps in the documentation in the files generated in this research process for various clans.

Chapter Three

Generation of Research Tools and Research Methodology

3.1 Research and Training Tools

Following the signing of the contract and initial discussions with the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs on the terms of reference of the project, the core team embarked on a series of activities geared to refine the research objectives and to develop the research tools for the project. It was important to do this immediately because these research tools had to be used during the training of research assistants. The process followed was such that by mid March 2009:

- the research objectives were refined;
- the research tools were developed – these include the interview schedules, the focus groups schedules, the archival templates, affidavit/consent forms, etc.;
- the training materials were generated;
- the recruitment process was completed; and
- the training of research assistants was completed.

The sequence of these activities had to be designed in this fashion because each activity informed the next.

3.1.1 Training of Fieldworkers and Data Capturers

A research methodology workshop was conducted over a two day period, from the 9th – 10th March 2009. The purpose of the workshop was to familiarize the fieldworkers and the data capturers with the nature and scope of the project, as well as provide them with relevant training on the proposed methodological approaches to the study.

Led by different members of the core research team, the sessions were interactive in nature and included both didactic input and experiential exercises. The focus of the workshop included the following:

- An overview of the research project, including its key objectives and the research questions.
- Research Methodology, with a particular emphasis on:
 - Research Ethics
 - Nguni Royal Respect
 - In-depth Interviewing
 - Focus Group Facilitation
 - Genealogies
 - Archival Research
 - Migratory Patterns and Mapping

- Data Capturing

As well as providing training on methodology, the workshop was also intended to test and review the proposed research approach, in particular the research questions and tools. Through ongoing collective reflection on the experiential exercises, improvements were able to be effected.

A presentation by a representative of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs in KwaZulu-Natal provided further context to the project.

The majority of the training was conducted in Zulu.

3.1.2 Research Ethics

Due to the sensitive and contested nature of the topic under investigation, including political and legalistic sensitivities, the session on ethics laid particular emphasis on confidentiality. Also considered was the potential for psycho-social fall-out from the project as some of the research data could upset people's sense of self-identity and could cause embarrassment. This could come about as genealogical research, advertently or otherwise, reveals 'secrets' about people's familial origins and parentage.

One peculiarity of the project which had to be grappled with derives from the fact that the need to safeguard the anonymity of research participants could not be met. This is due to the intended use of the research findings – to become part of a knowledge base on the history of traditional leadership in Kwazulu-Natal, and thus potentially, to serve as a reference point for dealing with disputes relating to legitimacy of claims to traditional leadership. It was emphasized to the fieldworkers that this information, contained in the informed consent form, be reiterated to potential participants so that when they sign the forms, they understand fully and unequivocally that which they are signing off on.

3.1.3 Nguni Royal Respect

Issues covered here include the proper manner for greeting and addressing traditional leaders, and other linguistic and relational considerations. Fieldworkers were also prepared for some of the challenges that might arise during interviewing, in particular the potential for one to feel intimidated or 'put in place'. This power dynamic is a common challenge in interviewing members of senior or powerful groups – the so-called social elites. The importance of proper dress code was also stressed.

3.1.4 In-depth Interviewing and Focus Group Facilitation

As all the participants have research experience, this session was designed as a refresher course and not an introductory one. Key focus areas were (i) the purpose and nature of interviewing in qualitative research, (ii) the role of the interviewer(s), (iii) the importance of mental and emotional preparation, (iv) the requisite relational stance on the part of the

interviewer(s), and (v) the essential skills for effective interviewing and group facilitation. As the interviewers were required to work in pairs, the need to manage emergent research team dynamics and effective collaboration was underscored.

One of the key suggestions to emerge from the discussion that followed this session was the need for the researchers to keep a reflective journal. It was considered that this would provide rich data within which interview data could be best appreciated. This is an important consideration as field data, stripped of its emotional and relational context, and especially when analyzed by a researcher other than the one who conducted the interview, can often be robbed of its fuller meaning.

3.1.5 Genealogies

This, as anticipated, proved to be one of the most complex and least familiar methodological approaches for the workshop participants. As such, a great deal of time was spent outlining the process, doing exercises including role plays, and reflecting on the experience. Potential challenges, including the potential for confusion and data loss were identified and modifications to the research approach made accordingly. For example, it was suggested that immediately after each interview, the research pair needs to sit down and draw the genealogical tree together, as they are able to understand it at the time, and note down areas of different understandings between them. The emergent tree would then be presented in a focus group at a later stage, to identify and/or confirm commonality and areas of contestation, accuracy of interpretation of interview data, as well as information gaps.

The role play further underscored the importance of collaboration within the research pair, in particular the importance of trust in one's partner, as well as the need to agree on and stick to assigned roles during interviews. The importance of tape-recording the interviews, subject to permission being given by the research participant, became evident.

Also, the imperative for the field workers, to be particularly sensitive when engaging with the genealogical information was underscored, as was the need to pay particular attention to and tactfully explore discursive nuance including generalization, metaphor and innuendo.

3.1.6 Migratory Patterns and Mapping

Another potential area of contestation, and also one not familiar to the workshop participants, this session focused on the process of exploring the history and origins of a particular traditional community and use of the data as a basis for drawing current and historical territorial boundaries. The participants were shown how to use interviews to elicit information of history and migratory patterns as well as to use different interviews and focus groups to cross-check the information gathered. Emphasis was placed on validation of information during the multiple engagements and through specific social referents that confirm migratory of settlement issues – such as song, izithakazelo (praise

names), proverbs, and names of places or names of persons which might contain the history.

3.1.7 Archival Research, Data Capturing and Other Research tools

The need for a critical eye in engaging with archival data was emphasized. Participants were also briefed on the effective and appropriate use of the Archival Research Template (see Appendices).

The data template (also in Appendices) was explained to both field workers and data capturers. It was considered equally important for fieldworkers to understand the data capturing process so that they take due care when recording interview data.

As well as the tools already discussed, participants were also shown the correct and effective use of the following research tools and forms:

- Data Summary Sheet for Interviewers
- Informed Consent Forms
- Affidavits

The training of the fieldworkers is indeed an ongoing process and through weekly research meetings, challenges in the field are identified and feedback provided as and when needed. Openness and frankness about setbacks has been encouraged so as to ensure the integrity of the research process and the quality of data. Hence an action learning orientation is adopted in the study.

3.2 The Research and Analytical Methodology

3.2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to describe the methodological approach utilized in conducting the research, whose primary objective is to document the history of each of the 300-odd *ubukhosi* and *izizwe zamakhosi* spread across the eleven municipal districts comprising the province of KwaZulu Natal. The study is qualitative and utilizes both empirical and non-empirical methods of data collection. These include the scoping of archives for the relevant official documents relating to the history of the specific *ubukhosi* and *izizwe zamakhosi* being studied, the review of existing literature, and the conducting of interviews and group discussions. The two approaches are meant to complement each other in the reconstruction of the history of the various *ubukhosi* being studied. The review of official and archival sources as well as that of early written history on the one hand and the analysis of the information obtained through face-to-face interviews and group discussions with key respondents from *izizwe* concerned on the other, are designed to allow for comparison for purposes of verification and validation of the specific details of the information from either of the two sources.

3.2.2 Empirical research

The empirical component of this research consisted of both face-to-face interviews with key respondents and focus group discussions (FGDs) within each *ubukhosi* making use of an open-ended questionnaire. Key respondents in each case were the incumbent inkosi and the members of *isigungu* (the royal council – consisting of members of inkosi’s (royal) family and *izinduna*) as well as elderly members of *isizwe* deemed to be knowledgeable about *ubukhosi* and *isizwe*’s history. The main element of the empirical phase is the recording of history, particularly pertaining to the “royal” genealogy, migration routes, as well as the identification of the general and/or specific succession procedures that are applicable within each *ubukhosi*. The initial stage of the empirical research, conducted largely during Phase Two, consisted of officials from the KwaZulu Natal provincial department of Local Government Housing and Traditional Affairs (LGHTA) introducing the research and the research team to the gathering of amakhosi who were officially invited by the department in their capacity as members of the local house of traditional leaders at the district level.

In the Third Phase of the project meetings were held with the Executive Committees and/or the full Local Houses of Traditional Leaders, where the project was introduced and participation in it solicited. During this Phase a number of obstacles emerged. Perhaps the most significant was the rejection of participation in the project by the Local House of Traditional Leaders of the Zululand District. This meant that no interviews could be conducted in this District, severely limiting the capacity of the research team to augment the material that is available from the archival sources. Another consequence of the decision by the Zululand Local House was the difficulty of obtaining participation in the project by traditional leaders from the adjoining Ilembe District.

The following tables provide the lists of amakhosi in each district, the status of the incumbent as well as the official name for each of the *isizwe* or Traditional Council. Status is the category used to indicate whether the incumbent is an inkosi, *ibamba bukhosi* (acting inkosi), deputy inkosi or induna as the case may be.

TABLE 1: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBAMBA: UGU DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Mbhele	Inkosi	Mbhele	Sikhulekile Elvis
2.	Qiko	Inkosi	Bele	Phikubuxoki Roy
3.	Zembeni	Inkosi	Mqadi	Japhet Mjokwana
4.	Cele	Inkosi	Cele	Sifiso Derrick
5.	Dumisa/ Izimpethuzendlovu	Inkosi	Dumisa	Muziwendoda Protas
6.	Dumisa/Emandleni	Inkosi	Dumisa	Fana Petros
7.	Ukuthula	Inkosi	Mkhize	Linda Eric
8.	Nyuswa	Ibamba	Ngcobo	Dumisile Praxcedis (Mrs)

9.	Shozi/Ilanga	Ibamba	Shozi	Sibusiso Filton
10.	Bhekani	Inkosi	Msomi	Zamindlela Goodwill Bahle
11.	Cele P	Inkosi	Cele	Bathebuya
12.	Nhlangwini	Inkosi	Dlamini	Melisizwe Zweloxolo
13.	Mbhele	Inkosi	Mbhele	Nelisiwe Winfrieda
14.	Nyavini	Ibamba	Ngcobo	Zibuyile Eunice
15.	Ndelu	Inkosi	Shinga	Robert Sifiso
16.	Qwabe P	Inkosi	Qwabe	Zolani Raymond
17.	Lushaba	Inkosi	Lushaba	Ziwengu Saul
18.	Madlala	Inkosi	Madlala	Moses Zamindlela Ngamzizwe
19.	Thulini	Inkosi	Luthuli	Bhekizizwe Nivard
20.	Hlongwa	Inkosi	Hlongwa	Bhekamahlongwa
21.	Kholwa/Qoloqolo	Vacant		
22.	Qwabe N	Ibamba	Gumede	Cedric Sandile
23.	Cele K	Inkosi	Cele	Khanyile Absolom
24.	Dunge./Dungeni		Vacant	Vacant
25.	Hlubi	Inkosi	Radebe	Bhekamadoda Innocent
26.	Kwa-Fodo	Inkosi	Dlamini	Magwaza/Phineus
27.	Thokozani/Madumisa	Inkosi	Dumisa	David Van Rooyen
28.	Jabulani/Beshwayo	Inkosi	Zungu	Sidumo Patrick
29.	Mbotho	Inkosi	Mbotho	Nicholus Valela
30.	Qiniselani/Manyuswa	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Zwelibanzi Aggrippa
31.	Jali/Nhlangano	Ibamba	Jali	Nokwenda Constance (Mrs)
32.	Maci/Isibonda	Inkosi	Machi	Ntamonde Mthetho
33.	Mavundla/Nkumbini	Inkosi	Mavundla	Themba Winston
34.	Cele/Vukuzithathe	Ibamba	Cele	Thembekile Carol
35.	Xolo	Inkosi	Xolo	Malusi Khanyisizwe
36.	Nzimakwe	Inkosi	Nzimakwe	Bhekizizwe Stanley
37.	Mavundla	Inkosi	Mvundla	Dumisani Frederick
38.	Nsimbini	Ibamba	Ndwalane	Sazi Nelson
39.	Embo/Nkasa/Isimahla	Inkosi	Mkhize	Kusakusa Keasington
40.	Maphumulo	Ibamba	Maphumulo	Thembisile Virginia
41.	Dungeni	Inkosi	Chiliza	Ndabingehlele Ndabenku
42.	Toyana	Inkosi	Hlengwa	Nhlosoyesizwe Mcmillan

**TABLE 2: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA:
UMGUNGUNDLOVU DISTRICT**

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Zondi/Inadi	Inkosi	Zondi	Godfrey Sondelani
2.	Ndlovu/Masihambisane	Ibamba	Ndlovu	Magayisa Moses
3.	Ntanzi	Inkosi	Ntanzi	Bhekukwenza
4.	Mthulini	Inkosi	Mthuli	Zwelinjani Mhlabunzima

5.	Madlala	Inkosi	Madlala	Shokwakhe Benjamin
6.	Gcumisa	Inkosi	Gcumisa	Nkosiyezwe Prince
7.	Maphumulo	Inkosi	Maphumulo	Nhlakanipho Khulezweni
8.	Mdluli/Manyavu	Inkosi	Mdluli	Sikhosiphi Elliot
9.	Nxamalala	Inkosi	Zuma	Eric Simphiwe
10.	Zondi/Mpumuzu	Inkosi	Zondi	Nsikayezwe Winston
11.	Ngcobo/Mafunze	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Maviyo Sihlangusempi Protas
12.	Ximba	Inkosi	Mlaba	Simangaye
13.	Qamu/Dunyini	Inkosi	Majozi	Michael Siphwe
14.	Embo	Inkosi	Mkhize	Themba
15.	Mbuzane	Inkosi	Mkhize	Selby Makhosonke
16.	Kholwa/Edendale		Vacant	Vacant
17.	Nxamalala	Inkosi	Zuma	Eric Simphiwe
18.	Embo/Thimuni	Inkosi	Mkhize	Langalasebo Derrick
19.	Kholwa/Vumindaba		Vacant	Vacant
20.	Dlamini/Esiphahleni	Ibamba	Dlamini	Lindiwe Zodwa
21.	Molefe/Isiminza	Ibamba	Molefe	Nozipho Charity (Mrs)
22.	Sithole	Inkosi	Sithole	Phathizwe Raynold
23.	Embo/Vumukwenza	Inkosi	Mkhize	Moyeni Philmon
24.	Bomvu/Efaye	Inkosi	Ngubane	Tholizwe David
25.	Gwamanda	Inkosi	Gwamanda	Bongumusa Gladwell
26.	Phephetha/Macala/Gwala		Vacant	Vacant

TABLE 3: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA: UTHUKELA DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Abantungwa/Kholwa	Ibamba	Khumalo	Thandekile Ruth (Mrs)
2.	Mchunu	Inkosi	Mchunu	Siyabonga Alfred
3.	Mbhense	Inkosi	Mbhense	Fana Victor
4.	Nxumalo	Inkosi	Nxumalo	Maxwell Mandlakayise
5.	Sigweje	Inkosi	Kunene	Siphwe Sydney
6.	Sithole	Ibamba	Sithole	Lwazi Ngqayizivele
7.	Mabaso	Vacant	Vacant	
8.	Ingwe	Inkosi	Zwane	Cyril Ntshontsho
9.	Mthembu	Inkosi	Mthembu	Siphamandla Wiseman
10.	Nkosi/Amaswazi	Inkosi	Nkosi	Busisiwe Florence (Mrs)
11.	Hlubu	Inkosi	Radebe	Mandlenkosi Abner
12.	Sithole/Dundee	Inkosi	Sithole	Bhekukwenza Selby
13.	Tshabalala	Inkosi	Tshabalala	Ntandoyenkosi Bisset
14.	Amantesha		Vacant	
15.	Amazizi	Inkosi	Miya	Mtethwa Edward
16.	Amangwane	Ibamba	Hlongwane	Menzi
17.	Amangwe	Vacant	Vacant	

18.	Hlubi	Inkosi	Radebe	Muziwenkosi Johannes
19.	Mhlungwini	Ibamba	Ndaba	Nobentungwa Flora (Mrs)
20.	Dlamini	Ibamba	Dlamini	Malusi Abednigo
21.	Embo	Inkosi	Mkhize	Sbonelo Nkosinathi
22.	Mabaso			
23.	Mchunu	Ibamba	Mchunu	Nduna
24.	Nkwanyana	Ibamba	Nkwanyana	Nicholus
25.	Tshabalala/Amaswazi	Inkosi	Tshabalala	Mchithwa Simon

TABLE 4: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA: UMZINYATHI DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Molefe	Inkosi	Molefe	Phallang Bokang Nkgaulise
2.	Khiphinkunzi	Inkosi	Ngobese	Thathezakhe Joseph
3.	Zondi	Ibamba	Zondi	Lethukuthula Zitha
4.	Mangwe/Buthanani	Inkosi	Mazibuko	Mbhekiseni Petros Mbangomuni
5.	Mbokodwebomvu	Ibamba	Mncube	Hlehlelaphi
6.	Zulu/Emandleni	Vacant	Vacant	
7.	Sithole/Vulindlela	Inkosi	Sithole	Stevenson Khumbulani
8.	Hlatshwayo/Sizamile	Inkosi	Hlatshwayo	Fisukwazi PraiseGod
9.	Qamu	Inkosi	Majozi	Ziphokuhle Dunkell
10.	Mthembu	Inkosi	Mthembu	Siphamandla Wiseman
11.	Baso	Inkosi	Mntungwa	Thembitshe Dinini Putukezi
12.	Bomvu	Inkosi	Ngubane	Pano Joseph
13.	Mchunu	nkosi	Mchunu	Ngangendlovu Elphas
14.	Ngome	Vacant	Vacant	
15.	Sithole/Mthembu	Inkosi	Sithole	Zakhele
16.	Bomvu	Ibamba	Ngubane	Mduduzi Nkosiyohlanga
17.	Dlomo/Khabela	Inkosi	Dlomo	Dlokwakhe Alfred
18.	Dlomo/Gcothoyi	Vacant	vacant	
19.	Zulu/Jama	Ibamba	Jiyane	Joseph Zakhele

TABLE 5: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA: AMAJUBA DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Kubheka	Inkosi	Kubheka	Cosmos Sawela
2.	Nkosi	Inkosi	Nkosi	Siphiwe James
3.	Radebe	Inkosi	Hlutyini	Bandile Goodwill
4.	Zwane	Inkosi	Zwane	Ayanda
5.	Gule/Nyanyadu	Inkosi	Gule	Maxwell

6.	Khumalo	Inkosi	Khumalo	Patric Siphamandla Sdumo
7.	Mabaso	Inkosi	Mabaso	Zwelihle Agrippa
8.	Mbatheni	Inkosi	Mbatha	Madubula
9.	Dlamenze	Inkosi	Nzima	Zwelifile Piet
10	Shabalala	Ibamba	Shabalala	Siphiwe Ester

TABLE 6: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBABA: ZULULAND DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Mdlalose/Hlahlindlela	Ibamba	Mdlalose	Mzwakhe Socrase
2.	Kwansimbi	Inkosi	Zulu	Bhekizitha
3.	Zondo	Inkosi	Zondo	Douglas Vusi
4.	Mdlalose/Othaka	Inkosi	Mdlalose	Jabulani
5.	Mthethwa	Ibamba	Mthethwa	Makhosazane Gladys (Mrs)
6.	Dlamini	Ibamba	Dlamini	Getrude Jabu (Mrs)
7.	Msibi	Inkosi	Msibi	Mthinteni Robert
8.	Sibiya	Inkosi	Sibiya	Thamsanqa Kennedy
9.	Mavuso	Inkosi	Mavuso	Mboneni Absolom
10.	Ndlangamandla/ Nkosi	Inkosi	Mtungwa	Samson Qedubukhosi
11.	Ntshangase	Inkosi	Ntshangase	Londokwakhe David
12.	Simelane	Inkosi	Simelane	Magutshwa Bhekinkosi
13.	Buthelezi	Inkosi	Buthelezi	Elphas Mfakazeleni
14.	Gumbi	Inkosi	Gumbi	Mbhekiseni Zeblon
15.	Dlamini/Nkosi	Inkosi	Nkosi	Mbutshulwa Joshua
16.	Ntshangase(Mngazi)	Ibamba	Ntshangase	Nomvula Granny
17.	Sibisi	Ibamba	Sibisi	Bheki Paulos
18.	Khambi	Inkosi	Zulu	Bhekumuzi Mthengeni
19.	Mandlakazi	Inkosi	Zulu	Eugene Bhekintitha
20.	Usuthu	Isilo	Zulu	Zwelithini Goodwill
21.	Matheni	Ibamba	Zulu	Precious Thabisile (Mrs)
22.	Ndebele	Inkosi	Ndebele	Zulubhekifa Misael
23.	Buthelezi	Inkosi	Buthelezi	Mangosuthu Gatsha
24.	Mbatheni	Inkosi	Mbatha	Sizwe Lucky Nqobizizwe
25.	Zungu	Inkosi	Zungu	Falethu Alexius
26.	Ximba	Inkosi	Mlaba	Magende Placidus
27.	Mpungose	Ibamba	Mpungose	Mandlakayise
28.	Nobamba Community Auth.			
29.	Ntombela and Usuthu	Ibamba	Ntombela	Nomvula Mavis (Mrs)
30.	Buthelezi/Empithiphithini	Inkosi	Buthelezi	Mfanuvele Derrick
31.	Xulu	Inkosi	Xulu	Kenneth Mzwandile
32.	Zulu/Egazini	Inkosi	Zulu	Thandabantu Alois

**TABLE 7: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBAMBA:
UMKHANYAKUDE DISTRICT**

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	STATUS
1.	Mathenjwa	Inkosi	Mathenjwa	Bongumenzi Mbutho
2.	Mngomezulu	Ibamba	Mkhize	Khanyisa Mpucuko
3.	Nyawo	Inkosi	Nyawo	Mkhulumeli Maurice
4.	Tembe	Inkosi	Tembe	Mabhudu Israel
5.	Gumede/Siqakatha	Inkosi	Gumede	Thokozani Mbuso
6.	Mashabane	Inkosi	Gumede	Sizabantu Josiah
7.	Mabaso	Inkosi	Nxumalo	Nyangayezizwe Justice
8.	Zikhali/Mbila	Inkosi	Zikhali	James Sonto
9.	Manukuza/Jobe	Ibamba	Gumede	Siphiwe Res 224 dd.23/8/06
10.	Myeni/Ntsinde	Inkosi	Myeni	Silwane Ernest
11.	Myeni/ Ngwenya	Inkosi	Myeni	Bhekithemba Free-will
12.	Mnqobokazi	Inkosi	Ngwane	Sabelo Khumbulani
13.	Qwabe/Makhasa	Inkosi	Gumede	Zwelinzima Thwalizwe
14.	Nibela	Ibamba	Mdluli	Nkosibeyiphika Johnson
15.	Mdletshe	Inkosi	Mdletshe	Bonga Nkanyiso
16.	Mpembeni	Inkosi	Hlabisa	Daniel Joyful
17.	Abakwa Hlabisa	Ibamba	Hlabisa	Nonhlanhla Jabu
18.	Mpukunyoni/Mkhwanazi		Vacant	Vacant

**TABLE 8: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBAMBA: UTHUNGULU
DISTRICT**

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Sokhulu	Iinkosi	Mthiyane	Mhloleni
2.	Mbonambi			
3.	Mhlana	Inkosi	Mthethwa	Ntemba
4.	Somopho	Ibamba	Mthembu	Bonginkosi Shilo
5.	Ndlanzi/Mambuka	Inkosi	Mthiyane	Mchazeni
6.	Obizo	Inkosi	Cebekhulu	Nsikayezwe Russell
7.	Khoza/Bhejane	Inkosi	Khoza	Richard Mzuvele Phiwayinkosi
8.	Madlebe	Inkosi	Zungu	Zenzo Khulumangifile
9.	Obuka	Inkosi	Biyela	Chakide Phiwayinkosi
10.	Yanguye	Inkosi	Biyela	Velemandleni
11.	Zulu/Ntembeni	Inkosi	Zulu	Siphiwe Thandanani
12.	Zondi	Ibamba	Zondi	Lethukuthula Zitha
13.	Chwezi	Inkosi	Sibisi	Mhlabuyahlupha William
14.	Cunu	Inkosi	Mchunu	Mzikayise
15.	Khabela/Amakhabela	Inkosi	Dlomo	Mbangiseni Emmanuel
16.	Ekukhanyeni	Inkosi	Khanyile	Goodman Busani Cab 98/06

17.	Mpungose	Inkosi	Mpungose	Zakhe Davidson
18.	Mahlayizeni	Inkosi	Biyela	Bhekizwe Philmon
19.	Cube	Inkosi	Shezi	Bhekisabelo Sthembiso
20.	Amaphutha	Inkosi	Mbhele	Totali Protas
21.	Xulu	Inkosi	Xulu	Thembinkosi Norman
22.	Zulu/Iziggoza	Inkosi	Zulu	Mhlaba Sam
23.	Ntuli/Godide	Inkosi	Ntuli	Godide Andreas
24.	Magwaza	Inkosi	Magwaza	Sizwesonke Vincent
25.	Nxamalala	Inkosi	Zuma	Muziwami Thembinkosi
26.	Khanyile/Izindlonzi	Inkosi	Khanyile	Busangokwakhe
27.	Biyela/Mangidini	Ibamba	Biyela	Zandile (Mrs)
28.	Ntuli/Ngono	Ibamba	Ntuli	Bhashangane Andreas
29.	Biyela/Ndlangubo	Inkosi	Biyela	Phangifa
30.	Zulu/Bhekeshowe	Inkosi	Zulu	Mhlaba Sam
31.	Mpungose	Ibamba	Mpungose	Busisiwe Lilly (Mrs)
32.	Kholwa/Kwamondi	Isiphakanyiswa	Zulu	Bhantshana Israel
33.	Shange	Inkosi	Shange	Vela Thandamuphi
34.	Kholwa/Ntumeni	Isiphakanyiswa	Dube	Victoria Thembelihle (Mrs)
35.	Biyela/Mvuzane	Inkosi	Biyela	Zwelezinduna May
36.	Ntuli	Inkosi	Ntuli	Sithembiso
37.	Biyela/Mombeni	Inkosi	Biyela	Sifiso Reginald
38.	Zulu/Bangindoda	vacant	vacant	
39.	Mzimela	Inkosi	Mzimela	Mpiyezintombi Boy
40.	Mkhwanazi	vacant	vacant	As from 09/01/2010
41.	Dube	Inkosi	Dube	Inkosi suspended
42.	Zulu	Inkosi	Zulu	Alpheus Veleshowe
43.	Nzuza	Inkosi	Nzuza	Themba Muntukafi
44.	Khoza	Inkosi	Khoza	Zwelombango Eric

TABLE 9: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA: ILEMBE DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Mcambi/Cambini	Inkosi	Mathaba	Khayelihle Wiseman
2.	Amangcolosi	Inkosi	Bhengu	Nkosikhona Andries
3.	Mabomvini	Inkosi	Ngubane	Khombalapha Themba Theo
4.	Hlongwa	Inkosi	Hlongwa	Siphamandla Artwell
5.	Abakwacele/ Emphise	vacant	vacant	
6.	Zubane	Ibamba	Zubane	Msolini Msawenkosi
7.	Mkhonto/Hohoza	Inkosi	Ntuli	John Mbekeni
8.	Mathonsi		Vacant	Vacant
9.	Fuze/Hlomendlini		Ngcobo	Dumisani Israel
10.	Zulu/Nodunga 2	Inkosi	Zulu	Qedezakhe Solomon
11.	Gcwensa	Inkosi	Ndimande	Ndodo Mzungezi

12.	Dube	Inkosi	Dube	Hector Khulekani
13.	Embo	Inkosi	Mkhize	Bhekinduna Sipho
14.	Qadi	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Mqoqi Bernard
15.	Mbhedu/Amambhedu	Inkosi	Khuzwayo	Bhekabantu Christopher
16.	Qwabe/Mthandeni	Inkosi	Qwabe	Makhosini Wellington
17.	Luthuli	Inkosi	Luthuli	Mfuneni
18.	Abakwa Magwaza	Ibamba	Magwaza	Lamleni (Mrs)
19.	Mlamula/Nyuswa	Ibamba	Ngcobo	Mlungisi Phillip
20.	Qwabe/Enkanini	Ibamba	Gumede	Daniel Zakhele
21.	Qwabe/Waterfall	Inkosi	Gumede	Prince Bonokwakhe
22.	Nodunga 1	Ibamba	Zulu	Azari Mphamandla
23.	Inkumbanyuswa	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Sifiso Wisemen
24.	Qadi	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Mqoqi Bernard Ngcobo
25.	Mavela/Ngongoma	Ibamba	Ngcobo*	Gloria Nobuhle (Mrs)
26.	Nodwengu	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Bhekizwe
27.	Hlophe	Inkosi	Hlophe	Bongani Vukani
28.	Ngangeni/Vumazonke	Inkosi	Shozi	Emmanuel Bhekuzalo Shozi
29.	Nzama/Wosiyana	Inkosi	Nzama	Siziba
30.	Emalangenani	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Victor Thulasizwe
31.	Cibane	Inkosi	Cibane	Thulani Patrick
32.	Shangase	Inkosi	Shangase	Mehlesizwe Gladwell
33.	Chili	Inkosi	Chili	Makhehlana Wilson
34.	Khumalo	Inkosi	Khumalo	Sibongiseni
35.	Mathonsi	Inkosi	Mathonsi	Linda Sono
36.	Cele/Nhlangwini	Ibamba	Cele	Bhekinkosi Mabhi
37.	Langeni/Sikhonyane	Inkosi	Mhlongo	Mgwavumeleni Wellington

TABLE 10: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA: SISONKE DISTRICT

	CLAN NAME	STATUS	SURNAME	NAME
1.	Mkhulise	Inkosi	Mkhulise	Khulekani Walter
2.	Zulu/Madzikane		vacant	vacant
3.	Dlamini/Amakhuze		vacant	vacant
4.	Dlamini/Bhidla	Inkosi	Dlamini	Donatus Thulabezwe
5.	Kholwa/Sibonelesihle	Isiphak anyiswa	Zondi	Vusi Themba Raphael
6.	Ndlovu/Vukani	Ibamba	Ndlovu	Thokozile (Mrs)
7.	Batlokoa/Molefe		vacant	vacant
8.	Memela/Sizanani	Ibamba	Memela	Bashawudile Crescentia (Mrs)
9.	Ngwane/Amangwane	Inkosi	Hlongwane	David Sifiso
10.	Phephetha/Macala/Gwala		Vacant	vacant

11.	Dlamini/Vusathina	Inkosi	Dlamini	Alex Fana
12.	Dlamini/Shiyabanye	Ibamba	Dlamini	Ncamisile Beatrice (Mrs)
13.	Kholwa/SizweHlanganani	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant
14.	Embo/SizweHlanganani	Inkosi	Mkhize	David Witness Fakazi
15.	Mjoli/SizweHlanganani	Inkosi	Mjoli	Mboneni Benedict
16.	Zizi/SizweHlanganani(K)	Ibamba	Dlamini	Theminkosi Paulos
17.	Zizi/SizweHlanganani(B)	Inkosi	Dlamini	Bhekamazizi Calistus
18.	Madzikane/SizweHlanganani	Inkosi	Zulu	Msekeli Sizwesihle Israel
19.	Mdunge	Inkosi	Chiliza	Phathisizwe
20.	Ikhwezi lokusa	Ibamba	Mkhize	Nelisiwe Janet
21.	Zashuke	Vacant	vacant	As from 11/01/2010
22.	Duma/Maguzwana		vacant	vacant
23.	Iqadi	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Mqoqi Bernard
24.	Fodo	Inkosi	Fodo	Lucky
25.	Silahla	Inkosi	Jozana	Velile
26.	Zwelethu	Ibamba	Msingaphansi	Nicholas M.
27.	Mbumbane	Inkosi	Setuse	Mziwoxolo Homeboy
28.	Intsikeneni No3 (Mabandla)	Ibamba	Baleni	Lawrence Thanduxolo
29.	Marhambeni (Malenge)	Ibamba	Nhlabathi	Dadi Wilson
30.	Jongilizwe	Ibamba	Zintwala	Manci Mzikayise Shadrack
31.	Sandile	Ibamba	Sevenfontein	Zimema Vusamadoda Vincent
32.	Ladam	Ibamba	Mvubukazi	Jokazi Nicholison Daluxolo

TABLE 11: LIST OF NAMES OF AMAKHOSI/AMABAMBA: ETHEKWINI DISTRICT

1.	Qadi	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Mqoqi Bernard
2.	Ngcolosi	Inkosi	Bhengu	Bhekisisa Felix
3.	Phephetha	Inkosi	Gwala	Thandizwe Frank
4.	Nyuswa/Qiniselani	Inkosi	Ngcobo	Zwelibanzi Aggrippa
5.	Embo/Kwakhazela	Inkosi	Mkhize	Dominic Zwelithini
6.	Ingqungqulu/Thembu	Inkosi	Mthembu	Reginald Fana
7.	Shangase	Inkosi	Shangase	Robert Zamani
8.	Ximba	Inkosi	Mlaba	Simangaye
9.	Fredville Comm.		Vacant	Vacant
10.	Embo/Ilanga	Inkosi	Mkhize	Thamsanqa Benjamin Emmanuel
11.	Makhanya/Sobonakhona	Inkosi	Makhanya	Khetha Sakhile
12.	Dassenhoek		Vacant	Vacant
13.	Ngangeni/VmazonkThekwini	Inkosi	Shozi	Emmanuel Bhkuzalo
14.	Cele/Vumengazi		Vacant	Vacant

15.	Luthuli/UmniniTrust	Inkosi	Luthuli	Phathisizwe Philbert
16.	Toyana	Inkosi	Hlengwa	Nhlosoyesizwe Mcmillan

3.2.3 Introduction, Interviews and Follow-Ups

The official introduction by COGTA officials provided the necessary official ‘seal of approval’ from the provincial government, which has been a crucial element in obtaining the co-operation of amakhosi. The Research Team then operated on the basis of the official list obtained from COGTA for information on the number of amakhosi per each individual district, their names and contact details, to make direct arrangements for the Research Team’s own introduction of the research to each inkosi. The introduction by the Research Team was ideally held *enkantolo yesizwe* (in the traditional court) – although there was an instance where an inkosi’s house had to be used as a meeting place. It was anticipated that at the introduction that the incumbent inkosi would be present, and would also have invited other members of the inkosi’s family, as well as some members of inkosi’s council or ‘isigungu’. This intention was conveyed in advance to every inkosi when a date was being arranged for the first visit by the Research Team.

On the day of the introduction, the occasion was used to explain the objectives, scope and extent of the research to those in attendance. The subject matter for discussion on the day revolved around the themes of history, genealogy of inkosi’s family, migration, boundaries and succession patterns, amongst others. The approach of the Research Team has been that the onus is upon the incumbent inkosi to decide on whom to include in the delegation to meet with the researchers. This was indicated after the inkosi concerned has been informed about the scope of the study, the sensitivity of the subject matter and the kind of information sought by the study. It was obvious in most instances that the majority of amakhosi were not averse to the inclusion of certain members of their family, *isigungu* in general and izinduna in particular, as well as the elderly members from isizwe in their delegation. Permission was also sought from inkosi during the first visit to meet a selected group that is ideally constituted of elderly members from either inkosi’s family or isizwe at large for a FGD or face-to-face interviews on a follow-up visit. The expectation was that the selected group of elders would be able to assist with additional (sometimes new and useful) information, and/or the verification of the information obtained earlier. And as anticipated, the interviews and follow-up discussions with groups were generally fruitful, although there were a few exceptions. Details on these are dealt with towards the latter part of this section.

3.2.4 Non-empirical Research

The non-empirical component of the research consisted of the review of various sets of official and archival documents on ubukhosi, and the relevant secondary literature based on the early writings on the history of the area constituting what is now known as the province of KwaZulu Natal, including numerous reports of the ‘native commissioners’. Among the departmental files reviewed on the one hand, has been the official register of

entries consisting of information on dates of appointment for amakhosi, issues of succession, and names of *amabamba bukhosi*, as well as a set of comprehensive contemporary files consisting of general information on individual ubukhosi, which have been interrogated partially. The equally comprehensive department's anthropological files were not reviewed. The information pertained in the official registry has been useful in identifying the omissions in the data obtained from interviews with key respondents, something which occurred frequently during the empirical research.

In addition to these are the various 'native' commissioners' reports on the perspectives of the commissioners on the state of ubukhosi and the various clans falling within their jurisdiction in different locations across both Zululand and Natal in the 1800s. The reports of the 'native commissioners' constitute part of the archival documents that were reviewed as part of the non-empirical component of this phase. The content of the specific 'native commission reports reviewed are discussed in both Section Four and Section Six. The commissioners' reports are a crucial reference in terms of distinguishing between the 'hereditary' and 'appointed' amakhosi as well as the amakhosi who presided over 'amakholwa' societies in the nineteenth century and beyond. However, the substantial number of amakholwa societies was eventually integrated under the 'hereditary' ubukhosi as their institutions of rule proved to be somewhat unsustainable compared to the formidable long-established 'hereditary' *ubukhosi*. For instance, out of a number of twenty (20) of the so-called '*kholwa tribes*' identified in N. J. van Warmelo's 1935 survey, not a single still exist today.

Van Warmelo¹, an ethnologist for the Department of Native Affairs' in the 1930s, describes '*amakholwa*' as those societies who were "largely resident on mission lands, and invariable of very mixed composition"; and constituted mainly of the people who had converted to Christianity and were bound together by the ideals of modernism and the promotion of education as well as a de-emphasis on customs and traditions. These ideals mirrored the world view of white colonial societies found in most parts of colonial Natal at the time. The existence of *amakholwa societies* among Africans at the time was indicative of the changes taking place as a result of what could be described as a collision of two world views – one purely Africanist and traditional-cultural in setting and the other modernist and colonial in both form and character. As such some within the ranks of the African society were beginning to embrace western values such as education and Christianity which were part of the grand colonial strategy to challenge and undermine African traditional institutions as well as its forms of social organization. Those segments within African society were known as 'amakholwa'. Likewise there were those within the ranks of white colonial society who took on certain habits and practices such as becoming amakhosi, taking a number of wives and also building thatched houses. These were known as 'transfrontiersmen' in colonial circles.² [See Section Four for a discussion of the various types of amakhosi in Natal.]

3.2.5 The Experiences and Challenges

¹ Van Warmelo, N. J., *A preliminary survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa*, 1935, 74

² Laband, J. *Longcast in Zululand: The paradoxical life of a Transfrontiersman, 1850-1909*, 1994/1995, 17.

3.2.5.1 Archival Findings: General Observations

In the initial Phase of the project it was discovered that different archival institutions keep documents of a specific nature and sometimes of a specific timeframe and geographic emphasis. In some cases details are lacking, due to the unavailability of detailed documents in the archives, while some are hand written and it is almost impossible to read them. Nevertheless, these records are an important reflection of the milieu under which ubukhosi or izizwe functioned. These documents are mainly minutes of meetings taken when the colonial officials had meetings with different izizwe, and notable is that the meetings for the most part took place when there were disputes. The records also have some photographs of some amakhosi and the then government officials. To reiterate, examples given here are just a few of similar cases available in the archival research documents.

There were a number of clans or ubukhosi of different izizwe covered in the archival research in the initial Phase of the project. To mention some of the clans or ubukhosi: Nyawo clan in Ingwavuma, records date to 1929: for example, a diary of the late inkosi contained in one of Letts's diary and a letter of the late chief's own hand writing, dated the 16th November, 1929, and produced as evidence of the Chief's hand writing. Dumisa clan in Himville, records date back to 1949- there is a short family tree of the inkosi of the Dumisa clan, Inkosi Mhlonhlo Duma and his four wives and their daughters. With regard to AbasebaThenjini clan eMpangeni under Inkosi Madoda, for example, the records date back to 1939. On the Khoza clan based in Eshowe there is a copy of the original Record of a Commission of Inquiry and report on the succession dispute which had risen in the Khoza clan.

Other clans which are covered are the Mpungose under Inkosi Maqiyana and the Mbatha clan under Inkosi Mhloluthini. Most of the documents are letters written by colonial officials, minutes of meetings taken during in most cases when there were disputes: for example, in 1934 there was a boundary dispute between the above mentioned tribes (Mpungose and Mbatha) and the assistant Native Commissioner, in Mahlabathini in Zululand had to intervene and mediate. Included here are the minutes of the meetings where the commissioner had to take a decision and letters written to the Department of Bantu Affairs informing the Department about the disputes in certain clans and decisions taken, usually if not always by the government official:

One example of such cases is that of the Mpungose tribe in Mahlabathini and Mthonjaneni districts from 1935:

The appointment of Godlumkhonto Mpungose ka Ngobozana as acting chief of the Mpungose tribe in the Mahlabathini and Emthonjaneni district with civil and criminal jurisdiction in terms of section 1.2 and 20 of act No 32 of 1917 having effect from the 16th September 1935 and during the minority of the late chief Maqiyana's heir Mbhasobheni. In the same year a long standing dispute over the chieftainship of the

Mpungose tribe in the Eshowe area that was to be settled and chief Siposo appointed by the government.

The government official wrote, “The chief’s half brother Mkhuluzi has however never accepted the decision and has been at the head of a movement to undermine the chief’s authority with the object of ousting him from the chieftainship.” (Source: U. R. U, 1935. 2644/2712, Ref No.: 1545: National Archives, Pretoria)

Another typical example of the intervention and mediation by colonial officials is when the native commissioner presided over a meeting with other official and unanimously decided that the Qade clan of Indwedwe and the Mthiyane clan in Maphumulo in 1937 had to be merged and placed under one chief.

...the amalgamation of the Mthiyane tribe in the district of Maphumulo and the Qadi tribe under chief Mzonjani Ngcobo in the district of Ndwedwe into the tribe henceforth to be known as Qadi tribe. Meeting of the two tribes arranged and decision could be made public and also informed the office of the date on which Chief Mzonjani Ngcobo formally assumed duty as the chief of the amalgamated tribe. (Source: N. T. S, 500-53, File No: 503/53, Ref No. 303: National Archives, Pretoria)

Other clans covered by archival documents include information on the Ngcolosi tribe under the leadership of Memezi Bhengu, in Maphumulo district dating back to 1928. The files dealing with the Mandlakazi clan (under chief Mchiteki) in Nongoma dates back to 1941.

Some of the archival documents the research team came across indicate official influence and pressure, where certain clans had to appoint people from another clan to be their chief. Here are some examples:

Chieftainship of the Nxumalo Tribe, Lower Tugela Division, 1915:

With reference to your minute No. 31/69/14 dated 28th April last, I beg to inform you that His Excellency, the Governor-General has been pleased to approve, under Executive Council minute No. 1144 of the 19th, ultimo, of the confirmation of the appointment of Pumupela ka Manepu as Chief of the Nxumalo Tribe, lower Tugela Division. The letters of Appointment in English and Zulu are forwarded herewith. Kindly hand them to Pumupele ka Manepu in the presence of the principal members of the Nxumalo Tribe, after explaining their content. (Source: DDA 487-1977, File No: Amakholwa (41) NI/1/3/14: Pietermaritzburg Archives)

Some records show that some chiefs were purged or deposed, sometimes after being found guilty of misconduct or failure to execute their duties. The example given below is of an incident that took place in the 1970s. The Nationalist Party government was at the helm at the time.

Chief Manzoli Dube of the Makholwa tribe: Umvoti Mission Reserves:

In March, 1973, members of the abovementioned tribe, petitioned the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, to remove Manzoli Dube from the position of being the chief of the Amakholwa Tribe. The reasons and circumstances leading to the action by the tribe are contained and fully explained in the petition which was submitted to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, for appropriate action.

As a result of this petition, Chief Manzoli Dube resigned and ceased to be chief of the Amakholwa Tribe at the end of June 1973.

On the 25th July, 1973 the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, convened a meeting of the members of the Amakholwa Tribe and announced that the Department had instructed that the Senior Induna of the Tribe will look after the affairs whilst Bantu Affairs Commissioner told the meeting that according to his records Mr. A. C. Mvuyane was Senior Induna of the Tribe, and as such he will act as head of the Tribe. The members of the tribe objected to this for two reasons. Firstly, the chief did not at any stage; inform the tribe that Mvuyane had been appointed Induna. Secondly, the tribe objected on the ground that from his behaviour, in the past, he was not suitable to hold a responsible position like that of being a leader of a community. The community member commented, "Despite all our objections, we were overruled and told that Mvuyane will do the job but without jurisdiction of any nature. We were told that he will act only as "link" between the tribe and the Bantu Affairs Commissioner." (Source: DDA 487-1977, File No: Amakholwa (41) NI/1/3/14: Pietermaritzburg Archives)

Chief Manzoli Dube's performance, as head of the tribe, was extremely poor and disappointing at times, but under Mvuyana the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that even to a casual observer it is quite obvious that there is no authority and proper administration in the Mission Reserve.

In the circumstances, the tribe feels that it is now time they elect a chief to take charge of their affairs. They felt that tribe has many educated and mature men who have good administrative experience. If the department finds that this is not possible at this stage, the tribe will be happy if they were allowed to elect an acting chief, who will have proper authority, till such time as the department finalized its investigations. (Source: DDA 487-1977, File No: Amakholwa (41) NI/1/3/14: Pietermaritzburg Archives)

In most cases, the archives accessed during the first phase of the project dealt with the period of the early 1900s. In addition, most of the documents covering this period deal with the "Bhambatha Rebellion" of 1906. For instance, the assistant magistrate of Greytown, H. von Gerard, wrote to the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs that Bhambatha:

...wants the allotment of a location...his people are oppressed and squeezed by certain landowners on whose private locations they live. T. J Nel and P. R Botha

are the joint owners of a certain piece of land on which they place there unfortunate people on very high rents. The land is useless almost for any agricultural pursuits. Within the last three days forty-eight summonses have been issued batch of Bhambatha's people for the rent due three weeks ago. Another batch of summonses, about twenty-five, is yet to come. This is a most deplorable state of affairs, the more so as there seems no remedy for it. My sympathies are entirely with Bhambatha's people, but I see no way out of the difficulty. (Stuart, J, A History of the Zulu Rebellion in 1906, Macmillan: London, 1913)

Captain W. Bosman of the Natal Militia staff wrote a letter to the Native Affairs:

Bhambatha's boyhood was spent in his father's kraal and early in life he cultivated an insatiable taste for Kaffir beer which grew with his years. He also had a violent temper which did not improve when he reached manhood. On the 6th of June 1890 on arriving to majority, he was appointed to the chieftainship of his tribe. Bhambatha's rule did not inculcate obedience to law and order among his people; in as much as he himself was committed for trial of cattle-stealing and was suspended on the 10th January 1905. He had, on entering into man's estate, acquired the habit of borrowing, and was always heavily in debt. Early in the year of 1906 he was implicated in a faction fight in which he assaulted a member of his own tribe and was fined a sum of £20. During his time a European resident gave evidence against him. This so infuriated Bhambatha that he threatened the European in question with reprisal. (Bosman, W, in The Natal Rebellion of 1906, Longmans, Green and Co.: London, 1907, Pgs 18-19)

Very few documents are from the 19th century. The bulk of the documents are from the period from 1920 to the mid 1940s. A smaller number of documents are from the period immediately after the National Party came to power, and still less are from the 1960s. Some of the archival sources were written at some distance in time – where the colonial officials and officers like James Stuarts and others recorded some stories that happened in an earlier period.

The documents in the archives of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs were largely from the period between 1975 and 2002. This was not the case with all the files. Some had very little information, as is indicated in the Data Research Templates prepared for some clans. There were a few files that contained documents from more recent times. It became quite clear that documents were placed in these files when a significant event or process occurred in a particular community, such as the death of an inkosi, the appointment of a new one, a succession dispute, and dissatisfaction with the performance of an inkosi, etc.

3.2.5.2 Interviews

There were instances where the Research Team obtained the necessary co-operation from the incumbent inkosi – a factor which played a crucial role in achieving significant progress in most cases. Most amakhosi were generally co-operative and willing to give

the researchers the go-ahead, and offering assistance in identifying suitable respondents in consultation with members of *isigungu*. But there was an apparent lack of interest for the idea of follow-ups in some instances, even where these appeared necessary to fill in the existing gaps in the information provided. One could cite the examples of emaBhenseni in Helpmekaar, kwaMqadi (eZembeni) in Dududu (outside uMzinto), and kwaNyuswa near Camperdown in particular as the three extreme cases where incumbent amakhosi exhibited a great deal of discomfort about both the research and the suggestion on follow-ups. Inkosi Mbhense of emaBhenseni, for instance, insisted on asking a member of his delegation to read out from a prepared manuscript on what appeared to be the approved version of the history of isizwe as well as its ubukhosi. But inkosi thereafter answered the questions posed, although he flatly rejected the idea of a follow-up and declared the meeting as the only platform at which the matter could be discussed and that no-one else knows better. A similar discomfort was also encountered during a visit to isizwe saseZembeni, where the incumbent inkosi Mqadi was in the habit of deliberately interrupting the speakers and downplaying certain aspects of their oral testimonies – particularly those testimonies relating to: (1) the history of isizwe, (2) the emergence of ubukhosi bakwa Mqadi as independent from that of their immediate neighbours, AmaCele, and, (3) the family tree of the Mqadi ‘royal’ family. For several times the inkosi overruled the mention of certain wives of the previous amakhosi (including those of his predecessor – his own father) or that of their children, more especially if they were female. [Subsequent attempts to secure a follow-up visit were not fruitful.] In the case of the Nyuswa, in Camperdown, inkosi Nyuswa and his *isigungu* did not provide much information. This included withholding information even of the identity of his mother and the names of his siblings.

Although the above three cases tend towards the extreme, in overall terms they somewhat fit the general pattern that was identifiable in a significant number of instances – namely, that of attempting to convey a single ‘official’ version of history (‘official’ in the sense that there appeared to be a concerted effort in a significant number of cases to reach consensus on providing a version that has been sanctioned by inkosi’s family) while suppressing other versions. Moreover, there appeared a clear tendency for the deliberate omission of the controversial issues in some instances of oral testimonies – such as the deposition of an inkosi, particularly if this was due to an act of ‘misconduct’ in one form or the other; or conviction for a ‘criminal’ offence; although those depositions resulting from acts of resistance against colonialism (with the ‘Bhambatha’ uprising being the most conspicuous example) were never left out in the narratives.

Most disturbing, however, was the outright rejection of participation in the project by the Zululand Local House of Traditional Leaders. This occurred at the meeting between the team and the Executive Committee of the local House of Traditional Leaders for reasons beyond the control of the HSRC team. Another difficult District was the Ilembe District, where the team was unable to secure many interviews with Amakhosi. At this stage of the project, however, the Department had stipulated that those districts and individual Amakhosi who were reluctant to participate in the project should be omitted from the interview process. On the other hand, most of the Amakhosi in the remaining districts were quite cooperative. However, there was significant difficulty arranging follow-up

interviews in many communities, coupled with the limited time left to complete the project.

What became clear also is the reluctance of informants to deal with more recent events in their history. The focus seems to be on the same period covered by the archival material: the period prior to the rise of Shaka, the period of the expansion of the Zulu kingdom, and the period immediately thereafter. The interview process proved inadequate to fill in the gaps that are found in the archives with regard to the history of clans during the 20th century.

Also worthy of noting are the structural challenges that were identified by the Research Team in a number of instances. These included, among others: (1) the lack of ‘traditional’ court facilities in the Shozi/Langeni ubukhosi at Malangeni near uMzinto; (2) the Dumisa/Mandleni ubukhosi in Vulamehlo – where the traditional court/hall structure was destroyed in a gale force wind a while ago and has not been repaired; and (3) the issues of funds paid by cellular phone network connector that is stationed in the communal land of the Dlamini in the Thukela districts (Inkosi Dlamini made an impassioned plea to the researchers to raise the issue of funds that are not being transferred to the coffers of isizwe even though they are entitled to it; and inkosi almost used this as a conditional demand for the researchers to pass on this information to the department. These are just some of the numerous structural challenges that were highlighted by amakhosi during the visit by the Research Team.

Chapter 4

Traditional Leadership in KwaZulu-Natal: Secondary Literature Review

4.1. Background

The institution of traditional leadership in South Africa – and in particular the roles and functions of traditional leaders (chieftains) and the practices governing succession to the office of chieftainship – has gone through a number of changes from what it was two hundred years ago. In particular, during the periods of colonial subjugation, segregation and apartheid, the roles and functions of traditional leaders and traditional practices governing succession to the chieftainship have been distorted to such an extent that the legitimacy of the institution itself became questionable. One example, of this is the manner in which legislation was introduced by successive white governments in South Africa during the twentieth century to erode the powers of chiefs and to make them government functionaries responsible for the enforcement of unpopular policies and laws. This role of amakhosi in the twentieth century diminished their legitimacy in the eyes of their followers.

More importantly, for this study, were the powers granted to successive white administrators to appoint and depose amakhosi, as well as to create chiefdoms at will. This became a tool for white administrations to interfere in the internal operations of chiefdoms, in particular to create new chiefdoms, destroy others, and depose and replace recalcitrant amakhosi. The result was that various new ruling lineages were created where none existed before, others were destroyed, while more ruling lineages were deprived of their historical status while other ‘inferior’ lineages were raised to the chieftainship in their stead, giving rise to disputes among communities over the legitimate ruling lineage.

This section of the report examines the available *secondary* literature on ubukhosi in KwaZulu-Natal, with a focus on the issue of succession to the office of chieftainship. In order to do this, however, it is necessary to make a chronological study of the institution of chieftainship, primarily to determine changes in the roles and functions of chiefs, and the principles and considerations governing succession to the office of chieftainship. In other words, the report is a review of the literature dealing with chieftainship during particular historical periods, beginning with the early African settlements in the region in the eighteenth century, followed by the rise of African kingdoms in the late eighteenth century, the rise of the Zulu kingdom in the early nineteenth century and succession to the chieftainship during the periods of rule of various Zulu kings, the formation of the colony of Natal, the destruction of the Zulu kingdom and its incorporation into the colony, the creation of the Union of South Africa and the practices governing succession during the segregation era and the apartheid era, and in the ‘independent’ KwaZulu homeland, and concluding with the turn to democracy in 1994. Moreover, it is impossible to deal with the history of the institution without looking at historical events and processes in each era as they affect the institution. Finally, in each era dealt with below,

the literature review begins with the earliest writings on the era, and concludes with more recent studies.

The term 'Zulu' here is used broadly and commonly to refer to Nguni African people who speak isiZulu in what is now the province of KwaZulu-Natal. It should not be taken at this early phase of this project to mean the verdict on whether all Nguni people in KwaZulu-Natal are amaZulu or belong to the Zulu Kingdom.

It became necessary for the research team to delve into secondary literature at this stage of the project, rather than later as there were compelling trends from empirical literature that begged for double-checking. For example, amaCele claim to have been under the Mthethwa people at a particular point in history before they migrated and split. The secondary literature points to the fact that the Mthethwa polity, even before the rise of the Zulu one, began the process of nation building which was disturbed by the death of Dingiswayo from whom Shaka had learnt many tactics and inclinations for nation building. The secondary literature also shows how Shaka not only confused succession principles amongst the Zulu and the Mthethwa people, but also proceeded with missions he had developed with Dingiswayo before the latter was killed by the Ndwandwe. A lot of migratory patterns, and the various clans' relationships with these three prominent izizwe, are derived from the secondary literature.

4.2. Arrival in South Africa and customs

The starting point of any study of the history of the Zulu is the arrival of the African people in South Africa and their early customs. The first African Historian, Magema Fuze, wrote:

Our forebears tell us that all we black people originally came from the north. When we make close enquiry as to where this north may be, they point in an upward direction; but because no written records were left by those who came before us, all they can do is to point in that northerly direction upward of the country [*enhla nezwe*], which we hear referred to as the Horn of Africa near where the sea almost meets (Suez Canal). It is said that when they left that curve [*insonge*], they dispersed throughout the country, skirting the sea and traveling westwards and southwards. Those who went westwards are known as the Ntungwa, and those who skirted the sea and headed southwards as the Nguni.³

Some of the earliest writings on the peoples of south-East Africa include A.T. Bryant's *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*,⁴ *The Zulu people as they were before the white man came*,⁵ and *A history of*

³ Fuze, Magema M., *The Black People and whence they came: A Zulu view (translated by H.C. Lugg and edited by A.T. Cope)*, University of Natal press, Pietermaritzburg and Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban, 1979, 1.

⁴ London, Longmans, 1929. For a criticism of Bryant's thesis refer to John Wright and Carolyn Hamilton, 'Traditions and transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early

the Zulu and neighbouring tribes.⁶ As the titles of these volumes indicate, these are studies of the history of the 'Nguni' and Zulu people. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* focuses on the history of the numerous clans in the region, from the seventeenth century up to 1828, when King Shaka was killed. Because no written records exist of the history of early settlement in the region, these studies rely exclusively on the oral history of the inhabitants of the region for the history of the eighteenth and preceding centuries. In *Olden Times*, for instance, although Bryant provides examples of genealogies that go back to the sixteenth century, oral recollections generally begin with the eighteenth century.

The limitations of the reliance on oral history as a source, however, are evident from these studies. For instance, A.T. Bryant's *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* puts the date of arrival of the Nguni people in the region from the north and north-west of Africa at about AD 1500 to 1700. It was during this period, Bryant argues, basing his thesis largely on evidence drawn from oral tradition, that the separate 'clans' in this group dispersed and settled in the various localities they were found in at the beginning of the 1800s. During the next period, the 1700s, according to Bryant, the 'Nguni' people lived peacefully in numerous small-scale clans under the benevolent rule of a chiefly lineage. This was followed by the accession of Shaka to the Zulu clan in 1816, and a period in which the clans were demolished and incorporated into the Zulu polity.⁷

Subsequent studies of the origin of the African peoples of east-south Africa are, however, derived from theories of linguistic history, which in turn were based on the archaeological evidence of pottery. Phillipson,⁸ for instance, argued that there were two early migration routes: one group that traveled along the east crossing from the original home of the Bantu-speaking people, north-west of the equatorial forest, into the north of the Congo basin to the region of Lake Victoria between 200 and 100 BC. This group then moved southwards around about the second to the fourth centuries AD in two prongs towards present-day Zambia and Mozambique. The western stream, which included migrants from the eastern stream, traveled from about the third century south into present day Angola. This was followed by a second settlement of people in the present-day Katanga region, which subsequently migrated southwards at about 1000 AD into present-day Tanzania, Mozambique and the trans-Vaal, and northwards into present-day Uganda and Kenya.

Huffman⁹ suggested, by contrast, that the western stream had moved to the south-east of the continent through present-day Zambia and the eastern trans-Vaal to present-day KwaZulu-Natal, where they were well-established by about 500 AD. The eastern group,

nineteenth centuries', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand: From earliest times to 1910, A new history*, University of Natal Press, Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1989, 50ff.

⁵ Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1949.

⁶ Cape Town, C. Struik, 1964.

⁷ Wright and Hamilton, 'Traditions and transformations', 50.

⁸ Phillipson, D.W., *The later pre-history of Eastern and Southern Africa*, New York, Africana Publishing House, 1978.

⁹ Huffman, T.N., 'African origins', in *South African Journal of Science*, 75, 5, 1979, 233-7.

according to Huffman, had moved to the east coast between 250 and 350 AD, while a third group had moved into southern 'Mashonaland' by 550 AD.

A whole range of archaeological and other studies of the Southern African region have been spawned to deal with evidence about the origin and practices of the pre-Shakan (and other) settlements. Among these are Fagan's study of the iron-age in Southern Africa,¹⁰ Ehret's study of cattle-keeping and milking in Eastern and Southern Africa,¹¹ and Hall's studies of an iron-age site in Zululand¹² and farming communities of Southern Africa.¹³ For a recent discussion of the arrival of the African people in the area refer to *The debate on Zulu origins*.¹⁴

In most African communities, customary succession is governed by the principle of male primogeniture. Kings and chiefs usually had more than one wife, and the successor was usually the first-born son of the Great Wife. The Great Wife was identified by the king or chief, either amongst the existing wives or a wife married specifically for that purpose. The king or chief would choose his Great Wife only when he is advanced in years in order to avoid usurpation.¹⁵ In customary terms then, the accession to the ubukhosi is hereditary, and selection to the office of the chief is not by popular vote, but is usually hereditary and for life.¹⁶ In this sense, the incumbent chief chooses his successor, whose chieftaincy is subsequently endorsed by the council of the chiefdom. However, it was not unusual for the kingship to be obtained by might.¹⁷

A host of publications exist about African customs. Anthropological studies of Zulu customs and kinship emerged from the 1930s, the most significant being Krige's *The Social System of the Zulus*.¹⁸ This study was followed by Max Gluckman's two works, based on field research in Zululand: 'The kingdom of the Zulu' and 'Analysis of a social ...'. These studies, which also focus on Zulu customs, include a snapshot of the Zulu social system, albeit from a static functionalist perspective of a certain era.

4.3. Early African settlements in the eighteenth century

¹⁰ Fagan, B.M., *Southern Africa during the Iron Age*, Thames and Hudson, 1988.

¹¹ Ehret, C., 'Cattle-keeping and milking in Eastern and Southern African history: The linguistic evidence', in *Journal of African History*, 1967, 1-17.

¹² Hall, M., 'Enkwazini, an Iron Age site on the Zululand coast', in *Annals of the Natal Museum*, XXIV, 1, 1980, 97-110.

¹³ Hall, M., 'Early farming communities of Southern Africa: A population discovered', in *South African Historical Journal*, 15, 1983, 233-7.

¹⁴ Edgecombe, D.R., Laband, J.P.C. and Thompson, P.S. (eds), *The debate on Zulu origins: A selection of papers on the Zulu kingdom and early colonial Natal*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press with Shuter and Shooter, 1989.

¹⁵ Determination on AmaZulu Paramountcy, www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=81352

¹⁶ Beall, Jo, Mkhize, Sibongiseni and Vawda, Shahid, "Emergent democracy and 'resurgent' traditions: Institutions, chieftaincy and transition in KwaZulu-Natal", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol 31, No 4, December 2005, 760.

¹⁷ Determination on AmaZulu Paramountcy.

¹⁸ Krige, E.J., *The social system of the Zulus*, 3rd edition, Pietermaritzburg, Shooter and Shuter, 1957.

The history of the east coast region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was characterized by warfare between the large chiefdoms like the Ngwane, Ndwandwe, and Mthethwa. The power of the chiefdoms shifted as they forcibly acquired land and incorporated others into their kingdoms, or were conquered and incorporated by other kingdoms. During these wars some chiefdoms suffered annihilation, dispersion, fragmentation and incorporation.¹⁹ On the other hand, some chiefdoms were able to extend their power over vast areas of the region. Thus, these wars resulted in the aggregation of the chiefdoms into larger units – in particular the Ndwandwe, the Ngwane, the Hlubi and the Mthethwa.²⁰ In these cases – what Laband called ‘paramountcies’ – the dominant chief ruled over subordinated chiefdoms under his direct control in a region extending over several thousand kilometers. It was during this period that ‘paramountcies’ emerged, i.e., ‘when one chief was able to subordinate others, through conquest, through manipulating rights to local resources, or through extending control over strategic points on trading routes’.²¹ These paramountcies began a process of consolidation involving centralisation and expansion that resulted in the emergence of embryonic states in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.²²

The earliest sources on the pre-Shakan era are provided by early settlers, amateur historians and missionaries that spent some time in the region.²³ One of the most important early sources for the pre-Shakan kingdoms are Henry Fynn’s *Diary*.²⁴ However, the *Diary* was only published in 1950, from when they became a major first-hand source on Zulu history. Fynn was one of the first European travelers in Zululand and Natal, and many subsequent writers on the region drew from his writings and statements for a history of Dingiswayo. Another source from Fynn in this regard is included in Bird’s *The Annals of Natal*.²⁵ The early studies of the rise of the Mthethwa and Dingiswayo include Shepstone’s ‘Paper on the Zulu-Kaffir Races’ in Bird’s *Annals*; Gibson’s *The story of the Zulus*;²⁶ Bryant’s *Olden Times* and *A history of the Zulu* (which

¹⁹ Guy, J.J., ‘The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande’, in Peires, J.B. (ed), *Before and after Shaka: Papers in Nguni history*, 56.

²⁰ Davenport, T.R.H., *South Africa: A modern history*, Third edition, Johannesburg, MacMillan, 1987, 16.

²¹ Wright and Hamilton, ‘Traditions and transformations’, 59.

²² Laband, John, *Rope of sand: The rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 199, p. 513. This thesis that a process of significant social and political transformation that gave rise to state formations occurred during the late eighteenth century is challenged by Adam Kuper in his article ‘The ‘House’ and Zulu Political Structure in the Nineteenth Century’, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1993), 469-487. Kuper argues that historians have tended to argue that political and social institutions found in chiefdoms other than the Zulu chiefdom after the rise of the latter were borrowed from Zulu forms. He maintains, instead, and following Bryant, that these ‘Zulu forms’ may have existed in these chiefdoms prior to the formation of the vast Zulu empire and may have developed from a common Nguni model. This, he argues, indicates a continuity with the past that demonstrates that no significant break in social and political institutions during the eighteenth century.

²³ Refer to Hamilton, Carolyn, ‘Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom’, MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, 1.

²⁴ Stuart, James and Malcolm, Duncan Mck. (eds), *The diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, Pietermaritzburg, 1950.

²⁵ Fynn, H., ‘Occurrences among the Native Races’, in J. Bird (ed), *The Annals of Natal, 1495-1845*, Pietermaritzburg, 1888.

²⁶ Gibson, J. Y., *The story of the Zulus*, Pietermaritzburg, 1903.

were published in the 1920s);²⁷ Krige's *Social System of the Zulus*; Fuze's *The Black People*; and Mofolo's *Chaka*.²⁸ Included here should also be the statements of King Cetshwayo on the history of the Zulu in Webb and Wright's *A Zulu King speaks*.²⁹ Bryant's two works became (and remain) the standard sources on Zulu history, and are based on interviews and includes a collection of some interviews recorded and interpreted by Bryant. Gibson's story of the Zulus is one of the early texts that serves as a source for subsequent books on the rise of Dingiswayo, Shaka, Dingane, Mpande, Cetshwayo and Dinizulu.

Fuze's book deals with the arrival of the African people in South Africa, their dispersal throughout the region, the history of the various early clans that made up the early kingdoms, such as the Ngwenya clan, and their chiefdoms and places of settlement. Included here is a study of the customs of the 'Nguni' people.

Perhaps one of the most significant recent studies of a pre-Shakan kingdom is Carolyn Hamilton's Masters dissertation.³⁰ In this examination of the rise of the Mthethwa, an account is given of how the chiefdom's ruling lineage, the Nyambose under Chief Khayi, established themselves in a tract adjacent to the Black Mfolozi, and subjected themselves to the Mbokazi chiefdom. The Mthethwa gradually expanded their influence by extending into the hunting regions of the surrounding plains, annexing territory and incorporating land, neighbours and 'immigrants'. The process involved the voluntary subjugations of various lineage groups to the Mthethwa, such as the Mkwanzazi, under Cungele; and the conquest of others, such as the Cambini under Maliba, resulting in the obliteration of the ruling Cambini lineage, and the Dlesheni and the Gengeni. These groups were assimilated into the Mthethwa chiefdom by manipulating their traditions of origin that enabled them to claim to be kinsfolk of the ruling lineage. Thus, the increasing power of the Mthethwa was established by its expansion into neighbouring territory, conquest, and the incorporation of 'immigrant' groups.

Subsequent expansion of the Mthethwa polity, during the reign of Jobe during the 1770s, was characterised by active expansion on the part of the Mthethwa. It was also during this period that the first *amabutho*, the so-called 'regiments', emerged. The *amabutho* provided the means through which the Mthethwa could extend their influence further afield by subjecting new chiefdoms under their rule. These new groups were incorporated during this period under Mthethwa rule without being assimilated into the polity and without the rights and benefits of Mthethwa citizenship. New groups that were incorporated included the Sokhulus, under Langa, the Dubes and the Ncubes.

Hamilton also discusses how Dingiswayo assumed the chieftainship of the Mthethwa and, how, during his reign – from 1808 to 1818 – the Mthethwa army was reorganized

²⁷ Bryant, Alfred Thomas, *A history of the Zulu and neighbouring tribes*, Cape Town, Struik, 1964.

²⁸ Mofolo, T. *Chaka: An historical romance*, Oxford 1931.

²⁹ Webb, C. de B. and Wright, John (eds), *A Zulu king speaks: Statements made by Cetshwayo KaMpande on the history and customs of his people*, Pietermaritzburg, 1978.

³⁰ Hamilton, C., 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985.

and the kingdom expanded. Of significance here is Hamilton's account of how Dingiswayo maintained his power in the kingdom by appointing individuals loyal to the Mthethwa as amakhosi of various groups. According to Morris, he left most chiefdoms he had conquered in peace, at most replacing a recalcitrant chief with a pliant one, or designating a particular heir.³¹ Among the examples of this given by Hamilton were the murder of the Thembu chief Jama by Dingiswayo and his replacement by his heir, Ndimba, a minor; the murder of the Xulu chief, Xabashe kaDanda, and his replacement by a new chief, Mapoloba, who was raised to the chieftaincy; and the murder of the recalcitrant Qungebeni and Dlamini chiefs and their replacements approved and supported by Dingiswayo.³² Dingiswayo was also responsible for the accession of Nqoboko kaLanga and of Shaka to the Sokhulu and Zulu chieftaincies, respectively.³³

Similarly, Dingiswayo appointed his commanders and senior administrators, including the commander-in-chief of the army and *izinduna*. The latter were responsible for direct rule over a number of groups.³⁴ The function of chieftainship expanded during the reign of Dingiswayo. The settlement of disputes, for instance, was politically adjudicated to the Mthethwa chief and his loyal chiefs.³⁵

Other relevant recent studies of the Mthethwa and Dingiswayo include Mazisi Kunene's *Emperor Shaka the Great*,³⁶ Argyle's 'Dingiswayo discovered';³⁷ Jeff Guy's *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*,³⁸ Morris's *The washing of the spears*; Laband's *Rope of sand*,³⁹ Sansom's 'Traditional rulers and their realms';⁴⁰ and Wright's 'Pre-Shakan age formation among the Northern Nguni'.⁴¹

Insofar as the issue of succession is concerned, the focus here is on the manner in which an individual assumed the chieftainship of the ruling lineage in a paramountcy, and how chiefdoms were incorporated and chiefs of subordinate chiefdoms appointed by the ruling lineage of a paramountcy. Very little detail exists in the available literature about the fate of individual lineages, nor of how lineages dealt with their internal succession disputes without the intervention of the ruling lineage/paramount chief.

³¹ Morris, Donald, R., *Washing of the spears: a history of the rise of the Zulu nation under Shaka and its fall in the Zulu War of 1879*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1965, 43.

³² Hamilton, C., 'Ideology, oral traditions', 129.

³³ Hamilton, C., 'Ideology, oral traditions', 131-132.

³⁴ Hamilton, C., 'Ideology, oral traditions', 129-130.

³⁵ Deflem, Mathieu, 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', in *Ethnology*, Vol. 38, 1999, 371-391.

³⁶ Kunene, M., *Emperor Shaka the Great – A Zulu epic*, London, Heinemann, 1979.

³⁷ Argyle, J., 'Dingiswayo discovered: An interpretation of his legendary origins', in J. Argyle and E. Preston-Whyte (eds), *Social system and transition in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1978.

³⁸ Guy, Jeff, *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom: the civil war in Zululand, 1879- 1884*, London, Longman, 1979.

³⁹ Laband, John P. C., *Rope of sand: the rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1995.

⁴⁰ Sansom, B., 'Traditional rulers and their realms', in W.D. Hammond-Tooke, *The bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa*, London, 1974.

⁴¹ Wright, J., 'Pre-Shakan age-group formations among the northern Nguni', in *Natalia*, 8, December 1978.

4.4. Shaka and the Rise of the Zulu Kingdom

In the early nineteenth century, the Zulu were ruled by a small lineage of some 2,000 members in a chiefdom of some 10,000 Zulus under the rule of the Mthethwa.⁴² Shaka was born about 1787. His father, Senzangakona, was the chief of the Zulu people and his mother, Nandi, was not a politically significant wife. Shaka joined the Mthethwa army around about 1809, where he excelled as a warrior. When Senzangakona died in 1816, Shaka, with the support in particular of Dingiswayo – who provided him with a strong military escort – was able to wrest power from his half-brother, and designated heir to the chieftaincy, Sigujana. The latter was killed by Shaka's half-brother, Ngwadi, just prior to Shaka's arrival at the royal kraal.⁴³ As the Zulu chief he then reorganized the Zulu army along Mthethwa lines based on age rather than kinship.⁴⁴

The most important tribes in the region on the eve of Shaka's rise to power were the Nguni, Hlubi, Ngwane or Matibele, Zulu, Qwabe, Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, Ngwane of Sobuza and the Thonga.⁴⁵ At the time, Dingiswayo had been expanding his power, and, the Ndwandwe under Chief Zwile attacked the Mthethwa in about 1817 or 1818, and captured and killed Dingiswayo.⁴⁶ After the death of Dingiswayo, Shaka killed the legitimate heir of the Mthethwa chieftaincy, and appointed his own favourite, Mlandela, who was raised up from an inferior lineage to take up the chieftaincy of the Mthethwa.⁴⁷ He also incorporated the Mthethwa regiments under Zulu control, and subsequently proclaimed himself the new ruler of the Zulu Kingdom.⁴⁸

Shaka implemented a number of changes to the Zulu army, making it an efficient machine to subjugate the autonomous chiefdoms in the region. Two of these were the introduction of the assegai (a short thrusting spear) and the attack formation known as 'head and horns' (a phalanx formation) to replace the long skirmishing line.⁴⁹ Most importantly, however, was the organisation of the army into age-regiments. The efficiency of the military apparatus allowed Shaka to gather a large number of chiefdoms into one entity and to incorporate the defeated troops into the Zulu military.⁵⁰ Shaka expanded his empire by entering into alliances with neighbouring chiefs who lost their suzerainty, or by destroying those who did not submit voluntarily. According to one source:

⁴² Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391.

⁴³ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 49.

⁴⁴ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391, Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 50.

⁴⁵ The South African Military History Society, Cape Town Branch Newsletter No. 369, September 2009, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/9/c09sepne.html>, Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 51.

⁴⁶ Davenport, *South Africa*, 18.

⁴⁷ Guy, 'The political structure', 62.

⁴⁸ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391.

⁴⁹ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391.

⁵⁰ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391.

The expansion of Shaka's empire, can be divided into three main phases: 1) Consolidation of the Zulu Heartland (circa 1819): In a little over 2 years Shaka's territory increased from around 200 sq kilometres to over 10 000 sq kilometres. The heartland, located between the White umFolozu and Umlathuze Rivers, included all those clans which had kinship and traditional ties with the Zulus; 2) Consolidation of the Second Tier (1821): This comprised those clans who dwelt south of the Umhlathuze River and as far as the Thukela River, as well as north of the White umFolozu up to the umKuze River. Although their kinship and traditional ties with the Zulus were more tenuous, they nevertheless enjoyed the same rights as those of the inner circle - all were amaThungwa-Nguni; and 3) Addition of the Third Tier, this was his empire at its Zenith (1826): Within three years Shaka expanded his empire to include the whole of what we know as KwaZulu-Natal, the southern part of present-day Mozambique and the northern half of the old Transkei, stretching southwards as far as the umZimkhulu River (Port St Johns).⁵¹

The first chiefdom to be engaged in battle was the eLangeni, who were subjugated without resistance after their main kraal was surrounded by a Zulu impi. The bulk of the chiefdom was incorporated into the Zulu clan. Shaka next turned to the Buthelezi under chief Pungashe. They then destroyed the Buthelezi homesteads and captured all their cattle and remaining women and children, while Pungashe fled to seek refuge with the Ndwandwe Chief Zwide in the north.⁵² Shaka subsequently elevated Ngqengelele kaMvulana, one of his confidants, to the chieftaincy of the Buthelezi.⁵³ The Qwabe were overrun by the Zulus, and the chief was killed. Shaka replaced him with Nqetho, a member of the Qwabe ruling lineage who had been exiled by the chief. In this way Shaka was able to ensure the continued support of the chiefdom.⁵⁴ The powerful Ndwandwe were finally defeated in battle in 1817, and Shaka advanced into Ndwandwe territory and destroyed the chief, Zwide's capital. Zwide subsequently withdrew with the remnants of the chiefdom to an area in what is now southern Swaziland.⁵⁵

Chiefdoms that submitted to Zulu rule without a fight, like the Qadi, Sibiya, Zungu and remnants of the Mthethwa, were incorporated into the Zulu kingdom, and in some cases were allowed to retain their chiefs. However, Shaka assassinated the chief of the Zungu, who were settled at the time on the Mahlabathini plain. In the same area lived the Mbatha, whose chiefly line Shaka terminated. The Mbatha then raised up another dominant lineage which served Shaka faithfully.⁵⁶ Shaka, unlike Dingiswayo, preferred to smash clans that opposed subjugation, and he aimed at total annihilation.⁵⁷ Those chiefdoms that resisted were destroyed; their leaders were forced to flee or were killed, as

⁵¹ The South African Military History Society, Cape Town Branch Newsletter No. 369, September 2009, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/9/c09sepne.html>

⁵² Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 53, The South African Military History Society, Cape Town Branch Newsletter No. 369, September 2009, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/9/c09sepne.html>

⁵³ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 137.

⁵⁴ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 20.

⁵⁵ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 21.

⁵⁶ Guy, 'The political structure', 60.

⁵⁷ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 47.

were the old members of the chiefdom. The young men and women were incorporated into the Zulu age-grade regiments, and in this manner became part of the Zulu chiefdom. Shaka was able to further destroy previous identities and submerge them into the Zulu identity by placing stress on observance of Zulu traditions.

Shaka's wars resulted in the merging of some 300 formerly independent chiefdoms into the Zulu Kingdom.⁵⁸ By the mid-1820s, Shaka ruled a kingdom of between 100,000 and 250,000 people with a standing army of 40,000 men. He centralized power in the person of the king and his court, collected tribute from regional chiefs, and placed regiments throughout his state to ensure compliance with his orders. As far as the political structure of the kingdom is concerned, Shaka was assisted by a council of chiefs based at the royal kraal. While Shaka needed the chiefs to execute his will, he was careful to limit their effective powers and stir rivalry among them so they would check one another but never dispute his will.⁵⁹

The political structure of the Zulu kingdom established under Shaka was retained much the same form for almost the rest of the century and it is possible to extrapolate from the structure as it was in the time of Cetshwayo (1872).⁶⁰ At the apex of the political structure was the king, who was drawn from the dominant lineage of the strongest chiefdom in the kingdom and who wielded both legislative and judicial power. The kingdom was constituted by a number of chiefdoms, including that of the king, each led by a chieftain. Political power in the chiefdoms was vested in the dominant lineage of the strongest clan in the chiefdom. Below the king were the chieftains of the more powerful chiefdoms, who retained some measure of power because of their wealth and influence. These powerful chieftains were normally included in the highest council of the kingdom, the *umkhandlu*, and were known as *izikhulu* – the great ones. Policy was generally made by the *umkhandlu*, which was an inner core of the advisors. The senior member of the advisors was appointed as the king's chief *induna*, or prime minister and commander-in-chief.⁶¹ The king could make no decision without the consent of the councilors, who represented the people.⁶²

As we have seen, Shaka retained some of the leaders of the chiefdoms that had submitted to his suzerainty, killed the chiefs of those that resisted, replaced some murdered chiefs with minors, and raised members of collateral families of the dominant lineage of chiefdoms to the chieftaincy. In some cases, Shaka raised individuals from inferior lineages to the chieftaincy. Thus, many owed their position to the king, and in this way he was able to ensure their loyalty. Shaka also ensured their loyalty by providing them with wives. Nevertheless, the *isikhulu* generally were from the royal lineage of their chiefdoms.

⁵⁸ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation, 371-391.

⁵⁹ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation, 371-391.

⁶⁰ Refer also to Krige, *The social system of the Zulus*.

⁶¹ Laband, J., *Rope of Sand*, 60-1.

⁶² Krige, *The social system of the Zulus*, 209.

Below the *izikhulu* were the *izindunas*, state officials appointed by the king (with the approval of the other chiefs) to perform various administrative functions. *Izindunas* were appointed to command the *amabutho*, preside over military compounds, or, more importantly, to rule in the king's name over a district where they had no strong claims of hereditary authority but where they held the same powers as a chief. These were not hereditary positions, and the *izinduna* owed their elevation to the king. In some cases, prominent *izinduna* were invited to participate with the *izikhulu* when the king wanted to consult them.⁶³

Laband's account of Dingane's accession to the throne is worth mentioning to demonstrate how the heir was determined when there were two rivals for the position.⁶⁴ According to Laband, after Dingane and Mhlangana had orchestrated the murder of Shaka and, subsequently, Shaka's favourite half-brother, Ngwadi, they viewed each other with increasing suspicion. While Mhlangana considered himself Shaka's rightful heir, their influential aunt and King Senzagakhona's sister, Mnkabayi kaJama, insisted that Dingane was genealogically the proper heir. Mbopha, their co-conspirator in Shaka's murder, convinced Dingane that he must act against Mhlangana, and with Mnkabayi's approval Dingane had Mhlangana executed. But accession to the throne could only be decided by 'the great men of Zululand in assembly', who agreed that Dingane should rule over them.

The Sources

Perhaps the largest collection of works on the Zulu people has been on Shaka and the kingdom he created. Among the books dealing with the origin and rise of the Zulu kingdom include Fynn's *Diary*; Bryant's *Olden Times; History of the Zulu People* and *The Zulu people as they were before the white man came*,⁶⁵ Argyle's *The origins of the Zulu people: theories and facts*, Binns' *The warrior people: Zulu origins, customs and witchcraft*,⁶⁶ Bulpin's *Shaka's Country*,⁶⁷ Morris's *The washing of the spears*,⁶⁸ Laband's *Rope of Sands*, Guy's *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, James Gump's 'Origins of the Zulu kingdom',⁶⁹ Guy's 'Some aspects of the history of the Zulu kingdom',⁷⁰ and *The debate on Zulu origins*, which is a collection of papers on the Zulu kingdom and early colonial Natal presented at a workshop at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 23-24 October 1990. Other early sources include the writers of travelers and traders, including Owen's *Narrative of Voyagers*,⁷¹ Thompson's *Travels and Adventures*,⁷²

⁶³ Laband, J., *Rope of Sand*, 58-60.

⁶⁴ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 50-1.

⁶⁵ Bryant, *The Zulu people as they were before the white man came*.

⁶⁶ Binns, C.T., *The warrior people: Zulu origins, customs and witchcraft*, London, Hale, 1975.

⁶⁷ Bulpin, T.V., *Shaka's country*, London and Cape Town, 1952.

⁶⁸ Morris, *The washing of the spears*.

⁶⁹ Gump, James, 'Origins of the Zulu kingdom', *The Historian*, Vol 40, Issue, 1, 1988, 521-34.

⁷⁰ Guy, Jeff, 'Some aspects of the history of the Zulu kingdom', paper presented to the History Workshop, Gaborone, 1973.

⁷¹ Owen, W.F.W., *Narrative of voyagers to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar*, London, 1835.

⁷² Thompson, G., *Travels and adventures in Southern Africa*, London, 1827.

Nathaniel Isaacs's *Travels and Adventures*⁷³ (which describes the Zulu kingdom under Shaka and Dingane), and Gardiner's *Narrative*,⁷⁴ which offers a first-hand account of Zululand in the first half of the nineteenth century, and one of the first written accounts of Dingane's reign.

Morris's monumental volume (over 600 pages in length) is a good starting point for a study of the history of the Zulu nation, dealing as it does with the arrival in South Africa and the early clans, their social organization and cultural practices, the rise of the Zulu nation, its zenith under Shaka, the impact of the white settlers, through to its dissolution under King Cetshwayo in the Zulu War of 1879. The extensive bibliography is also of great value, indicating that sources have ranged from general histories of Southern Africa, general histories of the Zulu nation, anthropological studies of the Zulu social system, the manuals and journals of early observers in the region such as Bryant and Gardiner,⁷⁵ and primary sources such as Bird's *Annals of Natal*. However, it is Guy's *Destruction of the Zulu kingdom* and Laband's *Rope of sand* that must be credited for their extensive attention to detail.

Carolyn Hamilton's dissertation also includes a study of the power and authority of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka. She provides an analysis of the extension of Zulu power over non-Zulu lineages and chiefdoms, such as the Mthethwa, Zungu's etc. The most important aspects of the chapters which deal with this for this review is the analysis of Shaka's interference in the appointment of chiefs of the subordinated chiefdoms, and the discussion of how various chiefdoms were incorporated in the period 1818-1820. It is relevant to note here that Hamilton makes extensive use of archival material based at the Killie Campbell Library of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. These include the Essery Papers, which includes Guy Vivian Essery's collection of testimonies of informed persona and other papers;⁷⁶ the six volumes of interviews collected by John Stuart;⁷⁷ and a collection of essay papers arising from Zulu Essay Competitions of 1942 and 1950 which contain histories of the *isibongo* of the entrants. These are invaluable sources because, unlike the general studies that form the bulk of the sources available on the topic under discussion, these sources deal with the histories of individual chiefdoms. To a large extent, the majority of sources discussed in this review focus on the issue of succession as it is dealt with by the authorities at a particular point in time, that is, with the relevant paramount chief/king, colonial authority, or white administration (after 1910). Consequently, there are very few references to individual examples where succession issues are dealt with in great details at the level of the chiefdom.

A number of studies of individual chiefdoms during this era exist, including Hamilton's description of the incorporation of the Qwabe chiefdom by the Zulu, and the establishment of a new ruling lineage. The Qwabe was one of the largest chiefdoms to be

⁷³ Isaacs, Nathaniel, *Travels and adventures in Eastern Africa*, London, 1836.

⁷⁴ Gardiner, A.F., *Narrative of a journey to the Zooloo country*, London, William Croft, 1836.

⁷⁵ *Journey to the Zooloe Country*

⁷⁶ Essery, Guy Vivian, *Guy Vivian Essery papers*, [1895?]-1957.

⁷⁷ Refer to Webb, C. de B., *The James Stuart archives of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu*, University of Natal Press, 2004.

subjected to the Zulus, and the analysis provides insights into the challenges to the ruling lineage, in particular competing claims to the chieftainship. A study is made here of the Qwabe ruling lineage, and the conflicts over a succession dispute. Early sources on the Qwabe include Bryant's two books mentioned above. Later studies include D. H. Reader's *Zulu tribe in transition*⁷⁸ and Samuelson's *Zululand*.⁷⁹

Other studies exist of the plights of individual chiefdoms incorporated into the Zulu kingdom. These include Leslie's account of life among the Zulu and Amatonga,⁸⁰ Braadveldt's recollections of Zululand,⁸¹ Wright and Manson's study of the Hlubi,⁸² Van Warmelo's study of the Ngwane,⁸³ and Bonner's of the latter chiefdom.⁸⁴

Ritter's *Shaka Zulu*,⁸⁵ published in 1955, is based on sources that were close to Shaka who had recounted their stories to the author. These are virtually first-hand accounts of the king and events of the time. Another study of Shaka which is useful is made by Becker in *Path of Blood*,⁸⁶ which also deals with the rise of the Zulu kingdom. Mazisi Kunene's *Emperor Shaka* also provides a biographical survey of this historical figure. Fuze's *The Black People* also includes an account of Shaka's birth, early life and rise to power. The author also focuses on Shaka's military campaigns and outline's Zulu history thereafter, concluding with the death of king Dinizulu in the early 1900s.

Daphne Golan questions the nature of biographical studies of Shaka, arguing that most attempts to analyse Shaka's life story have been an invention, based largely on clichés composed of epic motifs known from pre-Shakan days. In this sense, Shaka's life story as presented by most historians is based largely on myth, instead of reality. The object of her paper is to separate this myth from reality and to suggest new areas of research.⁸⁷

Webb and Wright's edited collection of King Cetshwayo's statements and other documents – *A Zulu king speaks*⁸⁸ – is an important account of a Zulu king's perspective on the history of the Zulu nation. It includes details about the rise of the Zulu nation during the period of Shaka's reign, and the history of the Zulu nation during Dingane and Mpande's periods of rule.

⁷⁸ New York, Humanities, Press, 1966.

⁷⁹ Samuelson, L.H., *Zululand, its traditions, legends and customs*, Marianhill, 1899.

⁸⁰ Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatonga*, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1875.

⁸¹ Braatveldt, H.P., *Roaming Zululand*, Poetermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1979.

⁸² Wright, J. and Manson, A., *The Hlubi chiefdom in Zululand-Natal: A history*, Ladysmith, Ladysmith Historical Society, 1983.

⁸³ Van Warmelo, N.J., *A history of Matiwane and the amaNgwane*, Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications, Vol VII.

⁸⁴ Bonner, Phil, *Kings, commoners and concessionaires: The evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth-century Swazi state*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

⁸⁵ Ritter, Ernest Augustus, *Shaka Zulu: the rise of the Zulu empire*, London, Longman, 1955.

⁸⁶ Becker, P., *Path of Blood*, London, Longman, 1962.

⁸⁷ Golan, Daphne, 'The life story of Shaka and gender tensions in the Zulu state', in *History in Africa*, Vol 7, 1990, 95-111.

⁸⁸ Webb and Wright, *A Zulu king speaks*.

Another major theme in Zulu history is that of the ‘Mfecane’. Among the most significant of the books that deal with this topic is Omer-Cooper’s *The Zulu Aftermath*, which is an attempt to assess the causes and consequences of the Mfecane during the rise of Zulu power during the period 1818 to 1828. The sources used for this volume are accounts and compilations of oral tradition by travelers and missionaries, including Bryant, and the archives of religious societies. Omer-Cooper argues that the growth of the Zulu kingdom was a consequence largely of population growth. More importantly for this literature review, however, is Omer-Cooper’s account of the re-organisation of the Zulu military machine, in particular the adoption of the age-regiments, and the consequent growth in tribal cohesion.

4.5. The political structure under Dingane

Initially, Dingane’s reign was marked by peace while he relaxed restrictions on his *amabutho* to marry – which had been strictly controlled during Shaka’s era – relaxed military discipline and subjected his subordinate chiefs to less exacting supervision.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Dingane quickly moved to diminish any threat to his accession to the throne. As a usurper, these threats came from his siblings, as well as from disaffected subordinate chiefs placed in their positions by Shaka. These were generally men who had been obscure before being appointed to positions of power by Shaka in order to ensure their loyalty to the king. It has been estimated that Dingane killed at least eighty people of high position and dubious loyalty.⁹⁰

These include Ndlaka kaNcidi, Shaka’s commander-in-chief, who had supported Mhlangana’s claim to the succession; Chief Magaye of the Cele, whom Shaka had set up as his client to control the area south of the Thukela; Chief Zihlandlo and his brother Sambela of the satellite Mkhize chiefdom; Mathubane, regent of the Thuli, and a favourite of Shaka; Chief Matiwane kaMasumpa of the Ngwane; Chief Dube kaSilwane of the Qadi; and the chiefs of the Hlubi in the strategic Mzinyathi frontier zone and the Khumalo on the upper regions of the Mkhuze, because they were leaders of powerful chiefdoms where royal authority was uncertain.⁹¹ Mathubane and Zihlandlo were assassinated in the early 1830s, and the majority of the latter’s followers fled across the Thukela River.⁹²

A number of Shaka’s councilors and leaders of purged chiefdoms were replaced by men more favourably disposed to Dingane.⁹³ Dingane replaced Chief Magaye by his son Mkhonto, who was expected to be loyal to his benefactor.⁹⁴ Ndlela ka Sompisi of the

⁸⁹ Colenbrander, Peter, ‘The Zulu kingdom, 1828-79’, in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand*, 86.

⁹⁰ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 53.

⁹¹ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 53-4.

⁹² Wright and Hamilton, ‘Ethnicity and political change’, 29.

⁹³ Colenbrander, ‘The Zulu kingdom’, 86.

⁹⁴ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 53.

Ntuli was raised to become Dingane's commander-in-chief. Another individual raised to prominence was Nzobo kaSobadli (also known as Dambuza).⁹⁵

Dingane also moved against male members of the ruling Zulu dynasty. Members of the ruling dynasty had been distributed throughout the kingdom during Shaka's reign. The new monarch had about a dozen of his half brothers killed in one day at the royal kraal.⁹⁶ Mpande, Gqugqu and Ngqojane were the only half-brothers of Dingane to survive the purges.⁹⁷ Mpande was considered a weak man in comparison to his contemporaries. At some stage Dingane instructed his chief induna, Ndlela kaSompisi, to assassinate him, but he repeatedly delayed, as he realised that Mpande was the only son of King Senzakakhona to have any children, and the continuation of the blood line was crucial to the stability of the Zulu nation.⁹⁸ Ngqojane and all his dependants were killed by Dingane in 1835.

Dingane retained the *amabutho* which had been institutionalized under Shaka. However, Shaka's death had brought about a weakening of central political order, so that different chiefdoms unified under his rule now sought to remove themselves from Zulu authority. To keep the kingdom united, Dingane saw no other way but to resort to the methods of violence instituted during Shaka's reign.⁹⁹ Among the first to revolt were the Qwabe under Nqetho who fled south-westwards in 1829. Nqetho, as indicated above, was installed by Shaka as chief of the Qwabe, and he might have felt that this would now count against him. The pursuing Zulu forces were unable to defeat the Qwabe decisively, or to seize their livestock. Thereafter, any threat of insubordination was dealt with ruthlessly. At various times, Dingane acted against his subordinate chiefdoms, including violently replacing several chiefs, expropriating livestock and disrupting community life. Examples here include the Ngwane under Chief Matiwane, the Mkhize under Chief Zihlandlo, the Cele, the Khumalos under Bheje, the Khumalos under Mlotsha, the Qadi people, and the Hlubi chiefdom.¹⁰⁰ Oral sources in this research do not consider this encounter with Dingane a final step in their conquer – of bringing them permanently under the authority of amaZulu.

In 1839, Dingane's half-brother Mpande fled from Zululand, sought refuge with the Voortrekkers and entered into a political and military alliance with them. The Voortrekkers declared Mpande 'Prince of the Emigrant Zulus', and appointed Mpangazitha kaMncumbatha, who had been an important state official under Dingane, as one of his indunas.¹⁰¹ In January the following year, joint forces of the Voortrekkers and Mpande's supporters were able to defeat Dingane's forces at the Battle of Maqongqo. Shortly thereafter, Dingane, a fugitive among the Swazi, was put to death.¹⁰² The

⁹⁵ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 54-5.

⁹⁶ For more details about this event refer to Laband, *Rope of sand*, 52.

⁹⁷ Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom', 86.

⁹⁸ <http://samilitaryhistory.org/9/c09sepne.html>

⁹⁹ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391.

¹⁰⁰ Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom', 86.

¹⁰¹ Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom', 90.

¹⁰² Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391, Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom', 93-4.

Voortrekkers proclaimed Mpande king of the Zulus, leading to a change in the circumstances under which future kings were to rule. Although the kingdom remained independent, their influence in the region as a whole became less decisive while internal problems were complicated by white settlement in Natal and nearby Transvaal.¹⁰³ Five years later, in 1844, following a confrontation between the Boers and the British, Natal was finally annexed by the British as a separate District of the Colony of the Cape.¹⁰⁴ Zululand under Mpande remained an independent kingdom.

Gibson's *The story of the Zulus*¹⁰⁵ provides some details about the Zulu kingdom under Dingane. Among the recent studies of the period include Becker's study of Dingane,¹⁰⁶ Colenbrander's study of 'The Zulu kingdom, 1828-79',¹⁰⁷ and Felix's reappraisal of historical works on Dingane.¹⁰⁸

4.6. 'Native' policy in the Colony of Natal, 1844-1879

In 1837, while there had been about 3,000 Africans who were living in Natal, by 1846 the number had risen to 40,000, mainly refugees from tribes that had been driven out of their lands by Shaka. During Dingane and Mpande's reign the stream of refugees moving into the region continued. Included among the refugees were those among the 17,000 followers of Mpande who had earlier fled from Zululand that decided to remain in the colony after Mpande returned to the kingdom. They were joined by the followers of Mawa, the aunt of Mpande's brother, Gqugqu, who the king had murdered in 1843. In 1848, the amaHlubi clan under Langalibalele sought refuge in Natal, and by the mid-1850s there were 150,000 African refugees living in Natal. There was neither a policy to control them nor the power to enforce that policy.¹⁰⁹

The solution to this problem was put in place by Theophilus Shepstone, who had been appointed Natal's Diplomatic Agent to the Natives in 1845. The administration of Natal set aside 1,168,000 acres, divided into eight major reserves, and began moving the bulk of the African population into the reserves. Hostile tribes were separated into these reserves: in a belt between Natal and Mpondoland; between the Tugela and Buffalo rivers between Zululand and European settlements; and in the Drakensberg foothills where the amaHlubi were moved to guard the passes against the Sutu of the high veld. About 80,000 Africans were moved into these reserves.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom', 94.

¹⁰⁴ For more details of this process refer to Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 149-159 and Laband, *Rope of sand*, 123-4.

¹⁰⁵ Gibson, *The story of the Zulus*.

¹⁰⁶ Becker, P., *Dingane - King of the Zulus 1828-1840: The rule of fear of the chieftain who terrorized Boer South Africa*, London, Longman, 1964.

¹⁰⁷ Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom'.

¹⁰⁸ Felix, N.C. Okoye, 'Dingane: A reappraisal', in *Journal of African History*, Vol X, No 1, 1969.

¹⁰⁹ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 165.

¹¹⁰ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 173.

Shepstone introduced a system of 'indirect rule' in which the administration of the African population relied on local indigenous rulers to administer and control the local population.¹¹¹ The reserves (or locations) were placed under the administration of European Resident Magistrates, supported by an ill-fitted motley of 150 African policemen. Shepstone assumed chiefly authority, while basing his administration of the chiefdoms in Natal on Native law, which, although unwritten, was sufficiently uniform from clan to clan that it was acceptable to all chiefdoms. *Shepstone confirmed the authority of the existing chieftains where they existed, and then brought together new clans from the bits and pieces of the disintegrated units and appointed new chieftains to rule them.*¹¹² He simply attached individuals and fragments of chiefdoms to existing chiefs, and in other cases appointed trusted African assistants to artificially created chiefdoms.¹¹³ This approach gave rise to both hereditary and appointed chieftains. Shepstone became Paramount Chief under the Crown to the Executive Council of Natal.¹¹⁴ The Natal African population was placed under Native Customary Law by the Ordinance of June 23, 1849, which abrogated Roman-Dutch Law for the Africans, under which the rest of the population was ruled. In 1850 the Lieutenant Governor of Natal was proclaimed Supreme Chief of the African population. Henceforth, the Zulu monarch was barred from exercising any control over the Natal African population, and even communicating with them.¹¹⁵

By 1848 there were sixty-five chiefdoms in Natal, made up of survivors of original chiefdoms that had retained their organization, of fragments of chiefdoms which had merged, or refugees without any chiefly authority. Some chieftains who had survived, or men who had gained the chieftainship after the destruction of their dominant lineage, had been able to reconstruct the tribal basis of their society. Tribal practices such as exacting labour services and tributes from members of the chiefdom were revived, while some powerful chiefs were able to build up *amabutho* or age-group regiments. Some chiefs, such as Phakuda, offered protection to refugees. Some government-appointed chiefs of chiefdoms created out of previously unaffiliated refugees, such as Ngoza, acquired considerable power by attracting a large number of followers. By 1864 Ngoza's chiefdom was larger than that of any hereditary chief.¹¹⁶

Thomas McClendon examines three incidents in the history of early colonial Natal in which colonial forces under Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone, attacked subject chiefs, deposed them and seized their herds. These incidents, which presaged the later conflict with Langalibalele, constituted in local African terms 'eating up', a practice whereby a chief confiscated the property of a subject convicted of conspiring against him through witchcraft. Close examination of these incidents shows how the early colonial

¹¹¹ Beall, Mkhize and Vawda, 'Emergent democracy', 760.

¹¹² Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 173-4.

¹¹³ Etherington, Norman, "The 'Shepstone system' in the Colony of Natal and beyond the borders", in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand*, 178.

¹¹⁴ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 173-4.

¹¹⁵ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 174.

¹¹⁶ Lambert, John, 'From independence to rebellion: African society in crisis, c.1880-1910', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand*, 374.

state's rule over African subjects was inevitably imbued with African understandings of power and authority.¹¹⁷

In 1873, a situation emerged which led to the destruction of the Hlubi chiefdom under Langalibelele. It began when the Resident Magistrate in Escourt, John Macfarlane, ordered the Hlubi chief to hand in all the unregistered firearms his followers had acquired in exchange for their labour on the diamond fields. Langalibelele and a number of his people fled to Basutoland. After a skirmish with a large force of white volunteers and African militia (Shepstone had mobilized 6,000 African militia, 300 settler volunteers and 200 British regulars to take reprisal action against the Hlubi),¹¹⁸ in which three volunteers and two of Shepstone's *indunas* were killed, the Hlubi who had remained in Natal were driven out of the reserve, their land confiscated and later sold, and their cattle confiscated.¹¹⁹ According to Morris, almost 200 amaHlubi were killed during the reprisals, while a neighbouring chiefdom that had harboured Langalibelele's cattle when he fled to Basutoland were found guilty of treason. Subsequently, Shepstone had their cattle confiscated, their kraals burnt, and every adult taken prisoner.¹²⁰ Langalibelele, now deposed, was captured and brought to trial. He was found guilty of treason and rebellion and banished for life to the Cape Colony.¹²¹

Among the earliest studies relevant here are Brooks and the Rev Holden's histories of Natal.¹²² There are a number of general histories of South Africa that serve as a reference point for developments in the region. De Kiewiet's *Imperial Factor in South Africa*¹²³ concentrates on the fluctuations in British colonial policy and provides a clear picture of the forces that shape Natal's history. Although there is no biography of Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's Diplomatic Agent to the Natives from 1845 and the architect of 'native' policy in the region from that time, Uys's *In the era of Shepstone*¹²⁴ is a valuable source. A recent study by Ballard¹²⁵ provides important detail about the formation of the colony of Natal, its relationship to the Zulu kings, beginning with Shaka, and details on some of the chiefdoms that sought refuge in Natal.

One of the most detailed accounts of the evolution of Shepstone's 'native' policy in Natal between 1845 and 1910 is found in Welsh's book on segregation.¹²⁶ The Shepstone

¹¹⁷ McClendon, Thomas, 'You are what you eat up: Deposing chiefs in early Colonial Natal, 1847-58', *Journal of African History*, 47, 2, 2006, 259-279.

¹¹⁸ Wright and Hamilton, 'Ethnicity and political change', 48.

¹¹⁹ Guest, Bill, 'Colonists, confederation and constitutional change', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand*, 151-5.

¹²⁰ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 222.

¹²¹ Guest, 'Colonists, confederation and constitutional change', 151-5.

¹²² Brooks, H., *Natal: A history and description of the colony*, London, 1876, Holden, W.C., *History of the Colony of Natal*, London, 1855.

¹²³ De Kiewiet, C.W., *The Imperial factor in South Africa*, Cambridge, 1937.

¹²⁴ Uys, C.J., *In the era of Shepstone*, Lovedale, 1933.

¹²⁵ Ballard, C.C., 'The transfrontiersman: The career of John Dun in Natal and Zululand, 1834-1895', Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal, 1980.

¹²⁶ Welsh, D. *The roots of segregation: Native policy in colonial Natal, 1845-1910*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1971.

system was also praised by Rider Haggard in his book on Cetshwayo.¹²⁷ However, it is Morris's account of the Shepstone system of indirect rule that is most useful in understanding the evolution of 'native' policy in the colony. Another useful study is Etherington's chapter on the Shepstone system in the volume edited by Duminy and Guest.¹²⁸

Cope's doctoral thesis, 'The Zulu Royal family under the South African government, 1910-1933: Solomon Kadinuzulu, Inkatha and Zulu nationalism,¹²⁹ – which was later published in book form¹³⁰ – also includes a study of the 'Shepstone system'. The cornerstone of this policy, insofar as the issue of succession to the chieftaincy is concerned, according to Cope, is the power granted to Shepstone to appoint and depose chiefs.

Perhaps one of the most useful sources on the Shepstone system is Welsh's *The roots of segregation*.¹³¹ It also describes the Langalibalele affair, and contains an important chapter on chieftainship after Shepstone, which deals with the effects of the incorporation of chiefs into the administrative structures of the Natal colony after 1875. An important point made here is Shepstone's recommendation that when an appointed chief died the members of the chiefdom should be allowed to disperse and join others, or some African 'in whom the Government has confidence should be placed in charge'. Shepstone argued that no son of an appointed chief should be allowed to inherit the chieftainship. However, without any examples of individual chiefdoms affected by this decision, it is not clear what impact this had on succession and succession disputes by affected chiefdoms.

The Langalibalele affair is also discussed in Guest's *Langalibabele*.¹³² This study also provides a background to the Shepstone system and the African population of the colony at the time. Two more recent studies of the affair are Etherington's article 'Why Langalibalele ran away' and Manson's study of the Hlubi in Natal.¹³³

4.7. The political structure under Mpande

Virtually throughout his reign, from 1840-1872 – King Mpande maintained cordial relations with the European settlers. But, as part of his agreement with the Voortrekkers for their support in his war against Dingane, Mpande lost half of the Zulu kingdom that

¹²⁷ Haggard, *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours*.

¹²⁸ Etherington, Norman, 'The 'Shepstone system'.

¹²⁹ Cope, N., 'The Zulu Royal family under the South African government, 1910-1933: Solomon Kadinuzulu, Inkatha and Zulu nationalism', Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal, 1985.

¹³⁰ Cope, Nicholas, *To bind the nation: Solomon kaDinuzulu and Zulu nationalism 1913- 1933*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993.

¹³¹ Welshe, *The roots of segregation*.

¹³² Guest, W.R., 'Langalibabele: The crisis in Natal, 1873-1875', Department of History and Political Sciences, University of Natal, research monograph no. 2, Durban, 1976.

¹³³ Etherington, N.A., 'Why Langalibalele ran way', in *Journal of Natal and Zululand History*, Vol I, 1978, Manson, A., 'A people in transition: The Hlubi in Natal, 1848-1877', in *Journal of Natal and Zululand History*, Vol II, 1979.

Dingane had ruled over. The Voortrekkers laid claim to all the land between the Thukela and the Black Mfolozi rivers, bounded to the west by the Drakensberg, and to the east by the ocean.¹³⁴ In addition, Mpande had to recognize the Voortrekkers as his overlords, and was required to avoid waging war on any chiefdom without their consent.¹³⁵

Mpande set out to rebuild his shattered kingdom. He appointed Chief Nogalaza kaNondela of the Nyandwini, the general of his army when he sought refuge amongst the Voortrekkers, as commander-in-chief. Other men were raised to prominence. These include Mbilini kaCungeya, the *induna* of the KwaNodwengu, as his chief *induna*. After Mbilini's death, Masiphula kwaMamba of the emGazini was appointed chief *induna*. Mpande had also appointed Masiphula chief of the emGazini over Sitshaluza, the rightful heir.¹³⁶ It appears that Mpande also had a role in determining accession to the chieftaincy of the Buthelezi chiefdom after the death of Ngqengelele kaMvulana. The latter was succeeded by his grandson, Klwana, whose father and rightful heir to the throne had died before he could succeed his father. Soon after Mpande came to power, Klwana was killed, and Mpande appointed his uncle, Myamana kaNgqengelele, chief of the Buthelezi.¹³⁷ In the early 1850s Mpande also intervened in a dispute over leadership of the Mabhudu chiefdom, a tributary chiefdom, ensuring that his candidate, Noziyingili, became chief and subservient ally.¹³⁸

In 1843, Mpande murdered his younger half-brother, Gqugqu, the only surviving son of Senzangakhona, and his entire household.¹³⁹ Prior to his death, Gqugqu had maintained his own *amabutho*, like an independent chief, and maintained a power base in the north of the country where the king's power was very weak. Gqugqu also had the powerful support of important people who had fallen out of favour with Mpande, such as Chief Sothondose of the Nxumalo, who had strong ties with Chief Somaphunga of the Ndwandwe, who Mpande had alienated by placing under Chief Malanda of the Mkhwanazi.¹⁴⁰

Mpande also set about to integrate the military regiments into a system of economic distribution. The political system thereby became more consolidated and functionally differentiated into an economically legitimated regime.¹⁴¹ Governmental functions became even more institutionalized under Mpande's rule. Mpande put his sons in important administrative and economic positions, so that a hereditary based political system became more likely. Now a formal code of legality regulated some disputes (the king alone, for instance, could order executions).¹⁴² As in the case of the kings that preceded him, Mpande also appointed his own *iziduna*, whose positions depended largely on their relationship with the king; they could be removed at the king's discretion. For

¹³⁴ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 123.

¹³⁵ Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom', 97.

¹³⁶ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 127-8.

¹³⁷ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 137.

¹³⁸ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 131.

¹³⁹ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 165.

¹⁴⁰ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 129.

¹⁴¹ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation, 371-391.

¹⁴² Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation, 371-391.

instance, the first *induna* of the uThulwana regiment, in which Mpande had placed his son Cetshwayo and seven other royal princes, Sogweba kaMasekwana, was replaced by Mnyamana kaNgqengelele after the former had lost Mpande's favour.¹⁴³

Under Mpande's rule the centralized political structure of the kingdom, which relied on the personal power of the king, and an aggressive personality such as Shaka had been to enforce this personal rule, began to disintegrate. Power now passed to strong *indunas* in the outlying regions of the vast kingdom, and various chieftains began to exercise their independence.¹⁴⁴ This included Langelibalele kaMthimkhulu of the Hlubi, who Mpande felt had to be forcefully brought back into the fold after exhibiting increasing independent pretensions. Langelibalele was eventually driven out of Zululand in 1848, settling thereafter in Natal.

However, internal tensions soon took root within the previously peaceful kingdom. After more than ten years as king, Mpande had still failed to name his Great Wife, whose eldest son would then be recognized as the legitimate heir. Cetshwayo was Mpande's eldest son, by his first wife Mgqumbhazi, while Mbuyazi was born to another wife, Monase. Neither wife had been identified as the Great Wife by the king, but Monase was Mpande's favourite, and he treated her son as his favourite child.¹⁴⁵ Mpande, recognising the imminent dangers, forced his two sons, Cetshwayo of the Usuthu faction and Mbuyazi of the Gqoza, to live apart. The rivalry between the two brothers finally led to an outbreak of civil war between the two factions. Cetshwayo beat his opponent and slaughtered Mbuyazi's descendants, thereby becoming effective ruler of the Zulu kingdom while Mpande remained titular head until his death in 1872.¹⁴⁶ Six of Mpande's sons were killed in the final battle on December 2nd, 1856, that concluded the civil war.¹⁴⁷

From 1856, Cetshwayo, not yet named as Mpande's heir apparent, moved to consolidate his position. Every half-brother and distant relative was seen as a potential threat. Two of these, his half-brother Uhamu and a distant cousin Mapita, were too powerful and lived in semi-independence under Mpande's rule. Mpande sneaked Monase's remaining son, Mkungo, out of Zululand so that he was able to seek refuge in Natal. Two other young half-brothers were also given refuge in Natal. But Cetshwayo attacked a favourite wife of Mpande at the time, Nomantshali, killing her and her daughters and forcing her sons to flee to the Transvaal. Nomantshali's remaining son, twelve her old Mpoyana, was killed before his father's eyes by a member of Cetshwayo's regiment.¹⁴⁸

Very few sources exist on Mpande. Among the main early written sources were missionaries, colonists of Natal and administrators of the colony of Natal. Among the main missionary sources are Rev. Holden¹⁴⁹ and Rev Henry Callaway.¹⁵⁰ Holden goes

¹⁴³ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 137.

¹⁴⁴ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 193-4.

¹⁴⁵ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 192-3.

¹⁴⁶ Davenport, *South Africa*, 66. For more details about the civil war refer to Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 193-6.

¹⁴⁷ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 196.

¹⁴⁸ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 198-9. Refer also to Laband, *Rope of sand*, 149ff.

¹⁴⁹ Holden, W.C., *Past and future of the Kaffir races*, London, William and Nicholls, 1886.

back in time to include a history of the rise of the Zulu kingdom, including a study of Shaka's childhood. Shepstone's article in Bird's *Annals* is also useful for the history of this period, as it is for the eras of Dingane and Cetshwayo. . Morris includes a chapter on Mpande in *The washing of the spears*. Ballard's study of John Dunn is also useful here.¹⁵¹ Here he discusses Dunn's involvement in the Zulu civil war of 1856. A significant later work on Mpande is found in Philip Kenneth's journal article.¹⁵²

4.8. The political structure under Cetshwayo KaMpande, 1872-1879

Cetshwayo came to power on his father's death in 1872, and he was the ruler of about 300,000 people concentrated largely in the valley of Phongolo between the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers. On the 1st September 1873, Theophilus Shepstone presided over Cetshwayo's coronation, after the two agreed to the promulgation of various 'coronation laws' at a meeting on the 28th August. These laws were that indiscriminate shedding of blood must cease; that no person could be condemned without trial and without the possibility of appeal to the king; that no life would be taken without the king's prior knowledge and consent; and that fines would be substituted for the death sentence for minor crimes.¹⁵³

To a large extent, the political structure of the Zulu kingdom under Cetshwayo retained many characteristics developed during Shaka's reign just over 50 years earlier. As Guy adds, during this time the size and strength of the clans changed *as the fortunes of their leading members* changed. One aspect of this was whether or not the leading member of the clan had the support of the paramount chief. In some cases, Guy points out, some clans were able to retain the support of the king from Shaka's era through to Cetshwayo's reign. One such example given by Morris was the Ntuli's. Guy writes:

Sompisi was a refugee from the Ntuli clan who gained the protection and 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 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.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Callaway, Henry, *The religious system of the Amazulu, 1868-1870*, London, Davis and Sons, 1870.

¹⁵¹ Ballard, 'The transfrontiersman'.

¹⁵² Kenneth, Philip, 'Mpande and the Zulu kingdom', in *Journal of natal and Zululand History*, Vol IV, 1981, 21-38.

¹⁵³ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 171.

¹⁵⁴ Guy, 'The political structure', 57.

During Cetshwayo's reign (and during the preceding sixty years), Guy points out, individuals and clans that achieved status within the kingdom were determined from above, i.e. from the Zulu state. Guy writes:

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 largely 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 ranks – 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 corridor of the kingdom and his aggressive self-confidence (our emphasis).¹⁵⁵

The control and administration of the kingdom relied on a large number of state officials, including the *izinduna*, the army commanders, regimental officers, personal attendants to the king, messengers, tribute collectors, and so on.¹⁵⁶ The king's chief minister was Mnyamana kaNqgengelele of the Buthelezi clan, whose father had been chief minister under Shaka.¹⁵⁷

Among the main *izikhulu* in Cetshwayo's time were *isikhulu* Mfanawendlela, of the Zungu, who were settled in the north and north-west of Ulundi; *isikhulu* Dikikana, of the Mbatha who lived near the Nhlazatshe mountains; *isikhulu* Mnqando of the Sibisi who also lived near the Nhlazatshe mountains; *isikhulu* Sekethwayo of the Mdlalose clan who lived in the north-western parts of the region; *isikhulu* Ntshingwayo, commander of the Zulu army and head of the Khoza clan that lived in the vicinity of the Mdlalose clan; *isikhulu* Gawozi of the Mpungose who lived south of Mahlabathini; *isikhulu* Manqondo of the Magwaza who lived in the north-west of Nkandla; *isikhulu* Godide of the Ntuli, who lived near the coast in the open valley of the Lower Tugela; *isikhulu* Mlandela of the Mthethwa who lived north of the Mhatuze River; and *isikhulu* Somkhele of the Mpukunyoni, who lived north of the Mthethwa and east of the St Lucia estuary.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Guy, 'The political structure', 58.

¹⁵⁶ Guy, 'The political structure', 59.

¹⁵⁷ Guy, 'The political structure', 60.

¹⁵⁸ Guy, 'The political structure', 60.

Other notable chiefs and chiefdoms of the time were chief Ndabankulu kaLukwazi of the Ntombela, who lived in the mountains near the present-day Vryheid; the remains of the once great chiefdom of the Ndwandwe under Mgojana, based where present-day Nongoma is located; the powerful Emgazini clan in the north, under the regent Sitshaluza; chief Mbopha of the Hlabisa who were based on the northern edge of the Black Mfolozi valley; the Mdletshe under chief Mfuzi in the east; chief Sihayo of the Qungebe, who lived east of Ulundi; the Biyela under chief Mkhosana, who lived east of the Mpungose; the Chube (or Shezi), who lived in the forests of the Nkandla under chief Sigananda; the Langeni under chief Ndwandwe in the north west of the kingdom; the Sithole under chief Matshana, who lived near the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers; and the Mchunu under Matshana KaSitshaluza, who were based just north of the Sithole chiefdom.¹⁵⁹

Members of the royal lineage also had their own chiefdoms. According to Guy, these include the Mphangisweni under Mahanana, a son of Mpande, who lived around the sources of the Black Mfolozi; the Sebeni, originally under Mama, daughter of Shaka's grandfather, Jama, and who lived near the Nhlazatshe mountain; and the Mandlakazi under Zibhekhu, a great-grandson of Jama, based in the north-eastern part of the region. Mpande's children, the princes of the kingdom, also had their own chiefdoms. These include Dabulamazi who lived in the south at Ezulweni near Entumeni, Ziweddu on the northern part of the Nongoma range, Sitheku near the Kwamagwaza mission south-east of Emthonjaneni, Shingane who lived near Emakhosini, Ndabuko, who lived near KwaMinya in the Ivuna valley and Hamu whose chiefdom was in the north-west of the country.¹⁶⁰

By the time Cetshwayo succeeded his father to the throne, various leading chieftains had been exercising a measure of semi-independence that was unsettling for a new king with a precarious hold on the monarchy. They resisted any interference in the internal affairs of their chiefdoms, while some were exercising the right of life and death over their subjects (normally a prerogative of the king). In addition, there were a number of his half-brothers and other relatives who threatened his position as king. Five of Mpande's sons were living in Natal at the time.¹⁶¹ More importantly, however, the king was losing his power over the *amabutho*, which was a source of his power. There was both reluctance on the part of young men to leave home for the military compounds and attempts by some powerful chiefs, like Hamu and Zibhebhu, to keep their young men in service to them rather than the king.¹⁶²

Jeff Guy has emerged as the major modern historian on the history of this era. His various books, book chapters and articles on the period provide authoritative studies of the manner in which Cetshwayo came to power, and the social and political organisation of the Zulu kingdom under Cetshwayo. These publications include 'The political

¹⁵⁹ Guy, 'The political structure', 60.

¹⁶⁰ Guy, 'The political structure', 64-5.

¹⁶¹ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 166.

¹⁶² Laband, *Rope of sand*, 176.

structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande',¹⁶³ in Peires's edited collection, as well as *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*.

One of the early writings on King Cetshwayo is Rider Haggard's *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours*,¹⁶⁴ which focuses largely on relations with the British and Boer during the reign of Cetshwayo. Haggard had spent some time in Natal between 1875 and 1881. Ballard's study of John Dunn's career provides some details about the Zulu kingdom under Cetshwayo between 1857 and 1878 (in which he discusses succession disputes and the basis for these). The autobiography of Dunn written by Moodie is also useful here.¹⁶⁵ Webb and Wright's edited collection of the king's statements and other documents – *A Zulu king speaks* – contains the king's description of the history and functioning of the Zulu state and the circumstances leading to its destruction.

4.9. The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom

During the last quarter of the century, there was increasing encroachment on the part of the Voortrekkers on Zululand. In the meantime, British policy towards Southern Africa underwent a major change when Lord Carnarvon was made Colonial Secretary in 1874. Carnarvon identified the main problem in South Africa the fragmented nature of the region which consisted of British colonies, independent Voortrekker republics and independent African states such as Zululand. The solution to this problem was a confederation of white-ruled states.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, it was necessary to bring Zululand into this confederation, which meant annexing the region. Sir Garnet Wolseley, Governor of Natal, suggested that Zululand could be brought under British control on the grounds that Cetshwayo had failed to maintain the 'coronation laws' promulgated by Shepstone in 1873.

But another pretext was required for war with the Zulus. The British authorities in Natal found it in the border dispute with the Voortrekkers. Although the Commission appointed to arbitrate in the dispute supported the Zulus' claims, Bartle Frere, the British High Commissioner of South Africa, when presenting the results of the Commission to a Zulu delegation on 11 December 1878, added that, notwithstanding the recognition of Zulu sovereignty, the Boers who had settled in the disputed region would be allowed to stay. Furthermore, Frere delivered an ultimatum which amounted to a declaration of war, declaring that a number of Cetshwayo's adherents had to be handed over to the British authorities within twenty days, together with the payment of a fine of 600 cattle, for committing a number of offences.¹⁶⁷ Frere's ultimatum also called on Cetshwayo to disband the Zulu army, stop executions, give missionaries the freedom to teach, and grant young Zulu men the freedom to marry within ten days. When the Zulu king did not conform to these demands, a succession of bloody confrontations between the Zulu and

¹⁶³ Guy, 'The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande'.

¹⁶⁴ London, Trubner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

¹⁶⁵ Moodie, D.C.F. (ed), *John Dunn, Cetshwayo and the three generals*, Pietermaritzburg, 1886.

¹⁶⁶ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 187.

¹⁶⁷ Etherington, "The 'Shepstone system'", 188-9, Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 287.

the British ultimately led to the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, after which the Zulu Kingdom was brought under British colonial rule.

Cetshwayo was captured in August 1879, and taken to exile in Cape Town and ordered never to return to Zululand. The Zulu kingdom was subsequently broken up into thirteen chiefdoms, each under an appointed chief, following an agreement reached with the king's leading chiefs and advisors on the 1st September.¹⁶⁸ A British Resident was appointed to serve as a diplomatic link with the appointed Zulu chiefs. The Resident could offer advice to the chiefs if they requested it and could remonstrate if they departed from the terms of their appointment. But he was not allowed to involve himself in the internal administration of the chiefdoms. The terms of the chiefs' appointment included respecting the new boundaries and abolishing the Zulu military system, and barred the chiefs from obstructing any of their followers wishing to work in the neighbouring territories, importing firearms, and becoming involved in trade which did not reach them through Natal or the Transvaal.¹⁶⁹ In this manner, the Zulus lost their centralized political system, although they were to retain a measure of 'independence'.

The British colonial authorities' objective in this regard was to restore pre-Shakan political units and to create divisions among the Zulus.¹⁷⁰ It was argued that the Zulu royal house was a band of conquering oppressors who had destroyed the independence and peaceful rule of the pre-Shakan chiefdoms by imposing over them the ruthless Zulu system.¹⁷¹ The first step was the re-establishment of chiefdoms like the Mthethwa, Zungu and Ndwande chiefdoms.

The second objective was to diminish, if not destroy, the power of the monarchy. Shepstone, in particular, felt that the preservation of the Zulu monarchy would prolong the life of the Zulu military system. According to Shepstone, the authority of the king was fragile because some chiefs were yearning for the independence their predecessors had enjoyed before the rise of Shaka. Breaking up the kingdom into thirteen chiefdoms would ensure that royal influence would be stifled. Moreover, whether these chiefs were hereditary, with a tradition of independence, or whether they were elevated to chieftaincy solely because of the colonial authority, they would collaborate to ensure that the monarchy did not re-emerge.¹⁷²

By way of creating divisions, the British appointed three controversial men to positions of authority: Hamu, a major Zulu defector to the British, who was made chief of the Ngetsheni and elements of the Buthelezi; Zibhebhu, leader of the Mandlakazi, was created chief over a number of clans associated with the royal house; and John Dunn, white counselor to Cetshwayo who had turned against the king during the war, was given a large chiefdom, later known as the Reserve, between the Mhlatuze and the Tugela,

¹⁶⁸ Laband, John and Thompson, Paul, 'The reduction of Zululand, 1878-1904', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand*, 202.

¹⁶⁹ Guy, *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, 69.

¹⁷⁰ Davenport, *South Africa*, 168.

¹⁷¹ Guy, *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, 71.

¹⁷² Laband and Thompson, 'The reduction of Zululand', 203.

bordering on Natal.¹⁷³ Most of the remaining chiefs also owed their elevation to chieftainship to the degree of trust the colonial authorities were able to place in them, either for their actual collaboration with the British, or for their early abandonment of the royal cause. A number of them had no hereditary status.¹⁷⁴

A military confrontation between the Zulu and Zibhebhu's chiefdom in the Msebe valley in April and at Ulundi in July 1883 procured the final blow to the once mighty Zulu. Cetshwayo fled from the fighting with Zibhebhu, and in 1884 he was found dead.¹⁷⁵ A number of the chiefs who supported the king were also killed, including some who had been appointed in the settlement in 1879.¹⁷⁶

The Usuthu under Cetshwayo had earlier turned to the Voortrekkers for support against Zibhebhu, and after contributing to the defeat of the latter at Etshaneni in June 1884, the Voortrekkers claimed five-sixths of Zululand outside the Reserve as their own territory.¹⁷⁷ This territory they called the New Republic, which the Colonial office in London came to see as a real threat to British interests in the region. However, instead of preventing the Boers from establishing their foothold in Zululand, the British declared in June 1887 that the area of Zululand outside of the New Republic was to be joined with the Reserve leading to the establishment of British Zululand. In this manner, the Native Law of Natal was extended to the whole of Zululand through Proclamation 11 of the same year. The Governor of Natal was declared the Supreme Chief, and the area was to be ruled in the same manner as Shepstone had done in the reserves of Natal. The Zulu chiefs had finally lost their independence. Moreover,

Chiefs had been encouraged to deny their allegiance to the king and the consultative basis for decision-making was thus no longer what it had been before. Yet even while his formal powers were diminished the king was still a symbol of opposition to imperial encroachment, particularly for homestead heads whose fortunes colonial annexation most adversely affected.¹⁷⁸

A year later, the Usuthu, or royal supporters, who were facing destruction at the hand of Zibhebhu, attacked the Mandlakazi and defeated them at Nongoma. The Usuthu force had been led by Dinizulu, the heir to the Zulu throne. However, British troops subsequently advanced on the Usuthu positions, and they were forced to scatter. Meanwhile, Dinizulu was captured, and later put to trial and found guilty of high treason and exiled to St Helena.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³ Davenport, *South Africa*, 168-9.

¹⁷⁴ Laband and Thompson, 'The reduction of Zululand', 205.

¹⁷⁵ Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership, and State Formation', 371-391.

¹⁷⁶ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 606.

¹⁷⁷ Davenport, *South Africa*, 169.

¹⁷⁸ Morrell, Robert, Wright, John and Meintjies, Sheila, 'Colonialism and the establishment of white domination', in R. Morrell (ed), *Political economy and identities: Historical and social perspectives*, Durban, Indicator Press, 1996, 52.

¹⁷⁹ Guy, *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, 238.

The various books written by the Colensos, in particular Frances Colenso, provide valuable information on the events leading up to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, the Zulu campaign during the War and the colonisation of Zululand. The main ones here are those written by Frances: *The ruin of Zululand: an account of British doings in Zululand since the invasion of 1879*¹⁸⁰ and (written with Edward Dunford) *History of the Zulu War and its origins*.¹⁸¹ These studies, as well as John William Colenso's *Langalibalele*,¹⁸² deal with detailed accounts of the Langalibalele events, the boundary dispute between the Zulus and the Voortrekkers, and the various incidents which led to Sir Bartle Frere's ultimatum to the Zulus in 1878 that led to the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu war. A journalistic account of the war is provided in Norris-Newman's *In Zululand with the British*.¹⁸³ Jeff Guy's study of Harriet Colenso provides detailed information about the Zulu kingdom after the Battle of Ulundi in 1879.¹⁸⁴ It is extremely useful in the study of the 13 kingdoms and the civil war in Zululand that followed. Sir Reginald Coupland published an account of Zulu operations during the war, dealing with the Battle of Isandlwana and other battles, in *Zulu Battle Piece*.¹⁸⁵ There are a wide variety of written works on the Anglo-Zulu War, which is not the subject of this literature review.

Another early work on the period is Thomas Jenkinson's *Amazulu*.¹⁸⁶ Jenkinson was a missionary who arrived in Natal in 1873, returned to England in 1879, before returning to Natal for the duration of the Anglo-Zulu War. Included in this study are the customs of the Zulu in Natal – based to some extent on the earlier writings of Reve Callaway – and, of relevance – that of heritage in polygamous households. There is some mention of historical events, such as Zululand after the War, and in particular the creation of the 13 chiefdoms.

Perhaps the most significant recent volumes written on the events leading to the Anglo-Zulu war are Morris' *Washing of the spears*, Laband's *Rope of sand* and Guy's *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*. In summary, during the last quarter of the century, there was increasing encroachment on the part of the Voortrekkers on Zululand, leading eventually to the establishment of the Voortrekker Utrecht Republic in 1852, which was submerged into the independent South African Republic (later known as the Transvaal province) in November 1869. Cetshwayo, who faced a number of rivals for the monarchy, in negotiations with the Voortrekkers granted them claim to land east of the Ncome River in exchange for the extradition of Cetshwayo's brothers who had sought refuge with them.¹⁸⁷ In 1875, the Voortrekkers proclaimed a new boundary line that included a large tract of land south of the Phongolo. A year later officials of the South

¹⁸⁰ London, 1884.

¹⁸¹ London, 1880.

¹⁸² Colenso, John William, *Langalibalele and the amaHlubi tribe*, London, 1874.

¹⁸³ Norris-Newman, Charles, L., *In Zululand with the British throughout the war of 1879*, London, 1880.

¹⁸⁴ Guy, Jeff, *The view across the river: Harriet Colenso and the Zulu struggle against imperialism*, Cape Town, David Philip, 2001.

¹⁸⁵ London, 1948.

¹⁸⁶ Jenkinson, Thomas Barge, *Amazulu. The Zulus, their past history, manners, customs, and language, with observations on the country and its productions, climate, etc., the Zulu War, and Zululand since the war*, Pretoria, State Library, 1968.

¹⁸⁷ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 152-3.

African Republic began to levy taxes from Zulus living on land in the disputed territory in the north-west of Zululand, and when they refused to pay, seized their cattle. Cetshwayo appealed to the British authorities in Natal to intervene, and they agreed to arbitrate. However, before this could occur, the British annexed the South African Republic in April 1877.

In the meantime, British policy towards Southern Africa underwent a major change when Lord Carnarvon was made Colonial Secretary in 1874. Carnarvon identified the main problem in South Africa the fragmented nature of the region which consisted of British colonies, independent Voortrekker republics and independent African states such as Zululand. The solution to this problem was a confederation of white-ruled states.¹⁸⁸ Consequently, it was necessary to bring Zululand into this confederation, which meant annexing the region. Sir Garnet Wolseley, Governor of Natal, suggested that Zululand could be brought under British control on the grounds that Cetshwayo had failed to maintain the 'coronation laws' promulgated by Shepstone in 1873.

But another pretext was required for war with the Zulus. The British authorities in Natal found it in the border dispute with the Voortrekkers. Although the Commission appointed to arbitrate in the dispute supported the Zulus' claims, Bartle Frere, the British High Commissioner of South Africa, when presenting the results of the Commission to a Zulu delegation on 11 December 1878, added that, notwithstanding the recognition of Zulu sovereignty, the Boers who had settled in the disputed region would be allowed to stay. Furthermore, Frere delivered an ultimatum which amounted to a declaration of war, declaring that a number of Cetshwayo's adherents had to handed over to the British authorities within twenty days, together with the payment of a fine of 600 cattle, for committing a number of offences.¹⁸⁹ Frere's ultimatum also called on Cetshwayo to disband the Zulu army, stop executions, give missionaries the freedom to teach, and grant young Zulu men the freedom to marry within ten days. When the Zulu king did not conform to these demands, a succession of bloody confrontations between the Zulu and the British ultimately led to the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, after which the Zulu Kingdom was brought under British colonial rule.

4.10. Native Policy in Natal, 1870-1887

While these events were taking place in rural Zululand, the Africans of Natal remained under the administrative system devised by Shepstone earlier. By the 1870s the chiefs had become salaried officials. The colonial administration had also encouraged the fragmentation of chiefdoms, and by 1882 there were 178 chiefs in Natal compared to sixty-five in 1852. Only thirty-eight of these had more than 700 huts under their control. Chiefly authority was further undermined by the *indunas*, who, although appointees of the chiefs, were often encouraged by magistrates to disobey the authority of their chiefs. The presence of a magistrate in each division also served to undermine the chiefs' authority, whose decisions were overridden by decisions of the magistrates. In 1875, the

¹⁸⁸ Laband, *Rope of sand*, 187.

¹⁸⁹ Etherington, "The 'Shepstone system'", 188-9, Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 287.

chiefs were deprived jurisdiction over all criminal cases in terms of the Native Administration Act of that year, and they were required to report all civil judgments to the magistrates. By 1881, most Africans were taking their cases to the magistrates instead of the chiefs. In addition, the shortage of land meant that chiefs were unable to distribute it and control the resources of their chiefdoms. They were consequently unable to exact tribute from homesteads who received nothing in return. Finally, very few chiefs were able to retain the *amabutho* system.¹⁹⁰

Ninety-three of the chiefs were hereditary chiefs, forty-six were appointed by the colonial administration, while the twenty-eight headmen in charge of parts of the chiefdoms had virtually the same position and power as that of appointed chiefs.¹⁹¹ In 1882 the chiefdoms differed in size, ranging from the Thembu under Chief Mganu that consisted of the inhabitants of 3,968 huts, the Chunu of Silwana consisting of the inhabitants of 3,582 huts to the Insangwini under William Sutu with the inhabitants of only four huts. Only six chiefs ruled over chiefdoms with more than 2,000 huts while sixty-three had authority over less than 200.¹⁹²

In the 1880s, the chiefdom functioned both as a kinship unit linking together related lineages, as well as on a territorial level as a judicial, administrative, religious and economic grouping. Thus, many of the inhabitants of a chiefdom, though not all, were inter-related and had a common ancestor. Lambert points out that the Mbo and Dlamini, in particular, retained their unity with the Mbo recognizing the headship of a senior lineage. Others, such as the Bomvu, Nyuwa and Cele had become so separated that common interests had disappeared.¹⁹³ Some inhabitants of the chiefdoms were refugees from elsewhere, with some chiefs expanding their strength by receiving them into their chiefdoms, particularly during the early days of colonialism.¹⁹⁴

4.11. Zululand under British colonial rule, 1887-1910

In 1891, African customary law was codified for the first time in the Natal Code of Native Law.¹⁹⁵ In terms of this Code, the Governor-General of Natal was given:

...all the powers, authorities, functions, rights, immunities and privileges which according to the laws, customs and usages of Natives are exercised and enjoyed by any Supreme or Paramount Native Chief and which shall be deemed *inter alia* to include the following: (a) Power to call upon chiefs personally to render

¹⁹⁰ Lambert, 'From independence to rebellion', 379-380.

¹⁹¹ Lambert, John, 'Africans in Natal, 1880-1899: certainty, change and crisis in a rural society', D.Phil, University of South Africa, 1986, 18.

¹⁹² Lambert, 'Africans in Natal', 18-19.

¹⁹³ Lambert, 'Africans in Natal', 19.

¹⁹⁴ Lambert, 'Africans in Natal', 20.

¹⁹⁵ Costa states that there were 'distortions' of customary practices in the Native Code as a result of attempts to reconcile the conflicting opinions of experts constituted in the Board appointed in 1875 to codify the system of 'native law'. Costa, Antony, 'Custom and common sense: The Zulu royal succession dispute of the 1940s', *African Studies*, Vol 56, No 1, 1997, 22.

military or other service and to supply armed men or levies for the suppression of disorder or rebellion; (b) Authority in the exercise of his functions and powers to punish disobedience of his orders or disregard of his authority by fine or imprisonment or by both fine and imprisonment; (c) The function of Upper Guardian of all Native orphans and minors in law.¹⁹⁶

In 1893, Natal was granted Responsible Government status, and the administration soon introduced laws further eroding the power of the chiefs. In 1894 the Natal Native Code resulted in two-thirds of Zululand being confiscated and the Zulu nation effectively confined to a native reserve. The Governor-General of Natal was empowered to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The appointment of headmen by chiefs was now subject to the approval of the magistrates.¹⁹⁷ Davenport points out that the Governor-General had used these powers to dismiss chiefs without the benefit of a trial.¹⁹⁸

During this period, Lambert and Morrell note, the Natal government was responsible for creating conflicts within the chiefdoms, particularly by intervening in disputed successions. Under customary law, the property and person of the chief could not be separated. However, the 1891 Native Code gave the Supreme Chief the right to appoint a successor to the chieftaincy, while the Native High Court could pass judgment on succession to property. Instances thus arose where the chief appointed by the Supreme Chief during a succession dispute would lose his property to a rival based on a decision of the Native High Court. This occurred in the case of the Qwabe chiefdom, where Meseni was recognized as heir to the chieftaincy while Siziba received the previous chief's property. The resulting disaffection and fighting with the chiefdom eventually led to Meseni's participation in the 1906 Bambatha rebellion (see below). Moreover, from 1893 the government began the practice of breaking up chiefdoms to reduce the power of the chiefs, particularly on the occasions when old chiefs died. This process was extensively applied in southern Zululand after 1898,¹⁹⁹ and probably accounted for the appointment of a number of new chiefs.

In 1898 Dinizulu returned from exile as a chief of the Usuthu people, who were based in the Nongoma region. The Usuthu had lost the power and status that had been associated with their royal leadership, while a large part of the chiefdom lay outside the borders of Zululand in land ceded by Dinizulu as the New Republic. Dinizulu was in a difficult position. He was the popularly-recognised head of the Zulu people and his presence in Zululand was regarded by many people as evidence of the restoration of the royal house. On the other hand, however, he was officially a chief like other chiefs, subject to the authority of the Supreme Chief. It was to be expected, nevertheless, that many chiefs

¹⁹⁶ Rogers, H., *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1933, 316. Cited in Jason Myers, 'Fancy dress: Concealment and ideology in South Africa', *Transformation*, 30, 1996, 33.

¹⁹⁷ Lambert, 'From independence to rebellion', 384.

¹⁹⁸ Davenport, *South Africa*, 230.

¹⁹⁹ Lambert, John and Morrell, Robert, 'Domination and subordination in Natal, 1890-1920', in R. Morrell, (ed), *Political economy and identities*, 76.

frustrated with the attitude of government officials and with the laws they were enforcing would turn to Dinizulu for leadership.²⁰⁰

In 1902, the Natal authorities moved to open up Zululand to European settlement, and thousands of settlers subsequently poured in. A land commission had set aside some of the land for the chiefdoms.²⁰¹ The Commission submitted its report in October 1905. 1,057,467 hectares of Zululand (or 40,2 per cent of its total area) were set aside for European occupation, and the remaining 1,573,047 hectares for the African reserves.²⁰²

However, the Natal authorities were to face a final act of resistance on the part of the Zulu. In August 1905 the Natal parliament passed the African Poll Tax Act, imposing a poll tax of one pound on every adult African male in Natal. This caused great resentment, and soon developed into an open rebellion when Bambatha, a minor chief of the Greytown district, defied the White tax-collectors. Bambatha was deposed and a successor appointed by the colonial administration. Bambatha responded by kidnapping his successor and fleeing across the Tugela to avoid capture.²⁰³ There were rumours that Bambatha had held talks with Dinizulu in Zululand and that the latter had encouraged Bambatha to rebel. However the Bambatha Rebellion was crushed by the Natal colonial troops in August 1906.²⁰⁴ During the rebellion, several Europeans and over 2,300 Zulus were killed, while almost 5,000 Zulus were brought to trial.

Dinizulu was brought to trial in Pietermaritzburg, was found guilty of treason and sentenced to four years imprisonment. He was first incarcerated in Newcastle, and then moved to the Transvaal in 1910. By that time, Zulu society was no longer what it had been during the time of the old Zulu kingdom. Approximately 400,000 Zulus continued to live under some 200 chiefs. Dinizulu, Cetshwayo's declared heir, was no longer recognised as king, but employed as a government induna, receiving an annual stipend of 500 pounds.²⁰⁵ He died in 1913 at the age of forty-five, without ever returning to Zululand. Dinizulu's son Maphumuzana, better known as Solomon, was proclaimed heir and permitted to return to Zululand in 1916.²⁰⁶

Frances Colenso's *The Ruin of Zululand* deals with the events that followed the defeat of the Zulus at Ulundi in 1879. More recent studies of the process include Guy's *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, Laband's *Rope of sand*, and Morris's *The washing of the spears*. In particular, Laband's volume describes in great detail how the Zulu kingdom was divided into thirteen chiefdoms, the territories of these appointed chiefs, and the civil war arising as a consequence of the new settlement enforced by the British colonial authorities in Natal. A consequence of the new arrangement was firstly, the appointment of new chieftains and the erosion of the status and powers of others, the diminution of the powers of the Zulu monarch, and the colonization of Zululand. Similarly, Guy's

²⁰⁰ Lambert, 'From independence to rebellion', 389.

²⁰¹ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 613.

²⁰² Laband, *Rope of sand*, 439.

²⁰³ Davenport, *South Africa*, 230.

²⁰⁴ Refer to www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/online%20books/search-freedom/chapter2.htm

²⁰⁵ Refer to www.sahistory.org.za/pages/library-resources/online%20books/search-freedom/chapter2.htm

²⁰⁶ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 612-3.

Destruction features an extensive analysis of the civil war, which is useful in understanding the impact of the postwar settlement on individual kingdoms.

Another recent source on this period is MacKinnon's dissertation,²⁰⁷ which is a study of Zululand history in the period 1880-1920. MacKinnon starts by examining the formation of the Boundary Commission of 1880, which established the 13 chiefdoms, and the underlying reasons for the demarcation of Zululand. Part of the analysis includes the impact on various chiefdoms, including the civil war it gave rise to.

Cope's thesis and book²⁰⁸ both deal with the consequences of the division of the Zulu kingdom and the establishment of the 13 chiefdoms after the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. A study of one of the white 'chiefs' can be found in Ballard's *John Dunn*.²⁰⁹ This study also contains details about the creation of the chiefdoms, and the consequences arising from this settlement. The impact of the settlement on one of the chiefdoms can be found in Shirron Bramdeow's study of the Mthethwa chiefdom.²¹⁰ Davenport also produced an article on the fragmentation of Zululand.²¹¹ Jeff Guy focuses on the role of colonial administrators in the fragmentation of the kingdom in a chapter in the book edited by Duminy and Ballard.²¹²

The nature of colonial 'native' administration after Zululand was incorporated into Natal can be drawn from a variety of sources. Among these are Frances Colenso's *The ruin of Zululand*. More recent studies include Guy's *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, Laband's *Rope of sand*, Morris's *The washing of the spears*, a chapter by John Lambert in the volume edited by Duminy and Guest,²¹³ and another in the same volume by Laband and Paul Thompson.²¹⁴

MacKinnon also provides a discussion of the creation of the British Zululand Native reserve, the return of Cetshwayo, the events leading to the annexation of Zululand, the Bambatha rebellion, the Demarcation Commission of 1891, and its report and impact. The study focuses on the 1902-4 Zululand Land Delimitation Commission, which provided for white settlement in Zululand, and its impact on Africans, and includes a

²⁰⁷ MacKinnin, A.R., 'The impact of European land domination and appropriations on Zululand, 1880-1920', MA dissertation, University of Natal, 1990.

²⁰⁸ Cope, 'The Zulu Royal family' and *To bind the nation*.

²⁰⁹ Ballard, C.C., *John Dunn: The white chief of Zululand*, Johannesburg, 1985. Refer also to Ballard, 'The transfrontiersman'.

²¹⁰ Bramdeow, Shirron, 'The Mthethwa chiefdom and the Ulundi Treaty, 1879-1883', BA Hons dissertation, University of Natal, 1985.

²¹¹ Davenport, T.R.H., 'The fragmentation of Zululand, 1879-1918', in *Reality: A journal of liberal and radical opinion*, September 1979.

²¹² Guy, Jeff, 'The role of colonial administrators in the destruction of the Zulu kingdom, in A. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds), *The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives*, Pietermaritzburg, 1981.

²¹³ Lambert, John, 'From independence to rebellion'.

²¹⁴ Laband and Thompson, 'The reduction of Zululand, 202.

number of important maps of the region's land distribution at the time.²¹⁵ Other relevant studies here include Christopher's 'Note on the opening of Zululand'.²¹⁶

The Bambatha rebellion is also the subject of a number of studies. James Stuart's *History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906*²¹⁷ is the standard account of the rebellion. Cope's thesis and book also deal with the impact of the Bambatha rebellion on the position of the Zulu king. MacKinnon's dissertation²¹⁸ similarly contains a chapter on the rebellion and its impact on the Zulu kingdom. Jeff Guy also produced *Remembering the rebellion*²¹⁹ which is critical for an understanding of how the rebellion affecting the monarchy. Brookes's *History of Natal* is one of those broad studies of the history of the colony which begins with the period prior to its formation – that is, with the rise of the Mthethwa kingdom and Dingiswayo, the rise of the Zulu nation, and deals with the rise of Dingane, the Shepstone system in Natal, Dingane's reign, Mpande's reign, the Langalibalele affair in great detail, events leading up to the Anglo-Zulu War, Zululand from 1879, the Bambatha rebellion and events leading to Union in 1910.

4.12. The Union of South Africa to the dawn of apartheid, 1910-1948

In 1910, the Union of South Africa was born, bringing together the two former British colonies of Natal and the Cape, and the two former independent Voortrekker republics, the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. After union, Zululand was nothing more than a series of native reserves akin to those of the former colony of Natal. It was under Native Law administered by European magistrates, and while the chieftains still exercised authority in the internal affairs of their chiefdoms, the office of paramount chief was without political significance.²²⁰ The Native Land Act of 1913 confirmed the reserves of Zululand as they were determined in 1905.

The South African Act of 1909, which established the Union, also made provision for the control and administration of 'native' affairs. Under section 147, this was vested in the Governor-General, who was also given the power to exercise all special powers in regard to native administration previously vested in the Governors of the various colonies or exercised by them as Supreme Chief. This Act therefore reaffirmed the powers vested in the Governor of Natal as the Supreme Chief of the Natal Native Code and other enactments. Existing laws were retained and generally the policies of the various governments prior to the Union were observed as closely as possible. Under the provisions of Section 14 of the South Africa Act the Governor-General established the Department of Native Affairs.²²¹

²¹⁵ MacKinnon, 'The impact of European land domination'.

²¹⁶ Christopher, A.J., 'A note on the opening of Zululand to European Settlement', in *Historia*, Vol 16, 1975.

²¹⁷ London, 1913.

²¹⁸ MacKinnon, 'The impact of European land domination'.

²¹⁹ Guy, Jeff, *Remembering the rebellion: the Zulu uprising of 1906*, Scottsville, University of Natal Press, 2006.

²²⁰ Morris, *The washing of the spears*, 612-3.

²²¹ Herbst, J.F., 'The administration of Native Affairs in South Africa', *African Affairs*, XXIX, 1930, 478.

In 1916 the Union government restored Dinizulu's son Solomon to the position the former had held before 1908 in an attempt to co-opt the royal house as an agent of control. In this regard, Solomon became dependent on official recognition for his position, and was required to enforce government policy.²²²

The Union government's first piece of legislation affecting chieftaincy was introduced by General Smuts' government in 1920. The Native Affairs Act built on the Glen Grey system of district councils that was implemented in the Transkei from the 1890s by extending it throughout the Union. The "local government" system the Glen Grey Act of 1894 established consisted of a two-tiered arrangement of district councils and location boards. Each district was divided into a number of 'wards' or 'locations'. The headmen in charge of each location were appointed by the government, and were not necessarily from a chiefly background, although many chiefs were appointed as headmen in the Transkei from the 1890s on. Thus, power at the local level was concentrated in the hands of unelected and compliant traditional authorities and headmen.²²³ Location boards were subsidiary bodies intended to control individual locations; they consisted of three members elected by location inhabitants and approved by the magistrate. District councils, which were higher bodies, were responsible for the administration of local affairs throughout the district. Each district council was composed of twelve members, of whom six were nominated by the magistrate and six were elected by Africans, subject to the magistrate's approval.²²⁴

In the first area in which the Glen Grey Act was tested, Glen Grey, the Governor nominated half of the twelve members of the District Council, while three of each were elected by members of the Location Boards of Glen Grey and Lady Frere. The (white) Resident Magistrate presided over meetings and decisions and resolutions were subject to the approval of the Governor.²²⁵ Proclamation 32 of 1894 extended the Glen Grey system to four districts in the Transkei (Butterworth, Idutywa, Nqamakwe, and Tsomo), with alterations that tightened the Department's grip over District Councilors. The selection of the councilors, who were reduced from twelve to six, became entirely a function of administrative functionaries, with four elected by headmen and two by the Governor-General (in effect, by the local magistrate).²²⁶

In 1931, the Transkei and Pondoland councils were amalgamated to form the United Transkeian Territories General Council (UTTGC), known as the *Bunga* ("discussion"). The resolutions passed by district councils were channeled to the Transkei General Council. Although the *Bunga*'s purview was widened to empower it to discuss and pass resolutions on any issue bearing on the economic and social conditions of Africans in the Union, its recommendations remained purely advisory. The 108-person membership of

²²² Lambert and Morrell, 'Domination and subordination in Natal', 91.

²²³ Ntsebeza, Lungisile, *Democracy compromised: Chiefs and the politics of land in South Africa*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2005, 66-9.

²²⁴ Evans, Ivan, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*, Berkeley, University of California Press, c1997. <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft2n39n7f2/>.

²²⁵ Ntsebeza, *Democracy compromised*, 66-7.

²²⁶ Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*.

the UTTGC was composed as follows: the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, presiding as Chair over the Bunga; twenty-six Magistrates; three Paramount Chiefs *ex officio* (from Thembuland and Eastern and Western Pondoland); and three representatives sent up from each of the 29 district councils. This composition yielded a ratio of whites to Africans of 27:81 and a ratio of elected representatives to administrative officials of 78:30. The clear numerical majority of elected Africans was circumscribed, however, by the powers that direct rule lodged in the Transkei's magistrates.²²⁷

Furthermore, a convoluted method of indirect "election" ensured that chiefs and headmen were likely to predominate within the district councils. According to Hammond-Tooke, of the 138 men serving as District Councilors in 1955, 105 (76 percent) were either chiefs or headmen, only 60 of whom were elected. From 1932 onward, "ratepayers" (i.e., landholders) in each electoral ward convened to elect three representatives once every three years; thereafter, these representatives would meet to elect four from among their ranks to join two government nominees on the district council. Three representatives would then be elected by the district council (subject to the magistrate's nominal approval) to serve on the Bunga.²²⁸

In 1947 Mears provided an assessment of the impact of the Glen Grey Act – and its subsequent extension throughout the Transkei – on the powers and role of chiefs as follows:

It was the fundamental policy to break down the powers of the chiefs, and to institute a system of paid headmen as subordinates to the Magistrates to carry out specific duties. Chiefs became government stipendiaries, and even today the leading tribal chiefs receive substantial stipends although they are not actively employed in the administrative organization. Headmen accordingly are more intimately associated with the administration of the Transkei than are the chiefs.²²⁹

In Natal, the situation that emerged after the passage of the 1920 Act was quite different. Most importantly, the state was faced with competing views of the future of African administration amongst the Natal administrators and the Zululand chiefs.

On the one hand, a resurgence of Zulu ethnic nationalism was taking place in Natal from the mid-1920s. Inkatha kaZulu, the Zulu ethnic political and cultural organization, mobilised support from the conservative Natal African intelligentsia and royalist chiefs. It bolstered Zulu nationalism and pressed for state recognition of King Solomon kaDinuzulu's 'paramountcy'. Within Zululand, there was a hierarchy of chiefly authority: the paramounts of the Usuthu (Zulu royal clan), Solomon kaDinuzulu (1913-1933) and his brother Arthur Edward Mshiyeni kaDinuzulu (1933-1948); hereditary chiefs of powerful clans; chiefs appointed by the state; and izinduna. The central state in Pretoria

²²⁷ Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*.

²²⁸ Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*.

²²⁹ Mears, W.J.G., 'A study in Native Administration: The Transkeian Territories', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1947, 80. Cited in Ntsebeza, *Democracy compromised*, 69.

bound these men to the white administration under the emerging system of segregation in order to harness their authority to the demands of an industrialising country. In contrast, the local Natal administration was still wary of a revival of the powerful Zulu military kingdom and sought to lessen the power of chiefs. Natal fears were reinforced by the Bambatha rebellion of 1906.²³⁰ Thus, the Natal administration opposed the formation of a General Council, on the lines of the Transkeian Bunga, and promoted the formation instead of local and district councils to prevent any accumulation of power by Solomon. A General Council was never established in Zululand.²³¹

On the other hand, chiefs in Zululand rejected the formation of local and district councils largely because they were not willing to accept a variant of local government in which popular democratic sentiment could dilute, or even undermine established chiefly authority. Despite growing popular support for the councils among commoners, Solomon and the chiefs rejected the concept of the Bunga's elected officials out of hand. In 1933 the Native Affairs Department seemed no closer to convincing Zululand chiefs or Pretoria to make way for elected officials.²³² Thus, the key tension underlying the introduction of local councils was that chiefs feared any form of democratic institution that would undermine their authority, while the Natal administration and the settlers were concerned that a central council would give power to the royal family.²³³

During the 1920s, disaffection with appointed chiefs led the Native Affairs Department to make concerted efforts to refine and reconstruct chiefly authority. Although a largely unresolved issue, the amalgamation of existing 'tribes' was one strategy whereby the state attempted to bolster its control and manufacture legitimacy. During the late 1920s and into the 1930s, the Department terminated the posts of a number of Zululand chiefs whose followers resided largely on lands taken up by whites and amalgamated them with the reserves. The NAD reduced the number of chiefs from a peak of 100 in 1920 down to 67 recognised men in receipt of government stipends in 1937.²³⁴

In the first half of the century, a number of chiefs were suspended or deposed for failing or resisting the implementation of various government policies. MacKinnon provides an account of the suspension of a Chief Isaac Molife, the son of a government-appointed chief in the Nqutu district of Zululand, in 1944 and the conferring of his duties on a government-appointed induna who was appointed 'acting chief'.²³⁵ Molife was suspended for his supposedly impudent and recalcitrant behaviour towards the Native Commissioner and his resistance to 'progressive' schemes for the betterment of his ward.

²³⁰ MacKinnon, Aran S., 'Chiefly Authority, Leapfrogging Headmen and the Political Economy of Zululand, South Africa, ca. 1930-1950', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Special Issue for Shula Marks (Sep., 2001), 572.

²³¹ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 573.

²³² MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 574.

²³³ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 575.

²³⁴ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 577.

²³⁵ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 586ff.

Certainly the most important piece of legislation introduced during this era with regard to the chieftaincy was the Native Administration Act of 1927. In this regard, the Act extended the powers enjoyed by the Governor-General in Natal under the Natal Native Code of 1891. The Governor-General was made the Supreme Chief over all Africans countrywide, with the authority to appoint chiefs and headmen, define tribal boundaries, alter the composition of tribes, move tribes or individuals from any place in the Union (provided parliamentary approval was obtained if the tribe – as distinct from the individual – objected), and prescribe the duties, powers and conditions of service of the chiefs.²³⁶

The role that chiefs were expected to play under the terms of the Act is revealed in the comments of one field administrator in a correspondence with the Commissioner's office:

I shall be glad if the Bantu Affairs Commissioner will submit concrete proposals for the establishment of a tribal authority for Chief Sekgopa's tribe. At the same time the conferment of civil and criminal jurisdiction on the Chief will be considered.

Once these steps have been taken, the Chief and his Council can proceed against agitators according to the tribal laws and traditions and if such action fails, consideration will be given to proceeding against the agitators in terms of section 5 of Act 38 of 1927.²³⁷

Section 5 of the 1927 Act provided for the definition of tribal and location boundaries, the fusion and fission of tribes, and the removal of tribes and individuals. Once the Bantu Authorities had been established, the white administration would no longer play the role of 'Supreme Chief'. Instead, that role was to be passed on to chiefs and headmen.²³⁸

According to Jason Myers, the ANC's Council of Chiefs responded to the act with a detailed memorandum to the government arguing that neither chiefs nor Paramount chiefs had ever held the powers given to the Governor-General in the Act. Chieftaincy, they argued, was a hereditary office over which the 'Supreme' or Paramount Chief held no powers of appointment nor of deposition. No chief, they suggested, could take action without first consulting with his council of advisors and receiving the ultimate approval of the *kgotla*, the gathering of all adult males. By contrast, the Native Affairs Department had employed autocratic powers of rule by proclamation, which was unheard of in African chiefdoms.²³⁹ Myers argued, further, that:

The government was not simply claiming the right to make law for black South Africans by proclamation, but to do so as one of them. By transforming the Governor-General, and through him, the Native Affairs Department, into a 'Native Authority' rather than an 'Authority over Natives', their every action was

²³⁶ Davenport, *South Africa*, 294.

²³⁷ Cited in Myers, 'Fancy dress', 36.

²³⁸ Myers, 'Fancy dress', 36.

²³⁹ Myers, 'Fancy dress', 33-4.

instantaneously made legitimate. South African ‘native administration’ now issued not from the mouth of a white administrator but from that of a ‘traditional native chief’, translating the paradigm of indirect rule from an operational principle on the ground to an ideological masking at the highest levels of power.

The Native Affairs Department stated that its role was that of recognizing existing chiefs, and maintained that only in exceptional cases was a chief appointed outside traditional African custom. However, the total number of chiefs countrywide increased from 384 in 1936, to 466 in 1945 and 701 in 1947. While state ethnologists such as Isaac Schapera – *Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa* – and N.J. Van Warmelo – *Preliminary survey of the Bantu tribes of South Africa* – carefully compiled genealogies of tribal and chiefly descent, the correspondence files of the Department indicate numerous cases of deposed chiefs and disputed successions.²⁴⁰

As far as the Zulu traditional authorities are concerned, one effect of the new law was that:

From 1927 the Native Affairs Department came to look with increasing favour on the recently formed Zulu ethnic movement, the early Inkatha. It was also giving serious consideration to the idea of recognising Solomon as Zulu king.²⁴¹

Solomon kaDinuzulu died in early 1933 while his sons were still minors. Solomon’s only full brother, Mshiyeni kaDinuzulu, was nominated by the royal house and accepted by the government as regent. Mshiyeni was elevated to ‘Acting Paramount Chief’ in 1939, and soon thereafter requested that the initial choice of heir, one Pikokwaziwayo, be replaced as he was an ‘unsuitable’ character. In his stead Tandayipi would be the candidate. The Chief Native Commissioner for Natal, Harry Lugg, cautiously supported the regent, but insisted that the new heir be chosen by a full meeting of the royal family and publicly announced. A meeting was held in April 1940 and it was reported to Lugg that Tandayipi was elected as Solomon’s heir. Despite Lugg claiming that the decision was ‘met with the whole-hearted approval of all Chiefs and Natives of standing in this province’, in July 1944 he had to report to Pretoria that a dispute had arisen over succession to the monarchy. The other claimant to the throne was Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon Zulu, Solomon’s son by his first wife.

In order to avert a threatening civil war as opposing factions coalesced around the rival claimants, the Native Affairs Department appointed a commission of enquiry – made up of the Chief Native Commissioner for Natal and two other (white) Native Commissioners – to decide on the succession issue.

From the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, a number of books, journal articles and book chapters were written about ‘Native Administration in

²⁴⁰ Myers, J.C., *Indirect rule in South Africa: tradition, modernity, and the costuming of political power*, University of Rochester Press, 2008, 17.

²⁴¹ Maylam, Paul, ‘The changing political economy of the region, 1920-1950’, in R. Morrell (ed), *Political economy and identities*, 108.

South Africa'. These publications generally deal with the legislation affecting the administration of Africans, the impact of legislation on the chieftaincy and African communities, and the various administrations charged with African administration.

However, some of the historical studies discussed above include a focus on the early 'Native policy' of the Union. For instance, McKinnon deals with the impact of the 1913 Land Act on the African population of Natal in his dissertation.²⁴² An article by Wickings also looks at the impact of the Land Act on the African population.²⁴³

Herbst's 'The Administration of Native Affairs in South Africa' begins with an account of the provisions of the South African Act of 1909 (which created the Union of South Africa) relating to Native Administration. With regard to the province of Natal, which included Zululand and the previous Native Reserve, Herbst points out that the laws governing the administration of the territory prior to Union were retained. In short, the South African Act therefore reaffirmed the powers vested in the Governor of Natal as the Supreme Chief. Existing laws were retained and generally the policies of the various governments prior to the Union were observed as closely as possible. Under the provisions of Section 14 of the South Africa Act the Governor-General established the Department of Native Affairs.²⁴⁴

Herbst goes on to discuss the powers of chiefs relative to magistrates, and he points out that in Natal Native law and custom were recognised by the Courts. He then turns to the Union government's first piece of legislation affecting chieftaincy, which was introduced by General Smuts' government in 1920. The Native Affairs Act built on the Glen Grey system of district councils that was implemented in the Transkei from the 1890s by extending it throughout the Union. The "local government" system the Glen Grey Act of 1894 established consisted of a two-tiered arrangement of district councils and location boards. Each district was divided into a number of 'wards' or 'locations'. The headmen in charge of each location were appointed by the government, and were not necessarily from a chiefly background, although many chiefs were appointed as headmen in the Transkei from the 1890s on. Thus, power at the local level was concentrated in the hands of un-elected and compliant traditional authorities and headmen. Location boards were subsidiary bodies intended to control individual locations; they consisted of three members elected by location inhabitants and approved by the magistrate. District councils, which were higher bodies, were responsible for the administration of local affairs throughout the district. Each district council was composed of twelve members, of whom six were nominated by the magistrate and six were elected by Africans, subject to the magistrate's approval. Herbst concludes that there was not much demand for the establishment of councils in Natal, largely because many of the chiefs looked upon the councils as institutions designed to supplant them. The rest of the article deals with the operation of the councils in the Transkei, the introduction of the Native (Urban Areas)

²⁴² MacKinnin, 'The impact of European land domination'.

²⁴³ Wickins, P.L., 'The Native Land Act of 1913: A customary essay on simple explanations of complex change', in *South African Journal of Economics*, Vol 49, No 2, 1981.

²⁴⁴ Herbst, J.F., 'The administration of Native Affairs in South Africa'.

Act of 1923, the work of the Native Affairs Department in the first twenty years of the Union, and the provisions of the Native Affairs Administration Act of 1927.

In another article dealing with the issue of local councils, Aran MacKinnon explores how the system evolved in Natal. He argues that the state was faced with competing views of the future of African administration amongst the Natal administrators and the Zululand chiefs.²⁴⁵ Saul Dubow also makes a study of the Native Affairs department between 1920 and 1933.²⁴⁶

On the one hand, a resurgence of Zulu ethnic nationalism was taking place in Natal from the mid-1920s. Inkatha kaZulu, the Zulu ethnic political and cultural organization, mobilised support from the conservative Natal African intelligentsia and royalist chiefs. It bolstered Zulu nationalism and pressed for state recognition of King Solomon kaDinuzulu's 'paramountcy'. Within Zululand, there was a hierarchy of chiefly authority: the paramounts of the Usuthu (Zulu royal clan), Solomon kaDinuzulu (1913-1933) and his brother Arthur Edward Mshiyeni kaDinuzulu (1933-1948); hereditary chiefs of powerful clans; chiefs appointed by the state; and izinduna. The central state in Pretoria bound these men to the white administration under the emerging system of segregation in order to harness their authority to the demands of an industrialising country. In contrast, the local Natal administration was still wary of a revival of the powerful Zulu military kingdom and sought to lessen the power of chiefs. Natal fears were reinforced by the Bambatha rebellion of 1906.²⁴⁷ Thus, the Natal administration opposed the formation of a General Council, on the lines of the Transkeian Bunga, and promoted the formation instead of local and district councils to prevent any accumulation of power by Solomon. A General Council was never established in Zululand.

On the other hand, chiefs in Zululand rejected the formation of local and district councils largely because they were not willing to accept a variant of local government in which popular democratic sentiment could dilute, or even undermine established chiefly authority. Despite growing popular support for the councils among commoners, Solomon and the chiefs rejected the concept of the Bunga's elected officials out of hand. In 1933 the Native Affairs Department seemed no closer to convincing Zululand chiefs or Pretoria to make way for elected officials.²⁴⁸ Thus, the key tension underlying the introduction of local councils was that chiefs feared any form of democratic institution that would undermine their authority, while the Natal administration and the settlers were concerned that a central council would give power to the royal family.²⁴⁹

During the 1920s, disaffection with appointed chiefs led the Native Affairs Department to make concerted efforts to refine and reconstruct chiefly authority. Although a largely unresolved issue, the amalgamation of existing 'tribes' was one strategy whereby the

²⁴⁵ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 573.

²⁴⁶ Dubow, Saul, 'Holding 'a Just balance between Black and White', The Native Affairs Department in South Africa, c1920-1933', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol 12, No 2, April 1986, 217-239.

²⁴⁷ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 572.

²⁴⁸ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 574.

²⁴⁹ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 575.

state attempted to bolster its control and manufacture legitimacy. During the later 1920s and into the 1930s, the Department terminated the posts of a number of Zululand chiefs whose followers resided largely on lands taken up by whites and amalgamated them with the reserves. The NAD reduced the number of chiefs from a peak of 100 in 1920 down to 67 recognised men in receipt of government stipends in 1937.²⁵⁰

In a related area, Lungisile Ntsebeza discusses the introduction of the council system to the colonized Transkei territories in the late 19th century and resistance to this system of administration in the Xhalanga district of the region. However, the emphasis here is on the issue of land, rather than that of succession to the chieftainship. The significance of this volume for this literature review, however, lies in the discussion of the nature of the system introduced by the Glen Grey Act, and its impact on chieftainship in the district.²⁵¹

A rather extensive work on 'Native' Administration was published in 1997 by an American scholar, Ivan Evans, entitled *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*.²⁵² However, the focus is on the Transkei and the operations of the Native Affairs Department. Nevertheless, critical information about the impact of the Department on succession can be drawn from this volume.

In general, Nicholas Cope's thesis and book deal with the powers of chiefs granted by legislation and regulations introduced during the period 1910-33, and the position and status of the Zulu royal family. Insofar as the issues relating to succession are concerned, important areas here include Cope's study of the provisions of the 1909 South African Act. Cope deals with legislation introduced between 1910 and 1933, including the Native Land Act of 1913, (with a focus on how this legislation led to an influx of Africans into the 'Native' reserves and on its impact on African tenants on white farms, including the plight of tenant chiefs on white-owned farms). Cope also deals with the early history Natal Native Affairs Department, which he argues had some degree of independence. The study contains detail about the approach of the Natal Native Affairs Department to policy on Africans during the period. As such, Cope also deals with the Natal response to the 1920 Native Affairs Act, the formation of Inkatha and the 1927 Native Administration Act.

Cope also deals with the succession of King Solomon, and the tribal divisions among the Zulu between those who supported the royal house and those who were 'loyal' to the government. This analysis gives some insight into relations between the various chiefdoms that had emerged during the 1879 settlement and the royal house. Details of Solomon's advisers are also provided.

A glimpse of the role of Native Commissioners in succession disputes is provided by Fred Rodseth, one-time Deputy Native Commissioner.²⁵³ Rodseth writes:

²⁵⁰ MacKinnon, 'Chiefly Authority', 577.

²⁵¹ Ntsebeza, *Democracy compromised*, 66-9.

²⁵² Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*.

²⁵³ Rodseth, Fred, *Ndabazabantu: The life of a Native Affairs Administrator*, Johannesburg, Volda, 1984.

Later when I was Under Secretary of the Department, a report came from the Chief Native Commissioner of Natal that Chief Mahlware had died and a dispute had arisen as to his successor. This involved not only the chieftainship, but also the women and the girls, plus cattle that belonged to the kraal. One claimant maintained, following our law, that his mother was the first and most senior wife. The other aspirant submitted that his mother ... was of royal birth, and thereby the senior wife of their joint husband. The Chief Native Commissioner asked for a board to go into the question and make a recommendation. Three senior Commissioners were appointed. They came to the unanimous conclusion that he of the royal blood had the better claim.²⁵⁴

One cannot deal with the history of chieftainship in the early 20th century without consulting Brookes and Hurwitz's *The Native Reserves of Natal*.²⁵⁵ This book contains critical information about legislation affecting chieftainship, and the administrative structures involved in the administration of the African population. It is noted here that the administration of the reserves in Natal was mainly in the hands of the Natal Native Affairs Department, although other departments, such as Justice, performed critical tasks in the reserves. The authors discuss the failure to establish a council system in Natal, as well as the effects of the Native Affairs Administration Act of 1927. The book also contains important information on the population and population growth of the reserves, density and the land and economic situation.

4.13. Policy towards Africans during the apartheid era, 1948-1994

The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 with its policy of apartheid. Central to apartheid was the idea of separate development. In 1950 Cyprian was recognized by the Nationalist government as the paramount chief of the Zulus.²⁵⁶

In 1951, the white parliament passed the Bantu Authorities Act without any consultation with the African people. The Act changed the traditional forms of African tribal and rural local government without providing for any form of African political expression. The Act called for the setting up of tribal and regional Authorities under chiefs or headmen, with all appointments subject to Department of Native Affairs' approval. These Bantu 'Authorities' replaced the traditional tribal gathering, or *kgotla*, as the final tribal forum. It thus completed the process begun by the Native Administration Act of 1927, which brought tribal chiefs under the control of the Governor-General as their 'Supreme Chief', and made them liable to dismissal at the slightest sign of opposition.

The role of tribal authorities and the chiefs under which they were placed, as prescribed in the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Bill, was as follows:

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 53.

²⁵⁵ Brookes, E.H. and Hurwitz, N., *The Native reserves of Natal*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1957.

²⁵⁶ Lambert and Morrell, 'Domination and subordination in Natal', 109.

Tribal authorities assist and guide the chief in the administration of the affairs of the tribe and in the performance of other functions, which are to maintain law and order, disperse unlawful assemblies, and ensure the enforcement of regulations such as those relating to public health, the collection of taxes, registration of births and deaths, the prevention of animal diseases, occupation and use of land, control of workseekers, and prevention and punishment of crime.²⁵⁷

Govan Mbeki discusses how resistance to the imposition of Bantu Authorities affected two rural communities in the late 1950. The first was the Bafurutse people in the Dinokana reserve in the Marico district, adjoining Bechuanaland. Chief Abraham Moiloa refused to sign the Bantu Authorities Act in 1956. A year later, in March 1957 he was summoned to the office of the Native Commissioner in Zeerust, and told to instruct the women of his tribe to take out pass books. He conveyed the instruction, but very few women obeyed. Chief Moiloa was summarily deposed thereafter by the Commissioner, and ordered into exile. Opposition to the Bantu Authorities flared into open resistance in Sekhukhuneland when the government banished Chief Moroamoche and some of his leading councilors. The trouble began when a tribal meeting, pressed by the government to accept Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education, rejected both these facets of government policy in May 1956. Several leading men of the tribe were exiled, and then the Commissioner arrived with police at the tribal headquarters to depose Chief Moroamoche himself. The Chief won an appeal against his suspension in March 1958, but he was deported, nevertheless, to the Transkei.²⁵⁸

One of the consequences of the Bantu Authorities Act was the forced removal of millions of Africans from 'black spots', which was, in the case of Natal, an attempt to consolidate the rural areas under the control of Zulu chiefs into a Zulu homeland. In the period 1960 to 1982, more than 750,000 people, mainly Africans, were removed and relocated in the present-day KwaZulu-Natal. This led to a dramatic increase in population density, for example, the population in Nqutu rising from 46,000 in 1960 to 100,000 in 1978.²⁵⁹

According to Bill Freund, when the Bantu Authorities Act was introduced, Zulu chiefs came to realize that they stood to gain substantially from participating in the new system and that the increasing possibilities to gain came through their control over the land. One of the things the apartheid state was prepared to do was to restore the name and trappings of the Zulu monarchy. Solomon's heir, Cyprian Bhekuzulu, became a strong supporter of Bantu Authorities and was eager to cooperate with the state to advance his own interests.²⁶⁰ King Cyprian stated in 1959:

²⁵⁷ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Annual Report, 1956-1957*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1957, 55. Cited in Oomen, Barbara, *Chiefs in South Africa: Law, power and culture in the post-apartheid era*, Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Oxford, James Currey, and New York, Palgrave, 2005, 19.

²⁵⁸ Mbeki, Govan, *The peasants' revolt*, www.marxists.org.

²⁵⁹ Bonnin, Debby, Hamilton, Georgina, Morrell, Robert and Sitas, Ari, 'The struggle for Natal and KwaZulu: Workers, township dwellers and Inkatha, 1972 – 1985', in R. Morrell (ed), *Political economy and identities*, 143.

²⁶⁰ Freund, Bill, 'Confrontation and social change: Natal and the forging of apartheid, 1949-72', in R. Morrell (ed), *Political economy and identities*, 132.

The South African government's policy of separate development is a chance (for Zulus) to regain their former self-respect and national pride ... Development on parallel but separate lines makes for an order society.²⁶¹

Opposition to Bantu Authorities among Africans in Natal ran deep and was a characteristic feature of politics in the province during the two decades preceding the formation of the KwaZulu Bantustan in 1970. One of the reasons for opposition to the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was the resentment of chiefs and *izinduna* to being drawn deeper into 'native' administration, thus making them *de facto* agents of the apartheid state. They had little desire to help the Native Affairs Department (NAD) in the state-regulated labour bureaux established throughout the country's rural areas and small towns in the early 1950s to control the movement of African workers from one employer to another and that oversaw the flow of workers to the various sectors of the economy. It became common practice for the state to depose a chief it regarded as an opponent of its policies and replace him with someone who was regarded as loyal and supportive of its policies within the ruling family. Nonetheless, many chiefs and their followers resisted Bantu Authorities. Chief Albert Luthuli was among leaders deposed in this manner for opposing Bantu Authorities.

In some cases, compliant chiefs found themselves at loggerheads with their subjects. An example is that of Chief William Mkhize in Highflats, who had to flee his chieftom when people organised by the local ANC leader, Johannes 'Passfour' Phungula, opposed the introduction of Bantu Authorities. Other chiefs were sceptical of the workings of the 'tribal' councils. They feared that they would lose control because the Bantu Authorities and Promotions of Self-Government Acts allowed them to nominate into the new 'tribal' structures only half of their councillors, subject to confirmation by the state, which appointed the other half of 'tribal' councillors. The state had thus more power to shape these Bantu Authorities. Some chiefs also felt uneasy at the idea of mixing chiefs and commoners in the legislative assemblies. For their part, ordinary people opposed Bantu authorities mainly because of forced removals.

There were, however, other chiefs who supported the system they saw as conferring more power and status on them. There was also a handful of Africans from the middle class who supported the system because it offered them employment and business opportunities. African officials who replaced white officials in Bantustan governments stood to benefit from the system as well as African traders who took over shops and transport companies. As an incentive for the African middle classes, the apartheid regime did not allow whites to own businesses in the Bantustans. The schism between those who opposed the system and those who supported it resulted in the slow process of its implementation in Natal during the 1950s and 1960s. There was little enthusiasm among most chiefs. Under pressure from the apartheid state, Zulu 'Paramount Chief' Cyprian Bhekuzulu initiated the process of setting up Tribal Authorities in November 1957. He

²⁶¹ Mzala, *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a double agenda*, London, Zed Press, 1988, 73.

convened a meeting of chiefs at kwaNongoma. Of the 282 chiefs in Natal, only seventy-two attended, including Buthelezi.²⁶²

The Inkanyezi Regional Authority in the Eshowe district was the first to be formed in 1959. The Nongoma Regional Authority was formed a year later. Also in 1960, the Ingwavuma, the Vulindlela and the Ndlovu Regional Authorities in the Districts of Ingwavuma, Pietemartitzburg-Camperdown and Maphumulo, respectively, were established.

By 1964, of 282 chiefdoms, 111 had asked for the establishment of 'tribal' authorities, 171 were still undecided and 38 were opposed to the system altogether. The Hlanganiso Regional Authority in the District of Escourt and the Hlanganani Regional Authority were formed in 1965 and 1966, respectively. By 1966 the situation had not changed much since 1964. There were 107 functioning 'tribal' authorities and 12 regional authorities. The remaining chiefdoms were either opposed or sitting on the fence.

In April 1965 senior government officials, Buthelezi and approximately 200 male members of his chiefdom met to discuss introducing Bantu Authorities in his area.²⁶³ The government officials indicated they were prepared to allow Buthelezi a free hand in appointing his own councillors.²⁶⁴ This was a departure from standing practice whereby, by law, government officials appointed half of the members of 'tribal' and regional authorities, and the other half was nominated by state-approved chiefs. In September 1965, the Mahlabathini Tribal Authority with Buthelezi as leader and sixty-seven councillors was formed.

By November 1969 there were seventeen Regional Authorities and 202 Tribal Authorities.²⁶⁵ Of the 282 chiefdoms in the province, eighty still remained outside the workings of the Bantu Authorities system. The Umbumbulu Regional Authority in the District of Umbumbulu was constituted in 1970. Of the 202 Tribal Authorities that were said to exist in 1969, fourteen were seemingly not functional. According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M. C. Botha, at the inaugural meeting of the ZTA, 188 were functioning, with twenty-two regional authorities already established and one still to be formed shortly thereafter.²⁶⁶

The KwaZulu Bantustan was formally constituted in June 1970 after a long-drawn out struggle that lasted more than a decade. The decision to establish the Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA), the forerunner of the KwaZulu Bantustan, was taken at a meeting of

²⁶² Mzala, *Gatsha Buthelezi*, 61-62.

²⁶³ Horrell, Muriel (ed), *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, 133.

²⁶⁴ Horrell, Muriel (ed), *A Survey of Race relations*, 1967, 133.

²⁶⁵ Horrell, Muriel (ed), *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa for 1969*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970, 131.

²⁶⁶ Horrell, Muriel (ed), *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1970*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1971, 143.

chiefs and *izinduna* at kwaNongoma on the 9th April 1970.²⁶⁷ The ZTA was seen as a platform from which chiefs could express their collective views on political matters. At the inaugural meeting of the ZTA held at kwaNongoma on the 11th June 1970, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi was elected the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the ZTA, Prince Clement Zulu its chairperson and Chief Charles Hlengwa deputy chairperson.²⁶⁸ In April 1972, the ZTA was granted its own Legislative Assembly in terms of the 1971 Bantu Homelands Constitution Act. Buthelezi became the Chief Minister of the new institution.²⁶⁹

As was the case in the other Homeland administrations, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was dominated by chiefs holding appointed seats. As the ruling party, Inkatha was strongly tied to their existence and their interests, as they were to it.²⁷⁰ The 1990 Amakhosi and Iziphakanyiswa Act (KwaZulu Act 9 of 1990) gave the homeland's Chief Minister the power to appoint or depose any person as a chief and to determine their rate of remuneration.²⁷¹

The two major sources on the period are the studies by Mzala, and Mare and Hamilton of Chief Buthelezi. Also significant here are various studies of resistance during the period, which draw attention to the role chiefs played in resisting the homeland system. The annual Race Relations Surveys of the Institute of Race Relations also provides useful information about processes and events occurring in the homelands. One of the important sources for a discussion of KwaZulu politics and the role of chiefs during the 1970s is Jabulani Sithole's chapter in Volume 2 of *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*.²⁷² For a criticism of the capacity of chiefs to perform their functions during the latter days of the apartheid era refer to Alastair McIntosh's article in *Transformation*.²⁷³

What is generally lacking from the literature on the entire period from the eighteenth century, however, is a focus on the history of individual chiefdoms, migration patterns, individual cases of succession disputes, and the evolution of different approaches to dealing with succession.

²⁶⁷ Horrell, Muriel (ed), *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa for 1970*, p 141; Temkin, B., *Buthelezi: A Biography*, Frank Cass, London and Portland, OR, 2003, p 117.

²⁶⁸ Karis, T.G. and Gerhart, G.M. (eds), *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990, Volume 5*, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 1997, 254 and 669-673, and Maré, G. and Hamilton, G., *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of 'Loyal Resistance'*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987, 38.

²⁶⁹ Horrell, Muriel, *The African Homelands of South Africa*, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1973.

²⁷⁰ Myers, 'Fancy Dress', 38.

²⁷¹ Myers, 'Fancy Dress', 39.

²⁷² Sithole, Jabulani, 'Neither Communists nor Saboteurs: The KwaZulu Bantustan Politics, 1970-1980.', in South African Democracy Education Trust (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980*, UNISA Press, 2006.

²⁷³ McIntosh, Alastair, 'Rethinking chieftaincy and the future of rural local government: A Preliminary investigation', in *Transformation*, Vol 13, 1990.

Chapter 5

Historical Background of Traditional Communities

5.1 Introduction

While much is known about the history of the Zulu people in general, and there is a considerable amount of available literature on this topic, the history of individual clans and traditional communities is seriously under-researched. Some clans, such as the Mthethwas, the Hlubis and the Qwabes have been the subject of many books, book chapters, journal articles and theses: but these are the exceptions. This section of the report is an attempt to draw upon secondary literature where available, interviews conducted by the HSRC research team and archival sources to construct a history of certain clans and traditional communities.

It must be noted from the outset that considerable reliance is placed on the records of the anthropological section of the provincial government department responsible for traditional leaders and communities – located in individual files of traditional communities found in the archives of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs in Pietermaritzburg – as well as interviews with informants from the communities conducted by the HSRC research team. In the majority of cases, the relevant archival material of the Department relies heavily on secondary sources, in particular Bryant's *Olden times in Zululand*, as well as interviews conducted by members of the Anthropology unit within the Department with members of traditional communities. The emphasis in these records has been on the period prior to the formation of the Zulu nation by King Shaka, the period during Shaka's rule and the period immediately thereafter.

In consequence, the key topics are the origins of the clans and traditional communities and the story of their migration to the region, their ancestral roots, their relationship with the Zulus under King Shaka if not part of the Zulu clan, and the effects of this relationship on them. In some cases, the documents dealing with the history of clans and traditional communities in the archives deal with other significant events and process, such as the impact on them of the Anglo-Zulu War, the incorporation of Zululand into Natal, and the Bhambatha Rebellion of 1906. In large part, what is glaringly absent from these accounts is the history of the clans and traditional communities after the formation of Union, the introduction of apartheid in 1948, and the formation of the KwaZulu homeland.

The interviews conducted with clans and traditional communities by the HSRC research team suffer from the same limitations. It appears that there is reluctance on the part of informants from these communities to deal with the same periods not covered in the archival material. In the relatively few cases where historical events in the period after Union in 1910 are dealt with, they relate to issues and events that are of particular significance to that community.

It is important at this stage to provide the context within which the study was conducted. The most significant of these are the scarcity of information available on the history of some of the ‘tribes’ as compared to the others, and the difficulties encountered in the reconstruction of the histories of some of the ‘tribes’ in certain instances, especially those on which there is no pre-existing documented history.

The task of collecting information on the history of the various *ubukhosi* and *izizwe zamakhosi* in the manner that this study does is a mammoth task that is as challenging as it is necessary. In most instances, prior studies on the topic found in the secondary literature have been conducted in a piecemeal manner, with most researchers concentrating on individual ‘tribes’ – more especially the large tribes, with the exception of A. T. Bryant and James Stuart. The following observation by the government ethnologist, N. J. Warmelo,²⁷⁴ serves to illustrate this point:

“... the fact remains that while some South African tribes [have] formed the subject of long and careful studies, numerous others have not been so fortunate.”

Although this observation was made in the 1930s, it still holds true in the case of a large number of *izizwe zamakhosi*. It may have been easier for the historians of the past to concentrate on the generalized collective history of the ‘Bantu tribes’ of former Zululand and colonial Natal than to explore the unique circumstances of the smaller units. It is for this reason that the comprehensive works of Stuart²⁷⁵ and Bryant²⁷⁶ continue to be *the* most useful sources of reference on both the history and patterns of migration by various groups and the breaking up of large clans resulting in massive dispersals into numerous smaller units of people. The writing of Magera ka Fuze, one of the early African historians,²⁷⁷ and the more recent contribution by R. S. Khumalo²⁷⁸ are the additional useful sources of information on the subject matter. Warmelo’s own official departmental report in 1935 of a survey into the ‘Bantu Tribes’ is another valuable source in assessing the far-reaching effects of dispersals of once single units based on kinship into numerous *ubukhosi* who trace their origins to a common founder.

There are very few studies of individual traditional communities that deserve mention. Among the earliest works is the publication edited by N. J. van Warmelo, the *History of Matiwane and the Amangwane tribe: As told by Msebenzi to his kinsman Albert Hlongwane*, which contains some archival material of relevance to the history of this

²⁷⁴ Van Warmelo, N. J., *A preliminary survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa*, 1935, 5.

²⁷⁵ Webb, C de B and J. B. Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples (Volumes 1 – 4)*, University of Natal Press (Pietermaritzburg) and Killie Campbell Africana Library (Durban), 1978-1984.

²⁷⁶ Bryant, A. T. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal containing earlier political history of the eastern Nguni clans*, London: Longman’s Green and Company, 1929; and A. T. Bryant, *The Zulu People as they were before the white man came*, Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1949.

²⁷⁷ Fuze, Magera M, *The Black People and whence they came: A Zulu view (translated by H.C. Lugg and edited by A.T. Cope)*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg and Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban, 1979.

²⁷⁸ Khumalo, R. S. *Uphoko*, Pietermaritzburg, Reach Out Publishers, 1995.

clan.²⁷⁹ Perhaps the most significant study of the Kholwa communities is Norman Etherington's Ph. D. thesis, 'The rise of the kholwa in Southeast Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835-1880'.²⁸⁰ Etherington subsequently published a book on the Kholwa community drawn from his doctoral thesis. S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on hegemony, memory and historiography* is a useful study of the Khumalo clan in pre-Shakan times.²⁸¹ As the title indicates, reference is made to oral history as a primary source here. On the other hand Hadebe draws upon the praise songs (izibongo) of the kings of the amaHlubi to develop a history of the clan in his Masters dissertation.²⁸² Detailed histories of the two Zulu, Nodunga clans can be found in Thembinkosi Ntokozo Madlala's Masters dissertation on the role of Prince Thimuni Kamudu Kajama in Zulu history.²⁸³ Ngangomzi Pokwana's book *AmaZizi: The History of the Dlamini People*, focuses on the history of the Dlamini from their origins in the Tana Basin (modern Ethiopia) to today, especially recalling the history of the amaZizi.²⁸⁴

Very brief histories of clans are to be found in a number of other studies. Included here is a brief history of the Biyela, Khanyile and Dlomo clans in Marianne Brindley's Ph. D. thesis.²⁸⁵ A brief discussion of the Nyawos, Mngomezulu and Matenjwa clans can be found in Matsebula's *A History of Swaziland*.²⁸⁶ Similarly, brief historical backgrounds of the amaCele and Amangwane clans can be found in a study of the recent succession disputes of the two clans by Mlungisi Ngubane.²⁸⁷ Moses Hadebe's Masters dissertation, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising) as reported by J. L. Dube', also provides brief historical backgrounds on a number of clans.²⁸⁸ These include the Shezi, Qwabe, Ntuli, Chunwini, and Mthembu clans, among others.

5. 2 Kholwa

²⁷⁹ Van Warmelo, N.J. (ed.), *History of Matiwane and the Amangwane tribe: As told by Msebenzi to his kinsman Albert Hlongwane*, Pretoria, Government Printer, 1938.

²⁸⁰ Etherington, N., 'The rise of the **kholwa** in Southeast Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835-1880', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Yale University, 1971. The published version is *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand*, London, Royal Historical Society, 1978.

²⁸¹ Pp 57ff.

²⁸² Hadebe, S.B. 'The history of the amaHlubi tribe in the izibongo of its kings', MA dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, December 1992.

²⁸³ Madlala, T.N., 'The role of Prince Thimuni Kamudu Kajama in Zulu history with special reference to the activities of his sons, Ndlovu and Chakuana and their descendants, 1842-1980', MA dissertation, University of Zululand.

²⁸⁴ Pokwana, Ngangomzi, *AmaZizi: The History of the Dlamini People*, Ada Enup, 2009.

²⁸⁵ Brindley, M., 'The role of old women in Zulu culture, with special reference to three tribes in the District of Nkandla', Ph. D. thesis, University of Zululand, October 1982.

²⁸⁶ Matsebula, J.S., *A History of Swaziland*, Longman Penguin Southern Africa, 2nd edition, 1976.

²⁸⁷ Ngubane, M., 'Sources of succession disputes in respect of *ubukhosi* / chieftainship with regard to the Cele and Amangwane chiefdoms, KwazLilu-Natal', MA dissertation, University Of Zululand, March 2005.

²⁸⁸ Hadebe, M.M., 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising) as reported by J. L. Dube in *Ilanga Lase Natal*, with special focus on Dube's attitude to Dinuzulu as indicated in his reportage on the treason trial of Dinuzulu', Master of Arts dissertation, University of Natal, 2003.

In Natal, Kholwa communities were differentiated from other groups because of their origin as refugees or outcasts of traditional society, and their religious beliefs, as well their economic and educational advance. Etherington shows that the Kholwa remained extraordinarily loyal to the colonial state. Essentially, Kholwa communities in Natal arose from among those refugees and outcasts that were moving into the colony and came into contact with Christian missionaries based in the region. A number of these missionary societies, most notably the American Board mission, were able to acquire land for mission stations, where they established mission schools. Through interaction with missionaries, these refugees and outcasts acquired education, and basic Western knowledge that included Christianity, as well as a rejection of traditional values, institutions and practices such polygamy. Due to their relationship with the missionaries, their education, and way of life, amaKholwa had unencumbered access to land. In time, these communities began to coalesce around ruling families, such as the Khumalos.

5.2.1 The Abantungwa-Kholwa

The Abantungwa-Kholwa clan is currently found in Emnambithi in the KwaZulu Province. The double-barrel name Abantungwa-Kholwa originated in that the ruling family (Khumalo) used their Isikakazelo Ntungwa and added Kholwa to it. The clan is called amaKholwa because its members are Christians.

Johannes Khumalo was the first Inkosi of the Abantungwa-Kholwa clan. They formed a clan under the house of Khumalo and brought their present land towards the end of the 19th century. The Khumalo royal family of this clan originally comes from the Transkei, from where they migrated to Edendale in the Pietermaritzburg district and then to Cedare next to Howick. They eventually went to Ladysmith, where they now live at Driefontein. Their first chief, Johannes Khumalo, was appointed. Chief Johannes had a twin brother Timothy Khumalo who acted as chief on behalf of Walter Khumalo. Johannes's elder son Hezekiah did not rule after the death of his father because he left with his family for Newcastle. Mshodi Joseph Khumalo, son of Johannes, was appointed as Inkosi. Inkosi Joseph Mshodi Khumalo passed away, and Timothy Khumalo was appointed as an Acting Chief because Walter, the son of Inkosi Mshodi Joseph Khumalo, was too young. Walter Khumalo was appointed as Inkosi after the death of Acting Inkosi Timothy Khumalo. Gule was appointed as acting Chief, while Mevane was working as an interpreter at court. Mevane, the son of Inkosi Walter Khumalo, was later appointed as Inkosi. He passed away. Muntu Khumalo was appointed as acting chief. He passed away. Zikalala was appointed as Acting Chief because Mzilikazi was too young. Zikalala passed away, and Mzilikazi, the son of Mevane was appointed as Inkosi. He died in 2000, and Ndlunkulu was appointed as Acting Chief in 2001. She was the one and only wife of Mzilikazi. After the death of acting inkosi Muntu Khumalo, H.T Khumalo was then nominated as Acting Chief, but before he could be appointed he was shot dead together with his wife. Mr P.J Zikalala, an Ex-Major in the South African Police, was nominated as Acting Chief.

This family always married by Christian rights. This tribe had a hereditary chieftainship since its origin and the first chief was Chief Johannes Khumalo. He was followed by his grandson, Joseph. Joseph was followed by Walter, who in 1964 was still attending school.

On the 4th July 1978 the KwaZulu Cabinet also decided and instructed that the hereditary line be followed. On the 16th August 1957 the area of this tribe was defined and a Tribal Authority installed by Government Notice 1233, which was later amended by Government Notice 1407 dated 31st August 1962. Since 1981 this tribe has had a few sad experiences. Acting Chief M. S. Khumalo was murdered on the 2nd May 1981. Mr. H.T. Khumalo was nominated as acting chief, but before he could be appointed he was shot dead together with his wife. Mr. P J Zikalala was then nominated as acting chief and appointed as such.

5.2.2. Khanyile

The Khanyile clan of Nkandla was originally an offshoot of the Chunus whose ancestral home was the Nkandla District. Before the time of King Shaka there were Khanyiles living in Nkandla, on the right bank of the Insuze River. The historical references to the Khanyile tribe traced by the office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Nkandla, in 1968 indicate that Madondo is the earliest chief to whom the history of the tribe can be traced. Madondo was also reputedly the son and heir to the earlier Chief Ngwane. Madondo was removed from office by Zulu King Mpande and replaced by Madondo's brother Phakathwayo Khanyile. Phakathwayo had three sons of the great house: Mtshinene or Mtshinane, another whose name is unknown and Bilibana. The nameless son left Nkandla and settled in the present Babanango district with his followers on the Eastern bank of the Mhlatuze River. Mtshinane (Mshinane) succeeded to the Chieftainship after the death of Phakatwayo.

According to Brindley,²⁸⁹ Mtshinane served under King Cetshwayo in the regiment of the Nokenke and was among those who defected when girls of the Ngcuze regiment, whom they were courting, were obliged to marry men of the older Dloko regiment. His girlfriend would have been killed if she refused to select a lover from the Dloko regiment. In consequence, Mtshinane crossed the Tugela River to that side where the whites lived in order to be safe from reprisal. Mtshinane's brother, Zwelezikhulu, served the English governments and was allocated an area known as iSikhalembomvu (the land of red ochre) after the civil war between Zibhebhu and Dingiswayo. Zwelezikhulu asked Mshinane to rule the area in his place.

In the meantime, Reverend Robertson, an Anglican Missionary had settled at KwaMagwaza, and had built a mission station at Thalaneni. Among the people who were converted to Christianity by Reverend Robertson were members of the Nzuza, Maphumulo, Ziqubu, Magwaza, Mngadi, Ngubane, Ntuli Mhlongo, Bukhosini, Nsele, Masuku and Simelane people. Living among these people was an African American, Jo

²⁸⁹ Brindley, M., 'The role of old women in Zulu culture', pp29ff.

Afrikander, who had accompanied the reverend to the area. Jo Afrikander had three children with a Mhlongo woman: William, Moses and Maria. When Reverend Robertson suggested that the people settled at Thalaneni select an inkosi, they chose Moses Afrikander. Moses married Teyisa Ntuli, with whom he had ten children. However, when he was to be registered as inkosi the white authorities refused to register him because he was not indigenous and he did not have an indigenous name. The Christians then asked Duncan Ndlovu, a half-brother of Moses, if the latter could assume his surname. He agreed and Jo Afrikander was consequently renamed Moses Ndlovu when he was registered as an inkosi.

Moses became inkosi during the Anglo-Boer War in the last years of the 19th century. However, after he got married he fell in love with a woman called Joanna, who was both the wife of a churchwarden, Edmond Mabaso, as well as a member of his wife Teyisa's Ntuli clan. Inkosi Moses was subsequently dismissed from both the chieftainship and the church. Bishop Roach, Reverend Robertson's successor, decided that the chieftainship should be given to the Khanyile clan, and Mtshinane Khanyile became inkosi of the Christians.

Doni was the successor to the chieftainship after Mtshinane, and he converted to Christianity at a young age. He married Norah Afrikander, Moses Afrikaner's daughter, by Christian rites. Prior to his marriage, however, Doni had made the sister of Bhukuda Ntenga, a woman he had initially fallen in love with, pregnant. Doni still wanted to marry Bhukuda, but the latter rejected him and the family sent the younger sister to Doni's hut. Mtshinane, Doni's father, was displeased and he forced Doni to build his new home with the Ntenga woman outside the premises. Damages were paid for the Ntenga woman, but Doni did not marry her according to Christian rites. Lobola was paid for her. MaNtenga's son was named Mpathesitha. Doni later married a Ntombela woman, and announced at the wedding ceremony that MaNtombela was taking over Norah's home; would cook in Norah's kitchen, work there, and 'make the place live again' (ukuvusa indlu). MaNtombela gave birth to a boy, whom Doni Khanyile named Sogodi, inkosi yamaNgwane – Sogodi, the chief of the Khanyile people, Ngwane being their isithakazelo.

However, Mpathesitha succeeded Doni to the chieftainship. This gave rise to a division of the clan into factions supporting Mpathesitha and Sogodi. Those supporting Sogodi claimed that he was the rightful successor because his mother MaNtombela, the daughter of Inkosi Ntumbeni, was the real wife whereas Mpathesitha was born under circumstances which rendered him ineligible. Mpathesitha had no standing because his father Doni had abused his wife's sister, Bhukuda, who by this action lost the man she loved and lowered the dignity of both families. The offspring of such a union, they argued, could not be inkosi of the clan. They further charged that Mpathesitha had been the choice of the white authorities. Sogodi officially claimed the chieftainship on the basis that his mother was the first and principal wife of Doni Khanyile. Furthermore, MaNtenga had never married his father Doni. Finally, she was from the ikhohlo house.

5.2.3 Qoloqolo

The Qoloqolo were originally known as the Nkumbini Community when they were one tribe with the Luthuli. They occupied an area stretching from the Msilikazi Mountain down along the coast. The word Qoloqolo was the name of a place and not a tribe or community. It is not known when they broke away from the Nkumbini Community and became the Qoloqolo.

During 1859 the Qoloqolo were ruled by Mvundlase, who invited the American Board mission to visit his tribe. At this time, the Natal Colonial Government had a plan to establish so-called Mission Reserves as distinct from tribal areas. The Africans who were converted from their traditional African way of life into the Christian way of life wanted to leave their traditional communities and Mission Reserves were established for them. In 1885 the Christian converts requested the Natal Colonial Government that they also wanted to be a community with an Inkosi. That request was granted and the Mthwalume Mission Reserve community elected their first Inkosi, Shunguza Khumalo, who died in 1894. His son did not succeed him as Inkosi because he was not Christian, and Mxinwa Zama was elected as heir. He was chief from 1907 to 1908. He was succeeded by Jubede Zama (1908-1923), followed by Isaac Zama (1924-1949) and Elijah Zama (1949-1988). Although the Qoloqolo was a Christian community whose amakhosi were elected, they have since 1907 elected the amakhosi from the same family – the Zama family. Each time the son of the preceding inkosi was chosen, giving it the semblance of a traditional succession. A request was again made that the community be regarded as a tribe in the traditional sense. Ubukhosi would therefore come from the Zama family. By agreement, the Qoloqolo have changed from a community authority to a Tribal Authority.

5.3 Bhekani

The pioneer, Henry Ogle, settled in Natal in 1820 during the reign of Shaka. He traded amongst the Zulus with beads, mirrors, blankets, etc. and was given the name Wohlo. Shaka gave one of his daughters, Novivinya, to Henry Ogle to marry and shortly after asked him to collect all the stragglers who were hiding in the bushes. This was done, and Henry Ogle settled with them at Congella as the Bhekani clan. Because of his blue eyes, Henry was then given the name Kangela Ngofasembe. His wife, Novivinya gave birth to John Ogle, who Shaka gave the name Tokotoko. Chaka advised Ogle of his intended invasion of Pondoland, and he accompanied King Shaka and his impis to Pondoland. A lot of cattle were seized and brought back. When Chaka left for Zululand, he gave some of the cattle to Ogle, and also appointed him to rule over the stragglers he had collected. Henry Ogle subsequently bought a farm in the Estcourt district and upon his death he was succeeded by his son John.

John left Estcourt and settled in the Ixopo district where he was given a settlement by Chief Mgqahama of the Nhlangwini tribe. After his death, his son Harry Ogle was elected Chief of the clan. He died on the 5th April 1945, and his son Norman was appointed Chief of the tribe on the 10 December 1945. In 1968 Norman Ogle was one of the remaining two coloured amakhosi left in Natal. As such, his position was untenable because, as one

of his tribesmen later said, Libuyile Lakithi, meaning the land and the chieftainship has now been restored to them (the clan). Norman indicated that he wanted to retire and also confirmed that his son was not remotely interested in succeeding him. The Chief introduced Harrington Msomi to the colonial authorities as an induna with the purpose of grooming him for the chieftainship. The Msomis were an aboriginal tribe and were also once recognised as independent. For administrative reasons, the Msomi tribe was abolished and elements of the tribe were found scattered among the Ngangeni, Thoyane and Embo tribes.

In 1968 an ethnographer suggested that there were two options concerning the future of the Bhekani tribe: the first option was for the tribe to disintegrate and be absorbed into either the Cele or Nhangwini tribes with whom they had a common boundary. However, they had a long history of enmity with the Celes. On the other hand, the chief of the Nhangwini tribe made available land on which the tribe resides to the late John Ogle. The second option was that the tribe remains intact and is led by the Msomis. Harrington Msomi was elected as Chief by uMndeni. Chief Harrington Msomi died on the 15th November 1987 and his son Zamindlela Goodwill Msomi was officially appointed chief in 1993.

5.4 Qwabe

There are 5 existing Qwabe clans in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, namely, Qwabe-Emthandeni, Qwabe-Waterfall, Qwabe-Enkanini, Qwabe-P and Qwabe-N. The Qwabe's were found beneath the Amandawe Hill, south of the Mhlathuze River until it reached the Mthethwa and Dube areas, up the Mhlathuze River almost as far as Nkandla forest, winding up between the Mhlathuze and Thukela Rivers and finally overflowing into Natal. Before the reign of the Zulu King Shaka (1816-28) the Qwabe clan was the senior, larger and more important clan of the Makhanya and the Zulu clans and they all descend from one common ancestor, Malandela.

The amaQwabe chieftom was "one of the most ancient and famous tribes in Natal and Zululand". Qwabe was a son of Malandela, who "flourished probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century". Although Malandela indicated his wish that Qwabe should be his successor as chief, a dispute arose between Qwabe and his younger brother Zulu, who moved to a new *umuzi* near Babanango. Eventually Zulu became the more prominent chief, and from his lineage came Shaka, effectively the founder of the Zulu royal house. The dispute between Zulu and Qwabe filtered down the generations, and the Qwabe and Zulu chiefdoms were traditionally hostile.²⁹⁰

According to legend, the tribal name Amakhanya emerged when the Qwabe spread southwards over the Tugela River and those still on the north bank could see the camp fires of their comrades on the other side burning by night. They therefore called those on the south bank the Amakhanya – the shining ones. The Makhanya fragments fled southwards from Zululand over the Tugela River into Natal during the Zulu wars. Their

²⁹⁰ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising), 28ff.

final migration was not during Shaka's reign but during Dingane's time. According to Bryant, at the time of crossing the Tugela River their headman was Mnengwa, who fathered Duze, who fathered Makutha, who fathered Mtambo, who fathered Dabulesinye. When Shaka came to power Duze was in charge.

After Shaka killed Phakathwayo, his brother Nqetho, found himself in conflict with Dingane and in 1829 left his home with the bulk of the Qwabe clan. He crossed the Thukela River to Natal, and subsequently crossed the Umzimkhulu where he was blocked by the Mpondos. In about 1839, during Mpande's revolt and after the death of Nqetho, many of his followers returned South until Sir Theophilus Shepstone accommodated them around Stanger. The Qwabe's (N) believe they are descendents of Mteli, son of Phakathwayo, who remained in Zululand. Mteli's son, Ngcukuca and grandson Ndunge fled Zululand at the time of Dingane and settled in Umzinto. This is coupled with the journey by Nqetho, brother of Phakathwayo, to the south.

Ndunge's eldest son Stephen became a teacher and went to America in 1899. He later became an American citizen. During World War II he served thirteen months in France. He came back to South Africa in 1923. In 1930 he was appointed to act for his father who was then aging, but he predeceased his father. Stephen died unmarried and his brother Shiyane was appointed as a headman. In 1937 he was appointed Inkosi after his father died in 1936. Shiyane died in 1944. After he died, his son Fortunatus was appointed Inkosi in January 1945 and was suspended in June 1974. In October 1974 he died. Chief Fortunatus Gumede was succeeded by his son Zithulele Welcome Gumede in 1975. Chief Zithulele was chief for 27 years until he retired due to ill-health. His only son, Musa Eric Gumede took over as chief in 2002 but died in 2007.

The division of the chiefdom in the Maphumulo district took place in 1897. This section of the Qwabes was led at the time by Inkosi Meseni, whose chiefdom was one of the largest chiefdoms in the Natal Colony. However, the clan experienced a "highly complicated succession dispute" after the death of Inkosi Musi in the 1890s. The chiefdom was then divided into two sections; Inkosi Meseni ruled over one section and the other one was placed under a white magistrate who served as an acting regent for the minor heir of that section of the chiefdom. Inkosi Meseni's followers were spread across Maphumulo, Inanda, the Lower Thukela and Ndwedwe. Inkosi Meseni also participated in the Bhambatha rebellion in 1906, and many of his followers were killed in clashes with the colonial forces. Meseni fled to Zululand, where he was arrested. He was tried by a court martial at Maphumulo and convicted of High Treason. He was given the death sentence that was later commuted to life imprisonment with hard labour. Meseni and other leaders were expatriated to St Helena in June 1907. The amaQwabe chiefdom became part of the Ngubane chiefdom under the 'loyal' Sibindi. Inkosi Meseni was released in 1910 together with the other 'ringleaders'.²⁹¹

5.5 Kunene

²⁹¹ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 28ff.

About 170 years ago, Chief Sigweje ruled the Kunene clan in Swaziland. The clan was originally based in the south of Swaziland, near the Mkhonvo River in the 1840s. At one stage Chief Sigweje gave refuge to followers of Malambule, who were running away from Chief Mswati. After learning that Chief Sigweje had given refuge to Malambule, Mswati attacked the Kunene, who fled to missionaries for protection.

When Sigweje heard that there were White missionaries who taught the African people to read and write and to follow a certain good religion, he sent out some of his men to a mission centre at Mparane (Ficksburg) to ask a missionary to come over to teach his people. The Reverent Roy James Allison of the Wesley Methodist Church seized the opportunity and made arrangements to trek to Swaziland together with those members of his congregation (some of whom were remnants of the Mzilikazi hordes who had fled from Shaka's rule in 1826 and others local Sotho residents) to establish a new mission station in Swaziland. The mission station was ultimately founded in Swaziland. Mswazi, a powerful Swazi Chief, took offence at the introduction of Christianity. It is said that the Swazi were so jealous of a petty Inkosi assuming gigantic fame they decided to attack Sigweje and his missionary at night. The plan was foiled by informers who warned Sigweje in time. When the Swazi warriors arrived at Sigweje's royal kraal they found it deserted. But they were being closely watched from the top of the hill. The following day saw the Pivaan (Obivane) clan divided into two parts: the James Allison sect and Sigweje's followers. The James Allison sect obtained Ndalení Mission Reserve from the Government. Soon afterwards they purchased freehold property at Edendale while Sigweje and his tribe were at Pivaan near Paulpietersburg. Sigweje, with the remnant of his tribe at Pivaan, migrated to the source of Msunduzi River. Boschoek was purchased in 1871, and settlement took place immediately afterwards with the Kunene living there ever since.

5.6 Ntuli

The Ntuli chiefdom had a longstanding association with the Zulu kingdom dating from the time of Senzangakhona. Mangathi kaGodide kaNdlela (who was in his day the 'most important personage in the Zulu nation') was an outstanding figure in this chiefdom, and at one time had acted as King Cetshwayo's *Induna*. Ndlela was the son of Sompisi kaKuguqa, kaMsalela kaNomatshingila Ntuli (of emaBheleni), and although not a chief of the Ntuli people, he was one of the most influential people in the Ntuli chieftaincy. It is significant that the Ntuli (the abasemaBheleni) had throughout their long existence loyally served the Zulu Royal House, even prior to the formation of the kingdom. It is said that a dispute took place amongst the Ntulis themselves and a faction under Ntwananhle fled and settled along the Sundays River (Ndaka) where they met the Cunus and were attacked. They then fled to Senzangakhona. They were driving a lot of cattle which caused a lot of dust and when Senzangakhona saw such dust he named them "Ntulizankomo" (dust of beasts). This branch of the clan settled in the Maphumulo district. After the death of Ntwananhle his son Mkhonto took over leadership of the clan. When Dingane attacked Mpande, Mpande sought refuge under Mkhonto. It is after this event that Mkhonto became a favourite of Mpande.

According to Bryant in ‘Olden Times in Zululand and Natal’, the Ntuli were originally found at Elenge Hill east of Ladysmith under Inkosi Mahlaphahlapha and were called the emaBeleni tribe. They were part of the Bele people, and their address name, ‘isithakazelo’, is Ntuli. They were based south of the central Mzinyathi River, in what is now the Msinga district. This was an area much affected by the early wars that marked Shaka’s rise to power. The Ntuli were disrupted by these wars to the extent that some of their members took to surviving by cannibalism, living out among the caves along the upper Umzinyathi valley. Mahlaphahlapha feared their cannibalistic ways and drove them across the Buffalo River. They wandered in Zululand and were admitted there as abakwaNtuli. Among the most renowned members of the clan was Sompisi, who was family cook of Senzangakhona. His son, Ndlela kaSompisi, was raised by Shaka and eventually became a great warrior and one of Dingane’s senior advisors.²⁹²

According to oral tradition, Shaka renamed the principal homestead of the Ntuli clan eManxebeni after Ndlela had been wounded in the Battle of Mhlatuze. Shaka rewarded Ndlela for his bravery during the battle with cattle and land on the slopes of the Macala Mountain, where he established his homestead. The King also appointed Ndlela as his induna to administer the Ntuli and members of other broken clans that lived along the middle Tugela on his behalf.²⁹³

A section of the clan was found in the Nkandla division. It was led by Mbuzo. The common ancestor of this branch of the royal family is Menyelwa Ntuli. Menyelwa had two sons, namely Masekwana and Mngeni. Masekwana and Mngeni were full brothers. Masekwana was the eldest and had two sons called Sogwaba and Tamane. Mbuzo was the son of Mngeni, and in turn had a son by the name of Maphoyisa. Masekwana and one of his sons, Sogwaba, moved to Natal.

Maphoyisa was very loyal to the Natal colonial government during the 1906 Bhambatha rebellion. Inkosi Mbuzo “was very old, deaf, and almost blind” at the time of the rebellion and he fled with many of his supporters to Sibindi. Meanwhile, his son and heir Maphoyisa fought on the side of the government, with his chief son Wohle leading loyalist forces while Mbuzo’s brother, Fogoti, led the Ntuli rebel forces.²⁹⁴ Mbuzo resigned in 1910 and his son and heir Maphoyisa was appointed to act from the 27 October 1910. He was later appointed as Inkosi and died on the 26th February 1938. Mnqunduzwa, Maphoyisa’s son, was placed in charge of the clan in 1931 (before his father died), but he was arrested in 1933 on a murder charge and was acquitted in 1934. He was reinstated as inkosi in 1938 and died in 1950. In 1953 an enquiry was held to investigate a chieftainship dispute. The claimants were Fokoza Ntuli, a minor son of Mnqunduzwa’s second wife, and Golozela, the son of the first wife. The commission resolved that Golozela was the rightful heir and he was appointed Inkosi on the 16th February 1953. Andreas Khanyile was appointed as acting Inkosi from 1962 until 1973 when Bizimali Ntuli, son of Golozela was appointed as Inkosi. He was shot dead in 1981 and Qhatolo ka

²⁹² Knight, Ian, *Great Zulu Commanders, Arms and Armour*, London, 1999, p. 31.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁹⁴ Hadebe, ‘A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)’, 55.

Mqunduzwa Ntuli was appointed to act from May 1982 until Phiwokwakhe Ntuli, the son of Bizimali was appointed Inkosi on the 5th August 1992.

Meanwhile, Ndlela' son, Godide, had been appointed as an induna by King Cetshwayo. Mphumela kaNdlela, Godide's brother succeeded the latter after his death in 1883 as the leader of the section of the Ntuli people known as amaBhele. A succession dispute erupted, but Mphumela was appointed acting inkosi by the government against Ntulizwe's "candidature to the chieftaincy". Mphumela was appointed to the important Ntuli chiefdom in the Nkandla division. Ntulizwe's supporters would later take part on the side of the whites in the Bhambatha rebellion as a consequence of this dispute.²⁹⁵

At the time of the outbreak of the Bhambatha rebellion in 1906, Inkosi Mavumengwana kaNdlela led yet another section of the Ntuli people at Eshowe. He "was a great man and subordinate only to Mnyamana" kaNqengelele of the Buthelezi people, Cetshwayo's *Ndunankulu* [Prime Minister]). Mavumengwana "was *induna* of the major section of the Thulwana regiment, and an associate of the king, Cetshwayo." Although he had strong ties with the Zulu royal household one of his sons was a 'loyal' chief during the 1906 disturbances. His chief son and heir was Mfungelwa who took over the chiefdom after him. Based at Mpaphala, Inkosi Mfungelwa Ntuli was a 'loyal' inkosi and fought on the side of the colonial forces during the rebellion. Mfungelwa followers were responsible for killing about sixty of Bhambatha's people.²⁹⁶

5.7 Lushaba

The Tribe originated in Zululand and was located in Ulundi between the two Umfolozi Rivers. At the time, before the rise of Shaka, they called themselves Ndlovus. During the time of Senzangakhona they were ejected from the area and took the name of Lushaba. The tribe fled south but were repulsed by the Pondos and returned to the land north of the Umzumbi River where they now reside. Kofeyana was a prominent man in the history of the Zulus. He fled south and had 15 wives and about 21 sons. He was asked by his followers to return to his land (Alexandra and Alfred). When he arrived there he established his principal kraal and named it Endinaneni. The chief who was reigning in that area at the time was Mvundlase, the widow of Fynn known as Pobane. She was the daughter of Zelemu of the Izinkumbi tribe. It is not clear if Kofeyana was ever recognised as chief in this area because of the presence of Mvundlase. He died in the 1850s and was succeeded by his son, Mboshwa. When the hut tax law was imposed in 1857, Mboshwa was recognised as chief. He died on the 20th January 1911. His son, Dikwayo was appointed Inkosi on the 27th May 1911. In 1914 Mcwasimbana laid claim to the chieftainship. This claim was investigated by a board of magistrates in 1914, and they decided that Dikwayo was the general heir. Dikwayo died on 20 October 1932 and was succeeded by his son Dingizwe. Dingizwe died on 31 October 1955 and was succeeded by his son Sinqanda on the 3rd April 1956. Sinqanda's son Ziwengu succeeded him in 1974.

²⁹⁵ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 53.

²⁹⁶ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 54.

5.8 Hlubi

The amaHlubi claim that their originated from the Congo, as part of the downward part of the downward migration of the eMbo group/nation or amaLala from central Africa. After settling briefly along the Lubombo Mountains, a range extending from the North of present day Zululand northwards along the Swaziland-Mozambique border, they went south and settled in what today is known as Natal as far back as the 13th century, leaving behind a section of their group which later became the amaSwazi nation. There is evidence which confirms that the amaHlubi are closely related to the amaSwazi. At this stage, they are said to have been the largest formation of the eMbo nation. AmaHlubi are said to have occupied the territory which was marked by the Pongola River on the north east border extending beyond the Income (Blood) River south to where the Umzinyati and Tugela rivers meet. To the South were the Bushman's River and the Drakensberg mountains, which also made up the Western border. According to Bryant, it is estimated that amaHlubi arrived at the Umzinyati River around 1650, at the time when Hadebe was their first King.

The amaHlubi²⁹⁷ occupied the Mzinyathi Valley on their arrival from the vicinity of the Lubombo Mountains near Swaziland. They were one of the largest populations of Natal, living between the Blood and Umzinyathi Rivers and the common boundary of the three major provinces of Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State. It is reported that during Bhungane's era the amaHlubi occupied a country of some 5000 square kilometres. It extended from the mountains at the source of the Mzinyathi River in the Wakkerstroom area down to the vicinity of the Ncome (Blood) River in the south east and east towards what is now known as Vryheid. The Drakensberg (Undi) mountains formed the western boundary. There is no agreement with regard to the order of successive rulers of the amaHlubi in the earliest period. Eight different lists have been recorded by Wright and Manson. Nsele, who died in 1782, is considered to be the father of the clan. He was followed by Dlomo, who in turn was followed by Bhungane who died in about 1800. His son Mthimkhulu was followed by the most well known of Hlubi leaders, Langalibalele. Divisions in the tribe began during the reign of Bhungane, and today sections of the tribe are found in the Klipriver district, Newcastle and the Herschel district in the Transkei while the reigning house is based at Estcourt.

Bhungane, son of Nsele, ruled during the last years of the 18th century and early years of the 19th century. His chief kraal, kwaMagoloza, was at Alcockspruit, south of present day Newcastle. After his death he was buried at Bahlokazi, a mountain west of Alcockspruit. It is recorded that Godongwane, son of Jobe, the Mthethwa Chief sought refuge with Bhungane. On arrival in Hlubi country Godongwane changed his name to Mdingi or Dingiswayo which means the homeless one\one in exile. As the amaHlubi Kingdom grew larger it began to divide into a number of jealously opposed factions. This was caused by the lack of a strong central control. Although Bhungane was regarded as a powerful king he does not seem to have had a stronghold over his people. Senior sons from each house

²⁹⁷ Refer to Hadebe, 'The history of the amaHlubi tribe'.

were allowed great independence when they grew up, becoming sub-chiefs and competing with one another for followers. Bhungane is reported to have tried in vain to exert his authority on dissident relatives by killing Mafu kaDwala. His heir, Mthimkhulu, tried to hold together a kingdom which was threatening to fragment into rival segments. The young Shaka once visited the amaHlubi where he requested medicine for the chieftainship. The Hlubi was one clan that was never attacked by Shaka.

In about 1819, when Mthimkhulu was the king, wars broke out which split the chiefdom and permanently destroyed Hlubi solidarity and placed their independence in danger. The destruction of the clan begins with Matiwane of the Amangwane clan, now of Bergville, who attacked the Mthimkhulu in about 1818. Later it was followed by wars with various other nations such as the Batlokoa in the Orange Free State and ended with the Landalibalele Rebellion in 1873. The Hlubi were attacked and defeated the Ngwane, driven away from their land and deprived of their cattle and food. Mthimkhulu was killed. The consequence of this event was the dispersal of the tribe to different areas like the Transkei, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Many people hid in caves and forests where there was very little food. Driven by hunger people resorted to eating other people. Langelibalele's half-brothers, Duba, Mini and Lupalule plotted to have him killed and eaten up by the cannibals. Duba's mother, Njomose, was a Bhele. The amaBhele, whose chief was Mahlaphahlapha, were cannibals. Duba asked Langelibalele to accompany him to his mother's place at the Amajuba Mountains. Once there, Duba plotted to have Langelibalele killed and eaten by the cannibals. Langelibalele was tied up against a pole. It is said he was saved by girls who saw Langelibalele and reported the matter to Gxiva his friend. Gxiva managed to release Langelibalele who escaped during the night and crossed the Mzinyathi River which was in flood.

Langelibalele was the younger brother of Dlomo who was supposed to succeed Mthimkhulu. Langelibalele became inkosi when Dlomo, his elder brother, was killed by the Zulu King, Dingane. At this time the Hlubi had come under the Zulu Kingdom. Installing a chief therefore meant reporting first to the Zulu king. When Dlomo was presented before king Dingane at his royal kraal he was immediately killed. When Langelibalele was presented to Dingane, he was nearly killed as well, but he escaped. Later, when Mpande became king relations between the Zulu and Hlubi were strained.

The Zulu kings had been friendly towards the amaHlubi kings during the reign of Bhungane and Mthimkhulu. Both Shaka and Dingane never attacked the amaHlubi. It is reported that Langelibalele was helped to the throne by Dingane, Mpande's enemy. When Mpande became King he regarded all those who were friendly to Dingane as his enemies. When Mpande prepared to attack the amaHlubi, Langelibalele responded by rounding up the entire tribe and fleeing to Natal which by then was under the control of the British Colonial Government. He did, however, put up a fight before he fled and a number of amaZulu were killed. The colonial government eventually settled Langelibalele and his tribe in the Estcourt district where they are found today.

On arrival in Natal, the amaHlubi were allocated land in the Estcourt district, which comprised mainly the western part of Estcourt where they formed a buffer zone,

protecting white farmers from Bushmen raids. Their stay in the Estcourt district was not a peaceful one. Relations with white farmers, magistrates and the Colonial Government finally led to the so-called Langalibalele rebellion. The amaHlubi, as subjects of the colonial government, were subjected to Colonial laws which were foreign to the amaHlubi. The magistrate would demand people to build roads without pay. The king would be asked to provide men for the colonial armies. All this irritated the king. Langalibalele was asked to collect guns from his people for registration, which he refused to do. The guns were received as payment by migrant workers or were bought in Kimberley. His failure to respond to instructions led to the conclusion that Langalibalele was rebelling against the government. What followed was war between the colonial army and the amaHlubi. A few Whites were killed and Langalibalele was eventually arrested and sent to trial in Pietermaritzburg for trial. He returned later and was kept in the Pietermaritzburg district under Chief Tetelegu. The tribe was displaced.

Portions of the Hlubis were found scattered in the Drakensberg Mountains and other portions in the Eastern Cape. They are scattered in the Newcastle district. A section of the clan is to be found in Madadeni Township, while most members of this section currently live at Draaicut and at a place known as Forty-Two.

After the Hlubis had been severely defeated by Amangwane and other tribes most of them fled. Mangazitha, with the majority of the tribe, trekked towards the south as far as Herschel; some members of the tribe fled further afield. The assumption is that the section of the Hlubis based in the Umzumbe District is drawn from the group led by Mpangazitha that fled to the south. With Hlwathika Radebe as their leader they settled along the coast then moved inland due to cattle diseases. After having come to an agreement with inkosi Fodo Dlamini they settled at St. Faith's Farm. From there they moved further across the Umzimkhulu River and returned after 1879 at that time under the leadership of Mayeyane ka Hlwathika. On arrival in 1889, St. Faith's was then controlled by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Mayeyane purchased lot DZ 6824 of St Faith's Farm for his tribe, while other individual members of the tribe purchased other lots that were part of St Faith's Farm. In 1905 the property was sold to General Royston following a writ of execution to satisfy a judgment debt due by inkosi Mpeqake ka Mayeya. The tribe never understood the legal process through which they lost ownership of the land. After losing the land the inkosi had only his subjects to control, but not the land.

5.9 Khumalo (Amajuba)

A useful study of the Khumalo clan in pre-Shakan times can be found in S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on hegemony, memory and historiography*.²⁹⁸ It is stated in this study that the Khumalo emerged from one of the number of autonomous Nguni clans that existed in pre-Shakan times. The Khumalo clan belongs to the Ntungwa and proper Nguni groups of clans. The Mabaso and Khoza are junior related clans. The original clan based in KwaZulu-Natal came down from the

²⁹⁸ Pp 57ff.

South-Eastern Transvaal into Zululand via the upper Mkhuze and the black Mfolozi, where it was firmly established by 1790.

The separation of the Khumalo clans occurred so long ago that no connection can be established between the clans at present. Within this clan were several autonomous branches, each organized under a clan-head. The most notable clan-heads were Magugu, Mashobane and Ndoda. When one of the clan-heads, Magugu, became too powerful and dictatorial and a clan-head of the Khumalos, the Mashobane, Ndoda and others broke away and founded new clans between the sources of the Mkhuze River and the Ngome Forest of northern Natal. The head of the Khumalo branch was, in pre-Shakan times, Magugu, son of Gasa, who was the son of Zikode, who was the son of Mkhathshwa. Prior to Magugu's days, the clan lived inland of the Bananango hill and then away over the Nondweni River.

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, as the clouds of the *Mfecane* were building up in the 1800s the Khumalos found themselves between two powerful and aggressive neighbours. On its east were the Ndwandwe under Zwide, and on its south-east were the Mthethwa under Dingiswayo. The Ndwandwe attacked the several weak autonomous Khumalo clans in 1818, killing the clan-heads, Mashobane and Ndoda. The Khumalo clans were then incorporated as vassals of the Ndwandwe. Mashobana, a Khumalo inkosi, married the daughter of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide and sired a son, Mzilikazi. When Mashobana did not tell Zwide about patrolling Mthethwa amabutho (soldiers), Zwide had Mashobana killed, and the leadership of the Khumalo fell to Mzilikazi. Mzilikazi immediately did not trust his grandfather, Zwide, and took fifty warriors to join Shaka. Shaka was overjoyed because the Khumalos would be useful spies on Zwide and the Ndwandwes. After a few battles, Shaka gave Mzilikazi the extraordinary honour of appointing him inkosi of the Khumalos and allowed the clan to remain semi-independent from the Zulu, if Zwide could be defeated.

When Zwide was defeated Shaka rightly acknowledged he could not have done it without Mzilikazi and presented him with an ivory axe. There were only two such axes – one for Shaka and one for Mzilikazi. Shaka himself placed the plumes on Mzilikazi's head after Zwide was vanquished. The Khumalos were allowed to return to live in peace in their ancestral homeland. However, Shaka asked Mzilikazi to attack a Sotho clan living to the north of the Khumalo. After the defeat of the clan, Mzilikazi refused to hand over the cattle to Shaka. Shaka did nothing, but his generals pressed for action. A first force was sent to teach Mzilikazi a lesson. The force was soundly beaten by Mzilikazi, making Mzilikazi the only warrior to have ever defeated Shaka in battle. Shaka sent his veteran division, the Ufasimbi, to rid themselves of Mzilikazi and the embarrassing situation. Mzilikazi, left with only three hundred warriors who were grossly out-numbered, and betrayed by his brother, Zeni, who had wanted Mzilikazi's position for himself, was defeated.

This was the start of their migration into the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa. Nevertheless, sections of the clan remained in the region, with various independent branches found in different parts of the country.

The history of the clan from the Newcastle area began in 1892 with the appointment of Mandlalelwa Khumalo as their first inkosi by the Natal Colonial authorities. It was assumed that the clan had no hereditary inkosi, and therefore Mandlalelwa was an appointed and not a recognized hereditary inkosi. The clan did not own any land and its members lived with members of other clans on Trust farms or farms owned by other clans.

Mandlalelwa's son from his first wife, Mathebani, was appointed inkosi by the Union government in 1924. Because he was not the son of the wife whose lobola was paid by the clan Mathebani did not enjoy his clan's support. In addition, he grew up with relatives in Paul Pietersburg and thus did not have the necessary contact with his clan. After Mathebani's death in 1931 an acting inkosi, Mkitikili was appointed to lead the clan on behalf of Cinsa, the son of Mandlalelwa's first wife. The status of the first inkosi of the clan who was appointed by the Natal government and was not a recognized hereditary leader had some implications for the principles governing succession in this clan. In the Natal Code, the first wife of the inkosi produces the heir to the chieftaincy. However, according to the customs of the Natal Inland clans the sons of the first wife of the inkosi may not succeed the inkosi. For the latter, the wife whose lobola was paid by the clan produces the heir. However, in 1924 the Union government appointed the son (Mathebani) of the first wife Mandlalelwa married to the chieftaincy instead of the son (Zomele) of the wife which was lobola'd by the clan.

The clan was also opposed to the appointment of Cinsa because he was not the son of the wife whose lobola was paid by the clan. Instead, the clan suggested that Paulos, the son of Mandlalelwa's seventh wife, be appointed as inkosi. Mkitikili threatened to abolish ubukhosi if this was not done. He argued that if Paulos was not appointed the clan could be disbanded and its members be absorbed by other clans. Mkitikili's threats never materialized and Cinsa was appointed in 1932.

According to an ethnologist's report, opposition to the appointment of Mathebani in 1924, and Cinsa in 1932, led to the dispersal of the clan's members throughout the Newcastle district. By the early 1970s, the majority lived west of Newcastle on white-owned farms of the areas of Normandien Konigsberg and Charlestown in the north of the district. Some lived in the townships of Madadeni and Osizweni. Clan members lived on the following Trust farms in Newcastle: Lesley, Claremont and Grootgeluk and on Springboklaagte and Shepstone Lake in Dannhauser and on the following African-owned farms: Suspense and Blaauwboslaagte in Newcastle; Kaalvlakte, Kilkeel, Mount Johanna, Blackbank, Drangaan, Surry and Uitkyk-South in Dannhauser.

Inkosi Cinsa died on the 20th July 1967. In 1968 it was recommended that the clan should be dissolved and the subjects absorbed into the clans on whose land they were residing. Umndeni met in 1968 and agreed that the eldest son of inkosi Cinsa, Albert Mgwazeni Khumalo was the heir to the chieftainship. Albert Mgwazeni Khumalo died before he could be appointed and, because he was not married, in 1973 umndeni nominated his younger brother, Bantu David Khumalo, to be appointed as inkosi of the clan. Bantu was

twenty eight years old at the time and was not married. Umndeni asked that an acting inkosi be appointed. Obed Muzikayise Khumalo was appointed acting inkosi.

In 1984 several unsuccessful attempts were made to contact Bantu David Khumalo. It was reported that he was in a hospital in Johannesburg. On the 23rd January 1989 the umndeni met and again nominated Bantu to be their inkosi.

Another section of the clan migrated to Matata in the present Ilembe District from Zululand under the leadership of Bulushe.

5.10 Shezi

The earliest history of the tribe is not known and there is controversy as to whether they are of Embo extraction or of Ntungwa-Nguni origin. In Shaka's time they already inhabited the areas in and around the Nkandla forest and Msholoza was then their Chief. The Shezi people had lived in the Nkandla area for many years, long before the advent of white settlement in the area, and pre-dating the establishment of the Zulu kingdom.²⁹⁹ Although Shaka pursued his general policy throughout Nkandla of uniting Zulus under one inkosi (himself), the Cubes continued to exist as a separate tribe and right through the reigns of Mpande and Cetshwayo, they were left undisturbed. During Shaka's time, Nkandla Forest was under Zokufa, the father of Sigananda. Zokufa and Shaka were cousins and grew up together at eLangeni area near Melmoth. Zokufa's clan was already on the side of Shaka when the latter fought with Zwide.

When Cetshwayo was driven from his kingdom he was received and protected by Sigananda, then Chief of the Cubes (1883). After Cetshwayo's death in hospital, the body of that great Chief was loaded onto a wagon and brought to Nkandla where Sigananda found him a last resting place at the mouth of the Bope gorge. The *AbakwaShezi* "lived in the forest and their particular stronghold was in the Mhome gorge, where Sigananda had his capital kraal at the foot of the waterfall." The name of his principal *umuzi* was called eNhlweni ('the pauper's retreat'). The clan's main problem was a lack of land, and the clan was well-known for its poverty.

When Bhambatha was first put to flight in the course of the 1906 rebellion he approached Sigananda and asked for a refuge Sigananda willingly gave it to him and provided him with a strong force with which to continue the rebellion. When the rebellion was finally put down in 1906, Sigananda was arrested and lodged in goal where he died at the age of 104 years. Sigananda's heir Ndabaningi who had also supported the rebellion was banished from the Nkandla district and died at a young age still an exile. His brother in the same house was appointed as Acting Chief over the tribe. This brother (Mjadu) died on the 17th January 1920 bringing to a close a period of chieftainship which was incompetent and weak. After his death, his son and the son of Ndabaningi both laid claim to the Chieftainship. Then suddenly there were 5 separate claimants to the Chieftainship on various grounds. A commission of enquiry consisting of the Magistrates,

²⁹⁹ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 46.

Mahlabathini, Nkandla, and Melmoth was set up. This commission thoroughly investigated the matter and on their recommendation Mdedane, the heir to Ndabani was appointed Chief on the 4th July 1936. Mncebe acted as regent for his heir, Mpini until the latter's appointment on the 16th November 1943. In 1950 Dabulizwe Shezi suddenly laid claim to the chieftainship but without success and Mpini continued in office until his death on the 25th June 1958. He left a young boy as his heir and Dabulizwe Shezi was appointed regent until the boy Tululu reached majority. A tribal authority was created in respect of this tribe in 1965.

5.11 Chunwini-Mchunu

The amaChunu people are Ngunis of Bakayesa, BakaNomzansi, and KaNomtikitiki of Ndaba kazithethwa zithethwa nsukunsuku namhla kungasona isikhathi sezindaba. The tribe was originally based in Enkandla, between the Thalane and Thalanani mountains. According to Fuze, the founder of the tribe, Mchunu, established himself between the small and large Lala Mountains when he arrived in the region. Some claim that Mchunu was a son of Malandela, thereby giving the Mchunu strong genealogical links with the Zulus. Mchunu produced many descendants of the clan.³⁰⁰ During the days of Dingiswayo and Shaka, the amaChunu clan was led by Macingwane kaJama, kaLubhoko, kaNyanda, kaMavovo. According to Russel Kaschula, Macingwane was one of Shaka's most powerful adversaries.³⁰¹ Macingwane became the major figure in the history of the clan and he named his great kraal, which was near the eThaleni hill, eNgonyameni. He was reputed to have been brutal, even to his own children. Ntsundi, his heir, and Mqayana, Ndabazembi, Phezulu and Nyoni were all murdered by their father Macingwane. Only two of his sons survived, Mfusi from the great wife and the full brother of Ntsundu, who was still too young to be suspected of any danger. Phakade who, though older than Mfusi, was merely a ceremonial son of the emSizini hut, and therefore deemed out of the running as an aspirant to the throne; and yet he eventually got it.

The Emachunwini Chiefdom had a history of animosity with the house of Senzangakhona long before the latter had achieved the status of the Zulu Royal house in its own Kingdom. Inkosi Macingwane, who ruled the Emachunwini chiefdom during the reign of Senzangakhona (King Shaka's father), was ill-treated by Shaka and Mpande. Macingwane decided to remove himself and his chiefdom to Mpondoland, where he died at Ensikeni. A number of chiefdoms displaced by the upheavals from about 1815 chose to cross the Mzimkhulu to avoid being caught up in the turmoil. The Chunu and Thembu were the first to arrive in the early 1820s, followed by smaller groups. This brought them into the sphere of influence of the Mpondo under Faku and precipitated a degree of tension and political instability. The Chunu and Thembu could either accept Mpondo hegemony, or try to retain a degree of independence on the margin of Mpondo territory. As it turned out, the Thembu under Ngoza were attacked by Faku and fell apart, and the Chunu were attacked and destroyed by the Zulu, who wanted to maintain some security on their southern border.

³⁰⁰ Fuze, M., *The Black people and whence they came: A Zulu view*, p. 15.

³⁰¹ Kaschula, R., *African oral literature: Functions in contemporary contexts*, p. 143.

Although Inkosi Macingwane's descendants subsequently returned to Natal, they remained enemies of the Zulu Monarchy. Inkosi Macingwane's first wife was MaXimba, and she was the mother of all his three sons. Macingwane was King of the AmaChunu, and not just an ordinary chief, according to the tribe; and this was because he belonged to the royal house of the Qwabe. Ndaba, one of Macingwane's predecessors, was at once stage King of the Qwabe. When Dubandlela became king he appointed one of his sons as chief of the Chunu tribe.

Mfusi, who was heir apparent to the chieftainship, was not married when Shaka sent a party to kill him at the kraal he built for himself and had named eNkanini. Even though he was not married, he had a prospective wife named Masijula. Phakade, his brother eluded Shaka's attention by concealing his parentage, raised up seed for him by begetting a boy called Zimema who, according to custom, became, through proxy, the child of Mfusi and so heir to the chieftainship. In the eyes of Nguni law, a female is not only a man's wife from the time of the wedding or cohabitation, but from the moment any portion of the bride price had been accepted by her father. Actual possession, however, would await the father's consent and this would be withheld until the whole of the bride price had been accumulated. This service rendered by Phakade was therefore technically ukungena. But being through all those times a mere infant, Zimema never appears on the stage of tribal history. Phakade became head of the clan and successor of Macingwane. During the reign of Dingane, Phakade managed to escape from Zululand into the Msinga district. Subsequently he moved to the area between the Thugela and Mooi Rivers. Phakade died in 1880 and was succeeded by Gabangaye, who in turn passed the chieftainship on to his own heir, Silwane. In 1909 the government deposed Silwane because he quarreled with the local magistrate who was alleged to be in favour of an *induna*. In 1910 his former chiefdom was divided into four sections. Inkosi Silwane died in exile in March 1912 at emaBhaceni in the Harding district in the Mavundla chiefdom.³⁰² Silwane was succeeded by his son Muzochithwayo.

One branch of the clan was separated from the main clan (Msinga) on the 29th January 1920 and Ntando kaPhakade was recognised as their leader. After the appointment of Inkosi Ntando, the royal house was then divided into two: one at Msinga (Ekuvukeni) and the second one at Mdubuzweni (Mpofana place) in Mooi River. However, presently the amaChunu consists of five Royal Houses.

1. UMzimkhulu (Zimeme's house).
2. Emdubuzweni: Mpofana (Ntando's house).
3. Msinga. (Phakade's house)
4. Nkandla
5. Washbung (Ekuvukeni).

Late Chief Phakade had three royal houses. There is no clarity about the origin of the house at Washbung.

³⁰² Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 67.

The section of the tribe led by Ntando was located in the Mooi River district. Their original land was sold to white farmers 'long ago' and as a result they became 'landless', but still resided on white-owned land. The government moved them to the Estcourt district and allocated them land on a Trust Farm which originally belonged to amaHlubi. Ntando led his clan until his death on the 18th June 1929. On the 18th February 1930, Pewulo was recognised as acting chief on behalf of Mfungelwa who was still a minor at that time. Acting Chief Pewulo acted until his demise on the 21st July 1946 and Mngawni Ndlovu was recognised as acting chief on the 14th August 1946. On the 20th December 1947 Mfungelwa Mchunu was appointed inkosi of the Mchunu clan in the Estcourt district. On the 24th April Inkosi wanted to retire and nominated his second son, Nduna, from his first wife MaSokhela to be heir. He overlooked his first son Mandla because he was a drunkard and trouble-maker. Nduna acted as Ibambabukhosi for Mandla's son, Phumlani who was heir to the chieftainship.

5.12 Mthembu (Zululand)

The Mthembu tribe is popularly known as AbasebaThenjini. This tribe came to their present tribal land when all Zululand belonged to the Zulu nation and they built and gathered around the grave of Bacile, father of Sikala, who was the father of Somopo, the father of Msiyaya. Somopo was one of King Mpande's headmen and was responsible for the upbringing of his son Cetshwayo who was sent to live in Somopo's kraal. The area Somopo was given to lead is alleged to have extended from the White Umfolozi River to the Tukela River and from the sea to Emthanjeni. Under Cetshwayo Somopo was the Chief Induna of his "Magweni" military kraal on the Okulu Stream near Empangeni. Somopho's regiment and village were moved from central parts of the Zulu state in the west to the Okulu Stream to create a cordon and sentinel position against the threat of European expansion from the sea. The regiment was placed on permanent guard at a fort located near Empangeni.

In about 1890 Somopo was recognized as a chief by the Zululand Government over the people belonging to the "Mangweni" kraal, not then under other chiefs, and his son Msiyaya succeeded him. Somopo had two sons. The eldest son's name is not known. The youngest son was named Msiyana. The first son died and left his wife to be, MaMthethwa. Somopho then instructed Msiyana to take MaMthethwa as his first wife. When he came to power he made MaMthethwa his chief wife. Madoda kaMsiyana, the new chief's son by his wife MaMthethwa became the rightful heir. The latter had the following wives: MaMpanza the first wife, MaBiyela, MaCebekhulu, MaMkhanazi, MaNtshangase and MaBiyela who was affiliated to Ikhohlo (left side wife).

The section of Abathembu tribe located in the Zululand District belong to the Ngoza faction of that tribe and got separated from the faction under Inkosi Ngoza, which lived and now lives between the Buffalo and Tukela River, on account of wars and disputes over lands. There are three sections of the tribe. The section in this district is the Ngoza section. The Mganu (alias Invelase Tribe) section is resident in the Cape Province, having been driven from Zululand in Shaka's time. All the Abathembus (Mthembu people) are

stated to have come from Zululand. After the Zulu war (1897) the tribe came within Mlandela's District. This section of the tribe is presently residing at Enseleni in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Sections of Mthembus are found in Ilembe and eThekweni Districts.

Inkosi Ngoza was succeeded by his son Nodada, who in turn was succeeded by Mganu. The latter's son, Ngqamuzana, was inkosi of the clan during the Bhambatha rebellion. Inkosi Ngqamuzana ruled the section of the clan in the area straddling Weenen and Umsinga. Most of the clan's members were living on land privately owned by whites.³⁰³

5.13 Embo-Abambo, Embo-Thimuni and Abambo from Maphumulo (Mkhizes)

These clans retained the name, Abambo, of an originally large group of tribes which separated into Langeni, Ngwane, Swazi, Ndwandwe, Langeni-Gumede, Mkhize, Dlamini, Hlubi and Pondo groups. The Portuguese mention the vaMbe in 1589 when they lived north of the Komati River. The Embo people are an original Nguni category of a cluster of clans, whose modern identity dates back some 600 years. They are among the original Nguni groups who left the Great Lakes in Central Africa between 200AD and 1200AD. On arrival in Southern Africa they settled around modern day Swaziland, mainly on the Lubombo mountains before leaving in the 17 to 18 century to settle in modern day KwaZulu-Natal, in the Nkandla region. While living in the Lubombo range the above-mentioned tribes separated into the Hlubi-Dhlamini and Mkhize clans. The AbaMbo-Mkhize branch or clan had their home in pre-Shakan times (from about 1750/80 on) on the lower Tugela River in the triangle formed by the confluence with the Ntsuze River and eQudeni forest, i.e. today the western and central part of the District of Inkandla. During Shakan times, the Mkhize's lived along the banks of the Tugela River rendering alliances to Shaka. Dingane displaced them and they established themselves in Natal.

Mavovo was the inkosi of the Abambo clan when it was still united and had not yet separated. According to the current inkosi of the Embo-Abambo-Mkhize branch of the clan, December Mkhize, the following Amakhosi are related to his forefathers: Nkasa, Hlehla, Mguquka, and Thimuni all in the district of Camperdown, and Bubula in Richmond.

Tilongo was the son of Ngunezi kaSiyingile kaZihlandlo kaGcwabe kaKhabazela kaMavovo kaMkhize kaGubhela. Tilongo's ancestor Inkosi Zihlandlo had been on friendly terms with King Shaka and Shaka had "called him his younger brother (*mnawe*)". Inkosi Ngunezi was the senior of Inkosi Mqolombeni Mkhize and Inkosi Mguqula Mkhize. Ngunezi kaSiyingela Mkhize died in 1895 without having nominated his successor. This led to a dispute between his sons Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu over the chieftainship. The Natal government intervened and enforced a settlement contrary to Zulu custom by dividing the *ubukhosi* into two sections that were to be led by Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu. The faction fighting began and continued for many decades afterwards. In

³⁰³ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 68.

due course their sons, Nkasa and Thimuni succeeded Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu respectively.³⁰⁴

The former faction (Embo-Nkasa or Isimahla) is currently led by Inkosi Zwelinjani and the latter (Embo-Thimuni) is under the present Acting Inkosi Phuzukufa. Sikhukhukhu was followed by Thimuni. Thimuni was followed by Acting Chief Mbabazeni, who was followed by Muziwamandla.

Tilongo was a chief of the section of amaMbo (Mkhize people) in the uMngeni and uMlazi divisions in the Natal Midlands. His chieftom was one of the most important ones and as a result it was not on good terms with the local white farmers. The farmers wanted this chieftom to be broken up. During the collection of the poll tax that gave rise to the Bhambatha rebellion these farmers wanted Tilongo to be deposed. The hostile attitude did not change even after Tilongo and his people paid their tax in April 1906.³⁰⁵

Bubula Mkhize (Ngunezi's full young brother) and Inkosi Mguqula Mkhize (Ngunezi's distant cousin) remained loyal to the colonial government during the rebellion. Bubula was rewarded for his loyalty by being appointed inkosi over a small section of abaMbo (Mkhize people) by the Natal colonial government. On the other hand, Tilongo was deposed although he played no part in the rebellion. He was tried by the court martial in Pietermaritzburg and found guilty of sedition and public violence. He was fined five hundred head of cattle, which was later commuted by the Governor to two hundred and fifty. He was deported together with other 'ringleaders' to St Helena in 1907. His chieftom was divided into three sections. Both Tilongo and Sikhukhukhu were granted parole by Lord Gladstone in 1910 after having served three years of their ten-year sentences.³⁰⁶

Tilongo was succeeded by Nkasa, and after Nkasa, Mfanawendlela acted as chief for many years. Officially the tribe is known as Embo-Nkasa, but it prefers the name Isimahla which is the name of its tribal authority. Isimahla is also the name of the tribe's royal kraal. For many years there was friction between the Embo-Thimuni and the Embo-Nkasa (Isimahla) branches of the clan which caused quite a lot of faction fighting.

The Abambo from Maphumulo had Mgidi as their grandfather. Mgidi came from Mkomazi with the Elangeni people under Mankonku Mhlongo. He lived with the Mbashanes of Makhaye. Mgidi was appointed by the popular Ngcolosi Inkosi as Induna of the Embo. After his death his son Nyakana claimed the land and thus their history of chieftainship began. Mtobe, Nyakana's brother also claimed the Chieftainship and the dispute was soon resolved for Mtobe was the product of "ukungena" by Nyakana's father. Thereafter Mtobe went to Zululand and settled there at Emasundwini while Nyakana remained and he appointed Majulumba as his heir. Inkosi Mnyinywa Mkhize was succeeded by his son Bhekabambo. After the death of Bhekabambo, Bhekinduna Siphso was identified as a rightful heir of maMlondo, the Indlunkulu wife.

³⁰⁴ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 70.

³⁰⁵ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 70.

³⁰⁶ Hadebe, 'A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)', 71.

5.14 Mngomezulu (Zululand)

The Mngomezulu hailed from an area near present day Lesotho and settled in the area which now straddles the boundary between Swaziland and KwaZulu. Lubelo was inkosi of the clan at the time when it moved into the region. This Mngomezulu tribe originally “khonzaed” to Zwide, but the latter was later overthrown by Shaka. “Sambane” (The Nyawo Chief) united with the Gumbi people and attacked Lubelo. The fight was inconclusive and Lubelo moved across the Ingwavuma River. The tribe wandered from place to place and ultimately settled in Swaziland, where the then chief of the tribe, Lubelo was killed following an order of the Swazi King. During his life, Lubelo, had subdued the tribes occupying the Ubombo range, north and south of the Ingwavuma River. After his death, his heir, Mbikiza occupied their present area with the remnants of his father’s followers. Mbikiza, who succeeded Lubelo, then appealed to the British for protection. The Mngomezulu then settled near the Lubombo Mountains in the valley between the Mgwavuma and Pongolo rivers. The Mngomezulus have remained there from that time. An extract from a report dated the 10th September 1889 is also interesting.

Mbikiza’s tribe, the Mngomezulu, was defeated and members of the tribe had to flee North with the Amandwande, who were also defeated. The Swazi King interceded on their behalf and the tribe under the late Lubelo was allowed to return to their old district North and South of the Ingwavuma River. They have occupied the area ever since, paying tribute to both the Swazi and Zulu king: to the former in consideration of the service rendered by interceding on their behalf and to the latter as their visitors. To the latter they khonzaed through Maphita, and after his death through Usibebu. They continued to khonza in this manner until Usibebu’s overthrow, when the tribe, it is stated, on Ndabuko’s order was attacked by Sambana and forced to retire north of the Ingwavuma River. Mbikiza continued, however, to Khonza to the Swazi King. After Usibebu’s restoration he again khonzead to him as well.

In 1973, the inkosi of the clan, Ntunja Mngomezulu, was deposed by the apartheid government because he refused to call himself a Zulu. He was forced into exile in Swaziland, where he was joined by many members of his clan.

5.15 Myeni-Ngwenya

This tribe has, since early Zululand times been split in two: one Section under late Chief Mdolomba occupies Native Reserve No. 2 and the other under acting Chief Nobiya occupies Native Reserve No. 16. Bryant states that the aba-KwaMyeni belong to the Ntungwa-Nguni group, and are closely related to the Mabasos or the amaCunwini. This tribe originally lived near Babanango. They were known as the aba-kwa-Myeki clan. When the chief died, a dispute for the chieftainship arose. One claimant, Mlambo, left the area with his followers and was given a piece of land in Eshowe by the Qwabe Chief. Mlambo died in the Eshowe district and his two sons, Ngwenya (senior) and Ntsinde

(junior) divided the tribe, calling each section after themselves. The Ntsinde branch of the clan is currently ruled by Inkosi Ernest Silwane Myeni.

According to legend, when Duma, the son of Ngwenya, was chief, a hornbill entered his kraal and cried out. Duma felt that it was a bad omen and fled with his people, seeking the protection of the Tembu Chief who was living along the coast near the entSeleni River. He changed the tribal name to aba-kwa-Myeni to distinguish it from the other branch of the clan. They then went to Matubatuba on the Umfolozi River. The tribe was then chased away by the Gasa Ndwandwes and fled to the Ingwavuma River near the Ubombo range. In 1817 Duma entered into a relationship with the Mngomezulu Chief, Zondiwe. Maguma (the head of Ntsinde section of the tribe) joined with Duma as well.

The new settlement area proved to be barren. Vuma, the grandson of Maguma, got permission from Mpande to occupy the land around the Tshaneni Mountain on both sides of the Mkuze River. Mdolomba remained there for 25 years until Zondiwe's heir, Lubelo, drove Mdolomba out. Mnenezi, Mdolomba's grandson was murdered by the Mngomezulu Chief in 1882 and Madhlaka, his son, eventually assumed the chieftainship.

Sipike, son of Vuma, was not happy with the land near the Mkuze. He sought permission from Mbikiza, the Mngomezulu chief, for a portion of land that was occupied by his tribe before. This was granted and he settled near the Ingwavuma River. He died there and Mlamgazi assumed the chieftainship of the Myeni's who remained behind at Mkuze.

Chief Mdolomba (II) Myeni ka Madlaka was appointed as Chief of the Ngwenya Tribe in the Ubombo district on the 1st July 1936. According to file 6/2/2/3/9, the chief had no sense of responsibility as a leader. He had a very low mentality and drank excessively. Induna Silas Mtshali and Mabuya Myeni reported that the chief had neglected his duties to the Magistrate on the 2nd July 1970. On the 17th May 1973 the Chief Executive Councilor decided that Chief Mdolomba Myeni should be suspended for 5 years and that Sifuta Myeni should be acting Chief.

5.16 Bhengu

There are two branches of the Ngcolosi people in the Ilembe District. The abakwaNgcolosi could be found along the Ndlalati River below the town of Kranskop to the Thukela River. They belong to the Lala group of the Tonga-Ngunis. In Shaka's days they were ruled by Mmepo, son of Ngwane of Lamula, of Ngwabini, of Bhengu, of Dlabazane, Lusibalukhulu, of Songololo. In 1821-22, when the Zulu army for the first time crossed their border they surrendered themselves and pledged their loyalty and promised to be servants of Shaka. As a pledge of their loyal sentiments, the Zulus demanded their tribal cattle and went off with them. Shaka treated the Ngcolosis with respect. Mazizi Kunene accords Manyundela, the son of Mabuya Njikiza of the Ngcolosi clan, the status of being one of King Shaka's heroes.³⁰⁷ However, Dingane wanted to destroy them. In January 1838, Dingane killed Retief and his party at the Mgungundlovu

³⁰⁷ Kunene, M., *Emperor Shaka: The Zulu epic*, p. xxxiv.

kraal and also massacred their wives and children who were awaiting their return on the Bushman's and Blaauwkrantz Rivers in Natal.

Fearing reprisal from Dingane for having assisted the Boers, the Ngcolosi moved southward. However, some were too slow and were captured and killed by Dingane's people. The rest left behind their cattle and went into the mid-Mgeni valley below the Mqeku stream. That is where Mmepo died in peace. Nkungu, his heir was killed by Dingane without having named a successor. He left two boys, Ndlonkolo and Hlangabeza, to fight over the position. The British Government decided to separate the two: each was given his own land. Thus, the Ndlonkolos faction was settled in the Mkhambathini, Ndwedwe and Pinetown districts, while the Hlangabeza faction remained in the Kranskop and Maphumulo districts.

5.17 Biyela

According to the testimony of informants in interviews conducted by the HSRC research team, the history of the Biyela clan dates back to the time of Ndaba, the grandfather of Zenzangakhona. Ndaba had his son Jama as the head of the Indlunkulu house and Xhoko (Xhoko) as the head of the Ikhohlo house. Ndaba's capital was called Emqekwini where his great wife Situli lived. He also had another kraal called Emgazini where the royal cattle were usually slaughtered and where his Ikhohlo son and the isokangqangi, Xhoko, was the head. Xhoko and Jama were not the only sons at the Emqekwini and Emgazini kraals. For instance, Xhoko, Mgutshwa and Ntshwakeni (or Ntshakeni) were all living in the Emgazini kraal. It is not clear whether Ntshwakeni was the half-brother of Xhoko or the brother of Ndaba. Other informants argued that he was the grandfather of Senzangakhona kaJama, meaning the brother of Ndaba. Others argue that he lived at the Emgazini kraal built by Ndaba. The second argument may be correct for Senzangakhona married the daughter, Mehlana, of Ntopho of Ntshwakeni. By so doing, clan incest, which was taboo, was committed as they were all the descendents of Ndaba.

Senzangakhona's actions angered Xhoko as it has created a precedent where the Zulus openly courted the emGazini girls around the royal precincts. Xhoko resented this unprincipled trespass and set up a fence of general prohibition around his portion of the family. This led to the total separation of the Emgazini and Emqekwini kraals. When other members of the clan noticed the fence they laughed and said: "*A! kanti umuzi wakho uyawubiyela?*" Thereafter these people were known as abakwaBiyela.

Ntshangase is their address name, or "isithakazelo". It is still a mystery how they acquired the address name Ntshangase. It could be that Ntshangase was also a son of Ndaba living at the Emgazini kraal. Most of the Zulu address names originate from the names of their forefathers. This is also the case with the surnames of families. Later on, Xhoko built a kraal of his own. Some informants argue that it was during the time of Shaka. Xhoko was the grand-uncle of Shaka and was also the isokangqangi, i.e. the "first to circumcise", of Ndaba. It was not clear if Xhoko had been born years ago before Jama. It can also not be verified if Xhoko was still alive when Shaka took over ubukhosi after

the death of Senzangakhona in about 1816. Some informants argued that Xhoko moved with some followers to build the Mbiza kraal. Other informants argued that it was Menziwa, Xhoko's son and heir, who led the people from Nobamba to build the Mbiza kraal.

There is another account of the origin of the clan name, Biyela. It is claimed that the clan received the additional isibongo of Biyela in consequence of an edict by King Jama. As time passed the Ndabas became detached from each other. The young men began to take wives from their own kith and kin. But this, being in opposition to all law and tradition, had to be done surreptitiously. As no particular notice was taken of the practice, the young swains became bolder and bolder and the custom became quite common. When at last the king bestirred himself in order to put a stop to the practice he found it had assumed such proportions that he good naturedly condoned it with the remark: Henceforth you will be known as the "Biyela" (from Biya to hedge in).

Marianne Brindley, using the writings of Bryant, Lugg, Webb and Wright, Cope and Van Warmelo as her sources, argues that the Biyela were an off-shoot of the Zulu clan headed by Ndaba, the grandfather of Zenzangakhona. Ndaba had a son Xhoko, whose heir Menziwa is the ancestor of the Biyela. Menziwa lived during the time of Shaka, and had fought bravely during the battle between the Ndwandwe and Zulu at Mhaltuze. At the time Menziwa and his son Mvundlana were still using the name of Zulu, but when Shaka wanted to put people to death Mvundlana provided them with protection by suggesting an alternative form of punishment such as the confiscation of their cattle. According to Brindley, Shaka responded in exasperation to this suggestion by saying: 'You are no longer of the Zulu clan: from now on I am going to call you Biyela (meaning fencing in, hedging in, protecting) because you protect the people whom I want to have killed.'³⁰⁸ According to Brindley, Shaka gave Mvundlana the chieftainship of a section of the clan in what is now the Melmoth area in recognition of his loyalty and military prowess, particularly in the battle which caused Zwide to flee from Zululand.³⁰⁹

The Biyela clan was eventually divided into several sections during and after Shaka's reign. The first section is known as the Obuka isizwe, where the present inkosi is Chakide Phiwayinkosi Biyela. This section is the head of all the Biyelas. They are located at upper Nseleni in the Uthungulu District. The second section is the Mahlayizeni section in the Nkandla area of Uthungulu. Menziwa had a twin brother by the name of Didi. Didi was made inkosi of the clan of his mother, the Majola clan, in the Nkandla area by Shaka. This clan consisted of the Majola and members of the Mchunu, Khanyile, Zulu and Makhayi clans. Didi was followed by Inkosi Mtiyaqwa, who in turn was followed by Manyala in about 1912. When Manyala died the son from his sixth wife, Velangaye, was selected as the next inkosi. However, Velangaye died soon after he took over the chieftainship. The next in line, Bhekisizwe was still too young to take over ubukhosi. So another of Manyala's sons, Mfanizakhe, was chosen to act on his behalf. However, once it became clear that he would be reluctant to relinquish the acting chieftainship,

³⁰⁸ Brindley, M. 'The role of old women in Zulu culture', pp. 27-8.

³⁰⁹ Brindley, M. 'The role of old women in Zulu culture', p. 28.

Velangaye's brother Mzibeni was appointed in his place.³¹⁰ The current inkosi is Bhekizwe Philmon Biyela, who assumed the chieftainship in 1979.

The third section of the Biyela people is known as the Yanguye clan. This section is situated at upper Nseleni near Melmoth. The original head of this section was Magidi, Meziwa's son from the ikhohlo house. During the days of King Shaka Magidi proved to be ambitious. He also showed bravery in battle, and King Shaka offered him a piece of land north east of Melmoth next to his brother Mvundlane. Magidi established his kraal there called "Yanguye". Thus, the clan acquired the name Yanguye from Magidi. He was followed as inkosi by Bulangede, Ngangezwe, and Khishwekhaya. The present Inkosi is Velemandleni Biyela. The fourth section is known by the clan name Ndlangubo. Mvundlane had another son by the name of Mgitshwa. Mgitshwa formed the section of Ndlangubo in the Inkanyezi district. The present Inkosi is Phangifa kaZwelempi kaNkomo kaMgitshwa. The fifth section is the Mvuzana clan section. This section is also in the Inkanyezi district. The sixth section is the Mangadini section, which is in the Nkandla district. The seventh section is the Mombeni section, which is also found in the Inkanyezi district.

The late Chief Mhlakaza Biyela of the branch in Inkanyzi is descended from Ndaba. Inkosi Mhlakaza lived for many years in the Melmoth District. The tribe was placed under various chiefs such as Ntshingwayo, Ntonga, Nkomindle and Bagibile. In 1900 he was removed by the government from his tribe as a result of his refusal to acknowledge the late Yamela as his overlord. He was returned to his former land in 1916. Inkosi Mhlakaza died in 1946. An acting inkosi, Khohlwangezake Biyela, was appointed and held this position from the 31 December 1929 to the 30 December 1954. Mkhakanjani was then appointed to act up until he was substituted by the acting Inkosi Magagane Biyela, who acted until the 31 December 1976. Acting Inkosi B. F. Biyela was appointed in 1977, and was succeeded by acting Inkosi Mtchiteni Biyela.

The Biyela clans of Fort Yolland in the Eshowe district under Mdaye, the Mangidini section in the Nkandla district and those in the Ndulinde area in the Eshowe district were all derived from the Mbiza kraal. After the death of Xhoko, Dingane also married Mangxanga's daughter of the Biyelas. Thereafter, a section of the clan was placed in Nkandla by Dingane, but was directly under induna Mvundlana. During Mpande's reign Mvundlana reported to Mpande that Nonzama of the Biyela clan want to kill him. Mpande took steps to prevent this. After hearing that he was to be attacked Nonzama fled to Natal, where he remained until Cetshwayo became king. He returned after Cetshwayo called him and he was allowed to settle on his old site. This clan remained loyal to Cetshwayo and as a result Nonzama was appointed chief over the clan. Nonzama reigned until his demise on the 3 December 1904. His son Lukulwini was recognized as the chief on the 25th February 1905 and died on the 7th January 1946. During the minority of Fangalakhe Biyela, Silwasodwa acted on his behalf until the 30th April 1955 when Fangalakhe assumed his duties.

³¹⁰ Brindley, M. 'The role of old women in Zulu culture', p. 28.

5.18 The Zondi (Ngome) and Zondi (Nkandla)

The Zondi clans are descended from Pedi-Tlokwa strain of the Sotho Tribe. They thus have the same origin as the Nxamalala's (Zumas), which is quite obscure. While some claim that they were very early offshoots of the Tonga-Nguni Dlamini's, the weight of evidence suggests that they were some variety of Sotho of the Pedi-Tlokwa group. But some argue they were related to the Memelas who were an offshoot of the baKhatla, themselves a section of the Bahurutsi. aba-KwaZondi people dwelt along the banks of Tukela and the Inadi stream in what is now the Msinga district. The people were in those days known as the abaseNadi people, but one seldom hears them referred to as such in these days. They arrived at their Inadi home in very much the same way and the same time as the Nxamalala (refer to the history of Nxamalala clan below).

Shaka descended upon the abakwaZondi with the full might of his forces and the Zondis fled in fear to the nearest forest. Shaka's army began collecting the spoils of war and rounded up all the Zondi cattle, whereupon they emerged from hiding and surrendered. The Zondis thereafter never ever regained their former might or glory and the clan began to break up, some of them to join Shaka and become Zulus, while others joined other tribes. A few were left in the old country under Dlaba, the son of Nomagaga (who died soon after Shaka's onslaught). The remainder of the clan under Dlaba followed the Nxamalala example and fled to Pietermaritzburg to establish a new home in the Zwartkop region (in about 1838).

In 1883 Mr. J. Shepstone appointed Nongamulana as a border watch along the Nondweni River, which was the boundary between Zululand and the Republic, and settled several Zondi tribesmen under him. Later in the same year Nongamulana was appointed as a chief over the Zondis who accompanied him.

The tribe openly rebelled during the Bhambatha Rebellion. This is understandable as Bhambatha was a chief of the Zondi tribe in the Greytown district at the time he rebelled and the two tribes are closely related. In 1964 the tribe accepted the provisions of the Bantu Authorities Act and the betterment proclamation 116/49. Chief Masulumane Zondi died on 7th December 1974 after having laid down the reins of office due to illness on the 3rd January 1974. On the 4th January 1974 Mkonjeni Zondi was appointed Chief Deputy of this section of the clan.

The first inkosi of the Ngome section of the clan was Zacela Zondi because he migrated with a section of the clan to this area. The most famous of the amakhosi of this clan was Inkosi Bhambatha who fought in the Zulu Rebellion in 1906.³¹¹ Chief Nomagaga came after Zacela, and after Nomagaga came Magence. Chief Jangeni was the eldest son of Sondaba and his mother was MaMyeza.

³¹¹ There are many references to the Bhambatha Rebellion in historical sources. One of these is Ken Gillings's study of "The 'death' of Bhambatha Zondi: A recent discovery", in *Military History Journal*, Vol 12, No 4, December 2002.

Mancinza, Jangeni's son, succeeded him and had four wives. His senior wife was MaMchunu, the daughter of Inkosi Phakade of the Mchunu Clan. Mancinza died in October 1883 and Sikwazi Zondi was appointed to act during the minority of Bhambatha. Sikwazi died soon after and Magwababa (Chief Jangeni's younger brother) was nominated to act for the heir on the 8 December 1884. Bhambatha was appointed on the 6th June 1890. He was the chief of a section of *abakwaZondi* (Zondi people) in the "Umvoti, New Hanover, Eugenia, Lions River and Krantzkop divisions". Bhambatha's people were based in the Ngome area, which is about 25 km away from Greytown. Most of his people lived on white-owned farms.

On the 10th January 1895 Bhambatha was suspended for suspected cattle theft and his brother Funizwe was appointed to act on his behalf. He was reinstated on the 2nd May 1895. In 1906, Bhambatha resisted the implementation of the poll tax and he was deposed on the 23rd February 1906. Magwababa was appointed to act as Inkosi for 12 months after which Funizwe would be recognised as Inkosi of the clan.

Inkosi Bhambatha was killed at Mome Gorge on the 10th June 1906 and his brother Funizwe was recognised as Inkosi on the 23rd March 1907. However, modern day historians reject the claim that Bhambatha was killed at Mome Gorge. They claim that the colonial authorities used the ruse of the supposed head of the Bhambatha rebellion in order to quell the uprising. After the death of Funizwe, the chiefly line reverted back to Bhambatha because he had a son, Bulawayo. Sfani Zondi was appointed to act for the young heir.

The father of Chief Fanyana Edward Zondi was Bulawayo Zondi who entered the chieftainship when he was already an old man. He ruled this tribe until his death in 1978. According to a document written in 1981, the tribe consists of a mixture of literate and uneducated people. Chief Fanyana was married by customary union and had one wife and four children. He was a member of the Ethiopian Church and was employed as a machine operator for nine years before being appointed chief.

5.19 Nxamalala

The Nxamalala clan was a brother-clan of the Zondis. Some say they are an offshoot of the Tonga-Nguni Dlamini, although the evidence suggests that they are a variety of Sotho, of the Pedi-Tlokwa group, which, in turn was an offshoot of the Bakwatla. They moved away from the Drakensburg and crossed the Tlokwa where they found themselves in the country of Mnikade, inkosi of the emaDekeni. They learnt to plant maize from this tribe. They were assimilated into the emaDekeni clan and some were absorbed by the Kabelas.

The Nxamalalas remained there for generations until they were disturbed by Shaka. As a pledge of his allegiance to Shaka, Matomela handed over his heir, Siguqa, with other youths into Shaka's paternal keeping. But Siguqa died from an illness. Msoholozi (Umtyolozu), the family's eldest son, became chief. When Shaka died, the Nxamalala's

feared Dingane and fled south. When they got to Greytown they were ambushed by the Zulu army and Chief Msholozhi was killed. They were driven back to their homeland which is presently known as Nkandla. This faction of the clan was left at Nkandla under the leadership of Inkosi Mshilozhi's son, Mnyakanya (Umnyakana). After this Lugaju, half-brother of Msholozhi, became inkosi and later relocated to Zwartkop near Pietermaritzburg with some of his followers and settled there with another faction of the Nxamalalas (refer to the section on the Nxamala succession dispute in chapter 7 below).

Six years later the boers arrived in 1839 and Mpande revolted. When the Zulu nation was broken up after Dingane, the Nxamalalas were able, once again, to move around without fear. The section of the tribe that was left near the Tukela after Lugaju had fled was without a leader. Msholozhi's heir, Mnyakanya, was still a minor, so they decided to move to Zwartkop and continued to live under the rule of Lugaju and later on his son, Mafahleni. Mafahleni's son, Mconjwana, succeeded him and died in 1966. Mconjwana's son, Nkantshamela, was appointed as Inkosi in 1974. The house of Msholozhi never again regained its leadership of the clan.

5.20 Ndimande

The history of the Gwensa tribe is indistinct and the true origin of the tribe is not clear. All what Bryant states in his book "Olden Times in Zululand" is that an important personage among the Shingas in the earlier days on the Mvoti was one Mvuzi. This gentleman was blessed with a pair of twins, respectively named Gwensa and Mzwilini, the names they were destined to transmit to posterity as those of two tiny clanlets. Thus, the Gwensas originated from the Shingas. The Shingas are in turn called Ndelus and originated from emaSelekwini branch of the Maphumulo families. The Maphumulos also originated from the Lala Nguni, which means that the Gwensas are also of Lala-Nguni origin.

It is said that the Gwensas, together with the Mtungwas (Khumalo), moved southwards until they reached the Ubombo district. They stayed there until the fear of Shaka was over and moved further southwards and settled for short while at Eshowe. Their stay at Eshowe was for a short period because they were in great hurry to escape Shaka's warriors. They fled across the Tugela River and settled shortly south of the Tugela near the Nsuze River. Shortly after that they fled and eventually came to the Umvoti River in the Maphumulo District. Some of them moved towards the Msunduze River and reached Amanzimtoti. On arriving in the Illovo area they found that the land was not suitable for livestock as they had expected. They then returned to the area where they are today. At that time the British Administration started to register Amakhosi and that was the opportunity for the Gwensa family to introduce their name as well. The British Administration recognized the Gwensa as a tribe with its own Inkosi and tribal land.

The Gwensa experienced the succession dispute which led to the split of the chieftdom during 1906. Nkosana Gwensa was the heir to the chieftaincy but he joined the 'rebels' during the Bhambatha rebellion while the regent who was acting for him joined the

colonial government. Nkosana was arrested and deposed while the ‘loyal’ Mahlubi was appointed to a permanent full chieftaincy of the chiefdom for his services. Furthermore, he was given a section of amaNyuswa who had been under Xhegwana.³¹²

5.21 Gazini

The history of the Gazini clan is interesting, but also elusive. For reasons that will be clear further on, it is a clan that featured prominently in the history of the Zulus, but on which that history is actually silent. They can in fact be considered as the stepchild of the Zulu royal house. The best way to deal with the history of the clan is chronologically, with a focus on prominent historical figures.

The origin of the Gazini clan: The history of Gazini tribe is closely related to the history of the Zulu royal family. The Gazini story reaches a climax with the assassination of Shaka and then faded somewhat thereafter. Ndaba Zulu (born 1697, died 1763) was the great-grandfather of Shaka. Ndaba had the gift of rain-making, and because of this gift became leader of the Zulu clan. However, Ndaba committed a great sin. He allowed his daughter (or sister) to marry a ‘brother’. (‘Brother’ here means a man who also had the Zulu surname.) Within the Zulu clan this offense is taken in a very serious light – equivalent to incest. (Bryant, 1929: 39)

This daughter of Ndaba lived in a kraal a short distance from Ndaba’s own kraal. Although it was a separate kraal, it was still relatives of his. The name of this kraal of Ndaba was eGazini. Literally translated it means “at-the-blood” or “place of the blood”. The name was actually a description for ‘the slaughter-house’ because this kraal was where the Zulu royal family always slaughtered its beasts. Ndaba had his mistake rectified by announcing that the people of the eGazini kraal were actually a different clan (now a tribe). From then on their surname was changed from Zulu to Gazini. Since then the Zulus were allowed to freely marry the Gazinis. A few years later the siblings Mgazini, again through Ndaba's doing, came into existence. The Mgazini (Ntshangase) are today clans in their own right.

Jama and Zenzangakhona Zulu were respectively the grandfather and father of Shaka. It seems that the eGazini kraal was where they stayed and held their functions. Stuart (Stuart Archives, Volume 2: p.213) indicates that the Gazini people’s kraal was known as the washing place during Zenzangakhona’s time. This name is derived from the fact that the Gazinis were body-servants who would go to the kraal of the Zulu King to wash him.

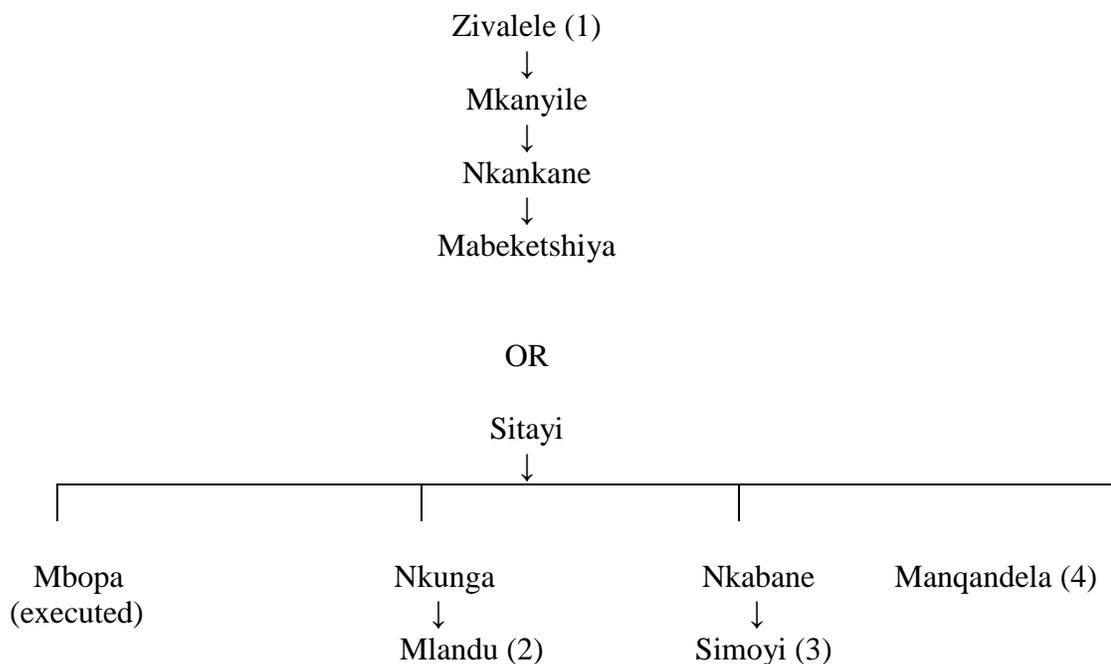
During Shaka’s time Mbopa Gazini was one of his most important body-servants (‘inceku’). Mbopa was responsible, together with Mhlangana and Dingane, for the murder of Shaka. (Stuart Archives, Volume 2: p. 294.) Mbopa and Mhlangana physically carried out the murder while Dingane stood by. Mbopa and Mhlangana were executed for their part in the murder, while Dingane became king of the Zulu nation.

³¹² Hadebe, ‘A contextualization and examination of the *impi yamakhanda* (1906 uprising)’, 79.

What happened to the Gazini clan after this event, and how it developed into today's two main groups could not be ascertained. After Shaka's death there were three Gazini 'izikhulu' (important leaders, i.e. amakhosi in Shaka's political structure). They were:

- Mkanyile ka Zivalele
- Nkunga ka Sitayi (Nkunga was Mbopa's brother)
- Nkabane ka Siyayi (Stuart Archives, Volume 3: p. 378.)

What is clear is that after Shaka's murder the Gazini clan fell out of favour with the Zulu royal family and lost their position as body-servants of the royal family. Dingane, afraid of being assassinated as well, did not want the Gazini clan near him. The Gazini clan possibly developed from four lines. These are illustrated diagrammatically as follows:



- (1) On the first possibility there is no further information except this diagramme and the chiefdoms during Shaka's time.
- (2) What we know about the second possible line is that Mlandu and his followers eventually settled at Ntabankulu. This area is approximately 20 kilometres from present-day Ulundi, in the Mahlabathini District of Zululand.
- (3) Simoyi ka Nkabane settled near 'the road' in the north of the White Umfolozi River. If this road is the same route currently followed by the White Umfolozi River then the clan was settled a few kilometers south of the Nhlazatshe Mountain.
- (4) Manqandela ka Sitayi settled on the southern side of the Nhlazatshe Mountain, near the 'iTaka'(wobble or stumble). (Stuart Archives, Volume 3: p. 108.) Manqandela, according to this scenario, lived close to Simoyi ka Nkabane. Manqandela was not one of Shaka's 'isikhulu', and it is possible that he was simply an important figure in

Simoyi's section of the clan. (It could not be established if they were recognized as an independent clan by Dingane or Mpande.)

What is important is that the last two sections of the clan settled very close (about 10 kilometres) to the original kraal of the Gazini clan. According to Inkosi Sizanempi Zulu, the Nhlazatshe area was recognized as Simoyi ka Nkabane's area by Cetshwayo. Sizanempi explains further that Simoyi did not rule his people as an inkosi because he lived with Cetshwayo. It is clear from this account that the Gazini people once again were given their official area – during this time, Nodwengu – near the king's kraal.

Because of Simoyi's official role it became necessary for him to appoint an induna or inkosi's proxy to rule over his area. Ngoqo Mbatha was the first person appointed to perform this role. During Ngoqo's administration of the clan, and after the destruction of Cetshwayo's forces in 1879, the British colonial authorities took over the administration of Zululand in 1886. Thereafter the subjects of the amakhosi were required to pay a tax to the colonial administration through their amakhosi. It is at this time that the British authorities mistakenly made Ngoqo an inkosi of the Gazini clan. It is possible that because of Ngoqo's appointment as an inkosi the Gazini people, although under the incorrect inkosi, became a recognized clan. After Ngoqo's death he was succeeded by his son Mathutha Mbatha. Mathutha took part in the Bhambatha rebellion and was subsequently deposed by the British authorities.

According to Inkosi Sizanempi Zulu, Zombode was a son of Simoyi. After Simoyi's deposition Zombode made a claim to the chieftainship. In 1914 he requested King Dinizulu to restore his chieftainship. Zombode was followed as inkosi by Banguthuli Mbatha, who had been Zombode's chief induna. Sizanempi Zulu was appointed inkosi of the clan by the Zulu Paramount Chief in 1944. Inkosi Sizanempi Zulu died on the 6th March 1990, and was succeeded by Inkosi Gideon Zulu.

The history of the Gazini clan in the Mahlabathini and Babanango districts has not been researched in great detail, although it must be related to the history given above. The Gazini from Mahlabathini/Babanango resorted administratively under the Ndebele clan. In 1892 the Mbatheni, Buthelezi, Zindeneni and Gazini clan from Mahlabathini/Babanango were thrown together by the British authorities and placed under an Ndebele as their inkosi. According to official records, the Gazini clan in the Mahlabathini district lived under this situation until 1968.

This section of the clan is a landless clan, and has been seeking its own tribal area for some time. The inkosi lives besides the so-called Good Luck Trust farms and he is seeking to have the farms declared the Gazini tribal area. According to the ethnologist of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, this land falls in the traditional area of the Gazini people. The inkosi's subjects are to be found on white-owned farms or living in what was previously known as 'white areas'. By 2000 it still did not have its own land, but a new Traditional Authority had been established by then.

5.21 Zulu-Nodunga

The two Zulu-Nodunga clans originate from the ikhohlo (left side) of Jama's family. This side had a son, Nkwelo, who fathered Mudli. The clans came into being after the battle of Nnodakusuka between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.

The royal families of the two Zulu-Nodunga clans are descendants of Mudli, who was one of King Shaka's mentors.³¹³ Before his death Mudli advised his two sons, Sigwebana and Thimuni, to be loyal to the Zulu kingdom and defend it against its enemies. The two young princes honoured their father's advice and played prominent roles in King Shaka's wars against the Buthelezi and Ndwandwe where Thimuni distinguished himself as an excellent warrior. Following the assassination of King Shaka in September 1828, and the ascendancy of Dingane to the Zulu throne, Thimuni continued his loyalty to the Zulu kingdom and played a significant role in King Dingane's campaign in Swaziland.

Prince Thimuni belonged to Shaka's Zimpohlo regiment. Before the end of the Battle of Nnodakusuka on the 2 December 1856 during the war between the supporters of Cetshwayo and the supporters of Mbuyazi, he crossed the Thukela River into the British colony of Natal. Thimuni and his brother Sigwebana supported Mbuyazi instead of Cetshwayo. Sigwebana died in the battle, and Thimuni took over his wives. One of these wives, OkaQwabe, the daughter of Mamfongonyane Gumede, gave birth to Chakijana, who, though biologically being Thimuni's son, was in all respects regarded as Sigwebana's son according to custom. Ndlovu was his son from his own first wife, Mkhomolo. The defeat of Mbuyazi resulted in strained relationship between Thimuni and the Zulu royal house.

Thimuni and his followers went first to Stanger, which they found to be inhabited by various small clans under the self-appointed amakhosi who had been Shaka's izinduna. After the death of Shaka they had made themselves amakhosi over the different groups that had been under their authority. These were clans like abakwaNxumalo under Inkosi Sothondose Nxumalo, who occupied the area west of the Nonoti River towards Zinsimba River; abakwaMlungwana (Ngiba) under Inkosi Habana Mlungwana who were in the area nowadays known as New Guelderland; abakwaQwabe (the Nkanini section) under Inkosi Mamfongonyane Gumede, who lived south-west of abakwaCele that were settled near the Mvoti River; abakwaDube, which had settled in the south-west of Stanger under Inkosi Makewu Dube; and the very small section of abakwaNgcobo under Inkosi Mashobane Mzimela who lived along the Thukela River and shared borders with a group of Sothondose Nxumalo and Cele people under Inkosi Mathamba Cele.

Thimuni first settled in Ntwashini near the site of King Shaka's Royal Dukuza palace (renamed Stanger by the British). The area had been under the direct control of inkosi Shaka Zulu and it had been occupied by Shaka's chief induna, Ngomane, whose home was in the upper reaches of Nonoti. It was very close to the two palaces of Dukuza and Nyakamubi. Therefore none of the amakhosi residing in the area could claim it.

³¹³ The analysis below is taken from Madlala, 'The role of Prince Thimuni Kamudu Kajama in Zulu history'.

Thimuni's royal blood made him an exception. However, because he did not want to create enemies he decided to choose a neutral zone that had been directly occupied by Shaka.

The Natal government evicted him from this area which had been set aside for the settlement of white people. By this time, the colonial authorities had accepted the recommendations of the 1846 Boundary Commission, which compelled the African people to reside in the Native reserves. Thimuni was compelled to settle in mountainous, rugged and mimosa ridden Maphumulo magisterial district.

When Thimuni reached Maphumulo, inkosi Mkhonto Ntuli gave him a piece of land between the Mati and Otimati rivers. Thimuni named his district Nodunga, meaning one who dirties. He argued that it was Nodunga who dirtied water for the cowards living downstream to drink. Nodunga was also the name of umuzi of Mudli, Thimuni's father. The greater part of the area given to Thimuni by inkosi Mkhonto was however bushy, mountainous and strewn with rocks. It was not suitable for human habitation and there was insufficient arable land.

A succession dispute developed between Thimuni's sons, Ndlovu and Chakijana, and Thimuni separated them. Chakijana was told to occupy the Mvoti area as inkosi, while Ndlovu stayed at Maphumulo. Both Thimuni's sons used the name Nodunga for their districts and that was in honour of their grandfather, Mudli, whose umuzi was Nodunga. Thimuni was afraid that Chakijana might come back to dispute ubukhosi with Ndlovu, and on the 17th August 1885 he took steps to declare the disposal of his property. He introduced Ndlovu to the magistrate as the person who was to represent him in all matters affecting his isizwe. He was already sixty years old and no more able to properly fulfill his daily routine activities. He further stated that Ndlovu should be recognised by the government as his heir. The magistrate referred Thimuni's request to the Chief Native Commissioner, who made provision for a suitable person to draw up his will in 1886. Thimuni died in 1890. The much anticipated conflict between Ndlovu and Chakijana did not occur after the death of their father.

When Chakijana had been sent to settle near the Mvoti River a large number of people followed him, indicating their feeling that he was the rightful heir. Chakijana proceeded with his followers to the Madundube area where the Qwabe people allowed him to settle near the Mvoti River. Chakijana built his isigodlo (Royal residence) adjacent to the Ndungulu River, a tributary of the Mvoti River. However, this area belonged to a white farmer named Gibson Hullett. Chakijana and his people were therefore regarded as tenants. The Qwabe chief, Inkosi Mamfongonyane Gumede, permitted Chakijana to be an inkosi.

When Chakijana settled in the area near the Mvoti River he found fragments of several clans with their leaders who were acting as amakhosi. These consisted of the Nxumalo section, the Ngiba section, the Nkanini (Qwabe) section and other stragglers from other izizwe (nations). The Ngiba section was the dominant one. It was known as the "Mlungwanas." The Mlungwana had unsuccessfully applied on the 28th August 1890 for

appointment as an inkosi. When Chakijana arrived in the area he was expected to be an inkosi over those clans. Olodlongo Mthembu, who was the headman of the Nxumalo people, had been with Chakijana's father in Zululand. He therefore handed over the land to Chakijana, and he was made an "undunankulu" (Prime minister). Chakijana was able to unify the small clans under him. One of the problems the clan faced at the time was a boundary dispute with the Mashabana and Tshingumuzi. The source of friction was the lack of clearly defined boundaries. Inkosi Mashobana appealed to the magistrate to fix the boundary within which members of his isizwe might reside.

When the Bhambatha uprising broke out, Ndlovu and Chakijana sided with AmaZulu against the British government. The outbreak of the Bhambatha rebellion in 1906 drew strong support from the Zulu-Nodunga clans in the Maphumulo area largely because the people had been gradually impoverished after they settled in the area. In that uprising, both Inkosi Ndlovu and Inkosi Chakijana played prominent roles. That brought about reconciliation between them and the Zulu Royal House so that their sons Mbango and Piti later communicated freely with the Zulu Royal House.

Chakijana sided with Bhambatha and took up arms against the government but there was no evidence showing any physical encounters between his impi and the government troops. All the evidence given in the hearing into his role in the rebellion showed that by the time half of Chakijana's impi reached Mthandeni on its way to attack the whites in Stanger, Inkosi Meseni's impi had already been defeated and Chakijana's impi returned home without engaging in battle. This made the governor fearful of taking action against Inkosi Chakijana because the evidence against him was very weak. No action was taken against him, while all the amakhosi who took up arms and fought against the government like Ndlovu, Meseni, Gobizembe etc., were imprisoned. Chakijana did not live long after the Bhambatha uprising, and he died on the 25th April 1908.

From that time onwards, however, people were gradually removed from their areas of settlement. Chakijana's Nodunga clan also became the victim of the recommendations of the Lagden Commission on "Native Affairs" of 1903-05. This commission had recommended that only seven per cent of the land should be set aside as the so-called 'scheduled areas' for African tribal ownership. Chakijana's clan occupied a vast area between Stanger and the Thethe River near Shakaskraal. The process of removing people from their land was very slow, nevertheless. People who suffered immediate removal were those who lived close to the white farmers. Such people were normally relocated onto white-owned farms, which their land was transferred in turn to white farmers. Amakhosi that succeeded Chakijana therefore gradually lost authority over their subjects who were living on farms owned by White and Indian farmers. They subsequently lost more and more people. This loss of people resulted in their loss of integrity as amakhosi, eventually leading to a situation where one of Chakijana's descendants, Manukanuka Zulu, forced out of his the area and told to settle in the Maphumulo magisterial district. That marked the end of ubukhosi created by inkosi Chakijana.

Ndlovu kaThimuni, who was born in the Natal Colony in 1857, a year after the outbreak of the Battle of Ndongakusuka, was appointed as an inkosi on April 8, 1890. Ndlovu's

father, Inkosi Thimuni Zulu, died having not solved the boundary question with the neighbouring amakhosi like Tatalambu Khuzwayo of the Mambedwini clan and Mkhonto Ntuli of the Hohoza clan. Therefore the boundary issue became the first major problem that Ndlovu had to solve. The Maphumulo magistrate proposed that the ten imizi of Ndlovu's outside his boundary and four of Inkosi Tatalambu which were inside Ndlovu's area should be exchanged. This would necessitate the removal of a large number of imizi of amakhosi Mkhonto and Tatalambu as a large number of their imizi abutted on the proposed boundary. Mkhonto approved of that arrangement but Ndlovu objected, saying that he wanted all the land between the Mati and the Zinsimba streams and Thukela River and the wagon road from Stanger to Greytown. That would necessitate the removal of about a hundred imizi of amakhosi Mkhonto and Tatalambu and about 200 imizi of Inkosi Mashwili Mthethwa of Mthethwa isizwe (Oyengweni).

That proposal was not acceptable to the amakhosi who would lose so many of their subjects. Inkosi Mashwili would lose almost all his people because his isizwe was very small. That would have led to the disappearance of his ubukhosi. The debate about ownership of the land continued and on the 10th August 1897 Ndlovu stated that Thimuni was the first occupant of the area he claimed for his isizwe and that members of Mkhonto's clan who were occupying it were placed there by Thimuni. But when cross-examined by the magistrate he admitted that the land had been given to them by Mkhonto. Eventually the boundary issue was solved by making the Otimati and Mati streams the east and west limits of Ndlovu's land. In the south *and* north, the wagon road and the Thukela River were the boundaries.

When the Bhambatha rebellion broke out, two messengers arrived from Sitheku, an uncle of Dinuzulu living near Melmoth, instructing Ndlovu, Mashwili and Meseni to rebel and kill all the White people. Sitheku also threatened Ndlovu with violence if his people did not rise. Mthonga, another uncle of Dinuzulu living in the Eshowe district also sent a messenger to Ndlovu, inciting him to take up arms. On the 18th June 1906 Ndlovu's impi attacked a convoy of seven wagons traveling from Stanger to Maphumulo with supplies for the government troops. In retaliation government troops attacked Ndlovu's impi, killing about 93 of them, and forcing them to flee. Ndlovu went into hiding in the bush. Ndlovu's impi took part in a number of attacks on whites in the days that followed. Eventually Ndlovu surrendered and was later found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment. Ndlovu was sent to St. Helena, and his clan was placed Mmeleli Ngubane, the brother of the late inkosi Sibindi Ngubane of Amabomvu. Sibindi had helped the government during the uprising and was selected to control a number of clans who had taken part in the rebellion. When King Dinuzulu and other prisoners were released, Ndlovu was also released. However, he was not allowed to return to his clan. Instead he was exiled with his family to an area near Pietermaritzburg.

On the 25th May 1918, the Chief Native Commissioner recommended to the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria that Ndlovu, in view of the clemency extended to other rebels should be allowed to return to his old home in Maphumulo division, but as a commoner and that interference might lead to his removal. He however, noted that when Ndlovu died his son could apply for recognition as an inkosi. Ndlovu, after many years of exile,

returned to his clan in Maphumulo on the 17th August 1918. The chieftainship was not immediately restored to him after the departure of Mmeleli Ngubane. The Chief Native Commissioner then made arrangements for the re-instatement of Ndlovu. However, the Maphumulo magistrate recommended the appointment of his son, Ntabeni, as inkosi. The Magistrate nevertheless felt that since Ndlovu enjoyed the full confidence of his isizwe he could easily usurp control if Ntabeni was appointed in his lifetime. The magistrate therefore had no alternative but to recommend Ndlovu's re-appointment.

After the Bhambatha uprising Ndlovu's area was further reduced. The eastern boundary which had been the Otimati River, became the Bhuzenge River. The boundary between the Golokodo and Bhuzenge streams cut through imizi of his late father, Thimuni. Ndlovu had lost eleven imizi to Nyakana Mkhize on the Mati boundary and six imizi on the Otimati border to Inkosi Maqhilimane. The reduction of his area was part of the punishment for his participation in the uprising. At some stage the Magistrate restated his recommendation that Ndlovu's eldest son, Ntabeni, be appointed inkosi in place of his father, who was still rebellious. Ndlovu was unwilling to be replaced by Ntabeni. He thought Ntabeni would enter into a succession dispute over the chieftainship with his heir, Piti Zulu. On the 24th November 1927 he recommended to the magistrate that his chief induna, Kheme Guma kaMjangwana, be appointed instead. However, it was not long before Ndlovu became dissatisfied with Kheme Guma. Kheme tried cases at his umuzi instead of Ndlovu's, and therefore gave impression that Ndlovu and his family were being eclipsed in so far as ubukhosi was concerned. Kheme, on the magistrate's advice, tendered his resignation. Ndlovu insisted that Ntabeni should not be made an acting inkosi because he would dispute the chieftainship with his heir, Piti, as he did to him while in exile. Ntabeni had openly said that if he was appointed he would not give up the chieftainship. A mass meeting was convened on the 29th May 1928 for the purpose of nominating an acting inkosi. Ntabeni was selected, and was duly appointed as the acting inkosi in 1928. Ndlovu died on the 20th July 1928.

Inkosi Chakijana was succeeded by Mbango, the third son from his first wife, Makhwehle Mngoma alias Nhlambase. Chakijana's heir, Maweni, the eldest son of his first wife, died at an early stage, while the second son from his first wife, Zidwedwe, proved unable to rule after the death of his wife. On the 11th April 1909 inkosi Zidwedwe passed away. During Mbango's reign the clan lost more of its land which was given to white ex-soldiers after the First World War. These include the Sani Ward, which became known as Sani Crown land. The process of land loss was to continue for a number of years, with the clan losing its most fertile lands to white and Indian farmers.

On 4th April 1944, Mbango went to the Commissioner's office to arrange for the drawing up of a will in terms of Section 104 of Native Code. Inkosi Mbango died on the 4th November 1948. Mvuyana Mthethwa became a regent after the death of Mbango. There were two claimants to ubukhosi: Phomoliya and Manukanuka. On the 29th November 1949 Mvuyana sent a report to the office of the Station Commander about people preparing for a fight at Nodunga. The unrest emanated from the intended appointment of Phomoliya as Inkosi Mbango's successor. He was the eldest son of the fifth wife. The majority of clan members wanted Manukanuka to be the inkosi. They argued that it was

their custom that the first son of the first wife be appointed as inkosi. Those who supported Phomoliya argued that the lobola for his mother, MaNxumalo, had been paid by Mbango with Zidwedwe's cattle. He had therefore ngenaed her for Zidwedwe. Mbango had also announced that Phomoliya should become inkosi as Zidwedwe had no children. That announcement occurred after Manukanuka had already been declared Mbango's heir. At a meeting of the umndeni, only one person supported Phomoliya, and, consequently Manukanuka was appointed inkosi. Manukanuka was the late inkosi's first wife.

Manukanuka's first wife, MaDube, did not have a boy and heir to ubukhosi. His second wife, MaMdletshe also did not have a son. The heir came from the third wife, MaGumede, who was affiliated to the indlunkulu (great hut). Her son was known as Qedisono Zulu.

The eviction of the Nodunga people reached its climax during the reign of Manukanuka. In May 1971 all the few remaining inhabitants of Ncumbane ward were given one month's notice to evacuate and were not given an alternative living space. The majority *went* to Ndwedwe, some to Maphumu!o, some to KwaZulu, some to Mnyundwini next to Groutville and some sought shelter in the slums around Stanger like Ntshawini, Mawowane and Madanishini. In 1973 Inkosi Manukanuka Zulu was told that he had to vacate the land and settle in Maphumulo. He appealed in vain to the British government. Manukanuka was eventually settled among the Cele people under inkosi Phangindawo Cele. He tried in vain to purchase the Langespruit farm for his isizwe. Inkosi Manukanuka died in July 1977.

Although the two families of the two Nodunga izizwe had become closer to each other at Maphumulo, the re-union between the two factions was still impossible. There was always an argument as to who the indlunkulu was. Ndlovu's faction at Maphumulo was totally prepared for the amalgamation if Inkosi Manukanuka Zulu surrendered his ubukhosi. The latter was not prepared to relinquish his ubukhosi, his argument being that he was an indlunkulu and would therefore not be subjected to the Ndlovu faction.

Inkosi Ndlovu kaThimuni had nine wives viz. MaNqungwe, MaMhlongo, MaMthethwa, MaSokhulu, MaNgema, MaMnyandu, MaSokhulu, MaNgobese and MaMthembu. His indlunkulu (chief wife), MaNqungwe, had a son by the name of Zibhebhu. He died while still very young and his mother died shortly thereafter. Ndlovu then decided to take the third wife, MaMthethwa, who was affiliated to indlunkulu. MaMthethwa was the daughter of Mashwili, an inkosi of the Mthethwa isizwe of Oyengweni in the Maphumulo district.

The son of his second wife, MaMhlongo, was called Ntabeni. He could not become an inkosi for various reasons. He was from ikhohlo· (the non-ruling house). His mother was not affiliated to indlunkulu and he was also not from the royal family as MaMthethwa was. However, Ntabeni proved to be a great rival to Piti. He wanted to be made an inkosi as he was older than Piti. He therefore disregarded the traditional procedure of hereditary succession followed by the forefathers. Ndlovu, realising that Piti's life was at stake,

decided to adopt ukufihla custom whereby an heir is reared by relatives so that their enemies would not kill him. Piti was therefore taken to his mother's people. As indicated earlier, the clan had decided to appoint Ntabeni as regent during Piti's minority. Ntabeni, however, regarded himself as a real inkosi, basing his argument on the fact that he was older than Piti and therefore deserved ubukhasi.

Ndlovu was against the appointment of Ntabeni as regent. Members of the clan were also not satisfied with Ntabeni. He maltreated them. He was removed, and in his place Mbecane Zulu was appointed regent. He was one of Thimuni's sons. He also proved unsuitable, and was replaced by Kheme Mjangwane Guma. Kheme was also unsuitable, and Madilaya Ntshumayelo Zulu was appointed regent. Madilaya was Piti's brother. Piti took over the chieftainship in 1936.

Piti had eight wives: MaNgubane, MaMthembu, MaBhengu, MaCele, MaNkwanyana, MaDladla, MaXulu and MaZikode. Inkosi Piti made several attempts to get back the land that had been taken from him and given to the Ntuli clan after the Bhambatha rebellion. Piti died tragically on the 10th March 1957. Piti was succeeded by his elder son and heir to ubukhosi, Ndoda Zulu. Inkosi Ndoda was the eldest son of the great wife, Esther, who was from the royal family.

Ndoda married four wives, one of whom, MaKhumalo, was a great wife, i.e. her lobolo was provided through the contribution of the clan. But as the time went on MaKhumalo was expelled by Ndoda. MaKhumalo left with her young son, Qedezakhe and remarried someone from the Mthethwa clan. Qedezakhe was also fully adopted by the Mthethwa people. Ndoda died tragically in 1970, at a time when his heir, Qedezakhe, was still too young to take up ubukhosi. Ndoda's brother, Bafanose Zulu, was appointed acting inkosi. The latter died on the 30th March 1996.

Phineas the magistrate of Maphumulo made a recommendation that "there is no necessity for the appointment of a successor in so far as the district concerned, because the clan has no land". On the 4th of February 1997, the umndeni met. It was at this meeting that the royal family agreed to appoint Qedezakhe, son of the late inkosi Piti, as the rightful heir to ubukhosi. In an umndeni meeting which was held on the 7th February 1997 his appointment as a successor was confirmed.

5.22 Nyuswa

The Nyuswa and Qadi are said to have descended from an Ngcobo ancestor. The founding father of all Ngcobo clans was Vumezitha. No historical records exist of where Vumezitha lived and where he came from. According to some of his own people he came from Tongaland. He had two sons, namely Ngcobo and Mkheshana, and one wife. Ngcobo was the eldest of the two. Ngcobo was married to one wife and he had a son by the name of Dingila, who was his only son. Dingila became the first leader of the clan to marry three wives, which were Indlunkulu, Iqada and Isizinda. Dingila had three sons, namely Nyuswa (Indlunkulu), Ngotoba (Iqadi) and Gasela (Isizinda).

Nyuswa became the principal heir. In course of time three branches of the clan were formed: the AbakwaNyuswa, emaQadini and the abakwaFuze. Maguya may be taken as the first and oldest name in Nyuswa ancestry about which there is any certainty at all. He was the father of Mbele, who was the father of Mapholoba, who was the father of Sihayo, who was the father of Deliweyo, who was the father of Mqeli. Others reported that Sihayo had two sons namely, Ntuli and Dubuyana. Ntuli was the father of Ziphuku, who was the father of Swayimana.

AmaNyuswa, during the time of Shaka's father, Senzangakona, lived on the northern bank of the Tugela opposite Kranskop. As the royal house, AmaNyuswa traditionally produced the tribal chieftain. Chaka settled a dispute between two sons of the royal kraal over succession by ordering his army to sweep the Nyuswa into the Tugela. The surviving Nyuswa took refuge with Zihlandlo, chief of the Mbo, until he was overthrown by Dingane.

When Mpande crossed to Natal many tribes went along with him, including the Ngcobos. The much harassed Ngcobos of the Nkuma Nyuswa joined the other Ngcobos and they formed one compact tribe generally and wrongly referred to as the MaQadini tribe between the Umngeni and Umvoti rivers. From the Mngeni River the maQadi, then the Shangase separated from the Wosiyana. The Mdloti and Mona Rivers separate the Ngongoma from the Nkumba Nyuswa and finally the Umvoti River then in the Maphumulo district. The Qadis under Mqhawe had already settled at eNanda with the AbakwaShangase and AbakwaWosiyane.

It appears that at some stage the clan must have split into two: probably during the time of Ntuli and Dubuyana. Ntuli's grandson, Swayimana, was then recognized as inkosi of a branch of the clan based in Maphumulo on the 4th April 1887. On the 3rd August 1925 Swayimana died and his son Mlamuli was appointed as an inkosi on the 30th September 1926. He died on the 5th February 1940 and his son Cisho succeeded him on the 16th July 1940. Cisho died on the 24th January 1948 and the principal induna was appointed to act up until the appointment of Mfundisi Ngcobo on the 20th July 1962. The next inkosi was Ngonyama Ngcobo, who was followed by Siphon Mthokozisi Ngcobo in 1998. The latter was succeeded by Mlungiseni Ngcobo who acted as Ibamba on the 2nd February 2006.

Another section of the clan, under Inkosi Mqedi, son of Deliweyo of Dubuyana, was offered a place to settle on the upper Mona stream in the Noordsurg Hills during the time of Sir Theophilus Shepstone (Somtsewu). At the time of the Bambatha rebellion (Mqedi who was not yet a chief) took part in the rebellion. He was arrested and imprisoned for four years. Today there are branches of the clan in the Ugu District as well. One branch of the clan is currently found at Ezingolweni near Port Shepstone. In 1962 the inkosi of this branch of the clan was Mhlabunzima Ngcobo. After his death his son inkosi Zwelibanzi succeeded him and remains inkosi up until today. During his Ubukhosi he was surrounded by a lot of controversies ranging from a charge of misconduct to failing to obey his subjects. Consequently, he was suspended for a period of five years by the then

KwaZulu Government in 1990. Eventually he was reinstated as a Chief of the tribe on the 30th January 1998.

5.23 Nxumalo (Umzinyathi)

This tribe originally lived in the area of Umvoti (Verulam). According to Bryant, the abakwa-Nxumalo are a sub-clan of the Ndwandwe. The Ndwandwe clan are a subgroup of the Nguni people who populated large sections of Southern Africa. The Ndwandwe, with the Mthethwa, were a significant power in present-day Zululand at the turn of the nineteenth century. Around the time Zwide became Chief, the Ndwandwe were growing in military power. Ambitious in expanding Ndwandwe supremacy, Zwide was a prominent rival chieftain to Chief Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa and his famous general and protégé, King Shaka of the Zulu Kingdom. Under the leadership of King Zwide, the Ndwandwe nation destroyed the Mthethwa under their king Dingiswayo, and the power vacuum was filled by Shaka and his then small Zulu tribe. In a common front against the Ndwandwe, Shaka collected the remains of the Mthethwa and other regional tribes, and survived the first encounter of the Zulu Civil War with Zwide at the Battle of Gqokli Hill in 1818.

In 1819, Zwide made another expedition against the Zulus, but Shaka again changed his tactics, letting the Ndwandwe army penetrate his territory and responding with guerrilla warfare. Shortage of supplies caused the Ndwandwe to return home, but when they were crossing the Mhlatuze River in early 1820, their forces were split and defeated at the Battle of Mhlatuze River. This led to the disintegration of the Ndwandwe nation as Zwide's generals and sons led sections of the Ndwandwe northwards. Zwide escaped with a remnant of his clan across the Pongola River. After Zwide and his clansmen escaped, the Zulu attacked the rest of his people, killing many at Mome Gorge, a desolate place. The Zulu attacked the Ndwandwe capital, KwaNongoma.

The heads of the branch of the Nxumalo family at the time of the disorderly defeat of Zwide's troops by Shaka's, were Mawewe and Sotondose, sons of Malusi, son of Mkhathshwa. The list of chiefs was as follows: Inkosi Sotondose, who died on the 28th February 1895 and was succeeded by Somdala. This inkosi died in 1916 and was succeeded by Mgcabo. Gaqa was regent after the death of Mgcabo until 1947. Sikhwama Manyathi then was appointed regent until 1953 when Chief Zikode Renock Nxumalo was installed as the inkosi as he was now old enough to take up the position.

Another branch of the clan was led by the descendants of Mawewe. This branch moved to Nanyadu in Dundee district from Umvoti (Verulam) where they originally lived. When Zwide killed Malusi and thereafter Dingiswayo, the major portion of the Nxumalo family under Mawewe moved away and offered their allegiance to Shaka. After the defeat of Zwide by Shaka, Mawewe returned to Ndwandweland and rebuilt his home a few miles eastward of the present Nongoma magistracy. A forbidden love affair was the cause of Mawewe (together with Sotondose) fleeing from the wrath of Shaka. They moved to their

relative, Soshangane, near Delagoa Bay. But after the death of Shaka and that of Dingane Mawewe returned and rebuilt his home and paid allegiance to Mpande. Sotondose, hereditary head of the Nxumalo family, was equally not free from trouble. In the vicinity was the head of the Hlabisa clan, Mbopa, who plotted the death of Sotondose. Upon hearing of this plot against himself, Sotondose fled to the British colony of Natal and joined his aunt, Mawa, who had fled there and was settled near the north bank of the Mloti River between Verulam and the sea. After Mawa's death, he removed his clan in 1851 to the Mvoti River, where his descendant, Inkosi Pumupele, of Manepu, of Sotondose, resided till recently.

However, in 1954 it was suggested that the Stanger (Umvoti) section of the clan – due to the absence of an heir and the smallness of the clan – join other neighbouring clans or amalgamate with the Dundee and Helpmekaar sections of the clan under Chief Zikode Nxumalo. It is not clear from the archives if this occurred.

5.24 Madlala (Ugu)

The Madlala clan existed in Zululand at the time of King Shaka, who used them in the forefront when he was fighting because they were tall and strong. They migrated in 1852 from Zululand to the Pietermaritzburg area, which was under the control of the Mchunu Clan. They were defeated by the Mchunus, and subsequently clashed with the Zondi Clan, who also defeated them and forced the clan to continue to the Nzimakwe area. Here they found the AmaMpondo fighting each other. At the time their Inkosi was Godogwana. After Inkosi Godogwana's death they joined with the Qwabe. At the time, MaMevana, the wife of the late Chief Godogwana, was responsible for the clan during the minority of Mashaba. The clan's area was from uMzumbe down to uMzimkhulu.

Thus, the Madlala tribe is a very early splinter group of the Zondi tribe from the Pietermaritzburg area. The Madlalas of Njenje first migrated to the vicinity of Table Mountain (south of mid-Mngeni), and by 1852 had progressed as far as the country between Mzumbe and the Mzimkulu, where they were headed by Lugaju, son of Zilingana of Majola. Lugaju is sometimes referred to as Gaju, and is a prominent figure in the history of the tribe.

In the years prior to 1852, the Madlala under the chieftainship of Godogwana lived in Mpondoland. They moved to this area from Table Mountain. Godogwana was the son of Zamisa kaQoma (Coma) kaNengu kaSozabe. Godogwana died in Mpondoland leaving his wife MaMevana (Phungula) and a daughter named Komboyi, with no male children. After the death of Godogwana, Gaju was appointed as Umbambeli for the house of Godogwana. Gaju was the son of Ntshingana kaMajola kaSozabe.

After the death of Godogwana and the appointment of Gaju as Umbambeli for the house of Godogwana, Gaju moved with the tribe to the area of Mbuyazi (Mbulazi, the legendary Fynn) in the south of Natal. Mbuyazi gave them land to settle on. In this time MaMevana bore a son named Mashaba from a union with a man named Nongayiyana.

Some people from the tribe claim that this union was an Ukungena union approved by the uMndeni. Others claim Nongayiyana was not a member of uMndeni, and thus the union was an adulterous one. Because of this, Gaju then married MaKane (the daughter of Kane and the sister of Patwa, the Inkosi of the Xolo tribe) for the house of Godogwana with the lobolo cattle received from the marriage of Komboyi with Matama from the tribe of Duka Fynn in order to vusa the house of Godogwana through MaKane. Gaju and MaKane had a son named Matomela, who was sent away to grow up among the Xolo people in the homestead of Kane. Some say this union was unnecessary because there was already a son for the house of Godogwana through the union of MaMevana and Nongayiyana. But others say the union of MaKane and Gaju was necessary because MaMevana and Nongayiyana were banished from the tribe after their adulterous affair. The difference of opinion would become a fierce dispute between the two factions that emerged in later years between the lineages of Mashaba and Matomela.

When Gaju died, Ndlovu, the son of Gaju and MaGumede, was appointed as Umbambeli for the house of Godogwana because their heir was not old enough to take over. Ndlovu died on the 3rd April 1896, and his brother Mbendleni was appointed as Umbambeli on the 4th July 1896. On the 8th September 1896 Mbendleni and nine members of the Madlala Umndeni (included Mashaba the son of MaMevana and Nongayiyana) went to Pietermaritzburg to state before the Chief Native Commissioner that Matomela, the son of Gaju and MaKane, was the rightful heir to the chieftainship of the Madlala tribe because he was the son of Godogwana. They requested he be brought back from the Xolo people. In this time, the son of Ndlovu, Gobhela, claimed the chieftainship over part of the tribe on the grounds that he was his father's eldest son from the right hand house, and that his father was the son of Gaju who had ruled the tribe for a long time. In the Native High Court, however, it was ruled that his brother, Gcetshwa was the eldest son from the right hand house of Ndlovu and Gobhela's claim was therefore not taken into account.

Matamela was appointed as Inkosi of the Madlala tribe on 2 December 1896, but was dropped from the position on the 11th September 1906 by the government because of his involvement in the Bhambata rebellion. Msebenzi was appointed as acting chief. Matamela was reinstated as Inkosi in 1925 by the government. In 1925 Mbogoyi was appointed as Umbambeli for the house of Matamela, but he died shortly thereafter and Sokaya took his place. The government requested that Gobhela and Gcetshwa be appointed as Izinduna in the tribe.

The son of Matomela however reached the right age and married in 1936 and the government appointed Nyoniyezwe as Inkosi of the Madlala tribe. He was suspended in 1937 pending a court case against him for assaulting his wife and another 11 charges against him. Ntsele Mkhize was appointed as acting chief in the interim. In 1939 the Chief Native Commissioner said that the lineage of Nyoniyezwe through Matomela was to be extinguished and that they would appoint Mdlangazwa kaMashaba as Inkosi for the Madlala tribe. Mdlangazwa died in 1982 and immediately after that a fierce chieftainship dispute broke out between the son of Nyoniyezwe named Mandlakayise and the son of Mdlangazwa named Bhekabukhosi.

In the last years of Mdlangazwa's life, the dispute was already raging and had disrupted tribal life. In 1978 after an ethnological report was given to the KwaZulu Cabinet, it was decided that Bhekabukhosi, son of Mdlangazwa, would be heir. The Mandlakayise faction, however, did not accept this judgment. In 1993 Chief Bhekubukhosi stated that he was sickly and wanted his eldest son, Ngamizizwe to be heir. The magistrate supports this and he the latter was appointed as Inkosi in 1994.

5.25 Madzikane (Sisonke)

Originally the amaBhaca were the Zelemus who came into Natal from Zululand. Their precise origin is not clear. According to Bryant, the original name was Zelemu and the name Bhaca was given to them by the Zulus after 1830. The Zelemus claimed to be descendants of "Lufumandla" who is thought to have died round about 1734. The Zelemus were first heard of when they had taken refuge in the Nkandla forest from hostile clans. In 1821, Shaka was causing havoc in the North and this resulted in the amalgamation of a number of smaller tribes known as the "enTlangwani", who moved southwards to avoid Shaka. The enTlangwini came into contact with Madzikane and his Zelemus, and were driven back. Madzikane was the king of the Bhaca.

It is contended that Zelemu was a son of Lufulwenja, and that it was in fact Zelemu who led the aba-ka-Zelemu out of Zululand into Natal. Records indicate that they first settled in the vicinity of Inanda. Zelemu died there and his son Kalimeshe moved the tribe to the area on the Bluff in Durban where they settled for a short while. Madzikane assumed control of the tribe. Then, he moved the tribe and proceeded to join relatives in the vicinity of Howick. Madzikane and his tribe were swept up in the onrush of the Cunus moving southwards under Macingwane. They then proceeded to upper Illovu, and there they remained behind whilst Macingwane and his Cunus went further. Having fought so many battles, the Madzikane eventually moved to the Tembus and Xhosas. There, they fought with the combined forces of chief Hintsas. This is a landless clan. The abakwaMadzikane form part of the Sizwe Hlanganani Community Authority, which includes five other clans whose followers were intermingled, thus making it impossible to demarcate their boundaries. Presently, there are two recognized clans of Madzikane (12-652 and 12-6) in KwaZulu-Natal.

5.26 Molefe (Umzinyathi)

All Batolkwe are originally Tswana of the group Kgatla-Makgolokwe-Tlokwa- and Sia. About 300 years ago they moved into the area which became known as the Orange Free State where they lived at Vrede and Verkykerskop for seven chief's generations. Their tribe was broken up during the time of the *Difaqane* wars (1824) and in the time of Mzilikazi and Dingane (1828 and 1835). While the senior branch moved around Lesotho and settled at Herschel, Mount Fletcher, Mataliele and Mokgotlong (in 1881, in Lesotho), the branch of the tribe under discussion and their junior brothers remained in the Orange Free State. When the British arrived they found Sekonyela's elder son, Hlubi, in the

country near Weenen where he had been driven by Moshoeshoe after 1860. For some time the tribe also lived in the District of Escourt.

Thus, the Molefe/Batlokwa tribe was initially based near the borders of Lesotho and the Orange Free State under Mbuda. Later, they took refuge in Natal, running away from Moshoeshoe. The Natal Government placed them on the portion of Drakensburg known as Location Number 2 under the leadership of Hlubi. They were settled in the Nquthu District by the Natal Colonial government in 1879. The Molefe clan is a Basotho clan. The area they occupy in the north east of the Nquthu District is about a third of the size of the whole district. They were given the area by the British Imperial administration and were initially placed in charge of the whole of what now constitutes the Nquthu District as a reward for services rendered to the British government in the war against the Zulus in 1879. The clan had also assisted the British Government during the Langalibalele Rebellion in 1874. They also took part at the Battles of Ulundi, Isandlwana and Kambule in 1879. For these services Hlubi was made one of the 13 Kinglets in Zululand and was given a greater portion of land in the district of Nqutu. The area under the clan's control was subsequently reduced to the present size by Sir Garnet Wolseley.

The chief of this clan was Hlubi Molefe, who had fought with the British against the Zulus in 1879. In 1883 chief Hlubi became a supervising chief of the whole Nquthu division which comprised to a large extent a Zulu population, and which had previously been ruled by Sirayo Ngobese and other Zulu Chiefs. In 1895, owing to friction between Chief Hlubi and some Zulu headmen about land, the district was sub-divided according to tribes, and the Zulu headmen under chief Hlubi were appointed independent chiefs. His area of jurisdiction was then reduced to the present tribal land. A large proportion of the tribe was then still Zulu. On several occasions the baTlokwa rendered valuable military services to the British Government, and during a period of many disturbances, for example at Hlopekulu in 1888, and the Zulu war which ended with the deportation of Dinizulu in 1889. The Tlokwa were an important power in the quelling of the disturbances. In 1897 Chief Hlubi began to show signs of insanity and was placed in a government asylum in Pietermaritzburg.

Chief Hlubi died in 1902 when his son Isaac was still young. After the death of Hlubi, his sons, Isaac and Augustine claimed to be the rightful heirs of the chieftaincy. Isaac was then appointed because the tribe had contributed towards the lobola for his mother, maMolefe (Mamenties). Inkosi Isaac was only installed as a chief in 1915 after one of his uncles had acted for him. Inkosi Isaac was deposed by the government in 1944. It appears that the trouble began when inkosi Isaac wanted to divorce his great wife, who he married with tribal lobola cattle in 1912. The tribe considered the only son of the great wife, Mota, who died at the age of thirteen, to be the heir to the chieftainship. In 1933 the chief divorced his great wife, Mamosajana. He was suspended from 1944 to 1948, and in 1953 was deposed as chief and deported to the district of Xalanga in the Cape Province. He died in 1966.

In October 1965, an acting chief, Aaron Sikhosana, was appointed, followed by inkosi Elphas Molefe who ruled up until 2002. He was succeeded by Phallang Bokang Nkgaulise.

5.27 Nkosi

The tribe originally lived in Swaziland and left for Natal in the time after Shaka's wars. Mswazi II was the father of Nciliba and of Ludonga II, who was the forefather of the Swazi paramount chiefs. Inkosi Nciliba died and was buried at Ncaka which is a mountain range where most of the clan's amakhosi are buried. Nciliba's son Nyamayenja moved to several places in Natal in search of a home for his tribe. When the tribe settled at the Tugela heights Nyamayenja's son and heir, V. MKhankhanyeki, was about six years old. His elder brother of the first house, III Nomavovo, ruled on his behalf, and is considered to be the founder of the present Nkosi or Ndlela tribe. Shortly after his arrival in Tugela heights, Nomavovo and a deputation of the tribe went to Pietermaritzburg to see Theophilus Shepstone and to offer their obedience and allegiance to the Crown Colony Government of Natal. During this time the clan was called the Ndhlela clan and not Nkosi, which is the isibongo of the chief's house. The tribe was allowed to settle at Konigsberg at the foot of the Drakensberg near Newcastle and the border of Natal and the Orange Free State. Here, the tribe was provided with a missionary, afterwards a Reverend Prozesky.

The clan migrated because of faction fights and settled initially in eCikweni at Newcastle. That is where the AmaSwazi grew to be the biggest clan. Shortly before 1890, a dispute arose between Mkhankhanyeki and Nomavovo, because Nomavovo refused to hand the chieftainship over to the heir who was not yet married at this time. After chief Mkhankhanyeki had died in 1909 at Botha's Pass, the son of his first wife, Mandlesilo claimed the chieftainship. This was contrary to tribal custom, according to which sons of the first wife (isisila house) cannot succeed to the chieftainship. In 1913, the Governor-General approved of a subdivision of the tribe according to administrative districts of Newcastle, Dundee, Klip River and Bergville. For three of these districts chiefs were newly appointed, and the section in Bergville was amalgamated with the Ngwane tribe under their chief Bambazi. Since 1953 these are no longer separate chieftainships, but are headed by deputy chiefs.

Mkankanyeki was the chief in Newcastle where the main branch of the tribe is found. Stini, Mkhankanyeki's son, became inkosi of the clan in Newcastle. Stini migrated to Emnambithi in search of other members of the AmaSwazi clan because the clan had scattered all over the country during the faction fight. He found some of them at a place called Lusitania at Tshelibomvu, others at Ntabamnyama, and still more at a place called Emakhaladini at eMnambithi. Stini was then given land in this area in which to settle. Stini married maMbonane, and they had four children, Nkosana, Stoti, Otta and Ntombana. The clan was based at Lusitania, but it was under the Inkosi who was there at the time. The ruling Inkosi passed away and he was buried. Inkosi Nkosana married MaSithebe at Ekuphumuleni in eMnambithi. They had seven children: Vusimuzi,

Langalakhe, Mandlenkosi, Thandabantu, Makhosazane, Nokuthula and Sbongile. After that Inkosi married MaNxumalo, and they had three children: Nomalanga, Ntombizodwa and Bhekanani. The Inkosi and MaNxumalo divorced; and Vusimuzi and Langalakhe passed away. When Mandlenkosi grew up he married MaNdlovu, who was from Mooi River at Mpofane, in 1971. They had six children: Nomaswazi, Phindile (who died), Xolile, Nozipho, and twins Mandisa (who died) and Makhosesizwe. Inkosi Nkosana passed away and there was preparation for the appointment of Inkosi Mandlenkosi Armstrong who assumed office in 1978. The Inkosi passed away on the 6th June 1993. The Indlunkulu wife took over in 2004 as the regent for her son Makhosesizwe, who was at school. Ndlunkulu is still regent.

One of Inkosi Nyamayenja's sons, Ndlela, migrated to the Paulpietersburg area. Inkosi Ndlela was succeeded by his son, Mkhonto. Inkosi Mkhonto had two wives, MaMngomezulu and MaNdlangamandla. After his death, his son Mesi, succeeded him. Mesi's son, Lumphondo was nominated by umndeni as the successor of Mesi. Inkosi Lumphondo was appointed on the 15th June 1923 and died on the 28th January 1954. After his death umndeni nominated his son, Makhehlana. Makhehlana died in 1985 and umndeni nominated his eldest son, Mhlabunzima. Inkosi Mhlabunzima passed away on the 4th April 2002 after a short illness. He had one wife, MaShabangu, and no children. Acting in accordance with their custom, which states that should the heir fail to produce male children, the line of succession will move to the second brother in terms of line of succession. The umndeni nominated Joshua to be inkosi, as he is the late Inkosi's second brother.

5.28 Shabalala

It is difficult to establish the relationship between the Tshabalala tribes in the Districts of Kliprivier, Estcourt, and Utrecht, who are originally Swazi. The Tshabalala (other spelling, Shabalala) group fled from its original homes in Swaziland to Natal when parts of Swaziland were invaded by one of the Zulu Kings. It appears that the royal family of the clan were descendants of Mandlangampisi Dlamini, one-time regent in Swaziland. Mandlangampisi's son Ludonga (Donga) was the first inkosi, and one of his sons was given the name Tsabalala, from where the clan got its name. The clan remained in Swaziland up to the time of its fourth inkosi, and lived at Mahamba in Swaziland. In about 1835, Inkosi Hadaha, the fifth inkosi left Swaziland, and he and his son, the sixth inkosi, Mzimkulu Mneli (born about 1843), moved about to various grazing places in the Drakensberg area. Before the tribe bought the present farm, they lived on the farm of a certain Wessels in the district. The tribe moved to eMatiwane in 1882/3, where Batinise was appointed acting chief, and the land was bought.

According to the departmental files, the tribe was temporarily placed under Inkosi Siyale Kunene, but on the appointment of his successor, Inkosi Mbango, Inkosi Mbhekwa became independent, on the 11 October 1909. Many tribesmen live at Driefontein and Watershed under chief Khumalo of the AmaNthungwa-Kholwa tribe, where most of them had not 'konza'ed (subdued or subjected to be ruled) with valilisa-fees. There was a

strong migration to Johannesburg for work purposes, and to lesser extent to Durban. They are currently based at Ladysmith, Emnambithi.

According to tribal sources, however, their chief in Swaziland was Maggadaggada, who was married to two wives. They were both MaMsibi. The clan migrated to kwaNobamba Iembe who wanted them to be under him. There was a Boer who was known as Somtsewu who was ruling at that time. MaMsibi 2 had 3 sons, who were Nobamba, Mneli and Batinisi. When Nobamba was chief he migrated to Bhoweni. Nobamba had 2 Izingoduso. He was not yet married. Nobamba passed away in the river floods. One of his fiancés was pregnant at the time. Mneli took over and he was married to his one wife, MaMbuli. They had one son, Mbekwa. They were also staying at Bhoweni. They migrated to Matiwane, and bought this land. Mbekwa took over.

5.29 Ndwalane

AbaKwaNdwalane originate from Zululand. Inkosi Sazi is not sure about the exact location, although he concurs with Ndunankulu Ndwalane that they may have settled at Nsuze. His argument is that they moved southwards during the rule of iNkosi Shaka: that they migrated together with Shaka's impi and initially settled at Nobamba, outside Bhobhoyi, in the south coast. What Inkosi Sazi implied is that they were strategically placed in the area by iNkosi Shaka. The Ndwalane had arrived in large numbers. Since there was no inkosi when they arrived in the area the need had arisen to install an inkosi in the area.

According to inkosi Sazi, AmaNdwalane – or the Ndwalane family – indicated that they had the appropriate person for the position of inkosi. That person was Landa, who was the eldest son from the senior house. Meanwhile, Sihlangusakhe, who was a brother to Landa from the junior house, lodged a counter-claim for ubukhosi. This resulted in a family feud as some supported Landa while others sided with Sihlangusakhe. The family in particular was divided over the issue as was the clan in general.

That is when white colonial officials arrived allegedly to resolve the dispute. The feuding parties were called together and, according to inkosi Sazi Ndwalane, both were asked to stand on opposite sides and the people asked to go stand by the one they favoured for the position, wherein it became apparent that the majority sided with Landa. In spite of this, the colonial officials unilaterally decided to choose another person to act as inkosi. This responsibility rested on William Fynn, better known as Willie in the area. The arrangement was, according to inkosi Sazi Ndwalane, that 'Willie' and his son, Percy, would assume the position of ubukhosi, after which ubukhosi would be returned to AbakwaNdwalane. But the arrangement to resolve the dispute between the Ndwalanes also involved subdividing the land. While the boundaries of the entire area originally fell between the Mzimkhulu River in the south and Bilanhlole in the north the land was summarily divided into two portions – with new ubukhosi created over each portion of land. One portion was to fall under the Fynns while another portion (the one referred to as eNsimbini) came to fall under the Mvundla (also known as Vundla or Mavundla – also

a newly created ubukhosi). A newly constructed railway line served as the physical boundary separating the two portions of land.

According to the arrangement with the Fynns, on the Vundla side Gamalakhe was to rule followed by his son, Nene, before ubukhosi was returned to AmaNdwalane. After Percy died ubukhosi was indeed returned to AmaNdwalane, although the Vundla did not keep their side of the bargain. And to this day the Vundla (also known as the Mvundla) did not return ubukhosi to AmaNdwalane. This is the subject of a current formal claim that AmaNdwalane have launched with the Commission for the Resolution of Disputes involving the institution of ubukhosi, for the return of the portion of land that falls under the Mvundla, contends Inkosi Sazi Ndwalane.

After the Fynns returned ubukhosi, Landa could no longer assume the position as he was already of a very advanced age. Instead his son, Mketshezi (also known by the alias Nkonka) assumed ubukhosi. In his narrative, inkosi Sazi Ndwalane points out that Mketshezi fell ill later on; in which case he called members of his immediate family to his deathbed and instructed them to summon his brother's son, Makhanda. He allegedly informed members of the family that Makhanda was the one who should succeed him as inkosi. Mketshezi did have sons of his own; but he felt that they lacked the quality required for one to be inkosi. At the time Makhanda worked as a bricklayer. Although he was initially not enthusiastic about being chosen to be inkosi, he eventually accepted the position. When Makhanda passed away he was not immediately succeeded by his son, Sazi, who was still in his minority. Instead, Makhanda was succeeded by Obed (also known as Mtshuntshu). His other name was Mzikayise and he was a son of Nkonka's. But Obed's reign did not run its full course as he allegedly proved unable to discharge his responsibilities as inkosi, which resulted in members of the family meeting and emerging with the decision that Sazi should take over as inkosi with effect from 2001.

In effect Makhanda was an acting inkosi although he was not formally declared as such, inkosi Sazi Ndwalane points out. It is particularly this reason that although he did have a son of his own he did not see him fit to become inkosi.

5.30 Nkumbini

AmaVundla are descendants of iNkosi Shaka's once most trusted lieutenant, Mbopha kaSithayi. When Mbopha arrived in KwaZulu he came from among the Bafokeng in present-day Lesotho. The Bafokeng are originally from North Africa, before they moved southwards to settle in the present-day North West province of South Africa. Others later moved on to Lesotho and established their *ubukhosi* of the Bafokeng in Maseru, in the same manner that their Bafokeng counterparts in North West did. Mbopha should have been iNkosi of the Bafokeng as he was the rightful heir, but was overlooked for someone else, which resulted in a succession dispute among the Bafokeng in Lesotho. Mbopha left to settle in Zululand. Shaka particularly liked him for his intelligence. Mbopha was also good in working with traditional medicines. Inkosi Shaka put him to the test and Mbopha proved to be good in fighting as well. Shaka is said to have affectionately referred to

Mbopha as “wena wasoSuthu”. As Shaka’s trusted lieutenant, Mbopha was responsible for *izihlambezo*, and the preparation of food for inkosi Shaka. Mbopha, however, was later persuaded by Dingane and others to take part in Shaka’s murder in 1828.

Thereafter, Dingane set out to kill both Mhlangana and Mbopha. Dingane’s plot against Mhlangana succeeded. Mbopha managed to flee from Dingane and settled among the Mthethwa. Dingane pursued him, which prompted Mbopha to move on, wherein he settled among the Mdletshe for a while. Another dispute resulted when inkosi yaseMdletsheni heard that Mbopha was being sought by Dingane. Mbopha fled yet again. This time he fled southwards – until he arrived in the south coast. As he fled, Mbopha did not follow a straight forward route as he was trying to ensure that his tracks could not be easily spotted. Mbopha passed iXobho and Hluthankukhu, and as he was about to reach the Mzimvubu River, he turned westwards again – preferring to take the direction of the Mthamvuma River. Very notable, Shaka himself had reached the banks of the Mzimvubu River during his southern expedition. Mbopha eventually settled at Nsimbini. He allegedly asked to be referred to as “Mvundla” as he knew his old name would attract interest. “Mvundla” was a symbolic name which described the manner he had fled in his southward movement – he had kept close to the mountains and river valleys to avoid being spotted. People also called him “Mvundla Wezimanga” (Mvundla of the miracles), and the Mvundla name was to later become his surname.

The land at Nsimbini was part of the colonial crown land, falling under the jurisdiction of the white colonial government in The Cape. Mbopha’s sons, Magobheni and others were employed during the railway construction in the area round about the 1860s and 1870s. His eldest son Magobheni, who was married to MaNyawose, was chosen to oversee the workers, after which he became an induna owing to his excellent work as overseer of the railway workforce. The colonists opted to leave the area in the hands of blacks in 1874, and appointed Magobheni as inkosi. Thus, Magobheni was to be the first inkosi of AmaVundla. As inkosi he had jurisdiction over the land between the Mzimkhulu and the Bonhlolo Rivers near isizwe of inkosi Xolo. When he became inkosi he already had approximately 8 or 9 wives. He instructed his sons, Qithi and Hlangabeza and others to go and stay under other amakhosi as he was intent on establishing a good relationship with them. Others went to eMaThulini, Mzimkhulu, as well as eMampondweni, amongst others.

Meanwhile, war broke out between AmaCele and AmaChi – the two are on either side of AmaVundla. The then local “native” Commissioner visited Inkosi Mshiwa of AmaNyuswa to seek advice on how to end the war. But Mshiwa was not able to assist and the war exacerbated instead. The commissioner then approached Magobheni for counsel, who eventually agreed with the commissioner’s view to call in Mr. Henry Fynn. Fynn was the first white colonist permitted by Shaka to trade in Durban. At the time Henry Fynn lived in the Cape colony. Magobheni is alleged to have rode a horse to the Cape, accompanied by a man named Mzila, to seek out Henry Fynn. Fynn, who was already at a very advanced age, opted to send his son, Duka Fynn, instead. Inkosi Mavundla is of the opinion that the name “Duka”, probably derives from the English name “Duke”. Thus was created *ubukhosi* of the Fynns. The rationale behind the

appointment of “Duka” Fynn as inkosi was that he would be respected because he was white. Another was to create “buffer chiefdoms” between the then warring AmaCele and AmaChi. The area falling under ubukhosi of the Fynn was commonly referred to by Africans as “kwaFeni”.

“Duka” Fynn was succeeded by Thomas Fynn (“uTom”), Jan, and Wilson – all of whom were coloureds. Qithi’s son, Siphangwana, was an assistant to Wilson. Even when it came to going to KwaZulu to meet the King it was Siphangwana who went to represent Wilson Fynn. The arrangement, according to inkosi Mavundla, was that when the Fynns later left, Magobheni’s son (Qithi) would succeed. And accordingly, Siphangwana was summoned to Harding by the Bantu Affairs commissioner, who informed him that it was time he assumed the position of inkosi. Siphangwana allegedly declined the offer on the basis that he was an *inyanga* working among both AmaChi and AmaCele. He suggested his son, Membesa, instead. But Membesa also declined as he was a teacher by profession, and proposed Gigaba to play an acting role on his behalf, until his son, Gabangezwe, could assume the position.

AmaVundla themselves have not been involved in any confrontation in the area, save for a couple of skirmishes which include that involving “Duka” and inkosi Mshiwa Ngcobo, which broke out round about 1933 following a dispute at a horse racing event at which one person died. The dispute was between those who won the race and those who lost. Another dispute was that involving “Duka” and Mshiwa supporters. Inkosi Mshiwa allegedly arrived and entered the kraal at Duka’s homestead and demanded his own “*isithebe*” at a traditional wedding ceremony. Approximately 301 men were arrested in the clash which ensued. Mshiwa section was fined 10 pence because they were found to be the aggressors, while Fynn’s section was fined 5 pence as it was determined that they had been defending themselves.

Mkhulu Thandayiphi Mavundla gave another version of the history of AmaVundla. His version does not necessarily contradict that provided by inkosi Thembalenkosi Mavundla. According to Mkhulu, AmaVundla had a long relationship with the Fynn family, which binds the history of *ubukhosi* of the two. This dates back to the days of Shaka. This relationship was founded on mutual interests between the two. Mkhulu Mavundla states that there had been a number of refugees from KwaZulu. These included the Mpofana, Amakhize, Zulu, Gumede, Magubane and Shezi at the time. What bound them together was an attempt to evade Shaka at all costs. They all decided to settle in the Port Shepstone area. Mkhulu related that many *amanxiwa* dotted along different directions of the Port Shepstone area until recently are a testimony to this.

According to Mkhulu Mavundla, Shaka met Henry Fynn when the former was on his way back from Mzimvubu during his foray into the southern region. And that he did not merely give Fynn the permission to trade in Durban but land as well around the Port Shepstone area. Mkhulu Mavundla further related how this conglomeration of refugees had either “taken” or captured one Fynn (who was a son of Henry Fynn) and later forced him to marry a Zulu girl from the AmaCele. Magobheni had then allegedly set off in search of the senior Fynn (Henry) in the Cape colony. In his recollection, Mbopha had

allegedly turned at the Port Shepstone area and taken the Harding direction, eventually settling at Nsimbini near Gamalakhe. AmaVundla had taken upon themselves the initiative to raise the coloured descendants of Henry Fynn in order to ensure that Shaka did not know their (the 'refugees') whereabouts.

Chapter 6

Migratory trends and Typologies of Traditional Leadership

6.1. Introduction

Migration is understood here as the movement of various izizwe (clans) from their original places to new ones for various reasons. These movements caused changes to original maps that identified tribal areas developed in earlier times by scholars like Bryant. In this study, an attempt is made to determine the origins of clans, beginning with their movement into the South-East African region, where possible, as well as their migration within the region.

The core issues in the determination of migration in this study are to examine its causes and the pattern of migration routes taken by communities moving from one place to the other. Migration took two essential forms: the wholesale migration of entire communities or clans to different locations; and the separation/division of a section of a clan and its migration to other locations. The broad range of causes of migration derived from data in the archives, secondary literature and interviews with members of the clans indicate that they moved to settle in other locations for the following reasons:

- Fleeing from wars.
- Disputes in the family.
- Division of clans.
- Search for free land.
- Forced removals arising from government intervention.

One of the consequences of migration has been the emergence of new types of traditional leaders. As groups of people moved into territories controlled by the colonial authorities they entered either as units with their own traditional system intact, or as refugees without traditional leaders. Other clans were severely disrupted by various wars, and their surviving members coalesced around certain strong individuals to form new clans. In consequence, there emerged a new type of traditional leadership as the colonial authorities tried to establish a form of order over those groups without any traditional system in place. New clans were created, and new forms of leadership imposed. Amakhosi in KwaZulu-Natal can consequently be classified into appointed and hereditary amakhosi, including those amakhosi who presided over amaKholwa societies (those constituted of African Christian converts).

As indicated in Chapter 5 above, there are very few accounts of the histories of individual clans. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide an account of the migration of various large groups into the region, and thereby pinpoint the origins of clans that sprung from these larger groups.

6.2 Migration Trends

Group migration is generally understood to have been a common historical feature in early human settlements over the past for one reason or the other. This is presumed to have been the scenario across all continents. But in the context of this research, with the emphasis here on migration within the KwaZulu-Natal region, it is important to highlight the significance of the period between the early 1800s and early 1900s in particular. The period coincides with major developments affecting the Zulu Kingdom on the one hand and the expansion of colonial settlements on the other. This section mainly addresses the following question: Why did people migrate during this period and what were the consequences of these migrations?

To answer the first question directly, it is important to highlight that the reasons for migration are many and varied. From the data obtained through both empirical and non-empirical research, the causes can be attributed to a number of factors. These included the political dynamics both within and without the Zulu state – such as the wars of conquest during the establishment of the Zulu Kingdom, the breaking up of ‘tribes’ due to succession and various other disputes involving *ubukhosi* within the polities constituting the then expanding Zulu state, the periodic transitions/successions within the Kingdom from one King to another, and the increasing encroachment of colonialism and the associated effects of forced removals and land dispossessions, some of which resulted in the creation of new ‘tribes’ and *ubukhosi*, as well as instances of movement of ‘tribes’ in search of new areas to settle in. All of these factors combined to cause the migration by some of the previously large tribes and the emergence of new breakaway *ubukhosi* in new areas of settlement.

The first sets of migrations that can be identified are those associated with the rearrangement in settlement patterns during the expansion of the Zulu state during the reign of iNkosi Shaka, as well as those which accompanied the ascension of iNkosi Dingane as Shaka’s successor and its aftermath. Examples of these are the instances of the flight of the Ndwandwe following attacks by Shaka and that of Mzilikazi and his followers, among others; as well as the fall-out between Dingane and those *izizwe* which he perceived to have been Shaka’s allies. The migrations of the large tribes such as the Mkhize, the Ngcobo/Nyuswa and the Cele in the early 1830s, as well as the flight of Mpande and his followers into Natal in 1839 occurred during the reign of Dingane. The civil war that arose from the succession dispute between Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo led to the later flight by the supporters of Mbuyazi following his defeat by the supporters of Cetshwayo in what is known as the ‘war of the princes’. It is worthy to note here that some of the migrations alluded to above resulted in a substantial increase in the African population of the Natal Colony and added to those ‘tribes’ who already resided in colonial Natal in 1812.³¹⁴

In the sub-section below a number of examples are given of the historical processes of movement of entire clans and portions of clans based on their reasons for migration.

³¹⁴ Natal Native Commission, 1881.

However, it must be noted that clans relocated on several occasions, thus making it difficult to categorise all the various movement under a single characterization, such as fleeing from Shaka, or searching for better land.

6.2.1 Migration as a consequence of Shaka's wars

The Natal Commission of 1952-3 distinguished two broad groups of clans that lived in Natal after the invasion by Shaka. There were those clans that 'were so far broken up and scattered or destroyed by the Zulu and other wars, as never yet again to return to a separate tribal state'; 'and those who are now found in something of a tribal state ... with their respective chiefs'. The **amaHlanga**, for instance, who originally dwelt on the Umgeni River were dispersed by Shaka, with some fleeing to the AmaBhaca in the present-day Eastern Cape, others to the Inhumbi clans on the Umtwalume River, while others were scattered on the Umgeni source, while their hereditary inkosi lived in Pietermaritzburg. The **amaNdlovu**, consisting at the time of two sections, were originally from the west bank of the Umtongati River, and on the west of the Umgeni River, near the sources of the Umhlatuzana River and further inland. The former section fled to the area near the Umpongodwe and Isipingi Rivers, near Ussimuya, while the latter section fled further inland, while some were living on the Umkomaas River, near Udumisa, on the Umhlangana River, and in the Inanda Location.

The **Amazilemu**, who had previously lived in the region of Umtongati, fled from Shaka to the land of the AmaMpondo, while a few were then found on the Umtwalume River. Many perished through famine, while those who escaped to Mpondoland did not return in considerable numbers. Few could be found living on the Umtwalume, among who was the chieftainess Uvumhlazi.

The **Madzikane** clan of the Sisonke District is drawn from the Bhaca people. Originally the amaBhaca were the Zelemus who came into Natal from Zululand. Their precise origin is not clear. The Zelemus claimed to be descendants of "Lufumandla" who is thought to have died round about 1734. The Zelemus were first heard of when they had taken refuge in the Nkandla forest from hostile clans. In 1821, Shaka was causing havoc in the North and this resulted in the amalgamation of a number of smaller tribes known as the "enTlangwani", who moved southwards to avoid Shaka. The enTlangwini came into contact with Madzikane and his Zelemus, and were driven back. Presently, there are two recognized clans of Madzikane (12-652 and 12-6) in KwaZulu-Natal. This is a landless clan. The abakwaMadzikane form part of the Sizwe Hlanganani Community Authority, which includes five other clans whose followers were intermingled, thus making it impossible to demarcate their boundaries.

It is contended that Zelemu was a son of Lufulwenja and that it was in fact Zelemu who led the aba-ka-Zelemu out of Zululand into Natal. Records indicate that they first settled in the vicinity of Inanda. Zelemu died there and his son Kalimeshe moved the tribe to the area on the Bluff in Durban where they settled for a short while. Madzikane assumed control of the tribe. Then, he moved the tribe and proceeded to join relatives in the

vicinity of Howick. Madzikane and his tribe were swept up in the onrush of the Cunus moving southwards under Macingwane. They then proceeded to upper Illovu, and there they remained behind whilst Macingwane and his Cunus went further. Having fought so many battles, the Madzikane eventually moved to the Tembus and Xhosas. There, they fought with the combined forces of chief Hintsá.

Amakamyao, or Amakohaunyao, was the name of a tribe that previously lived on the Uhlanga and Umhloti Rivers. They shared the same fate as the Amazilemu. A few took refuge with the Ntuli on the Bluff, and were saved. Five of them were living under chieftainess Uvumhlazi on the Umtwalume River.

The **Amahlungele**, an off-shoot from the Amazilume, dwelt on the Uhlanga at the time of the Zulu invasion. Most were slain, while some fled to the bush and some died of famine. Umbanjwa was their inkosi, and his son, Umasingahlati, was living in the southern part of Natal. The **Kwalanga** clan dwelt inland on the Umgeni River bank, and was virtually decimated by the Zulus. Some escaped to the Kwahlamba mountains, a few were to be found near Table Mountain, and others were scattered throughout Natal. The clan was extinct. The **Amatyibi** previously lived on the Umzinyathi River, but emigrated to the Umvoti, near the Isitemu Mountain. They were originally an offshoot of the Ngcolosi. The clan was dispersed by Shaka: some were to be found among the Fodo, others with the Bhaca, and some under the inkosi of another clan next to the Umzimkulu River. Their hereditary inkosi was Umhlamana.

The **Amazotyá** lived on a plain south-west of Table Mountain. They were subdued by the Bhaca and incorporated into this clan. Some were subsequently to be found on the Umkomazi, and others on the west side of the Umvoti River. The **Amantuluzela** dwelt in Shaka's time on a tributary of the Umtwalume River. Many were killed by Shaka, while a remnant was to be found near the Kwahlamba Mountains. The **Amanzobe** dwelt on the Umvoti River. Their inkosi, Undabane, was killed by Shaka. Some members of the clan fled west, while the remnant of the clan was living on both sides of the Umzinkulu River. The **Amakulu**, or Iminkulu, lived on the Umhloti River, at a place called Ozwatini under inkosi Umambane before the rise of Shaka. Many were later found living among other clans, and the remnant was living on the Umkomazi River, and their royal family was extinct.

The **Amazizi** had lived above Pietermaritzburg under inkosi Undweba. After Shaka attacked the clan and dispersed its members some were still living near their old home, while some were living among other clans. Some members of the **Amajivane** clan, which had been living between the Umzumbi and Umzinkulu Rivers, were living near the Umgeni River, under inkosi Ukofiana. Some of the survivors of the **Amahloko** who had once lived on the Umhlale River were incorporated with the amaCele. The **Amajuzazi**, the **Amabane** and the **Amansipo** were nearly all destroyed by the Zulus, while some members of the **Abatwawo**, or Abatywawu, the **Amantyele**, the **Amatyobene** and the **Amambibi** clans were incorporated into other clans in the colony. Remnants of the **Amanjili**, **Amalumba**, **Amanjale**, **Amankomo**, **Amantambo**, **Amazodwa**, **Amampofana** and **Amantozake** clans were also found scattered in Natal.

These clans are to be distinguished from the larger clans still living ‘more or less in a tribal state’ in the Colony. These include the **AmaKhanya**, which had previously lived between the Nonoti and Uthugela Rivers under Inkosi Duze. The Makhanya fragments fled southwards from Zululand over the Tugela River into Natal during the Zulu wars. Their final migration was not during Shaka’s reign but during Dingane’s time. According to Bryant, at the time of crossing the Tugela River their headman was Mnengwa, who fathered Duze, who fathered Makutha, who fathered Mtambo, who fathered Dabulesinye. When Shaka came to power Duze was in charge. Those who survived Shaka’s attack fled to Mpondoland, and returned to Natal at the time the Voortrekkers arrived in the region. They settled on the Upongodwe and Amanzimtoti Rivers under Inkosi Makutha, the son of Duze. They had incorporated remnants of the Amagwabalanda clan. According to legend, the tribal name Amakhanya emerged when the Qwabe spread southwards over the Tugela River and those still on the north bank could see the camp fires of their comrades on the other side burning by night. They therefore called those on the south bank the Amakhanya – the shining ones.

The **Amapumulo** had at one time separated from the Amahlongwa clan, after both clans had been living in the region of Kwamapumulo, between the Umvoti and Uthugela Rivers. Their inkosi at the time was Usibanhlela, the father of Umtinkulu, in whose time the clan was attacked by Shaka. The clan submitted to Shaka, and then fled to an area between the Illovo and Amanzimtote Rivers, near the Umlazi Mission Station. While some members of the tribe were still living in their original home, at Kwamupumulo under inkosi Umkonto, others were living in the Inanda location.

The **Ngcolosi** tribe originally lived above Kwamaphumulo on the Umambulu River. When Shaka invaded the region many were killed, some submitted while many fled. Those who returned when the Voortrekkers entered the region they settled on the Umgeni River, near Inanda under inkosi Faku. The **Amatyangasi** lived on the Tugela River at Emanhlatoti, above Kwamaphumulo during the time of Shaka. After Shaka attacked the clan was broken up: many moved to the Bluff, some were captured, and some took refuge with the Bhaca in the present Eastern Cape. Those that remained in the Colony were to be found on the Umhloti near Itafamasi under Inkosi Umguni. Some were to be found living near Table Mountain and in the region of the Umgeni Falls, while others settled in the Inanda location.

The **Cele** clan is one of the oldest clans in the region and its history dates back to 1500 A.D. They are an off-shoot of the Mthethwas. They originally lived in the area which stretched from the northern hills of Ongoye to the riverbed of the lower Mhlathuze River and from there to the border of the Dubes at kwaDlangezwa on the coast of Zululand. They were evacuated from this area to make way for the Qwabe clan. When they were evacuated, they crossed the Tugela River and slowly moved along the overgrown coastal area between the Nonoti and Mdloti Rivers to about 24km inland.

However, the significant migration of the clan was not caused by any threat of attack from any foreign force but because of a quarrel between brothers. After a chieftaincy

dispute, Magaye took a section of the Celes and established a kraal over the Mhlali River whilst Mande (or Mkokela) and his followers moved across the Mvoti River and established themselves where Stanger is today. From here his followers spread out steadily along the Umvoti River out to against the amaNganga at Emushane stream. The section of the Cele clan living at Umvoti, Umtongati and Inanda were attacked by Shaka. They fled before the attacking Zulu army: some were captured, including amakhosi Xabashe and Umagididi, while many managed to escape. Some went to the present Eastern Cape, to return only when Dingane was in power, while a number remained at their original settlement. One branch of the Amacele clan under Inkosi Xabashe settled at the Umlazi and Umpongodwe Rivers, while another branch under Inkosi Umagididi were living on the Umpambinyoni River. Members of the tribe were also found in disparate areas such as at the Ilovo, on the Umkomazi, on the Inanda location, and in the vicinity of the Umtwalume.

The Mande Celes under Xabashe established themselves on both sides of the Umlazi River after Dingane's death in 1840. Xabashe ngena'd the widow of his deceased brother Mangqaba, heir to Mande, and had a son named Ndunge. He moved 32km up on the northern banks of the Umzimkhulu River and established himself as an independent clan. These Celes of the Umbumbulu district are the Ndunge group of the Mande Celes. The Umbumbulu Celes were originally part of the section under Inkosi Mande, which had established itself at Dukuza where Stanger now is and from where Mande was ousted by Shaka. The remnants of the tribe then established themselves in the thick bush near the mouth of the Isipingo River. At that time Gxabashe, from a junior house of Mande, was acting head of the tribe. When the remnants came out of hiding in the bush Gxabashe left the area with some followers and settled in the Ixopo District. Mangqaba became a chief of what remained of the tribe.

During the Battle of Ndongakusuka between Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo some members of the Cele clan who had been incorporated into the Zulu nation after Mande had been ousted by Shaka fought with 'Izigqoza' under Mbuyazi. When the latter was defeated some members of the clan led by Mzwangezwa fled across the Thukela River. Mzwangezwa, who had temporarily lived in Stanger, established himself in the Nhlanguwini area. He had few followers who recognised him as a leader. Meanwhile, stock theft was reported along the Thukela River and most of the thieves found shelter in the thick natural vegetation, particularly at the place now known as 'Emphise' at Kranskop. Mzwangezwa was one of the volunteers to fight against the tock theft and settled with his followers along the Emphise River. Mzwangezwa found this area uninhabited and advised those left at Nhlanguwini to follow him. Some followed, but a number remained and appointed a regent to rule over them. Mzwangezwa then founded a branch of the Cele clan in the Emphise area.

The **Hlongwa** lived on the sources of the Umvoti River under Inkosi Uzwebu during Shaka's time. During the course of the Zulu invasion many were captured and taken to Zululand, while others fled far inland. A number sought refuge with the Ulutyaba clan long the coast. They returned to the Colony before the arrival of the Voortrekkers, and one branch of the clan under Inkosi Ungan (or Ujulela) settled on the Umzumbe River

near the coast. Another branch was to be found at the Amahlongwa River under Inkosi Ujoli (or Unjolela), while some members of the clan settled on the Umkomazi under Ogle. A number were in the Inanda location and others were living on the Umvoti and Ihlimbithi Rivers. The **Amanganga**, also known as the Amancece or Amancwecwe, were originally living between the Umvoti and Utugela Rivers near the source of the Nonoti River. Many members of the clan were captured by Shaka, while others fled to the present Eastern Cape. They returned to the Colony during the period of Mpande's revolt, a time before the British took possession of Natal. They settled on the Umvoti, with many living not far from the Inanda Mission Station under Inkosi Umanzini.

Before Shaka invaded the **Amatuli** lived in the area between the Umgeni and Umkomazi Rivers under Inkosi Untaba. Untaba ruled over several subordinate amakhosi of different clans, including a group under Inkosi Usojuba who lived between the Umkomazi and the Ilovo Rivers; a group under Inkosi Uashu that lived between the Ilovo and Amanzimtote Rivers; another group under Umcwane living near the Umlazi River; a group under Inkosi Amabone (or Umante – the father of Umnini) based between the Umlazi River along the Bluff to the Bay; and another group under Inkosi Utusi that lived from the Bay to the Umgeni River and inland. The entire people were called the Amatuli, although the various groups had their own names. These include the Amajoka or Amatyoka under Inkosi Usojuba; and the Amafenya under Inkosi Amabone. The Amatuli resisted Shaka's invasion, but also fled from the area because they could not successfully resist against the overwhelming numbers of the Zulu army. Many, under Inkosi Umnini, took refuge in the bush and rocks along the coast in the area between the Bluff and the sea. They lived there for some time before the white authorities removed them from the area and settled them between the Ungobaba and the Umzimbazi Rivers. Many other members of the clan were scattered throughout the Colony.

The **Amalanga** were an off-shoot of the Amahlangwa clan who lived under Inkosi Uzwebu in the area between the Umvoti and the Ihlimbithi Rivers before Shaka's invasion. A part of the clan fled beyond the Umzinkulu River, while many were captured or submitted to Shaka. They returned to the Colony after Shaka's death and settled on the Ifafa and Umzinto Rivers under the regent Ufagedwa, who was acting for the hereditary Inkosi Umancengeza. The **Amassepeta** previously lived near the Episweni hill, between the Umvoti and Utugela Rivers under Inkosi Umtyiga, who was later killed by Shaka. They fled along the coast, while some of the clan's members were captured by Shaka. The survivors returned to Natal during the period of the arrival of the Voortrekkers, and settled near the Inanda River under Inkosi Umyekwa and near the Ilovo River under Inkosi Umacala. A small number were also to be found in Inanda Location.

The **Amandelu**, also known as the Amabahlela, were an off-shoot of the Amahlangwa, and were originally settled on the Umvoti River. After Shaka's invasion they were scattered throughout the colony, while some fled to the present Eastern Cape. On their return to the colony they settled on the Umtwalume River under Inkosi Undelu.

The **Amahlubi** originally separated from the Amangwana (Amangwane) and lived between the Umzinyathi and Tugela Rivers. After the Amacunu attacked them they lived

in an unsettled state near the Kwathlamba River until they were attacked by the Zulus. The consequent dispersal forced the clan to settle near the head waters of the Umtwalenne River under Inkosi Usowetya; south of the Umhlunga River under Inkosi Umpengu; and in the Inanda location. However, the bulk of the clan could be found on the Impafanna River under Inkosi Langalibalela.

The **Amandwayana** lived in the region of Isidumbi before Shaka forced them to flee and settle on the northern side of the Umzinkulu River, where they were ruled by Inkosi Ugagamela. The **Abambu** or Abasembu, also known as Amasihlanhlu and Amikiza, were an off-shoot of the AmaGwabe under Usihlanhlu. During Shaka's time they lived inland on the eastern side of the Tugela, near the confluence with the Umzinyati River. Those that were able to flee from Shaka fled to the present Eastern Cape, only to return, together with those that had been captured by Shaka, after Dingane's death. They settled inland between the Ilovo and Umpambinyoni Rivers under Inkosi Usingelo. Another group moved to the Inanda location where they were ruled by Inkosi Ukayana. A third section lived near the Ontombomkulu Mountain under Inkosi Umazazuli.

The **Amabombo** clan, which separated from the Amadunge before the Zulu invasion, lived inland between the Umgeni and Umvoti Rivers. Their inkosi, Umanyungo was slain by Shaka, and the clan dispersed. Much later the remnants of the clan returned to the Colony and settled at one of the tributaries of the Umtwalume River under Inkosi Umonyungo.

The **Amadunge**, which also originally included the Amanyavu, lived inland at a place called Epasiwe between the Umvoti and Tugela Rivers before Shaka's attack. Inkosi Umlakuda was killed by Shaka, and the tribe reduced in number and scattered. The remnants later settled near the sea on the northern bank of the Umzinto River under Inkosi Udonzela; further inland on the southern side of the Umzinto River under Inkosi Utetwayo; on the Umtwalume; and in Inanda Location. Some members of the Dunge clan fled to what is now known as Greytown. When they heard that the Whites had landed at Esibubulungweni (Bluff) and were protecting other tribes who also fled south from Shaka. They then moved east where they came under the protection of Henry Francis Fynn (Umbuyazwe).

When H. F. Fynn established the Izinkumbini Tribe in the region between the Umkomaas to Umzimkhulu Rivers, this section of the Dunge people were amongst those who became part of this tribe. The Dunge people had no Inkosi because their Inkosi had been killed during Shaka's campaign. However, in 1911 Tshesi, the son of Mpolase who was Inkosi Gasela's induna, was appointed inkosi of what became known as the **Chiliza** clan on private and crown lands bounded by the Umthalume and Ifafa Rivers because of his outstanding leadership qualities especially during the Bambatha Rebellion.

The **Amanyavu**, or Amanyafu, lived in the region of the Noodsberg, the Umvoti and Isidumbi during Shaka's time. Those that fled from Shaka's attack went down beyond the Umzinkulu River. On their return they settled on the Umpambinyoni River, between the areas ruled by Udumisa and Umagidigidi, under Inkosi Umkalipe. Before Shaka's time

the **Abatembu** lived far inland on the Umtyizi River. A part of the clan under Inkosi Ujobe submitted to Shaka's rule, while others fled to the present-day Eastern Cape. Inkosi Ujobe returned to the Colony at the time when Dingane was engaged in a dispute with the Voortrekkers, and settled inland on the Utugela River. Ujobe was succeeded by Inkosi Usekali, and the clan was found on the Impafana River. A portion of the clan settled in the Inanda location, while a small number under Inkosi Ubulungene settled at the sources of the Umvoti River. Those that fled to the Eastern Cape were reunited with their clan on their return.

The **Amasome** originally lived near the sources of the Nonoti River under Inkosi Umkuna and his son Umbacwa. They were scattered by Shaka, and re-united only at the time when the Voortrekkers entered the region. A few members of the clan remained at the Umvoti under Inkosi Unozika; others settled at the Umhlotuzan under Inkosi Umazuzuli; while others were found at Ifumi under Inkosi Unoyangwona and at the Umkomazi under Inkosi Umbacwa. A small number settled in Inanda location. The **Amahlangu** (also known as the Inhlangu or Enhlangwini) lived near the confluence of the Utugela and Umzinyathi Rivers, in the direction of the Noodsberg and Isidumbi under Inkosi Unombeu. When Shaka attacked they fled to the southwestern part of Natal. They eventually settled between the Umzinkulu and the Umtwalume Rivers under Fodo, the son of Unombeu. Another group under Unciana settled at the sources of the Umtwalume River, while a portion of the clan under was incorporated by the Duma clan under Dumisa. Another branch of the clan under Udojia settled near the Umpambinyoni River.

The **Amabele**, an off-shoot of the Hlubi, lived high up the Impafana River during Shaka's era. The remnants of this clan after Shaka's attack were to be found in the southern part of the Colony between Fodo and the sea under Inkosi Utamzele. Some settled up the Umzumbe River and were known as Amabiya after their Inkosi Umbiya. Some members of the clan also settled in the Inanda location. The **Amaluleka** lived on the Umvoti prior to Shaka's attack under Inkosi Uzwebu of the Amahlongwa. Their inkosi, Ukonhlo, was killed by Shaka, and the clan fled beyond the Umzinkulu River. On their return they settled on the Ifafa River, near the sea under Inkosi Usisinde, the son of Inkosi Ukonhlo. He was banished from his people after being accused of witchcraft and the remnants of the clan then lived on the Umzumbe River under Inkosi Usfana.

The **Amasekunene** lived near Kwamapumula before being nearly destroyed by Shaka. After their inkosi, Unyamusa was killed by Shaka some fled to the bush, only to return to the Pietermaritzburg area where they were ruled by Inkosi Uluhlahla, the son of Unyamusa. A small number settled in the Inanda location. The **Amafuti**, or Amafoze, lived between the Utugela and Umzinyathi Rivers under Inkosi Umararuli at the time of Shaka's invasion. Their inkosi was killed by Shaka, while some members of the tribe were captured by the invaders and others fled into the bush. When the Voortrekkers arrived they returned to the Colony and settled near Pietermaritzburg under Inkosi Umscansi (or Unocasa). The **Inati** (or Enati) clan, which originally lived on both sides of the Tugela, fled Shaka's army before submitting to him. They returned to Natal and settled near Pietermaritzburg under Inkosi Udiginyeka.

The **Amatolo** lived inland on the Umkomazi River under Inkosi Unhlebe took refuge among the Amampondo when Shaka attacked them. The bulk of the clan returned to their original land while another branch settled lower down the Umkomazi under Inkosi Uzwaleka. The **Amakuze** originally lived on the Umkomazi under Inkosi Umazongwe. When they returned to Natal after Shaka's invasion they returned to their original settlement as high up as Pietermaritzburg under Inkosi Ukukulela. The **Makabela** clan originally lived near the Untunjambile Mountain, on the eastern side of the Tugela close to Kwamapumulo. After submitting to Shaka they were permitted to remain the area under Inkosi Umakedama. A number were settled in a neighbouring district on the Ihlimbiti River under Inkosi Ufabashi. A small number settled in the Inanda location.

The **AmaNgwane** under Chief Matiwane were forced to flee Zululand. Originally, they came from Kenya, before migrating to South Africa to the area between the White and Black Umfolozi Rivers. At the time their Inkosi was Somkhabasi. History reveals that during the year 1700, this tribe was settled near the White Umfolozi River, North of Babanango. During those years the tribe was under the leadership of chief Ngwadi. During the times of Shaka this tribe was at Income near Bulwer. When they were attacked by Shaka they fled from Zululand. In the process they displaced sections of the Amzizi and Hlubi people who fled across the Drakensburg in 1818 from the Upper Tugela River basin. For years the wars raged until a section of the Amangwane eventually settled in the valleys, having disposed of the Amazizi and the Amahlubi. However, King Shaka's impis attacked the Amangwane who fled westwards into the mountains. After this period of slaughter and destruction, relative peace returned to the Drakensberg Mountains and the survivors of the various tribes came down from the mountains and re-established themselves in the river valleys. The arrival of the Voortrekkers and the English settlers led to further troubles. The clash over hunting grounds, private ownership of land, and the arrival of cattle led to increasing numbers of cattle raids by the local San people. In 1849, due to the failure of various attempts to prevent the cattle raids, a series of buffer 'native locations' were established between the settlers and the Drakensberg Mountains. The Natal Government granted the clan a location on the upper Klip River, at the foot of the Drakensberg, where they formed a buffer area between raiding San from the Drakensberg range and the European settlers.

They eventually found themselves at Vryheid. The AmaNgwane were attacked by King Shaka of the Zulu tribe. Later, AmaNgwane left Zululand and they dispersed into all four provinces of what later became the Union of South Africa. Through conquering the Tlokoa and Kgolokoes tribes, Matiwane (chief of the AmaNgwane tribe at the time) and his tribe managed to settle temporarily at Basutoland in the territory of Moeshoeshoe. Matiwane and Moshoeshoe, who was the Chief of the Sotho clan, had a good relationship; they assisted each other, despite incidents of war between their tribes. Their stay in Basutoland was disturbed by the arrival of other fleeing sections of the AmaZulu under Mzilikazi. These also attacked people as they migrated and the AmaNgwane fled to the Cape. Matiwane then went through Mohaleshoek to the north-eastern Cape up to Umtata. When the battle started between the Whites and AmaNgwane in 1828, the AmaNgwane were defeated and later they returned back to their old home, Zululand after the battle of Umtata. Some tribesmen remained in the Cape under the princes of the

AmaNdwane: for example the descendants of Ntsimang, son of Masumpa, are still ruling the AmaNdwane in the Khobodi location. Another section of the tribe followed on Matiwane's trail later, and were settled in the Bulwer district by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, where they remain to this day. In Zululand, Matiwane found Dingane as the new Zulu king. Dingane did not fully trust Matiwane, so he killed him. His successor and son fled to Swaziland and sojourned there for some time under Matiwane's friend, Sobhuza of the Swazis. Other members of the clan fled to Natal, where they settled once again near the Kwahlama Mountains on the source of the Tugela River under Inkosi Usikali.

The **AmaCunu** separated from the Qwabe at some time in the past. They were once settled at Eganhla, below and beyond the Umzinyathi River. A large number of members of the clan were killed by Shaka, and many fled and stayed for a short while at the sources of the Umzimkulu and beyond. Later their inkosi and a part of the clan returned and made peace with Shaka, but they were killed. The remnant returned to Zululand after the death of Shaka and served Dingane for a while. However, when Mpande revolted, they also revolted under their inkosi, Upakode. They crossed the Utugela River and settled for a time on the head waters of the Umzimkulu. From there they soon returned to the area along the Impafana, where they were under Inkosi Upakoda. They were initially under Inkosi Ubogo or Uluboko, whose son, Umacingwane, was killed by Shaka when he returned with some of his tribe to make peace with the Zulu King. A section of the clan settled high up the Umkomazi River under Inkosi Usocopo.

The **Amaosiana** were initially living on the south side of the Utugela below the Amotyangase, not far from Kwamapumulo. Some may have lived on both sides of the Utugela. After they were attacked by Shaka, during the course of which they shared the same fate as many other clans that had been attacked by Shaka, they fled to Natal. When the Voortrekkers arrived they were settled on the Umlazi River, under Inkosi Umatyisa. A section of the clan migrated with their inkosi to the mountainous region on the sources of the Unhanti River – "Osangwani" – near Itafamasi.

The **Amaduma** were collected into a clan by Dumisa, from whom they took their clan name. Dumisa was not a hereditary inkosi. He was once an induna of one of the large kraals of the AmaHlala, "Emahlatini". A part of the Enhlangwini clan was incorporated with the AmaDuma. The remainder of the clan was made up of the fragments of many other clans, which were broken up by Shaka's invasions in the north-east of the region, and which for the most part originally lived in Natal. The clan was settled inland between the Ifafa and Umkomazi Rivers.

The **Inkumbi** clan was an amalgamation of individual drawn from about thirty-two clans that were resident in Natal before Shaka's invasion and drawn together after the invasion under Henry Fynn. The clan settled in the area between the Ifafa and Umzumbe Rivers under Uvunhlazi, one of Fynn's wives.

The **Amaqwabe** were a powerful clan during the days of Senzangakona, Shaka's father, and lived near the coast near the mouth of the Utugela River after gradually migrating

there from the Mhlathuze and Amatikulu Rivers. They were thus found beneath the Amandawe Hill, south of the Mhlathuze River until it reached the Mthethwa and Dube areas, up the Mhlathuze River almost as far as Nkandla forest, winding up by between the Mhlathuze and Thukela Rivers and finally overflowing into Natal. Before the reign of Zulu King Shaka (1816-28) the Qwabe clan was the senior, larger and more important clan of the Makhanya and the Zulu clans and they all descend from one common ancestor, Malandela. This was one of the first clans to be attacked by Shaka, and many fled west of the Utugela and down to Pondoland. Others followed this group at different times. After Shaka killed Phakathwayo, his brother Nqetho, found himself in conflict with Dingane and in 1829 left his home with the bulk of the Qwabe clan. He crossed the Thukela River to Natal, and subsequently crossed the Umzimkhulu where he was blocked by the Mpondos. In about 1839, during Mpande's revolt and after the death of Nqetho, many of his followers returned south until Sir Theophilus Shepstone accommodated them around Stanger. One section of the clan, the Qwabe (N), believes they are descendants of Mteli, son of Phakathwayo, who remained in Zululand. Mteli's son, Ngcukuca and grandson Ndunge fled Zululand at the time of Dingane and settled in Umzinto.

Other groups settled along the coast from the Utugela to the Umkomazi Rivers, particularly at the mouths of the Nonoti and Umvoti Rivers, before settling on the Umpongodwe and Amanzimtote Rivers. These sections of the Qwabe clan finally settled at the Umona, Utmtongati and Umvoti Rivers under Inkosi Umusi, and at the Umvoti River under Inkosi Umanfongonyana. Some members were found at the mouth of the Umhlati and Uhlanga Rivers. Some members of the clan settled at Inanda location.

The **Amanyuswa** (also known as the Amangcobo) previously lived in the area between the Emambo River tributary and the Tugela River under Inkosi Umapoloba, followed by Inkosi Usihaya, followed by Inkosi Udubulana. Inkosi Usihaya was killed by Shaka and a considerable number of the clan was captured. They joined the Voortrekkers against Dingane, and fled to Natal where they settled on the Umona and Umtonga Rivers under Inkosi Udubulana and on the Umlazi and Ilovo Rivers under Inkosi Umangapangopa. A large number settled in the Inanda location.

The **Amagongoma** were an off-shoot of the Amonyuswa, which was in turn an off-shoot of the Amangcobo clan. They originally lived next to the Amonyuswa until Mpande revolted when they fled to Natal and settled on the Umhloti River and in the Inanda location under Inkosi Usipanhle. The **Amacadi** (or Amaqudi or Amaxadi – the Qadi) was an off-shoot of the Amangcobo and lived on the Insuze tributary up to the Tugela River, nearly opposite Kwamapumulo. Their inkosi, Udube, was killed by Shaka and the tribe scattered, fleeing into Natal during the days of Shaka, and later during the reign of Dingane. They settled on the north-east side of the Umgeni River near the Inanda and the Umhloti Rivers under regent Umahlukona and eventually under Inkosi Umcwabi (or Umahlanjani).

The **Amahlubi** clan separated from aMangwane. They dwelt between the Umzinyathi and Uthukela Rivers. They were scattered by amaChunu under iNkosi Macingwana. After that incident they then dwelt at oKhahlamba until the Zulu invasion when they were

also dispersed. The main portion of the clan dwelt at iMpofana under iNkosi Langalibalele. In 1848 others were living on the other side of uMzimkhulu River near the sea.

Bryant states that the Mpukonyoni clan entered Zululand through the Mgwavuma River from Swaziland. The **Mnqobokazi** are either of Tonga-Nguni or eMbo-Nguni origin. The migration, for which no sure reason can be found, commenced about 1770. The Mpukonyoni settled around the Ngwavuma River but were evicted by Mngomezulu Sutus just as they (the Mpukonyonis) had earlier evicted the Tabetes from the area. Further south the Mpukonyonis were divided into two sections. Here, they settled between the Hluhluwe and Nyalazi River, where they developed into the abakwaMnqobokazi clan. They had no weapons and were an easy prey for more warlike tribes. In the time of Shaka the tribe was attacked by his Dlangezwa regiment. The remnants of the tribe under inkosi Mnyenzeza fled and re-established themselves along the Lower Mkuze River near Nibele – what later became known as Native Reserve No.1.

During the days of Shaka, the **Chunwini (Mchunu)** clan was led by Macingwane and he had a great kraal which was near the eThaleni hill, eNgonyameni. This was one of the first independent tribes to be attacked and defeated by Shaka. During the reign of Dingane, Phakade, the ceremonial son of Macingwane by emSizini, managed to escape from Zululand into the Msinga district. Subsequently he moved to the area between the Thugela and Mooi Rivers.

After the appointment of Chief Ntando, the royal house was then divided into two: one at Msinga (Ekuvukeni) and the second one at Mdubuzweni (Mpofana place) in Mooi River. However, presently the amaChunu consists of five Royal Houses.

1. UMzimkhulu (Zimeme's house).
2. Emdubuzweni: Mpofana (Ntando's house).
3. Msinga. (Phakade's house)
4. Nkandla
5. Washbung (Ekuvukeni).

Late Chief Phakade had three royal houses. There is no clarity about the house at Washbung: from which house it derived from and from where it originated.

One section of the clan settled in the Mooi River district. Their original land was sold to white farmers 'long ago' and as a result they became 'landless', but still resided on white-owned land. The government moved them to the Estcourt district and allocated them land on a Trust Farm which originally belonged to amaHlubi. AmaHlubi objected to this and threatened Chief Mfungelwa Mchunu in 1998 with violence. Because of this, the inkosi at the time sought other land for this tribe and negotiated with the Department of Land Affairs to purchase him a farm. He found a farm called Stengers Noek 1029.

The **Zondi** clans are descended from Pedi-Tlokwa strain of the Sutu Tribe. They thus have the same origin as the Nxamalala's (Zumas). The aba-KwaZondi people dwelt along

the banks of Tukela and the Inadi stream in what is now Msinga district. The people were in those days known as the abaseNadi people, but one seldom hears them referred to as such in these days. They arrived at their Inadi home in very much the same way and the same time as the Nxamalala (see history of the Nxamalala tribe)

Shaka descended upon the abakwa Zondi with the full might of his forces and the Zondis fled in fear to the nearest forest. Shaka's army began collecting the spoils of war and rounded up all the Zondi cattle, whereupon they emerged from hiding and surrendered. The Zondis thereafter never ever regained their former might or glory and the tribe began breaking up, some of them to join Shaka and become part of the Zulus divided into several different section of the clan, others to join other tribes. A few were left in the old country under Dlaba, the son of Nomagaga (who died soon after Shaka's onslaught). The remainder of the tribe under Dlaba followed the Nxamalala example and fled to Pietermaritzburg to establish a new home in the Zwartkop region (in about 1838).

In 1883 Mr. J Shepstone appointed Nongamulana as a border watch along the Nondweni River in Nkandla, which was the boundary between Zululand and Natal, and settled several Zondi tribesmen under him. Later in the same year Nongamulana was appointed as a chief over the Zondis who accompanied him. This section of the tribe openly rebelled during the Bhambata Rebellion. This is understandable as Bambara was a chief of the Zondi tribe in the Greytown district at the time he rebelled and the two sections of the clan were closely related.

All what Bryant states in his book "Olden Times in Zululand" that relates to the **Ndimande** clan of Ilembe is that an important personage among the Shingas in the earlier days on the Mvoti was one Mvuzi. This gentleman was blessed with a pair of twins, respectively named Gcwensa and Mzwilini, the names they were destined to transmit to posterity as those of two tiny clanlets. Thus, the Gcwensas originated from the Shingas. The Shingas are in turn called Ndelus and originated from emaSelekwini branch of the Maphumulo families. The Maphumulos also originated from the Lala Nguni, which means that the Gcwensas are also of Lala-Nguni origin.

It is said that the Gcwensas, together with the Mtungwas (Khumalo), moved southwards until they reached the Ubombo district. They stayed there until the fear of Shaka was over and moved further southwards and settled for short while at Eshowe. Their stay at Eshowe was for a short period because they were in great hurry to escape Shaka's warriors. They fled across the Tugela River and settled shortly south of the Tugela near the Nsuze River. Shortly after that they fled and eventually came to the Umvoti River in the Maphumulo District. Some of them moved towards the Msunduze River and reached Amanzimtoti. On arriving in the Illovo area they found that the land was not suitable for livestock as they had expected. They then returned to the area where they are today. At that time the British Administration started to register Amakhosi and that was the opportunity for the Gcwensa family to introduce their name as well. The British Administration recognized the Gcwensa as a tribe with its own Inkosi and tribal land.

Not all the clans fled from Shaka because of his wars of expansion. A number fled from him after falling out of favour. One such clan was the **Ngangeni** clan, originally from Madadeni in Zululand. Their ancestor is Ndaba. Magalela Shozi became Inkosi of the Ngangeni clan during the time of King Shaka. Magalela's amabutho (regiments) were led by his eldest brother, Sokhoti. It is reported that Sokhoti never lost a single battle. King Shaka was also surprised that Sokhoti returned from every battle to which he was sent with cattle. King Shaka wanted to know what kind of military tactics were being used by Sokhoti. Izinduna told him that he used intelezi (a traditional concoction) which produced fog. After a fall-out with King Shaka they went across the Tugela River and settled with the Luthuli people. Thereafter, they proceeded to the Ngcolosi area, i.e. the land of the Bhengu people. They then migrated to the Ndwedwe area, and also proceeded to Umlazi where they requested and were given a site which they called Mahlabathini, where the Ndengezi Township is to be found today.

The **Nkosi** clan originally lived in Swaziland and left for Natal in the time after Shaka's wars. This clan originated in Swaziland under the leadership of their first Inkosi, Nciliba. From Swaziland, the tribe first settled at Tugela heights. Shortly after arrival in Tugela heights, Namavovo and a deputation of the tribe went to Pietermaritzburg to see Theophilus Shepstone and to offer their obedience and allegiance to the Crown Colony Government of Natal. During this time the tribe was called the Ndhlela tribe and not Nkosi, which is the isibongo of the chief's house. The tribe was allowed to settle at Konigsberg at the foot of the Drakensberg near Newcastle and the border of Natal and the Orange Free State. Here, the tribe was provided with a missionary, afterwards a Reverend Prozesky. Shortly before 1890, a dispute arose between Nkankanyeki and Namavovo, because Namavovo refused to hand the chieftainship over to the heir who was not yet married at this time. In 1913, the Governor-General approved of a subdivision of the tribe according to administrative districts of Newcastle, Dundee, Klip River and Bergville. For three of these districts new amakhosi were appointed, and the section in Bergville was amalgamated with the Ngwane tribe under Inkosi Bambazi. Since 1953 there were no longer separate chieftainships, but the various sections were headed by deputy chiefs.

6.2.2 Migration as a consequence of Dingane

When Dingane came to power after the death of Shaka in 1828, he initially forced the migration of several clans he suspected of being too close to or of being favourites of his late brother. Among these were

6.2.2.1 Bhengu

The Bhengu or abakwaNgcolosi, who were initially living along the Ndlalati River below the town of Kranskop to the Thukela River, belong to the Lala group of the Tonga-Ngunis. In Shaka's days they were ruled by Mmepo, the son of Ngwane. In 1821-22, when the Zulu army for the first time crossed their border they surrendered themselves and pledged their loyalty and promised to be servants of Shaka. As a pledge of their loyal sentiments, the Zulus demanded their tribal cattle and went off with them. Shaka treated

the Ngcolosis with respect. However, Dingane wanted to destroy them. In January 1838, Dingane killed Retief and his party at the Mgungundlovu kraal and also massacred their wives and children who were awaiting their return on the Bushman's and Blaauwkrantz Rivers in Natal. The Ngcolosi rebelled against Dingane, and, fearing reprisal from Dingane for having assisted the Boers the Ngcolosi moved southward. However, some were too slow and were captured and killed by Dingane's people. The rest left behind their cattle and went into the mid-Umgeni valley below the Mqeku stream. That is where Mmepo died in peace. Nkungu, his heir was killed by Dingane without having named a successor. He left two boys, Ndlonkolo and Hlangabeza, to fight over the position. The British Government decided to separate the two: each was given his own land. Thus, the Ndlonkolo's faction was settled in the Mkhambathini, Ndwedwe and Pinetown districts, while the Hlangabeza faction remained in the Kranskop and Maphumulo districts.

6.2.2.2 Mthiyane

According to Bryant in "Olden Times in Zululand", Mningi, father of Lugoloza trekked with his family from Mzimkhulu, upon the final break-up of the Cele clan in the earlier years of Dingane's reign. The Cele clan had already been one of considerable size during Shaka's time. Then it split up into a number of sub-clans. However, dissatisfied with European rule at Umvoti, the present Groutville, Mningi crossed the Tugela River. When he arrived in Zululand he sought adoption by Nzwakele, the inkosi of the Dube clan. He built himself a kraal there and named it eMandlazini.

Nzwakele was killed by Shaka's successor Dingane, who feared that since Nzwakele had been close to Shaka he would be an enemy of Dingane in turn. When Nqoboka, an Inkosi of the Sokhulu tribe and boyhood friend of Nzwakele and Shaka during his years with Dingiswayo, heard of Dingane's intention to kill Nzwakele he secretly brought Nzwakele's chief wife to him beforehand. He bore her deceased husband a posthumous heir, Habane, who grew up in Ngoboka's home. Many of Nzwakele's adherents fled over the Tugela and are now found scattered all over. Mningi accompanied Inkosi Dingane to Hlatikulu. Mningi was a known warrior and induna of Dingane. At the time of Zibhebhu, it is said that Lugoloza, Mningi's son, khonzad to Inkosi Mpande. Lugoloza died on the 18th May 1895, and was succeeded by his son Kati. Kati, Mqedi and Nyalul, Lugoloza's sons, crossed the Tugela and went to the Enqabeni kaHawana, to the Endondwane Mountains, the area of the Cebekhulu clan. King Mpande was told that Lugoloza's sons had crossed to the Cebekhulu clan, he called them and provided them with food and shelter. The King instructed Chief Madelebe Zungu of the Zungu clan to provide them with a place to settle. They were given land at Nqabatshe. Kati died on the 12 December 1895, and Mboza, Lugoloza's brother, acted for Mqedi.

6.2.2.3 Bomvu

The AmaBomvu are said to have separated from the Amangwane and to have lived beyond the Utugela River inland on the Umzinyathi River. The clan was not disturbed by Shaka's wars of expansion, but was forced to migrate by Dingane. When the Voortrekkers arrived they were living inland on the north side of the Utugela, below the

amaHlubi. Some fled as far as the Impafani River, while others were living in the Inanda location. The chief of the clan was Inkosi Usomatye or Usamahashe.

6.2.3 Migration in search of better land

A number of clans were not negatively affected by the various wars during the 19th century. In some respects, clans were able to move to other areas in search of better land, while others were rewarded for their loyalty and support of both the Zulu Kings and the Natal Colonial administration.

6.2.3.1 Sibiya

The Sibiyas are Zulus and are of embo-Nguni descent. They migrated from the surrounding areas of Mahlabathini and Mthonjaneni where the Ndaba clan split. Ndaba had a son by the name of Sibiya, under who the Sibiyas belong. Zingelwayo and Zembete were brothers with Zingelwayo being the eldest. Zembete decided to migrate with Bapepezini and Zingelwayo migrated with Malandela. Apparently, Zembete built himself a hut below the Mkumbane and begot his son Gazu. There he generated the section of his family's clan known as the Sibiyas of Gazu.

Zingelwayo and Malandela found the valley most trying and moved up the Mfolozi river in the footsteps of Nozinja's son, Zulu. They settled next to Zulu at Mthonjaneni. Domestic stock thrived there and people used to say that the Sibiyas fenced their kraals with cattle while others fenced them with tree branches. As the clan grew it moved further up the Mfolozi River till they reached the Zulus. They reunited with their Gazu relatives who had remained behind. Owing to their wealth in cattle they lived freely with the Zulus and intermarried freely with them. Ngobe was the grandson of Sibiya and was appointed as induna in the Ngotsha area after King Shaka expelled Mzilikazi from there.

After a while one of the men of the Sibiya clan with his followers decided to explore across the Mfolozi River and rounded the Nhlazatshe Mountains and settled in the country between this and kwaNtabankulu Mountains.

Nogwaza Sibiya, son of Ngobe, was an induna of Hamu who assisted King Cetshwayo during his fight with Hamu. For this loyalty Cetshwayo placed Sibiya in charge of the land north of the Pongola River in order to prevent Hamu from forming alliances with tribes against the Zulu King. The relationship between the Sibiyas and the Zulu Royal Family was strengthened by Nogwaza's son Mtshekula, the father of Chief Bhekayiphi who married Mpande's daughter, Nokwenda.

According to the Sibiyas, when the Mntungwa Ndlangamandlas under Makwekwana and the Mavuso under Mgayi arrived in their present areas they requested Nogwaza to accompany them to King Mpande to khonza. King Mpande left it to Nogwaza to give them a place in his area. They then konzaed under the Sibiyas and were made Indunas over their own people. After the fighting between the Usuthu and Mandlakazi, Mtshekula

was placed in charge of the area north of the Pongola River by the Indlunkulu as a reward for the part he played during the fighting.

6.2.3.2 Cebekhulu

Mzimba, the first Inkosi of the Cebekhulu, came from Lesotho to Zululand. Inkosi Mzimba requested to be shifted to an area known as Emangethe. After some time he requested King Shaka to allow his clan to settle in a very fertile area which he had noticed. The area was known as Nsezi. When the white man came, they were moved from Sandlwana across the Khula River and Mzimba built his kraal at Makobho, where he is buried. Mzimba's grave is at Sandlana farm next to the N2 National Road.

6.2.3.3 Nzimakwe

AbakwaNzimakwe originated not from KwaZulu, but in the Drakensberg region on the side of Lesotho; and are descendants of a Mosotho mam, who bore Ntamonde, who begot Thango, who begot Mbokodo, who begot Ndaba, who begot Nzimakwe. Nzimakwe had a brother named Magogoda. Magogoda is the common ancestor to abakwaDlezi and oNgcukama [both of whom are thus directly related to the Nzimakwe; while a fourth group which became known as the Chezi is an off-shoot of the Ngeleka]. Besides these sub-groups, the Nzimakwe travelled together with AmaXolo and AmaChi in their migration towards Port Shepstone. Both the MaChi and the Xolo share the same ancestor, Mosotho, with the Nzimakwe.

During their migration, the Nzimakwe entered Zululand and mixed up with the Zulu as they moved on towards the south. They then settled in the area called Ntimbankulu, next to Ntimbamnyama, near Highflats, before passing the Mzumbe River, and later Mtwentweni on the southern part of the Mzimkhulu River. From Mtwentweni they moved on to Mthombeni – at a place called e“Nkantolo”, (also known as e“Maphoyiseni”). The two sub-groups [the Dlezi and the Ngeleka – as well as the Chezi as the sub-group to the latter] are related by blood with AbakwaNzimakwe; and they all travelled together before moving to Mishwana (at Nyengele), where the Dlezi and the Ngeleka decided to settle. But AbakwaNzimakwe moved further on, eventually crossing the Mpenjathi River before eventually settling in the area that became known as KwaNzimakwe, just north of Port Edward. The reason for this long migration was the search for a suitable land for both settlement and grazing for the cattle. AmaXolo and AmaChi also settled in and around the southern part of Port Shepstone – in the same vicinity as AbakwaNzimakwe. Inkosi Bhekizizwe Nzimakwe cites that Shaka clashed with AmaNgutshana during the Zulu King's march towards the south, in which he claims Shaka killed the then inkosi of AmaNzimakwe in the process. One of the significant developments he recalls is that of Shaka naming the Mthamvuna River because he thought the river looked like a house.

6.2.3.4 Mbhense (Hlanganani)

The Bhense people were originally settled in an area called Embube at Ophatheni in Richmond under the Zondi Chief. The clan moved away from amongst the Zondi tribe based in the Pietermaritzburg area to settle on their own as a separate tribe. Dubaduba (kaMkhubekeli), an Induna of Inkosi Thetheleku of the Zondi tribe, was appointed as their first inkosi. Dubaduba migrated to Ophatheni with some members of the tribe and settled in the area of Engqekeni. The Zondi Chief gave Dubaduba the status of Chief of the Mbhense tribe in Engqekeni because Dubaduba was a well-respected person. Dubaduba and the members of the tribe had decided to leave the tribal area of the Zondis because there was no grass for grazing for their livestock. The area also lacked Izindlubu, a fruit which is enjoyed at eMandulo. Engqekeni was vacant and the tribe used a cave (umgede) as their first home.

The Bhenses can be found in Mahukwana, Komtshilo, and Ematiwane. A section of the tribe was forced to migrate because of a white family known as the Hamsons, who wanted the land held by the Mbhense people. Some sections of the tribe can be found in areas like Emhlumayo, Ematheni, Wesbank, and Mangweni. Most of the Bhense people lived under chiefs of different tribes and not under their own chief.

6.2.4. Migration as a result of separation/divisions in the royal family

Not all migration in the region during the 19th century was of entire clans moving from one area to another. In several instances portions of clans migrated from their original areas of settlement to other areas, for a variety of reasons. Among the most important of these, however, were divisions in the royal family, quite often arising from succession disputes. In a number of the studies of the historical backgrounds and succession disputes of clans mention is made of the division of clans into separate branches. These include the split which resulted in the Embo-Inkasa-Isamahl and the Embo-Timuni, discussed in detail above,

6.2.4.1 Biyela1 (Uthungulu)

The founding father of the clan was Xhoko, the son of Ndaba. Shaka permitted Xhoko to go out and found a kraal of his own and he named it Mbiza. This kraal was located at Upper Nseleni near the Ogelwini kraal of Mkhombise. From this kraal originated the Biyela clans of Fort Yolland in the Eshowe district under Mdaye, the Mangidini section in the Nkandla district and those in the Ndulinde area in the Eshowe district. After the death of Xhoko, Dingane also married Mangxanga's daughter of the Biyelas. Therefore, this section of the clan were placed on their present sites by Dingane but were directly under induna Mvundlana. During Mpande's reign Mvundlana reported to Mpande that Nonzama want to kill him. Nonzama hearing that he was to be attacked he fled to Natal where he remained until Cetshwayo became king and was called by Cetshwayo and placed him on his old sites. This clan remained loyal to Cetshwayo and as a result Nonzama was appointed chief over them.

6.2.4.2 Zungu (Zululand)

The Zungu tribe used to stay between the Ntungwa tribe and the Ngunini tribe, next to Qwabe and Zulu tribe. When Malandela decided in 1650 to go the Ugu district the forefathers of Zungu were left behind. The Zungu tribe was part of Gwabeni tribe. These two tribes came from uNcwana kaMhlelo who was the chief during Mehlo's times. The tribe was situated at Hill of Hlophekhulu next to Umfolozi oMhlophe, and it moved further to ULundi (EMahlabathini). During this time, Ncwana died. He left two sons, Makhoba the elder one and Zungu the younger one. According to their custom, Makhoba was supposed to succeed his father in the chieftainship. However, Makhoba had no intention of becoming the chief, and he left the area for eMbekazi. This is where Makhoba's tribe was established. After Hlophekhulu, after Makhoba had left, the tribe decided to call themselves Zungus. During Shaka times, Manzini was the chief of the Zungus. He was the son of Mkhonto kaTshana KaZungu. Beside Mkhonto, Tshana gave birth to Mbondoe who was the mother of the wife of Mpande, Ngqumbazi, the mother of Cetshwayo.

6.2.4.3 Dlamini-Sub (Sisonke)

Originally, the Tribe was part of the Dlamini tribe under Chief Dlamini kaBhidla of the Bulwer (now Hlanganani) district (hereinafter referred to as the Bhidla tribe). By order of the Supreme Chief dated the 7th April 1897, the tribe was separated from the Bhidla tribe to form a separate independent tribal sovereignty under its first leader, Inkosi Gcokoda. In other words, Gcokoda became the founder chief of the tribe. The tribe was settled on two farms – Langefontein and Ferryby – in the district of Ixopo (now Emzumbeni). After his death on the 7th March 1927, Inkosi Gcokoda was succeeded by his son Tatane. The determination of Tatane's successor is now the issue at point. Tatane did not appoint his chief wife. For this tribe the custom was that the chief wife's lobola is paid by the tribe and she must be a daughter of an Inkosi. When the tribe approached him to take a tribal wife he refused, saying that he was too old for such a step.

6.2.4.4 Mdlalose (Umzinyathi)

The Mdlalose clan is one of the oldest of Zulu sub-clans. In the days of King Shaka they were known as heroes. They were led by Nhlaka, who showed his skill and bravery when they were ordered by King Shaka to attack the abaKwaSangweni residing in the Vryheid and Nquthu districts. They harassed the Sangwenis and drove them away. Then the Mdlaloses were allocated those areas of Nquthu and Vryheid where they are found today. Nhlaka had two sons, Tondolozu and Seketwayo. He allocated a portion of land in the Vryheid district North of the Mvunyane river to Seketwayo and a portion of land in the Nquthu district to Tondolozu. Seketwayo was from Nhlaka's Indlunkulu (Senior House) and Tondolozu from the Ikhohlwa (Junior/ left side).

6.2.5 Migration as a consequence of colonial intervention

6.2.5.1 Sithole

According to Bryant, the origins of the Sithole clan are somehow puzzling as they have consistently clung to the Tembus and it is suspected that the two are closely related or were neighbours. Both are probably of Ntungwa Nguni origin and migrated to the Umzinyathi River from the locality near the White Mfolozi. The Sitholes were on the opposite side of the river, inland of the Nhlazatshe. It is suspected that they may have been subject of emaNgwaneni, but some Sithole people deny this. One section of the clan under the leadership of Maphutha Sithole settled at Mbujane/Mbilane at the time of Senzangakhona. Jobe took over after the death of Maphitha. Jobe was known for his bravery and he was awarded a piece of land on which to settle for the victory he gained whilst fighting against Amazimu, that is the Ntuli, Simelane, Ncubeni and Miya at Elenge. He was also given the area of Elenge by Shaka. Mondise succeeded Jobe, but he did not live long and was succeeded by Matshana, his son. There was a dispute and a report was given to Somtseu (Shepstone) in Pietermaritzburg that Matshana had killed Sigatiya Shezi. Somtseu attacked Matshana and the latter fled across the Umzinyathi River and went to Eqhudeni. He found the Cumwini and Langa tribes settled there, and King Mpande instructed these clans to move out of the area so that Matshana could settle there. During the Battle of Isandlwana Matshana fought on the side of the Zulus. Before, he reached iSandlwana he met the British army at Emangeni, and a great number of his followers were killed. Matshane fled and he returned to the old settlement in Nquthu. Although Matshana did not participated in the Bambatha Rebellion, he was punished by the white authorities who annexed most of his land.

Another branch of the Sithole clan was led by Inkosi Ntshiba, who was the father of Mbadu, who was the father of Mbulungeni. They crossed the Thukela under the leadership of Ntshiba. Ntshiba and his son Mbadu died at Ntukwini. On their arrival in the Mapumulo area they were led by Mbulungeni, the son of Mbadu.

Before the arrival of whites, the Kwa-Dlangezwa area stretched from the Umhlathuze River to the south until Durban. The whole area was inhabited by the **Dube** clan under Inkosi Mfungumfu Dube. The Dube clan, though occupying a large geographical area, was weak militarily and it formed part of the Zulu clan under the rule of King Cetshwayo. It is vital to note that the area south of the Tugela was under the control of the Republic of Natal, although there were subjects of inkosi Mfungumfu resident in the area. Due to a misunderstanding with European Christian missionaries the clan left Umhlathuze by crossing the Tugela River and settled to the north of the Umvoti River near Stanger.

6.2.5.2 Mthuli-Ntuli

The Mthuli tribe call themselves Amathuli. They are originally from Congella and the Bluff in Durban. After the arrival of European settlers in Durban, Sir Benjamin D'Urban requested them to vacate the area because he earmarked the land to build a town. The tribe move southwards of Durban until they settled at a place called eMnini. It also emerges that their inkosi then was Mbabane. Mbabane fathered Mnini and Mangwini.

And it was at this time that the ubukhosi of Amathuli was expanded into two houses: one which is abaKwankukhu, who eventually migrated to eMzumbe. Meanwhile, two sons of Bhangwini, namely Funwayo and Ndenisi, were instructed by their father to look for other places in the Natal Midlands to settle. They settled at a place called Hlangakazi. Ndenisi also migrated further to a place called Chameni where, after a short period of time, Ndenisi converted his surname from Luthuli to Mthuli. Ndenisi fathered two sons, Mdungazwe and Makhongolo, The eldest was Mdungazwe. Eventually, Mdungazwe was the inkosi of the clan. However, there was a split in the family after new boundaries were introduced by the white government. One brother of Inkosi Mdungazwe, Makhongolo, moved to Nkandla. Later Mdungazwe fathered David, who in turn fathered Bulawayo. The latter was the father of Zwelinjani Mhlabunzima Mthuli.

6.2.5.3 Phephetha-Gwala

The clan is named after their inkosi, uMphephethe Nzimande, who escaped from Swaziland due to conflict with the Swazi King. They fled to Zululand and their chief during that period was Inkosi Masiya kaMaphinda. During that era, Shaka was the King of the Zulu Nation. The clan sought refuge under King Shaka, whom they were introduced to by his senior Indunas (Headmen). The clan got a warm welcome from the Zulu Tribe. They fled after conflict with Shaka to the present day area they reside in in the Ndwedwe District. Currently the clan is scattered across areas near eThekweni because they were removed from their land by the previous regime to make way for the construction of the Inanda Dam.

6.3 A Typology of Amakhosi

Various types of amakhosi can be distinguished from the ever-changing political landscape of both Zululand and Natal beginning from the early 1800s. Firstly, can be identified those amakhosi who were appointed by Shaka soon after assuming power over the then small Zulu chieftainship in succession to his father Senzangakhona in the 1820s. What makes these appointments of particular significance to consider in this discussion is that they represent the first form of intervention by a person who is not a direct member of the royal family concerned in deciding who is suitably to fill the position of head of a clan. Hence, before Shaka's reign, this had been solely the prerogative of the 'royal family' alone – and was itself bound by the established practices of the ubukhosi concerned.

From the manner he had himself acquired power (by usurping it from Sigujana who had been the general heir), Shaka had ensured to appoint his trusted allies as heads of some of the large 'tribes', which he intended to use strategically to consolidate his own political power base. The appointment of Zihlandlo over abakwaMkhize, Magaye over AbakwaCele and Jobe over abakwaSithole were all aimed at attaining this objective. His successor Dingane did not so much as appoint individuals as amakhosi over their clans, but actually constituted his inner circle with members of powerful tribes – which were other than those that had been allies of his predecessor, who were hounded out of their

areas of settlement. For instance, he elevated Ndlela of the large Ntuli/Mbhele tribe as well as Nzobo of the Ntombela tribe to the role of senior advisors. Mpande, his successor, also subsequently introduced his own brand of appointments in the form of his numerous sons.

The table below serves to highlight the five different types of amakhosi as well as the timelines involved:

TABLE 12: Types of Amakhosi

Typologies of Amakhosi		Time Lines
1.	Amakhosi in the Shakan Era	1800 to 1828
2.	Amakhosi in the Post-Shakan Era	1828 to 1860s
3.	Appointed by ‘Somtseu’ – Shepstone	1845 to 1870
4.	Appointed by Wolseley	1879 to 1880s

In Zulu custom, chieftainship is hereditary, and as indicated in the chapter that follows, was governed by a set of rules that ensured that a particular family maintained its position as clan royalty. All the amakhosi in the land controlled by the Zulu kings were hereditary amakhosi. The settlement of whites in the region, and the large-scale migration of entire clans as well as fragments of clans to the region resulted in a transformation of chieftainship. When the settlers arrived they found a number of clans in the area they later colonised living their lives according to traditional customs, including those relating to ubukhosi. Within the colony were a number of clans with huge membership that migrated to the region as a consequence of war in the land controlled by the Zulu kings. These clans retained their customary form of social organization. Finally there were those fragments of clans that were leaderless, and who coalesced around strong individuals as a group that assumed the character of clans. The colonial authorities dealt with the latter situation by appointing individuals as amakhosi. In consequence, there were two broad categories of traditional leaders in the colony: hereditary and appointed.

The Natal Commission of 1852-53 found that a number of amakhosi claimed to be hereditary chiefs in their areas but they were not acknowledged by the Government as such until receipt of hereditary chieftainship in virtue of the Royal Instructions of March 1948. Those amakhosi were:

Table 13: Hereditary Chiefs and their clans in the Natal Colony, 1852-3

	Inkosi	Clan
1.	Bazwana	Amakuze
2.	Bihla	Amakuze

3.	Bulungeni	Abatembu
4.	Cengezi	Abazwana
5.	Dabankulu	Amabazo (oMabaso)
6.	Dibinhlela (Dibandlela)	Amantolo
7.	Dibinyeka	Inati
8.	Didileku	Amampumuza
9.	Donsela	Amadunge
10.	Dubiana	Amanyuswa
11.	Dushane	Amabaca
12.	Faku	Amancolosi
13.	Fodo	Enhlangwini
14.	Gubevu	Enhlangwini
15.	Hlebenhlana	Amafozi
16.	Jangene	Abasengome
17.	Joli	Amahlongwa
18.	Kalipi	Amanyafu
19.	Kukulela	Amakuze
20.	Langalibalele	Amahlubi
21.	Lugajo	Amxamalala
22.	Makedama	Amakabela
23.	Makuta	Amakanya
24.	Mangapangapa	Amanyuswa
25.	Mgone	Amatyingasi
26.	Makitikiti	Amacele

27.	Mancengeza	Emalangeni
28.	Manzini	Amaganga
29.	Marauli	Amazome
30.	Matyimane	Amahosiyane
31.	Matyiza	Amahosiyane
32.	Muini	Amatuli
33.	Ndelu	Amandelu
34.	Nodada	Abatembu
35.	Nisimikwana	Amacosene
36.	Pahlwa	Amalata
37.	Pakade	Amacunu
38.	Putini	Amangwe
39.	Qiko	Abatwa
40.	Qume	Amanyuswa
41.	Siyingela	Amasihlanhlu
42.	Sidoi	Enhlangwini
43.	Somahashe	Amabomvu
44.	Sonyangwe	Abamkulisa
45.	Sotondoza	Amanuxayo
46.	Sipanhla	Amancongoma
47.	Tukuteli	Amabombo
48.	Tyukangubo	Amamemela
49.	Xawe	Amacade
50.	Xabashe	Amacele

51.	Yeka	Amapepeta
52.	Zikali	Amangwane

(Source: Natal Kafirs in the District of Natal Commission 1852-53. W Harding pg 35 - 6)

Meanwhile, the growing number of Africans residing in Natal at the time as a result of the southward migrations from Zululand by members of various tribes continued to be a source for concern to many within white colonial circles, and leading to increasing calls for the annexation of Natal as a British colony. Lord Stanley the Colonial Secretary finally responded favourable to these calls by permitting the establishment of the Natal colonial administration in 1842.³¹⁵ These designs were eventually put into operation with the proclamation of the Mzinyathi and Thukela Rivers across the north, the Drakensburg Mountain to the west, and the Mzimkhulu River in the south as the formal boundaries for the new colony of Natal in 1845.³¹⁶ The first major task of the new administration was to set up a Locations Commission, whose duty was to design the appropriate system of administration for the Natal population. One of the Commissioners, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, was instrumental in devising the structure of administration for the Africans in his capacity as the Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes; and Shepstone's system was balanced on the involvement of chiefs.³¹⁷

As David Welsh observes, the motivation behind Shepstone's system was "the absence of sufficient personnel to rule directly through magistrates". Shepstone therefore "considered it wisest to harness to the administration an institution with which Africans were familiar."³¹⁸ This created a dilemma for Shepstone since the power of 'chiefs' appeared to be on the wane, and a substantial number of Africans in Natal who had dispersed from their tribes were without 'chiefs;' which prompted Shepstone to attach such people to various 'chiefs' across different districts, or alternatively, to appoint 'commoners' over them if they were under an influential hereditary chief.³¹⁹ This set in motion the beginning of the first series of appointment of amakhosi by the Natal colonial administration.

It is at this level that a distinction has to be made between the appointments made by Shaka, Dingane and Mpande on the one hand and those subsequently made by Shepstone and Wolseley, who had been appointed as the British High Commissioner for Zululand in the aftermath of the Anglo-Zulu War. While the appointments made by the Zulu Kings were all made with the intention of the incumbent iNkosi to consolidate power and strengthen his position, Wolseley's ones were aimed at weakening the Zulu state by enhancing the sentiment of independence from it by the 13 amakhosi he appointed after Zululand had been partitioned into thirteen districts at the end of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu

³¹⁵ Welsh, D. *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971, 8-11.

³¹⁶ Welsh, 1971, 10.

³¹⁷ Welsh, 1971, 12-20.

³¹⁸ Welsh, 1971, 20.

³¹⁹ Welsh, 1971, 20.

war. The thirteen appointed amakhosi were Hamu kaMpande, John Dunn, Manyonyoba (Hlubi), Zibhebhu ka Maphitha (Mandlakazi), Mgojana (Ndwandwe), Mlandela ka Mbiya (Mthethwa), Sekethwayo kaNhlaka (Mdlalose), Faku ka Ziningo (Ntombela), Mfanawendlela kaThanga (Zungu), Gawosi (Mpungose), Mgitshwa ka Mvundlana (Biyela), Ntshingwayo kaMahole (Khoza) and Somkhele (Mthethwa).

Table14: The Thirteen Amakhosi Appointed by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1879

1.	Somkhele (kwaMthethwa)
2.	Mlandela (kwaMthethwa)
3.	Mgitshwa (kwaBiyela)
4.	Gawosi (kwaMpungose)
5.	John Dunn (kwaMagwaza)
6.	Mfanawendlela (kwaZungu)
7.	Faku (kwaNtombela)
8.	Sekethwayo (kwaMdlalose)
9.	Ntshingwayo (kwaKhoza)
10.	Zibhebhu (kwaMandlakazi)
11.	Hamu (Ngenetsheni)
12.	Mgojana (EmGazini)
13.	Manyonyoba (Hlubi)

Two subsequent measures are worthy to mention for the specific role they played in further eroding the powers of amakhosi by the Natal colonial administration. These are, (1) the measures taken by the Governor of the Colony of Natal Sir Arthur Havelock to strengthen the role of colonial administrators following the annexation of Zululand as a British colony in 1887, while simultaneously eroding the powers of amakhosi and placing them under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Chief and supervision of colonial administrators, and also limiting their jurisdiction to that of dealing only with civil matters. Furthermore, these measures went hand in hand with the introduction of a hut tax to be paid by all married men, with the express purpose that the money so collected would be used to pay the salaries of the administrative officials in each of the new Zululand administrative districts – who included the resident commissioner, the magistrate and their assistants in each administrative district.³²⁰ And, (2) the Natal Native Code of 1891, which served to further impact on ubukhosi with its provisions to give the Governor-General the power and authority to appoint amakhosi and izinduna (headmen), fix and/or alter the boundaries and composition of tribes, as well as to order the removal of tribes or persons from any location subject to the approval by parliament if the person or tribe (as the case maybe) objected to such arrangement.³²¹

³²⁰ Laband, J. *Ropes of Sand*, 1995.

³²¹ The Natal Code of Native Law, (March 1943), *African Studies*, 2 (1), p. 2-26.

In addition to eroding the powers of amakhosi, the transfer³²² of approximately two-thirds of the original land in Zululand to the Natal colonial administration for ownership by white colonists, and the extension of the powers of the Supreme Chief to include the appointment of successor when the incumbent inkosi died,³²³ were other consequence of the Natal Native Code. This provided the colonial administration the occasion to create numerous ubukhosi by way of breaking large powerful ubukhosi – with some izinduna being elevated to the same status as the appointed amakhosi.³²⁴ As can be seen, the Native Code features as one piece of legislation that had equally far-reaching effects as Wolsesely's. For purposes of this report, the appointments that followed the promulgation of the Native Code into law would be treated as falling under one and the same strategy of the colonial government, as if flowing directly from the Code itself.

But there are those appointments which are of a more peculiar nature than the ones dealt with in the foregoing discussion – although some appear to have been made much earlier. Since these are difficult to categorise in terms of both timeline and purpose, these will be treated separately in the following discussion. These include ubukhosi of the Fynns and the Ogles – such as that of eZinkumbini, eNsimbini and eZembeni, as they came to be known.

6.3.1 Zinkumbini, Nsimbini and Zembeni

These were the original names given to izizwe which once fell under ubukhosi of the once influential white adventurers such as Henry Francis Fynn, his brother Frank, as well as that of John Ogle and their descendants. Henry Fynn and Francis Farewell were part of a group of whites who fled the Cape and moved to Natal. They were supposedly given permission by Shaka in the 1920s to occupy the land at Port Natal shortly after their arrival from the Cape.³²⁵ Henry Fynn made a name for himself as both a hunter and trader who later became a white 'inkosi' for the **Zinkumbini and Nsimbini** 'tribes' near Port Shepstone. He also married a number of African women and fathered numerous children who came to be classified as 'coloureds'. His 'coloured' descendants also became rulers in a number of areas falling between Mzinto and Port Shepstone. The same applies with the various ubukhosi of eZembeni in the same region, which has since fallen under the various ubukhosi of people who were close (or were associates of Ogle and his 'coloured' descendants). Ubukhosi that are definitively known to have been under Zinkumbini in southern uMzinto include AmaThuli at Mzumbe, amongst others; while that of AbakwaMqadi (at Dududu, outside Mkhomazi) as well as AbakwaMsomi (also known as the Bhekani ubukhosi) near Nhlanguwini, were previously part of eZembeni or the "Wohlo" chieftaincy. ("Wohlo" being the isiZulu adaptation of the name Ogle).

The former areas of eZinkumbini and eNsimbini now fall under ubukhosi of the Mavundla/Mthimude and Ndwalane/Nsimbini respectively, both of whose narratives of

³²² Davenport, *South Africa: A modern history*, 1987, 230.

³²³ Rogers, H., *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa*, 1933, 316.

³²⁴ Lambert, J. "Africans in Natal", 18

³²⁵ Laband, 1995, 32.

how they took over ubukhosi from the Fynns proved to be in serious conflict with other historical accounts as presented in various secondary sources.

As from the 1930s, Julie Pridmore observes, Fynn had lived near the Mzimkhulu River at his *umuzi* named eNsimbini, which was strategically placed for Fynn to entertain, offer “information and hospitality” to travelers and visitors moving between Natal and the Cape colony.³²⁶ Fynn’s role in the history of Natal is acknowledged by many historians, but it is not clear at the moment how he eventually acquired the jurisdiction over large parts of the land falling between Mzinto and Port Shepstone. The versions obtained from both the Mavundla/Mthimude and the Cele/Vukuyithathe of how the Fynns obtained ubukhosi at Port Shepstone was similar and was confirmed in numerous other quarters, such that it will be taken as credible in the report. That version cites the fighting which broke out between AmaCele and AmaChi in the later 1800s. After numerous attempts to end the fighting had failed the local magistrate had decided to create a “buffer chiefdom” in order to separate the warring ‘tribes’, and that Fynn was appointed as inkosi over the newly established ‘chiefdom’, which later came to be called eZinkumbini. (The respondent who claimed to be familiar with the history of the area claim the Fynn who was actually appointed as inkosi at Zinkumbini was one of the numerous sons of Henry Fynn – his name being Duka Fynn, believed to have been the isiZulu distortion of his real name, Duke.)

EZinkumbini is the name which has connotations with the high number of ‘refugees’ who gradually streamed in seeking shelter within the ‘chiefdom’. These were mainly people who had decided to leave their respective chiefdoms for various reasons, including some who were refugees from Zululand – which resulted in the name Zinkumbini becoming very commonly used. The Fynns continued to be position amakhosi at Zinkumbini until the death of Wilson Fynn in 1968, wherein Nkanyezi Gigaba, the former senior induna under Wilson Fynn was appointed *ibambabukhosi* (acting inkosi).

In 1913 William Fynn, another of Henry Fynn’s descendants, was appointed as inkosi over the Nsimbini tribe. Thirteen years later the Nsimbini tribe was divided in two and the new ubukhosi of the Mavundla was established, under Gamalakhe Mavundla.³²⁷ The appointment of inkosi Mavundla at Nsimbini followed the increasing demand by AmaCele for the return of their portion of the land taken with the appointment of Willie Fynn as inkosi, according to information obtained through empirical research. Percy Fynn died in 1960 and was succeeded by his senior induna, Mcunukelwa Mbotho, as the acting inkosi. Percy thus became the last inkosi in the Fynn lineage at Nsimbini.

EZembeni also has a similar history of association with Henry Ogle, who was himself an associate of Henry Fynn, and similar to Fynn, also established himself as a ‘white’ inkosi, took a number of African wives, and was ultimately succeeded by his descendants who also ruled over the two ‘tribes’ – eZembeni (kwaMqadi) in southern uMzinto, as well as kwaBhekani (kwaMsomi) at upper Mzimkhulu.

³²⁶ Pridmore, J. Beyond the ‘Natal frontier’? HF Fynn’s Cape career, 1834-1852, *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vo. 16, 1996, 33.

³²⁷ See the report of the Secretary of Native Affairs, SNA 1774/12.

The story was told by members of AbakwaMqadi of how Henry Ogle (also known as “Wohlo”) married the daughter of inkosi Cele (Shonkweni section), leading to inkosi dispatching members of his tribe to take up amazembe (isiZulu term for axes, plural form) for use in clearing an adjoining forest in an area that was to be supposedly given to Ogle to rule as inkosi: hence the reference to *isizwe saseZembeni* by the local people. The name “Zembeni” is taken from the word “izembe”, which was used to remove the trees/forest in order for a new house to be built. The place, therefore, known as *iseZembeni* because “izembe” was used to open space for the building of houses. An explanation why Ogle was made an inkosi was that by marrying an inkosi’s eldest daughter, Ogle had to be elevated to the status of inkosi since an inkosi’s (eldest) daughter could not marry a commoner. Hlomela, son of Lewis Ntembeni Ogle, who died in 1947, was the last inkosi in the Ogle lineage. He was succeeded by his senior induna at the time, Nganekwane Mqadi, who then became the first inkosi of the Mqadi at Zembeni. From Nganekwane downwards, the tribe started shifting to the principle of hereditary succession.

6.3.2 Ubukhosi of the *kholwa* (Amakholwa societies)

In addition to these, should be added the ubukhosi of the *kholwa* (those who had been designated ‘amakholwa’ societies by virtue of being Christian converts) in the sense that they lived in settlement patterns that were organized along values that were different from those of traditional African societies, due to the amount of influence that the values of Christian religion and that of the Western education system had on them.

Although they do not appear to have been founded on a solid ground, something they have in common with the cited unique history of the Zinkumbini, Nsimbini and Zembeni ‘tribes’ is that they are useful examples of the ever-changing nature of ubukhosi and how the patterns of migration in the 1800s had resulted in the emergence of new forms of social organization. Warmelo identifies twenty-one *amakhosi amakholwa* in his 1935 survey.³²⁸ But of these, only a handful still exists, for instance, the Ntungwa-kholwa (in the Thukela district) and the Nzama-kholwa in the Ugu district.

The majority of these ubukhosi did not last very long, although some were able to evolve and acquire hereditary status, as was the case with ubukhosi of the Ntungwa/kholwa in the uThukela district and Thoyana at Mnini. The Thoyana emerged in 1955 as a result of the merger between the hereditary “Wohlo” chieftaincy under one of the descendants of Harry Ogle with the Vumindaba *kholwa* tribe under the then inkosi Charles Hlengwa at Mbumbulu.³²⁹ Because of the merger under Thoyana, the Hlengwa chieftaincy was transformed into a hereditary ubukhosi. Another ‘kholwa’ tribe under Chief Gazi Shize was amalgamated with the Ndelu under Chief Sicaba of the Ndelu/Shinga tribe in 1920.³³⁰

³²⁸ Van Warmelo, N.J., 1935, 74.

³²⁹ SNA 166/53 (27/03/1955).

³³⁰ SNA, 3154/1920.

Chapter 7

Succession Principles and Disputes

7.1 Introduction

According to Cope: ‘Succession to chieftainship is seldom without dispute.’³³¹ This has been the case with virtually all traditional communities in KwaZulu-Natal. Succession disputes in traditional communities in the province have taken a variety of forms, ranging from almost inconsequential claims to the chieftainship with little foundation, to claims that took the form of disputing perceptions of custom and tribal history and resulted in major disruptions in communities that were characterized by lengthy periods of violence between opposing factions and numerous deaths and injuries. Some occurred more than a century ago, and many more recent disputes have their roots in events that occurred in the distant past. Still others have their basis in events that occurred historically more recent.

The analysis below provides vignettes of succession disputes in an attempt to highlight some of the key causes of such disputes, the impact of such disputes on traditional communities, methods used to resolve them, and outcomes. The focus here is on disputes arising from competing claims to the chieftainship (ubukhosi), which exclude disputes arising from the appointment of acting amaKhosi (Abambabukhosi) – although there are many such cases – unless relevant to the emergence of a subsequent succession dispute or are significant in indicating interpretations of history and/or custom that have an impact on succession to the chieftainship.

The chapter begins, however, with a discussion of the principles governing succession to the chieftainship applicable among traditional communities in KwaZulu-Natal. This is followed by an analysis of some of the main causes of succession disputes, as a way of categorizing the disputes over succession. Finally, some of the most significant disputes are discussed.

7.2 Succession principles

Succession principle refers to a standard procedure or procedures that are followed in determining the next inkosi when an inkosi dies or relinquishes his throne for any other reason. Based on archival research and interviews conducted, all the clans in the province appear to follow certain principles when it comes to selecting a successor to the chieftainship. These principles determine how amakhosi are selected in each and every clan in the province. Though they are common among certain clans, these principles vary from clan to clan.

³³¹ Cope, A.T., *Izibongo: Zulu praise poems*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, 20.

Archival records do not contain any information on the generic succession principles applicable in KwaZulu-Natal as a whole. However, an examination of the range of succession patterns and principles applicable in different communities in KwaZulu-Natal makes it possible to discern some of the common principles governing succession. It is suggested here that at a normative level it is possible to speak of principles of succession, although this does not mean that the principles are so rigid that it becomes impossible to negotiate within normative parameters. However, at an analytical level it is proper to speak of succession patterns as the applicability of principles depending on natural circumstances (such as having male offspring) and social contingencies (such as number of wives, whether or not there are children out of wedlock, etc.). Thus, for each traditional community the qualitative data on succession will be the combination of a variety of succession principles used by the community in different epochs.

There are three central common principles of succession applicable to virtually all traditional communities in the province. The first is that succession is based on the principle of primogeniture, that is, that the heir to the chieftainship is always (until the advent of democracy which made it possible for women to become traditional leaders) the eldest son. However, the second principle becomes applicable in determining who this eldest son is, i.e., it is always the eldest son of the chief wife (Indlunkulu). (The exceptions are the few traditional communities that have no hereditary chieftainship and where the inkosi is elected by the clan.) However, different clans in the province have different rules governing the appointment or selection of the great wife. In some cases, it is the first-married wife, while in the dominant Zulu culture there are a range of other rules governing the appointment or selection of the great wife, including the requirement that she be the daughter of another inkosi, and that her lobola be paid by the tribe.

The third common principle of succession is that the line of succession must follow a continuous line from the original inkosi, down to all successors that follow. In other words, an inkosi must be able to trace his line backwards to what is considered as the father or original inkosi of the clan: the exception, of course being the non-hereditary chieftainships. It is in this regard that royal genealogies, as well as lines of succession, are crucial factors in determining (and justifying) succession to the chieftainship.

The principles of succession based on custom and historical tradition drawn from the archives, interviews and from the information provided at the expert workshop can be summarized as follows:

- 1) primogeniture through indlunkulu (or the next son from an affiliated house);
- 2) primogeniture through the son born by a wife taken from another royal family and whose lobola is paid by the clan;
- 3) primogeniture simply involving the first-born son;
- 4) the selection of a successor to ubukhosi by the incumbent inkosi before his death;
and
- 5) the selection of the successor to ubukhosi by the Umndeni (royal family).

First born male child by undlunkulu whose lobola was paid by the isizwe: This applies irrespective of the fact that the indlunkulu is the first, second, or third wife. By virtue of her lobola being paid by isizwe, such a wife automatically becomes the principal wife. In this regard isizwe requests inkosi to take the wife whose lobola will be paid by isizwe. The principal wife in this case is not determined in terms of the sequential order in which marriage takes place or the number of women married, but by the fact that ilobola for that particular woman is paid by isizwe.

First born male child by undlunkulu who is from a royal house and that royalty is determined in terms of its seniority: When following the history of certain izizwe it is noted that the custom is that the wife from another royal family becomes the principal wife irrespective of other principles governing the selection of the indlunkulu wife. Moreover, if there is more than one wife from a royal family, the indlunkulu wife is the one that comes from a more senior royal family.

First born male child by the first-married wife (who is regarded as the principal wife): This is the case where the first-married wife of inkosi becomes the principal wife, who by virtue of being the first wife qualifies to bear the heir to the throne. In such a case her house becomes the principal house (indlunkulu) of that particular inkosi.

Male born child nominated by the ruling inkosi during his lifetime: It has been observed that under certain circumstances the ruling inkosi could nominate his son to take over his chieftainship while he was still alive. This could happen for various reasons. In some instances it could be because inkosi fears that there might be a dispute after his death. Therefore, some amakhosi do this in order to prevent any succession dispute from arising after they die, or to enable them to monitor the situation before their death. In other instances this could be due to ill health where the ruling inkosi is no longer capable of undertaking all his duties. In addition, in several instances amakhosi have disinherited those sons (and his descendants) who by virtue of other customs would have been the heir to ubukhosi and thereby made them ineligible for succession.

Elders nominating the principal wife: Some clans believe that even though they have the above principles governing succession the elders (umndeni/uzalo/usendo) have a major say in affirming the principal wife who by virtue of being the principal wife gives birth to the heir to the chieftainship. In such cases, the elders may object to the inkosi's choice of principal wife and consequently assert their authority to affirm or reject the choice made by the inkosi. In most cases, however the task of selecting the principal wife falls on the elders after the death of an inkosi who has not selected his indlunkulu wife. When the umndeni has the task of determining succession it falls on the males of high rank in the royal family. They meet in private to deliberate the facts and after having done so come to an agreement on who the logical (and suitable) candidate will be to succeed. The senior males of the royal family are the deceased inkosi's brothers, his fathers (obaba) and, if still alive, his grandfathers (abakhulu), the eldest and the ones closest to the main line of descent taking precedence. The family members of the highest rank are therefore normally the father's full and half-brothers (and exclude the father's cousins).

Another set of principles come into play when certain circumstances arise on the occasion of the death of an inkosi. Three of the most important such circumstances are the death of an inkosi without any (male) issue; the death of an inkosi who has only illegitimate male issue; and the death of an inkosi when the heir-apparent to ubukhosi is too young to take the position.

In the latter circumstance, a regent or Acting Inkosi (Ibambabukhosi) is selected on the basis of a set of principles peculiar to that clan. In some cases, it is the custom of the clan to select the eldest son from the house of the first-married wife of the late inkosi's father to be the Ibambabukhosi during the minority of the heir. In most communities, as well, the umndeni or royal family selects the Ibambabukhosi, unless one has already been selected by the late inkosi before his death and sanctioned by the umndeni.

However, under circumstances where the inkosi dies without issue the situation becomes more complex. These give rise to a whole range of options, including the appointment of the next full-brother of the late inkosi as the new inkosi of the clan, appointing a consort who would ngena one of the widows of the late inkosi to provide an heir to the chieftainship, and so on. When an inkosi dies without having any sons from his wives, but has illegitimate sons outside of his marriage, it becomes a basis for conflict over the acceptance of the illegitimate sons as successors to ubukhosi.

Finally, despite the existence of customary and traditional principles governing succession, one cannot ignore the intervention by white authorities and the impact of such interventions on succession principles and disputes. In some cases, new succession principles have been introduced by colonial authorities on the one hand, and in other cases colonial intervention has distorted the line of succession of traditional communities. In the case of the former, the Natal authorities introduced the Natal Code of Native Law of 1891, which included a set of principles governing succession to ubukhosi. The introduction of new laws by colonial authorities can often lead to conflict between colonial law and local customs. However, in the Native Code the colonial authorities recognized local customs by retaining the customary principles governing succession in the Code. The Code contained 172 sections covering a variety of subjects such as tribal boundaries, the rights and duties of chiefs and headmen, marriage and divorce, lobola, guardianship, inheritance and succession, status of medicine men and herbalists, and actionable wrongs.

In the account of various succession disputes which follow below, these various principles, as well as their relative influence in determining the successor, will become clearer. It is necessary, however, to first list the main causes of succession disputes before such an analysis of specific disputes can be conducted.

7.3 The main causes of succession disputes

One factor that has encouraged the emergence of succession disputes is the variety of different customs that relate to succession. While the majority of traditional communities

in the province follow Zulu customs, this is not the case with all. The lack of standard succession principles that apply throughout the province are the cause of many succession disputes. In the absence of a standard succession principle there is no common precedent as a term of reference for clans, except their own customs and traditions. Often, the traditions of other clans are used to justify a claim to ubukhosi, and in some cases amakhosi are mistakenly appointed on the basis of the customs of other clans and not the customs of the clan in question.

In some instances an inkosi may die without male issue. A dispute would often arise between brothers of the deceased inkosi for ubukhosi. In other instances the principal or Indlunkulu wife would have no male issue at the time of death of an inkosi. It would then fall on the umndeni to decide the successor from the sons of the other wives. In general Zulu custom the principle is that the eldest son of the junior wife affiliated to the Indlunkulu house is the heir to the chieftainship. However, there are instances when the umndeni of a clan have been unable to agree on which wives were affiliated to the Indlunkulu house, giving rise to a succession dispute.

In general Zulu custom the principle that the daughter of an inkosi from another clan is always superior in status to the other wives of an inkosi has given rise to a number of succession disputes. This would often be the case when an inkosi who has already selected his Indlunkulu wife marries the daughter of an inkosi whose family is superior in status to the family of the Indlunkulu wife. At times, this general principle would come into conflict with another principle, i.e. the requirement that the lobola of the Indlunkulu wife must be provided by the clan.

Perhaps the single main cause of succession disputes over the centuries has been the failure of amakhosi to declare their chief wives during their lifetimes. For some of these amakhosi it is important to keep the name of the heir to the chieftainship secret in order to avoid any disputes while they are alive, or, more importantly, to avoid attempts on their lives from rivals to ubukhosi. It then becomes the task of the elders to select the heir. And this is where the resort to a whole range of customary practices becomes necessary for a clan to determine the chief wife of a deceased inkosi, giving rise to a variety of interpretations of the weight attached to each particular custom. The overriding principle, in general Zulu custom, is the requirement that she be the daughter of another inkosi, and that her lobola be paid by the tribe. However, in cases where both these requirements are absent, other principles come into play, such as the wife who has possession of the late inkosi's symbols of chieftainship, the son who has possession of the inkosi's weapons, the son who fires the late inkosi's gun at the funeral, etc.

In a number of cases, succession disputes have arisen where claimants to ubukhosi challenged the legitimacy of certain ukongena unions to raise the heir to the chieftainship. Ukongena means the union with a widow undertaken on behalf of her deceased husband by his full or half-brother or other paternal male relative for the purpose of raising an heir to inherit the property or property rights attaching to the house of such widow if there was no male issue, or increasing the nominal offspring of the deceased if male issue existed. The practice is recognized as a legitimate one if the union is contracted for the

purposes set out above, is entered into with the full consent of the woman concerned, is a family arrangement entered into with the approval of the head of the family and, in the case of an inkosi where the raising of an heir to the chieftainship is involved, with the sanction of the majority of the tribe, and does not involve the payment of lobola. If these principles all apply, the offspring of the Ukongena rank as if they were in fact children of the deceased husband.

In all instances where the deceased inkosi has died without selecting his Indlunkulu wife or indicating his successor, it is the role of the umndeni to select the indlunkulu wife from whose house the successor to the chieftainship is drawn. Quite often this leads to contending interpretations of events and the actions of amakhosi prior to their deaths among members of the umndeni, leading to the development of factions supporting contending claimants to ubukhosi.

Disputes have arisen in clans where the incumbent inkosi selected a successor to the chieftainship in contradiction to existing customs governing succession. These take a variety of forms, including instances where amakhosi disinherit the candidates who by right of custom should be the rightful heirs and appoint less appropriate candidates in terms of custom. This occurred in the Tembe clan of Ingwavuma in the early 1990s and the Mchunu clan of the Uthungulu District in the late 1980s. In other instances, amakhosi do not marry a woman whose lobola is provided by the clan and/or who is the daughter of another inkosi. Such amakhosi then select an Indlunkulu wife from among their existing wives, in contradiction to their clans' customs.

In some instances, amakhosi have died without any issue from their wives, but with illegitimate children outside of their marriage. These give rise to factions within traditional communities, with some supporting the appointment of illegitimate sons of deceased amakhosi, and others opposing such appointments. In other instances, claimants to ubukhosi have questioned the legitimacy of the heir-apparent to the chieftainship on the basis of questionable parenthood.

The influx of entire clans and refugees into the Natal colony during the 19th century resulted in the formation of a number of new chiefdoms, including a number led by white 'chiefs'. In consequence, principles of succession had to be established for these new communities, bringing into play the conflict between colonial law and tradition, and local custom and tradition. There were two categories of such chiefdoms: i.e. Christian-based chiefdoms; and more traditionally-based chiefdoms. Succession in Christian-based chiefdoms is quite simple. It is the eldest son of the wife (because Christians are expected to only have one wife) who inherits the chieftainship. However, two complex situations emerged. The first is that some traditional leaders in Christian-based communities adopted certain tribal customs, such as marrying more than one wife, while members of their community agitated for the application of traditional principles in the selection of successors to ubukhosi. The second is that confusion emerged in some newly-created communities on the application of particular customary rules governing the selection of a successor to ubukhosi, for instance, that the successor is the eldest son of the first-born

wife as opposed to the successor being the eldest son of a chief wife selected on the basis of another set of contingent principles.

In the case of interventions by colonial authorities in succession disputes, such interventions have often occurred in such a way that the ubukhosi has been transferred from the line of what would be considered the legitimate house in terms of customary principles governing succession, to an illegitimate house. Thus, the chieftainship would be transferred to the house of a wife of an inkosi that is not considered to be the legitimate house in terms of customs and tradition, or to a brother of an inkosi similarly not considered to be the legitimate successor in terms of customs and tradition. Quite often colonial authorities, including those during the apartheid era, have selected the best candidate for ubukhosi on the basis of their own interests in contradiction to customary rules governing selection.

To summarize, colonial interventions appear to take the following two important forms:

- the creation of new polities and the accompanying application of the colonial principle of primogeniture (succession by the eldest son of the first wife); and
- intervention into the local forms of succession with the objective of appointing preferred candidates.

Those clans that have a long history had recourse to previous practices when a succession dispute arose. In other words, they could look back in time to identify the rules that were used to select their amakhosi. This was not the case in those clans that were established in the mid- to late 19th century, such as the Dumisa clan. In this case there was a conflict between various customary practices, in particular those that dealt with the selection of the Indlunkulu wife. In other instances, clans created by the Natal Colonial authorities in this period that had no hereditary amakhosi were often confronted by the conflict between colonial laws and traditional customs, in particular the colonial practice of selecting the first wife as the principal wife, and the traditional custom of selecting an Indlunkulu wife from among the other wives. Such a case arose among the Khumalo clan of the Amajuba District, which can often lead to succession disputes that occur from generation to generation.

Succession disputes have also emerged in communities that have non-hereditary chieftainships. In such cases, amakhosi are elected by the clan. However, in practice it appears that communities apply the hereditary principles applicable in communities with hereditary chieftainships, often leading to claims to ubukhosi on the basis that their ancestors were once amakhosi.

A number of royal families lost their status for various reasons during the nineteenth century. This gave rise to a number of claims for the restoration of their chieftainship. In some instances, these were coupled with succession disputes between members of the umndeni of the ruling family. In other instances, the authorities created new chiefdoms within a pre-existing chiefdom, giving rise to conflict. Finally, sections of a royal family

ruling over branches of the clan as independent chiefdoms lost their status, giving rise to claims for the restoration of the ubukhosi.

7.4 History of succession disputes

As indicated above, there are a variety of causes of succession disputes. It must be noted that in the analysis below an attempt is made to place various succession disputes into categories based on the cause of the dispute. This is not possible in all cases because some disputes may occur due to a variety of different reasons. Moreover, it is necessary to deal with as many of the succession disputes that arise in a particular clan as possible to illustrate both continuity or disjuncture in the history of disputes facing that particular clan and to get a clear picture of the way in which they are resolved.

7.4.1 Lack of standard succession principles

7.4.1.1 Amazizi (Okhahlamba)

The Amazizi of the Okhahlamba area faced a series of succession disputes which began with one that arose in the late 1930s. In 1937, Inkosi Mnyamana Miya's health was failing and he applied for the appointment of his son Bhoyi to act for him as his heir. There was an objection to the appointment of Bhoyi from a section of the clan which claimed that Vuna, the son of Mnyamana's fifth wife, was the right heir and not Bhoyi, the son of the first wife. Inkosi Mnyamana claimed that the inkosi's first wife was always the chief wife. However, elders of the tribe declared that it was their custom for the elders to nominate the chief wife to whom the successor to the inkosi is born. In this case, the custom that the elders nominate the chief wife was, according to the elders, to have taken precedence over the inkosi's own selection of his chief wife and his heir. The elders were not in favour of Bhoyi's mother, Tafili (okaMahamana) being recognized as the chief wife.

The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner recommended that Bhoyi be appointed acting chief, which happened in 1938. A year later, in 1939, Vuna lodged a claim for the chieftainship, and an inquiry into the matter recommended that Vuna be appointed chief because his mother, Ndhluyokuhamba, the inkosi's fifth wife, and daughter of Inkosi Simahla Shabalala, was indeed the chief wife and Vuna the heir. This recommendation was based on the assumption that the Amazizi followed general Zulu custom, in terms of which a daughter of an inkosi married to another inkosi automatically becomes the chief wife and her first son generally becomes the heir to the chieftaincy. Bhoyi's appointment was cancelled, and Mnyamana resumed office as inkosi of the tribe. Bhoyi died in 1940, and Inkosi Mnyamana in 1942. Vuna was appointed inkosi on the 30th March 1943. A section of the clan was not happy with this appointment, made by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner on the basis of the inquiry mentioned earlier, and as a result Vuna found it very difficult to rule the affairs of the clan.

Vuna served as chief for seven years. In 1947, the late Bhoyi's son, Bangani stated at a meeting of the tribe that he was not happy with the appointment of Vuna and that he was the rightful successor since he was Bhoyi's eldest son. Another Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1948 found that there was no precedent in history in this clan that when the daughter of a chief (which was normally the case with the Zulu clan) became the wife of the Amazizi chief she customarily became the chief wife. There was also no evidence that Vuna's mother's lobola had been paid by the tribe and the commission found that the marriage registry recorded oka Simahla (Ndhluyokuhamba) as an ordinary wife. It was also evident that all previous chiefs had been the eldest sons of the first-married wife of the person they succeeded. The Commission then found that Bhoyi, as late inkosi Mnyamama's eldest son with his first wife, was the successor and that his son Bangani was entitled to the chieftainship. The latter was duly appointed as chief of the Amazizi clan in the Bergville district in February 1949.

Bangani's claim to the chieftainship – and the tribal customs that supported it – was ascertained beyond any doubt at several meetings of the umndeni as well. In an attempt to gain the chieftainship, Vuna married a daughter of Paramount Chief Solomon Zulu in 1954. As the husband of the daughter of the Paramount Chief Vuna thought this would give him greater legitimacy to acquire the chieftainship. The cattle used to pay the lobola were collected from members of the tribe. However, Vuna was banished to the Pietersburg district in August 1954. (Vuna Miya later told Helen Joseph that he had been opposed to the Bantu Authorities system, introduced in 1951, and this is why his chieftainship had been taken away from him.³³² In a letter to the Secretary of the Department of Traditional Affairs in 1995 – discussed further below – it is claimed that Vuna objected to the culling of livestock at a meeting with the Commissioner. This is what led to his banishment.) In August 1974 Chief Bangani died, and the umndeni selected his eldest son, Mthethwa Edward Miya as his successor. However, in 1976 several efforts were made by Vuna to make the case for his right to the chieftainship with various authorities, including the Zulu King and Dr Gatsha Buthelezi. None of these appear to have been successful. In the same year, a meeting of the umndeni decisively led to the conclusion that the heir to the chieftainship in this clan was always the first son of the first wife of the inkosi.

In 1995 Vuna Miya again made an effort to have his case put before the Department of Traditional Affairs. In a letter written to the Secretary of the Department, dated 5 May 1995, and signed Edward Miya (the grandson of Vuna Miya), a request is made to the Secretary: 'on behalf of the Amazizi tribe of Bergville, we would once more like to put the case of Vuna Miya on the table for your attention. The local people like to see him reinstated to his throne as their chief. For almost twenty years, they tried their level best to negotiate with [the] government and [the] people concerned about his position.' The Secretary responded by stating 'that a decision to appoint Inkosi Mthethwa Edward Miya as Inkosi of the Amazizi tribe was reached after a thorough consideration of Mr. Vuna Miya's claim and other related matters. Therefore I am not prepared to entertain Vuna's claim again.'

³³² Joseph, Helen, *Tomorrow's Sun: A struggle journey from South Africa*, Hutchinson of London, p. 132.

Several Commissions of Inquiry and meetings of the umndeni had established beyond any doubt that it was the Amazizi custom, based on the history of previous successions and the opinion of tribal elders, that the first son of the first wife becomes the heir to the chieftaincy. The wife of 'royal blood' does not automatically become the chief wife (Indlunkulu).

7.4.2 Disputes arising after the death of an inkosi without male issue

7.4.2.1 Ntuli (Ilembe)

Inkosi Mphezeni Ntuli was appointed to his position in 1982, but it soon became clear that he had a drinking problem. Inkosi Mphezeni had two wives: MaSibiya and MaBhengu. There were no male offspring from both unions. In 2000 the inkosi was taken to the Madadeni Rehabilitation Centre, and the umndeni was advised to appoint an Ibambabukhosi for him. At the time the inkosi was suspended from the chieftainship, and the authorities had appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate his suitability as an inkosi. The Department recommended that, since the inkosi had no heir, the umndeni search for a brilliant person to lead the tribe. It further advised that the potential candidate should be in the line of descent to be eligible to a permanent appointment as inkosi should Mphezeni be found unfit to be inkosi by the Commission of Inquiry.

Some members of the royal family proposed the name of Mbhekeni as an Acting Inkosi while the inkosi was undergoing treatment. Mbhekeni was Inkosi Mphezeni's half-brother, and the son of their father, Inkosi Gazide's third wife, MaSithole. A section of the tribe objected to this proposal. The argument was solely based on the claim that Mbhekeni's mother, MaSithole, had not been married to the late inkosi Gazide. This faction, following the advice of the Department to search for someone who was brilliant to lead the clan, proposed the appointment of Mchazeleni. The latter was the son of Tsoko, the late Inkosi Gazide's half-brother. However, the Mbhekeni faction objected to the appointment of Mchazeleni because his father was a half-brother of the late Inkosi Gazide (they do not share the same mother), and therefore not from the Indlunkulu house. He was not from the house of Gazide, and his candidature was therefore a diversion from known succession customs. His supporters felt, however, that he was a potential candidate because of his education and intelligence. This became the basis for conflict in the umndeni. However, the latter faction was a minority within the umndeni. In any case, the question of the appointment of an Ibamba ended when Inkosi Mphezeni passed away.

Nevertheless, the same divisions emerged when the issue of appointing a successor to the late inkosi faced the umndeni. In terms of custom, the house of Gazide had to be exhausted before any other houses (such as Tsoko's) could be considered for succession. Inkosi Gazide had married three women: MaMchunu, MaSithole and MaCele. The latter had no issue and had also deserted the inkosi during his lifetime. MaChunu, the first wife, was the mother of the late Inkosi Mphezeni, who was her only son. MaSithole was the mother of Mbhekeni. The death of Mphezeni, who died without an heir, meant the change in the succession line from the house of MaChunu to the house of MaSithole. The

rule that MaSithole was ikhohlo wife did not apply in such a case. However, a question arose over the legitimacy of MaSithole's marriage to Inkosi Gazide.

The Mbhekeni faction rejected the claim that MaSithole had not been married to Inkosi Gazide. Finishi, a half-brother of the late Inkosi Gazide, pointed out that the marriage had taken place. He had been present. The marriage had followed tradition and was officiated over by an official witness. He explained that at the time of the marriage registration of customary marriages was the last stage to undertake after the performance of a traditional ceremony lest the wife change her mind.

The umndeni was informed by the authorities that their ubukhosi was hereditary, and they could not choose their inkosi in any manner that they liked. They had to follow the customs that dictate how an inkosi is selected in their clan. In terms of the rules of primogeniture, ubukhosi was still in the house of Gazide. Mchazeleni acceded, and pointed out that there was no doubt that Mbhekeni was the rightful heir.

7.4.2.2 Zungu-Madlebe

In an earlier period, two sons of the deceased inkosi of the Zungu-Madlebe clan, Phesheya and Mahlambulukama contested for ubukhosi that gave rise to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, where the former was appointed as inkosi. This commission was concerned with establishing whether the house of Phesheya or Mahlambulukana should have the right of ubukhosi.

However, a major dispute over ubukhosi emerged in the years that followed the death of inkosi Bhekisiswe Zungu on the 14th August 1989. Bhekisiswe married MaDube, Dr Sibongile Marilyn Zungu, by Christian rites, and at the time of his death the couple had only produced daughters. After the inkosi's death, a family meeting of the tribe was held on the 8th August 1989 at KwaPhuwca. The meeting was chaired by the Deputy Chief, Solomon V. Zungu. According to one of the claimants to the chieftainship that subsequently emerged, Zenzo Zungu, the umndeni accepted that there were only two legitimate contenders for the chieftainship: Zenzo and Mangenhliziyi. The latter was the late inkosi's uncle, and a full brother of the late inkosi's father, Inkosi Kangikho. Zenzo was a half-brother of late Inkosi Bhekisiswe, and the product of the union between the late Inkosi Kangikho and his second wife, MaMsomi, who he claimed the inkosi married by customary rites, although no lobola was paid. Late inkosi Bhekisiswe's mother had been married to inkosi Kangikho by Christian rites. Zenzo pointed out that the umndeni rejected Mangenhliziyi outright as being a suitable contender.

After Inkosi Bhekisiswe died, three claimants to the chieftainship emerged, each supported by different factions of the clan. At the heart of the matter, according to the Secretary of the Department of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu at the time, was to gain control over a portion of the tribal land to be allocated to the South African Housing Trust for the development of a low-cost housing project. In this view, once the chieftainship had been granted to a particular faction of the clan, it would then allocate the land to a private developer of their choice.

The background to the allegation made by the Secretary was that Inkosi Bhekisiswe had, just prior to his death, been involved in a dispute with the Department of Interior regarding the incorporation of a portion of his tribal area into the proclaimed township area of Ngwelezana. The Department had secured Cabinet approval for the allocation of this land for a low-cost housing project. Any successful claimant to the land would hope that the land would be returned to the clan, and that control of the tribal land would enable them to allocate the land to a developer of their choice.

A Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate and make a recommendation on the issue of the chieftainship of the Zungu-Madlebe clan in 1990. It sat from the 23rd to the 27th July 1990.

The first claimant was MaDube (Dr Sibongile Zungu), the widow of the late inkosi Bhekisiswe. MaDube suggested that she be given a child from the umndeni to bring up as a child of her late husband. It was later suggested that she adopt such a child. However, MaDube had departed from the tribal area and such a suggestion did not appear to have the support of the umndeni. One of the problems with this suggestion was that the clan would have been deprived of an inkosi for many years, and would have had to be ruled by an acting inkosi.

Richard Zungu of the kwa-Dika house, the second claimant, based his claim to ubukhosi on the view that his section of the family house was the principle house, but heirs of this house had not reigned as amakhosi. This claim was based on the earlier dispute between Phesheya and Mahlambulukama, in which a Commission of Inquiry had determined that Phesheya was the heir to ubukhosi. The Commission rejected this application on the grounds that an earlier Commission had already ruled on the matter.

The third claimed, Zenzo Zungu, based his application for the chieftainship on the claim that his late brother, Inkosi Bhekisiswe, had made efforts prior to his death to legitimize Zenzo as a child of Inkosi Kangikho, their mutual father. The need for such a process arose because Inkosi Kangikho had married by Christian rites, and the marriage with Zenzo's mother was accordingly not valid or recognized. Zenzo could possibly then be considered illegitimate, and therefore disqualified from any succession to the chieftainship. Zenzo claimed that his brother sought advice from a Magistrate on how to overcome this problem, because he had no male descendants to succeed him as chief of the tribe. The Magistrate advised that this could be overcome by the customary practice of Ukongena.

Ukongena means the union with a widow undertaken on behalf of her deceased husband by his full or half-brother or other paternal male relative for the purpose of raising an heir to inherit the property or property rights attaching to the house of such widow if there was no male issue, or increasing the hominal offspring of the deceased if male issue existed.

The practice is recognized as a legitimate one if the union is contracted for the purposes set out above, is entered into with the full consent of the woman concerned, is a family arrangement entered into with the approval of the head of the family and, in the case of an inkosi where the raising of an heir to the chieftainship is involved, with the sanction of the majority of the tribe, and does not involve the payment of lobola. If these principles all apply, the offspring of the Ukongena rank as if they were in fact children of the deceased husband.

Zenzo further claimed that Inkosi Bhekisiswe arranged for the union between his uncle Mangenhlizo and Zenzo's mother, with the free consent of Zenzo's mother, with the purpose of raising an heir to the chieftainship and with the support of the majority of the clan, and without any lobola being paid. He added, however, that he felt that, in any event, the marriage or union between his father Kangikho and his mother was not invalid. If the marriage or union was considered to be invalid because his father had not paid lobola when it occurred, it was made valid by the subsequent payment of lobola. The ukongena was reported to the Magistrate, Enseleni, and put into official records, where it was noted that Zenzo was the successor to Bhekisiswe to the position of inkosi of the clan.

At the meeting of the umndeni held on the 20th August 1989 mentioned above, the family recognized that all the necessary steps had been taken according to Zulu custom and law for Zenzo to be legitimized as the brother of the late inkosi Bhekisiswe Zungu. After Zenzo got married on the 28th April 1990, a meeting of the clan was held at which his succession to the chieftainship was recognized and approved. It was at this stage that it became clear that there was a dispute for the chieftainship, leading to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry.

The Commission recommended the rejection of the customary practices of ukungena, ukuvusa, ukufakwa, etc. since the marriages of both Inkosi Kangikho and Inkosi Bhekisiswe had been by Christian rites. In this case only adoption was applicable in the laws of succession. Zenzo was therefore not eligible for succession. The Commission recommended the appointment of an acting inkosi in the circumstances. The Commission recommended that Inkosi Zungu of the Mahlabathini area be requested to hold a discussion with members of the umndeni in order to determine a recommendation by the umndeni for an acting inkosi, and to enable the ethnologist to complete an investigation into the succession.

The meeting between Inkosi Zungu of the Mahlabathini area and the Zungu umndeni of Enseleni was held on the 29th September 1990. Zenzo was recommended for appointment as acting inkosi at this meeting.

However, the assistant ethnologist subsequently reported that the umndeni had not followed custom by recommending the appointment of Mangenhliziyo Zungu as acting inkosi. Mangenhliziyo was the half-brother of late inkosi Bhekisiswe from the ikhohlo house of the family and it was on record that an Umbambeli is preferably chosen from that branch of the family. The assistant ethnologist further found that Zenzo, being a

candidate for ubukhosi, would not cede the position of acting inkosi in favour of someone else if appointed. It was further found that only five of a possible twenty-two descendants of the family's ancestral father Lokothwayo were in attendance at the meeting held with Inkosi Zungu from the Mahalabithini area that nominated Zenzo. This brought into doubt the mandate for the nomination of Zenzo as acting inkosi. The assistant ethnologist also found that there was a complete break between the Qubandaba and Kwa-Dica branches of the family.

In 1991, Zenzo Zungu received papers of jurisdiction and was apparently inkosi only for a short time, before maDube (Sibongile Marilyn Zungu) was given her papers of jurisdiction. Supreme Court actions commenced, with Zenzo defending his claim to ubukhosi. These were dismissed with costs. MaDube (alias Dr. S. Zungu) continued as inkosi until 1997, when she handed in a letter of resignation. She then withdrew her resignation, at which time Zenzo's faction insisted she was no longer a Zungu as she had subsequently married into the Zondo clan and resided in Gauteng. The advocate for the Department of Traditional and Environmental affairs recommended an application to the High Court to solve this unprecedented and 'delicate' matter.

In 1998 Zenzo Zungu received a letter of appointment and took up his role as Inkosi. However, a commission was set up to investigate the general dissatisfaction of the Madlebe with Inkosi Zenzo Zungu due to allegations of corruption. The chairman of the commission, Mr. Nzimande then died suddenly and a new commission was appointed.

7.4.3 Disputes arising when the Indlunkulu wife has no male issue

7.4.3.1 Dlomo clan (Nkandla, Uthungulu)

One of the most significant examples of a succession dispute that arose when the Indlunkulu wife had no male issue at the time of the death of the inkosi occurred in the Dlomo (Khabela) clan of the Nkandla area in the Uthungulu District. The Dlomo clan applies Zulu custom when choosing the successor to the chieftainship. In terms of Zulu custom, the wife whose lobola is paid by the tribe becomes the great wife and her first born son becomes the next chief of the tribe.

Inkosi Zingelwayo Dlomo passed away in June 1972. Prior to his death he made a request in a letter to the Magistrate, Nkandla, for permission to retire from the Chieftainship. In the same letter he expressed his wish to have his eldest son and heir, Siphso Babula Dlomo, succeed him as Chief. The Inkosi passed away before the matter could be dealt with. Mlingo Mahlaba, the principal Induna, was appointed Acting Inkosi during the period of mourning. Inkosi Zingelwayo Dlomo had 14 wives: the first wife he married was MaKathini, followed by MaGasa, then MaNgcobo, MaCamane, MaMcunu, MaNzuza, MaMhlongo, MaTiba, MaDlamini, MaNzuza, MaMsana, MaBhengu, MaGasa and MaMcunu. His chosen heir was the son of his second wife, MaGasa. However, the Inkosi had chosen the house of his third wife, MaNgcobo, to be the Indlunkulu House, from which the successor to the chieftainship is drawn, as the Dlomo clan had

contributed towards payment of her lobola. The house of the second wife was affiliated to the Indlunkulu House of MaNgcobo. The latter died without bearing a son, and MaGasa had one son named Bulula.

After the death of his third and Indlunkulu wife, and during the lifetime of his second wife, the Inkosi married MaGasa's sister, Zichwane, who was taken into the Indlunkulu House by her sister. The heir apparent, Siphso Bulula Dlomo, died soon after his father passed away. Zichwane had 6 boys with Zingelwayo, and the eldest was called Khumkani. Also affiliated with the Indlunkulu House was the chief's eleventh wife, MaMsane, an Ikhohlo wife, who had one son, Zama, who died shortly before birth. The chief's thirteenth wife, MaBhengu, was also affiliated to the Indlunkulu House, and she bore the chief a son by the name of Zenzo.

According to Mhlabuhlangene Dlomo, eldest son of the late Inkosi Zingelwayo Dlomo (with his first wife), at a meeting of the umndeni of the Khabela tribe in (March) 1975, the royal family chose his half-brother, Khumkani, to take over the chieftainship. There were a number of reasons Khumkani was chosen, the most important being that his mother was put into the Indlunkulu house. Later, when the Indlunkulu wife died, all the possessions of the deceased were taken over traditionally by Khumkani's mother. They were given to her by the late inkosi. Subsequent to the meeting of the umndeni in 1975, however, a number of meetings took place which Mhlabuhlangene Dlomo was not aware of. In these meetings the decision was taken to appoint another of the late Inkosi's sons, Zenzo Dlomo, (born to MaBhengu), as successor to the chieftainship. After learning about this dramatic change, Mhlabuhlangene convened a meeting on the 27th August 1977 at Gcothoyi Tribal Court. In that meeting it was decided to reject Zenzo Dlomo's appointment as successor, and a request was made to the Chief Induna, Cornelius Gasa, to act as regent until Khumkani got married. Almost five months later, on the 20th January 1978, Cornelius Gasa had not been given authority to act as regent by the KwaZulu Government despite the minutes of the meeting in 1978 being forward to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu. It was also clear that amaKhosi from other tribes and an Induna from the Khabela tribe were becoming involved in the issue. Mhlabuhlangene had taken Khumkani to a meeting on the 20 January 1978 because he was the rightful heir.

According to Cornelius Gasa, there was a meeting of the clan (on Good Friday – the 28th March – in 1975 at the Qudeni Chief's kraal) where the Ngcolosi Chief was present in the presence of Khabela Induna Ben Majola without the knowledge of the Tribal Council and Gasa as Chief Induna. This led to some misunderstanding in the tribe. After this meeting, Chief David Dlomo of the Mzwempisi branch of the Dlomo tribe informed Chief Induna Gasa that Zenzo Dlomo was going to be appointed chief. Gasa had no knowledge of the meeting that had come to the conclusion that Zenzo Dlomo should be the inkosi. Chief David Dlomo told Chief Induna Gasa that he had been sent to inform him of the decision.

While Chief Induna Gasa, Mhlabuhlangene and other senior members of the umndeni and tribe, including members of the Tribal Council, were not present at the meeting on the 28th March 1975, other members of the umndeni were present. They had argued that they did not want an Acting Chief, but wanted a chief appointed from the royal family –

hence the decision that Zenzo Dlomo should be chief. The Magistrate, Nkandla, had informed the Tribal Councilors at a meeting that a reply had come from Ulundi about the request to appoint Gasa as Acting Chief, and the reply from Ulundi was that it was unclear whether the umndeni wanted to appoint Gasa as Acting Chief or they wanted to appoint a man of the Dlomo lineage. Zephania Dlomo had replied that they did not want an Acting Chief. At this meeting it was clear that they wanted the Chief to be appointed forthwith. The Magistrate replied that whatever choice was made the person chosen still had to be sanctioned by the Government. In the meantime, someone had to carry out the duties of the tribe. The group supporting Zenzo refused to listen to the Magistrate's advice, who then asked who they wanted as Chief. They said they wanted Zenzo Dlomo. The Magistrate opened his files and found two names – Khumkani and Zenzo. When the Magistrate asked why there were two names the delegation was unable to answer. Andreas Dlomo stood up and stated that Zenzo had not been appointed by the umndeni to succeed his father. The Magistrate concluded that there was a dispute, and that he would forward the matter to the senior authorities at Ulundi.

Despite the official knowledge of the dispute, Zenzo Moffat Dlomo was appointed Chief, and a Certificate of Jurisdiction was granted to him on the 24th January 1978. According to the Secretary of the Department of the KwaZulu Government's Chief Minister and Finance, one-and-a-half years earlier, on the 28th June 1976, an ethnologist, Mr. Bradley, had done a survey at which Zenzo Moffat was pointed out by the umndeni present as the successor. Although a member of the umndeni had approached Khumkani, he was present at the meeting with the ethnologist and had agreed to the umndeni's decision. Another ethnologist, Mr. Brink, visited the tribe in August 1977 and confirmed the recommendation that Zenzo be appointed. A memorandum was considered by the KwaZulu cabinet, which led to resolution No. 286/77, dated November 1977. The State President's approval was received by a letter dated 17th January 1978. Letters of appointment were signed on the 24th January 1978, and forwarded to the Magistrate, Nkandla, on the 7th February. However, the Department of the Chief Minister had received notification of a division in the umndeni from the Magistrate on the 27th January 1978. The objections to Zenzo Dlomo's appointment as chief were considered by the Department, and the Magistrate was informed that the Department was not prepared to change its decision.

Two months after a Certificate of Jurisdiction had been conferred on Zenzo Dlomo, an attorney's letter was sent to the Chief Executive Minister and Minister of Finance of the KwaZulu Government on behalf of acting Deputy Chief Cornelius Gasa in which a number of charges were laid against Chief Zenzo Dlomo. It was alleged in the letter that although Gasa had been deputizing for the Chief since 1975, Zenzo had been committing a number of unauthorized acts. These include hearing disputes and levying fines without sanction, sending official delegations to witness celebrations of customary unions, allocating land, convening meetings, disposing of cattle given to him in 1976 for safe-keeping on behalf of the tribe, and was unable to account for R2,000 collected by him and Ben Majola from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the purpose of erecting a school. The attorney had been instructed to bring to the attention of the Chief Executive Minister and Minister of Finance the grievances of the tribe against the appointment of

Zenzo Dlomo. It was claimed in the letter that it was the general feeling of the tribe that Zenzo Dlomo was not worthy of the chieftainship, and that the rightful successor to the office was Khumkani. It was suggested that the appointment of Zenzo be suspended pending a full investigation into the matter.

Despite this letter, an installation ceremony for Zenzo Dlomo was scheduled for the 10th June 1978. The Department had considered the charges made in the attorney's letter, and he was informed on the 15th May 1978 that a decision had been taken after investigation and consideration of all relevant facts. During March the Magistrate announced to Zenzo, members of the umndeni and the tribe that he had been appointed and that preparations for his formal installation should be made. Preparations were made, but the ceremony which was to have taken place on the 3rd June 1978 had to be postponed to the 10th June 1978 because of the session and meeting of chiefs at Ulundi on the 2nd June 1978. Preparations were duly made for this ceremony. The Department approved the programme, and the Minister of Justice agreed to officiate. Relatives and tribesmen from far and wide began arriving. School choirs had practiced. Buses were hired to convey scouts from Greytown. Tents and shelters were erected. Beer was brewed by the Khabela and neighbouring tribes.

However, the day before the scheduled ceremony, a letter was delivered to the Magistrate, Nkandla, confirming an instruction issued by the Chief Minister that the formal installation ceremony had to be postponed until the Chief Minister's return from abroad when he would be able to attend to the rift in the umndeni about the appointment of the chief. The Magistrate read the letter to the tribe on the 10th June 1978, and instructed the umndeni to report for a meeting to be held on the 28th June 1978. He also instructed the umndeni to select a neutral person to take control of the tribal administration until the matter could be settled. The late chief Zingelwayo's half-brother, Majubane Dlomo, was sent to the Magistrate on the 20th June 1978 to take over this responsibility.

The umndeni met at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Hall in Ulundi on the 28th June 1978. The response from the Chief Minister after the umndeni met with him on the 28th June 1978 at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Hall in Ulundi was that the decision to appoint Zenzo Dlomo as chief was a Cabinet decision and the Chief Minister could not alter it by himself. An appeal was made in a letter to the Chief Minister by Mhlabuhlangene Dlomo to send a Commission of Inquiry to the district to investigate the dispute in order to avoid bloodshed.

No Commission of Inquiry was sent to the district, and the rift in the tribe was still evident more than a year later since a complaint was laid against Chief Zenzo in November 1979 by one of the tribesmen who had rejected his claim to the chieftainship. Chief Zenzo Dlomo was murdered on the 6th May 1986. Members of the faction who had supported Zenzo in the succession dispute claim that the chief had been murdered by his brother, Khumkani. In the aftermath of the murder of the Chief, conflict broke out between the two factions established out of the succession dispute. It was reported that four members of the Khabela tribe were killed on the 9th June 1986. Members of the tribe

known as Mandlalathi people had moved across the Mandlalathi River to the area of Acting Chief Bonginkosi Bhengu of Maphumulo District to seek shelter. Chief Induna Ben Majola had also left the area for fear of his life.

The two factions of the umndeni met on the 6th January 1987 at Kranskop. Mhlabuhlangene and Muntukaboni were present from his faction, while Majubane, Mshini, Wombe and Ndlwanemba Dlomo were present from the other faction. It was agreed that an appointment had to be made with the KwaZulu Minister of Justice to make a formal report of the death of Inkosi Zenzo Dlomo. It was further agreed that the umndeni would meet on the 7th February 1987 to discuss the appointment of a chief. Despite this agreement, Mhlabuhlangene called a meeting of the tribe at the Kranskop Police Station on the 17th January 1987. Present at the meeting were 10 members of the Dlomo family, and 30 tribesmen. The members of the Majubane faction were not present, although they had been summoned to the meeting by Mhlabuhlangene. The Majubane faction refused to attend the meeting. The meeting resolved to take disciplinary action against the Majubane faction. The meeting proceeded without the members of the other faction, and Mhlabuhlangene informed the meeting that he was appointing Khumkani Dlomo as Chief. Muntukaboni would deputize for him while he was facing charges for murder. This arrangement was accepted by those present at the meeting.

Thus, although letters of invitation to the scheduled meeting in February were sent to members of the Majubane faction, none of them attended the meeting. Most of them were on the Reef, and did not receive the letters of invitation. Ndlwanembana was the only member of the faction who had received notification and was in the area, but he informed the Magistrate that he would not be attending the meeting. The names of Chief and Deputy Chief suggested by the Mhlabuhlangene faction were not acceptable to the Majubane faction. They felt that the chief should come from Chief Zenzo's mother's house, if not a descendant of Chief Zenzo.

On the 7th February 1987, 41 members of the Mhlabuhlangene faction of the tribe met with the Magistrate at a meeting convened by Mhlabuhlangene Dlomo. Mhlabuhlangene introduced Muntukabani Dlomo as an Acting Chief of the Khabela tribe. He added that Muntukabani would be acting for Khumkani Dlomo, his elder brother, who was facing charges for the murder of Chief Zenzo. (Khumkani admitted killing his brother, Chief Zenzo, because he had usurped Khumkani's right to the chieftainship.) According to Mhlabuhlangene, Khumkani was the rightful heir to the chieftainship and should have been appointed chief instead of Zenzo. He argued that the persons responsible for appointing Zenzo as the chief – Majubane, Ndlwanembana, Wombe and Mshini – were not close members of the umndeni and should not have participated in discussions pertaining to the appointment of the chief.

The Majubane faction, on its part, informed the magistrate that 8 year old Mkhululeki, the son of the late Chief Zenzo Dlomo, was the rightful heir, and that the brother of the late Chief, Langa Dlomo, had been appointed to act for Mkhululeki. Their argument was that the Indlunkulu wife, MaNgcobo, left no issue – and that the house of MaBhengu, Zenzo's mother, was affiliated into the Indlunkulu House. The mother of Bubula, who

had been appointed initially to succeed Chief Zingelwayo Dlomo but had died of a snake bite before he could take up the chieftainship, MaGasa, was affiliated to the Indlunkulu House. However, MaGasa's sister, Zichwane, although she had been taken into the Indlunkulu House by her sister, was not affiliated to the Indlunkulu House. Therefore the house of Khumkani's mother, Zichwane, was junior to the house of Zenzo's mother, MaBhengu.

The Mhlabuhlangene faction argued, by contrast, that history puts it clearly that when MaNgcobo slaughtered a beast she took her royal knife and handed it to Khumkani's mother. In addition, after the death of MaNgcobo all her property – calabashes, clay pots, etc. – were given to Khumkani's mother. Khumkani's mother had also brought up the daughter of MaNgcobo, as well as Bubula, her sister's son who was appointed chief after the Chief had died in 1972. After Bubula's death, Khumkani's mother, Zichwane (the second MaGasa) fed his widow and baby girl. There were therefore no grounds for Zenzo Dlomo's claim to the chieftainship.

An ethnologist, after investigating the dispute, reported in May 1987 that Zichwane (MaGasa II) was given no status other than use of the belongings of MaGasa and MaNgcobo after their death. The faction supporting Khumkani's claim to the chieftainship were arguing that since MaGasa II was placed in MaGasa I's house she automatically acquired MaGasa I's status. The ethnologist argued that the claim that MaGasa II came to 'ukuvusa indlu' was practically not true since Bubula was living in the Indlunkulu House. An indlu could not be vusad where there was already a child placed in that house. The death of MaGasa I meant that MaBhengu was the next Indlunkulu affiliation considering the order in which they were taken to Indlunkulu. Furthermore, MaBhengu came from Indlunkulu since she was the daughter of the Ngcolosi Inkosi (in fact, she was the granddaughter of the Inkosi, and daughter of the Inkosi's son, a headman) and as such could not compete with a commoner's daughter such as MaGasa II. The ethnologist concluded that the rightful heir was the house of MaBhengu, and recommended that an umbambeli be appointed for the heir of the late Inkosi Zenzo Dlomo who was still a minor.

At a meeting of the umndeni held on 22nd August 1987 it was decided to put Senior Induna Mzolutwayo John Dlomo in charge of the tribe until such time as a successor, who would be acceptable to both factions, could be found. After the meeting, Mhlabuhlangene Dlomo instituted civil action in the Supreme Court to stop the KwaZulu Government from appointing Mzolutwayo Dlomo as Inkosi of the Khabela tribe. In the meantime, Khumkani Dlomo was convicted of murdering his brother, and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment.

On the 7th May 1989 members of the Majubane faction requested the Magistrate to arrange a meeting with the Chief Minister to discuss the removal of members of the Mhlabuhlangene faction from the district. In the meantime, the KwaZulu government went ahead and decided to accept a nominee of the Majubane faction as Acting Chief of the tribe on the 4th May 1989. The Mhlabuhlangene faction responded by sending a lawyer's letter to the Chief Minister requesting him to intervene to stop the appointment

of Makhovoti Dlomo as Regent for the minor son of the late Chief Zenzo Dlomo. They also suggested that the dispute could be settled by a meeting arranged by the Magistrate of Nkandla of all the children of the late Chief Zingelwayo Dlomo to elect a chief. The Mhlabuhlangene faction contended that since Khumkani had been convicted of murdering his half-brother, Chief Zenzo Dlomo, the next in line was his younger brother, Muntukaboni Dlomo, the second son of Zichwane. They contended that in Zulu custom as practiced by the Dlomo's, MaGasa I had been installed as seed-raiser after MaNgcobo had failed to produce an heir. After MaGasa I's death, the Chief was obliged to marry her half-sister, Zichwane, to ensure that the seed-raiser does not die. Zichwane thus taken acquired and assumed all the rights and obligations of her deceased sister. Consequently, the successor to the chieftainship resided in her house. And, in terms of Zulu custom as practiced by the Dlomo, the heir to the office of the chief of the tribe ought to have been the first son of the second seed-raiser, Khumkani. However, since Khumkani was in prison, Muntukaboni Dlomo should be appointed in his stead.

On the 20th March 1990, the KwaZulu Cabinet resolved (resolution No. 73/90) to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the dispute over the chieftainship in the Khabela tribe. The tribe had been without an Inkosi since 1986, and the tribal authority had not been functioning since then because an Ibambabukhosi had not been appointed. The Commission of Inquiry heard evidence on the 15th, 16th and 17th April 1991, 6th and 7th June 1991, and 22nd and 23rd July 1991. The Commission recommended that the chieftainship revert to MaGasa II's house, and that, since Khumkani's hands were dirty because he murdered his brother, Muntubakoni Dlomo should be appointed as inkosi.

After reviewing the findings of the Commission of Inquiry, the KwaZulu Cabinet resolved (Resolution No. 84/93) to give the two factions an opportunity to make their representations to the Cabinet before a decision was taken. Such a decision would only be taken after Cabinet had been provided with a new and full report by the Ethnologist. The Commission of Inquiry's findings were rejected by the Ethnological Section, which concluded that Zenzo had been legitimately appointed as chief. It recommended, in contrast to the Commission of Inquiry, that an Ibambabukhosi be appointed to act on behalf of Phiwokuhle, the minor son of Zenzo.

Despite these conflicting findings, Cabinet, through Resolution No. 450/93 dated 14 December 1993, decided to appoint Muntukaboni Dlomo as the chief. However, the Minister of Justice was not happy with the Cabinet decision.

7.4.4 Disputes arising from the marriage of an inkosi to the daughter of another inkosi

7.4.4.1 Hlatswayo (Zululand)

In the second half of the 1980s a claim to the ubukhosi of the Hlatswayo clan in the Zululand District was made by one Zwelakhe Hlatswayo. He was the half-brother of inkosi Bambuhlanga Hlatswayo, who died on the 13 December 1987. The roots of the

dispute go back several years. In 1968 inkosi Mgezeni of the Hlatswayo clan informed the then Native Affairs Commissioner that he intended to retire due to old age. He was born in about 1879, and had been a member of the Dakwa regiment of King Dinizulu. He had led the clan from the date of his appointment on the 1st September 1910. In 1968, Inkosi Mgezeni's son and heir, Bambuhlanga, was working in Benoni and the inkosi wanted his induna, Thuze Twala, to be appointed headman until such time that Bambuhlanga was able to assume his duties. Twala was accordingly given letters of appointment in 1969 in the presence of Inkosi Mgezeni and 15 members of the clan. Inkosi Mgezeni died on the 7th January 1971.

On the 23rd September 1971 the Hlatswayo umndeni met and Bambuhlanga was unanimously appointed successor to ubukhosi. Bambuhlanga's mother, MaZulu, was the grand-daughter of King Dinizulu. She was the last wife Inkosi Mgezeni married, but became Indlunkulu wife because of her status as a Zulu princess. By virtue of her status she had ousted the previous Indlunkulu wife, MaNkosi. MaZulu's lobola had also been paid by the clan. It was on this basis that Bambuhlanga was appointed inkosi of the clan in 1974.

However, a succession dispute emerged, with some members of the umndeni supporting Bambuhlanga and others supporting Zwelakhe. The tribe was also divided on the issue. In a letter dated 13th February 1977 from Zwelakhe to the Chief Minister, it was claimed in great detail that the late Inkosi Mgezeni had introduced Zwelakhe as the person to succeed him when he dies.

Prior to his appointment, however, inkosi Bambuhlanga was accused of illegally settling his people on Trust farms in the Simdlangentsha District. He was consequently removed with some of his people to Nondweni in the Nqutu District, leaving some of his people behind on other farms. In 1979 inkosi Bambuhlanga appealed and requested the Magistrate, Paulpietersburg, to permit the appointment of an isekela-lenkosi for the farms because his people were suffering and he was not always available when they needed him. He recommended that his half-brother, Zwelakhe, the son of his father's wife MaNkosi, be appointed to this position.

Zwelakhe was accordingly appointed to this position on the 7th November 1986. Inkosi Bambuhlanga died on the 13 December 1987. It had been expected that since Zwelakhe was deputizing for Bambuhlanga, the death of the latter meant that the appointment had expired. However, Zwelakhe immediately launched a claim for appointment as inkosi of the Hlatswayo people based in Paulpietersburg.

It appears that this claim to ubukhosi continued for several years, because the ethnologist reports that an umndeni meeting was held in Paulpietersburg on the 1 October 1999 to discuss the issue. Here it was explained to the umndeni members present that Zwelakhe's appointment as isekela-lenkosi (deputy inkosi) for the Paulpietersburg area had expired on the death of inkosi Bambuhlanga because he had only been appointed as a deputy for the late inkosi. It was further explained to the umndeni that the inkosi and some of his followers had been temporarily placed in the Nqutu District, and that they were desperate

to return home and an application for land had been made. These were the reasons why the claim by Zwelakhe and his faction that he must be appointed as inkosi of the Hlatshwayos in Paulpietersburg was practically unworkable. The ethnologist adds that the umndeni was told that there would only be one inkosi for the clan.

Inkosi Bambuhlanga was survived by three wives, and had two sons with his first wife, MaNdlangamandla, namely Fusikwazi Praise-God and Sandile, and no sons from his other two wives. Nkosezayo Hlatshwayo had been selected by the umndeni to act on behalf of the heir-apparent, Fusikwazi Praise-God, who was still a minor at the time of his father's death. At an umndeni meeting held on the 3rd June 1997, Fusikwazi Praise-God was selected to be appointed as inkosi of the clan. He was appointed in December 1997.

7.4.4.2 Mngomezulu

The Mngomezulu clan originated from the area near present-day Lesotho and settled in the area which now straddles the boundary between Swaziland and KwaZulu-Natal. The principles of succession of the Mngomezulu are quite clear. The first son of the first wife (insulamsizi) never succeeds to the chieftainship. The wife placed in the late inkosi's mother's hut does not bear the heir. The inkosi does not nominate the heir on his own: this is done by the lineage (usendo). However, the wishes of the inkosi are taken into consideration.

The Mngomezulu went through a succession dispute early in the twentieth century, after the death of Inkosi Mbikiza on the 18th November 1918. A Statutory Board of Inquiry was appointed to consider the issue in 1919, and Zombizwe was named as heir, and eventually appointed as inkosi in 1928. The Board reported that Inkosi Mbikiza had married about 20 wives, of whom 15 were living at the time of his death. There were two women mentioned who were relevant to the enquiry: Joyela Ngwane and Nomatshe Mafuleka. Joyela was a descendant of the royal family of Swaziland, while Nomatshe was a commoner. Joyela had three children, and her eldest son, Zombizwe, was a claimant to ubukhosi. Nomatshe also had three children, and her son Mdungazwe was the other claimant to the chieftainship. Joyela was the senior in marriage to Nomatshe by many years. The late inkosi had married Nomatshe about six years prior to his death. Fifteen head of cattle had been paid as lobola for Joyela to the Queen Regent of Swaziland, and an additional thirty head was still being considered at the time the Board sat in 1919. Twenty head of cattle were paid as lobola for Nomatshe: ten head were found by the inkosi himself; and ten head were contributed by his brothers, uncles and one induna.

However, after the death of Inkosi Mbikiza his body was placed in the hut of Nomatshe prior to burial. When the burial took place her two surviving children, Mdungazwe and his sister, stood at the grave-side. Prior to his death Inkosi Mbikiza had taken no steps to name his chief son (or principal wife). However, Mkumbi, his eldest son from another wife, had been instructed by the inkosi prior to his death to name his chief son after his death. When a report of the death was made to the Magistrate, Ingwavuma, a few days

after the death it was also mentioned that Mdungazwe was the chief son. However, at a meeting with the clan on the 12 December 1918, the Magistrate was given the impression that Zombizwe had been nominated by the clan for the chieftainship.

The Board concluded that no special circumstances could be found in Inkosi Mbikiza's marriage to Joyela. However, the fact that she was a descendant of the Swazi Royal family appeared to have had great weight in the tribe's nomination of Zombizwe. On the other hand, the Board concluded, lobola for Nomatshe had been paid by the inkosi, his brothers, uncles, and induna. In addition, the fact that the deceased inkosi's corpse was placed in her hut prior to burial; the fact that at the burial site she was adorned with the deceased inkosi's "mutsha", leopard skin, and string ornaments; and the fact that her two children were made to stand at the grave-side lent colour to the claim that she had been constituted as the chief wife. Nevertheless, the Board concluded, there were conflicting claims about what occurred on the day of her marriage to Inkosi Mbikiza. Her supporters claim that a public declaration had been made, while statements by other witnesses on the issue were less conclusive. Moreover, the late inkosi had on several occasions stated to different magistrates that his son Mkumbi would reveal who was his successor after his death. Mkumbi had named Zombizwe, and, at a meeting of the clan a few days after the death of Inkosi Mbikiza, Zombizwe was accepted as the next inkosi by the clan and Mdungazwe discarded. The latter was discarded by the clan because a man descended from an acknowledged important family should be appointed instead of a man descended from an inferior family, notwithstanding the fact that a part of the lobola paid for the inferior wife was contributed largely by members of the inkosi's family. The Board concluded that the fact that the cattle for the lobola was paid by members of the family of the deceased inkosi, and not by the clan, rendered the fact inconclusive that the late inkosi had intended to establish a chief house thereby.

The Board also found that the inkosi's body might have been placed in Nomatshe's hut prior to the burial in recognition of the fact that part of her lobola had been paid by members of the family. However, it added, if the assertion made by Mkumbi that he never saw these cattle after his return from Johannesburg (noting that this evidence was inconclusive) it would follow that the claim of Mdungazwe to the chieftainship rested on weak grounds. The Board added that when Mdungazwe had been named as the next inkosi to the Magistrate when the clan reported the death of the inkosi, this appeared to have been made with some reservation, and connected, as Mkumbi explained to the Board, with the cattle only. No decision had been made by the clan on the successor at this time. This was only done a few days later, when the Magistrate was informed that Zombizwe was the heir. Finally the Board found that the whole clan supported the nomination of Zombizwe for chieftainship. There were very few supporters of the claim of Mdungazwe. The Board found in favour of Zombizwe and excluded the claim of Mdungazwe for the chieftainship.

7.4.4.3 Myeni-Ngwenya

Chief Mdolomba II passed away on the 12th March 1985. After the mourning period the umndeni had to decide who should succeed him. Because the Inkosi died without

declaring his indlunkulu wife, the family could not reach a consensus. The Magistrate of Ubombo asked the Ethnologist, FS Mhlongo, to investigate and she held a meeting on the 10th June 1988 to discuss this with the umndeni. The Inkosi's first wife, MaMngomezulu had no male issue. His second wife, MaMathenjwa had one male issue and his third wife, MaZulu, also had one male issue. In August 1988, the umndeni wanted to install the Inkosi's eldest son born from the 2nd wife, Elias Zephania Myeni. Elias was eventually appointed as chief in 1990.

On the 4th March 1998, a lawyer, Mark Hawyes, representing the late Inkosi Mdolomba's son, Jubumbango Zeblon Myeni, sent a letter to the Secretary of Traditional Leaders at Ulundi. saying that his client feels he should be chief because his father, before he died, told him that he should be the successor. On the 13th May 1998, F.S. Mhlongo, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Traditional Affairs ethnologist, said that the umndeni's decision to appoint Elias Zephania Myeni was unanimous. Jubumbango Zeblon Myeni, the son of MaZulu (Mdolomba's 3rd wife) has no claim to the chieftaincy because although his mother is from the Royal Mandlakazi Household, she had a child by another man before she married Inkosi Mdolomba and therefore did not acquire senior status in the household.

According to the custom of this tribe, although not practiced by the late Inkosi Mdolomba, the Inkosi's kraal is divided as follows:

1. Insulamsizi (the first wife married and has no status)
2. Indlunkulu (the chief wife)
3. Ikhohlo

According to Zulu custom, a wife who gives birth to another man's child prior to her marriage to an inkosi does not bear equal status to the other wives in the kraal. She is always inferior, even if she is the daughter of an inkosi. In the case of the late Inkosi Mdolomba, the second wife's son was supported as the successor.

7.4.5 Disputes arising from the customary practice of Ukongena

7.4.5.1 Chunwini-Mchunu

According to informants participating in an interview conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council, the Chunwini-Mchunu clan from Mooi River in the Uthungulu District has a long history of succession disputes, which has its roots during the time of the Dingiswayo and Shaka, when the clan was led by Macingwane kaJama. He was reputed to have been brutal, even to his own children. Ntsundi, his heir, and Mqayana, Ndabazembi, Phezulu and Nyoni were all murdered by their father Macingwane. Only two of his sons survived: Mfusi from the great wife and the full brother of Ntsundu, who was still too young to be suspected of any danger; and Phakade who, though older than Mfusi, was merely a ceremonial son of the emSizini hut, and therefore deemed out of the running as an aspirant to the throne.

Before Macingwane passed away he appointed Mfusi as the general heir to succeed him. At that time there was an iron stick which was given to the person who was selected as the successor of the chief of the Emachunwini tribe. Macingwane gave Mfusi that iron stick and other traditional clothes which were traditionally worn by the Emachunwini chiefs. When Mfusi was supposed to take up his position as the chief, the Amabutho gathered at the royal house where they were informed that Mfusi was the one who would succeed his father. But a person does not simply become an inkosi because the preceding inkosi selected him. The procedure following the selection of a successor to the chieftaincy is that that person must go to war to fight accompanied by the Amabutho (Regiments), or must go to hunt a dangerous animal such as a leopard, tiger or lion. Thereafter he must wear the skin of that animal during the ceremony of his appointment. In isiZulu they call this procedure Ukuhlabana. Mfusi felt that he would not return alive from the war (Empini). He then requested his younger brother, Phakade, to take Mvucu Mkhize and pay the lobola for her. Then she would be given the status as first wife. In other words, Mvucu would give birth to a son who would become the rightful heir of Mfusi and Chief of the AmaChunu. Phakade then did what his brother asked him to do. Mfusi was killed in the war prior to his installation as inkosi and after he had made the important request to his brother to take Mvucu Mkhize on his behalf to be his wife and give birth to a son who would become the chief. Mvucu had three sons and one daughter. Phakade then married his second wife, the daughter of uMchoboza Zondi. Phakade lived to the age of 106 years.

Just prior to his death, chief Phakade called all his headmen (Izinduna) to a meeting where he informed them that it was time for him to appoint one of his son to succeed him because he was very old. One of his headmen (Ndawonde) asked him which one of his sons would be appointed as chief. Chief Phakade responded by saying that he would appoint one of his sons from Mvucu's house. The headman Ndawonde was not satisfied by the decision made by his chief, Phakade. The headman then decided to speak to the Chief alone and ask him who would be considered to succeed him. Chief Phakade told Ndawonde that he had made a promise to his elder brother Mfusi that the rightful heir would be a son of uMvucu Mkhize, his first wife, who was considered as a wife of his brother Mfusi before the latter was killed at Empini. Mfusi was the one who instructed him to marry uMvucu. The headman did not agree with what Chief Phakade was saying to him. Instead, he said to chief Phakade that it would be the wrong decision to take the chieftainship to the Mvucu House because he thought that Mvucu's sons were not the chief's sons and he must instead take the chieftainship to MaZondi's sons. Phakade responded by saying that he cannot appoint MaZondi's son Gabangaye as successor because that would create a huge problem for his sons from Mvucu's house.

In 1873/74, during Langelibalele's lifetime, there was a huge dispute. The British requested the Chunu people to assist them to trace Chief Langelibalele of the AmaHlubi because they wanted to arrest him for treason. But Chief Phakade didn't agree to assist the British to arrest the Hlubi chief. The British promised Gabangaye, son of the late chief Phakade, that if he assisted them in tracing the whereabouts of Chief Langelibalele and have him arrested, they would appoint him as Chief of the AmaChunu in Enkanini.

Then Chief Phakade decided to consider his grandson Silwane as the person who would succeed him. Silwane was the son of Gabangaye, Phakade's son and grandson of Macingwane (who was later killed in the Battle of Isandlwane – the Anglo Zulu War, 1879). Silwane was then appointed as the rightful heir to succeed his grandfather, Chief Phakade. The dispute began when they registered the chief with the magistrate. Gabangaye insisted that Somveli should be appointed as chief, and not Silwane because the latter was young.

Silwane was appointed as the chief of the AmaChunu tribe while Phakade was still alive. uNogaga, elder uncle to Sbindi, visited Zimeme, elder son of Phakade from Mvucu's house. He informed the latter that the chieftainship belonged to the Mvucu house and that Zimeme was the rightful heir. Nogaga told Zimeme that he was present when Phakade promised his brother Mfusi that he (Phakade) would father the son of uMvucu who would become the chief of the AmaChunu after him (Phakade). Nogaga also went to visit Silwane. He told Silwane that he saw Zimeme registering himself at the local magistrate as the Chunu chief. That upset Silwane. It was the beginning of the AmaChunu royal family dispute over the chieftainship. It was also the beginning of the AmaChunu migration because some members of the tribe were on Silwane's side and others on Zimeme's side. Although Mvucu told her son Zimeme to ignore the claim to the chieftaincy, Zimeme decided to continue to fight for the chieftaincy. Mvucu then instructed her son Zimeme to move to another area where they could live in peace. They then moved to Emdubuzweni (Mooi River) at Mpfana, where they settled. Zimeme's younger brother Ntando was left at Nkanini. He didn't move with his mother Mvucu and brothers Zimeme and Sifaniso. Sifaniso was supporting his brother Zimeme in his claims for the chieftaincy. Zimeme became a chief of the AmaChunu at Mpfana without any official appointment and confirmation of powers.

7.4.5.2 Madlala (Ugu)

The first succession dispute of the Madlala clan in the Ugu District took place around about 1852, when Gaju was appointed as regent. Gaju was the brother of Godogwana, the late inkosi of the clan from the ikhohlo house. The previous inkosi of the clan, Godogwana, died in Mpondoland leaving his wife MaMevana (Phungula) and a daughter named Komboyi, with no male children. In this time MaMevana bore a son named Mashaba from a union with a man named Nongayiyana Madlala. Some people from the tribe claimed that this union was an Ukungena union approved by the uMndeni. They argued that he was a half-brother of Godogwana. Others claimed Nongayiyana was not a member of uMndeni, and thus the union was an adulterous one. Nevertheless, acting Inkosi Gaju fined him five head of cattle arguing that the ukungena union was not approved by the umndeni.

Because of this, Gaju then married MaKane (the daughter of Kane and the sister of Patwa, the Inkosi of the Xolo tribe) for the house of Godogwana with the lobola cattle received from the marriage of Komboyi with Matama from the tribe of Duka Fynn in order to vusa the house of Godogwana through MaKane. Gaju and MaKane had a son

named Matomela, who was sent away to grow up among the Xolo people in the homestead of MaKane. Some say this union was unnecessary because there was already a son for the house of Godogwana, Mashaba, through the union of MaMevana and Nongayiyana. But others say the union of MaKane and Gaju was necessary because MaMevana and Nongayiyana were banished from the tribe after their adulterous affair. The difference of opinion would become a fierce dispute between the two factions that emerged in later years between the lineages of Mashaba and Matomela.

Gaju had taken his own cattle and lobolaed two wives, MaKane and MaMnguni, without the consent of the royal family. He passed away leaving his inkosana Ndlovu and Godogwana's gun in his homestead. When Gaju died, Ndlovu, the son of Gaju and MaGumede, was appointed as Umbambeli for the house of Godogwana because their heir was not old enough to take over. Ndlovu died on the 3rd April 1896, and his brother Mbendleni was appointed as Umbambeli on the 4th July 1896. On the 8th September 1896 Mbendleni and nine members of the Madlala Umndeni (included Mashaba the son of MaMevana and Nongayiyana) went to Pietermaritzburg to state before the Chief Native Commissioner that Matomela, the son of Gaju and MaKane, was the rightful heir to the chieftainship of the Madlala tribe because he was the son of Godogwana. They requested he be brought back from the Xolo people. In this time, the son of Ndlovu, Gobhela, claimed the chieftainship over part of the tribe on the grounds that he was his father's eldest son from the right hand house, and that his father was the son of Gaju who had ruled the tribe for a long time. In the Native High Court, however, it was ruled that his brother, Gcetswa was the eldest son from the right hand house of Ndlovu and Gobhela's claim was therefore not taken into account.

Matomela was appointed as Inkosi of the Madlala tribe on 2 December 1896, but was dropped from the position on the 11th September 1906 by the government because of his involvement in the Bhambata rebellion. Msebenzi was appointed as acting chief. Matomela was reinstated as Inkosi in 1925 by the government. In 1925 Mbogoyi was appointed as Umbambeli for the house of Matomela, but he died shortly thereafter and Sokaya took his place. The government requested that Gobhela and Gcetswa be appointed as Izinduna in the tribe.

The son of Matomela however reached the right age and married in 1936 and the government appointed Nyoniyezwe as Inkosi of the Madlala tribe. He was suspended in 1937 pending a court case against him for assaulting his wife and another 11 charges against him. Ntsele Mkhize was appointed as acting chief in the interim. In 1939 the Chief Native Commissioner said that the lineage of Nyoniyezwe through Matomela was to be extinguished and that they would appoint Mdlangazwa kaMashaba, from the house of MaMevana, as Inkosi for the Madlala tribe. Mdlangazwa died in 1982 and immediately after that a fierce chieftainship dispute broke out between the son of Nyoniyezwe named Mandlakayise, and the son of Mdlangazwa named Bhekabukhosi.

In the last years of Mdlangazwa's life, the dispute was already raging and had disrupted tribal life. In 1978 after an ethnological report was given to the KwaZulu Cabinet, it was decided that Bhekabukhosi, son of Mdlangazwa, would be heir. The Mandlakayise

faction, however, did not accept this judgment. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed by the KwaZulu Government in 1979 to look into the matter, and in its report on the 2nd November 1979 recommended that Mandlakayise be appointed inkosi on the ground that the ukungena union between MaMevana and Nongaiyana was an illicit affairs and the union between MaKane and Gaju was regarded as an ukuvusa union which produced Matomela. This recommendation was not adopted by the Cabinet. Cabinet's decision in this regard was supported by Mr. Malan, an ethnologist, whose report in 1984 recommended the appointment of Bhekubukhosi on the ground that the ukungena union between MaMevana and Nongaiyana was legal, and not an adulterous one. Cabinet approved the appointment of Bhekubukhosi.

However, Mr. H. Els, another ethnologist, submitted a report in 1986 in which he recommended the appointment of Mandlakayise and the allocation of land to the faction supporting Bhekubukhosi where the latter could be appointed inkosi. The KwaZulu Cabinet rejected this position and recommended the appointment of Bhekubukhosi.

In 1989 Mandlakayise Madlala filed an application with the Supreme Court in which he argued for his appointment as Inkosi of the Madlala Tribe. In 1990 a Supreme Court document suggested that Bhekubukhosi's father Mdlangazwa was wrongfully appointed as Inkosi and that the lineage of Nyoniyezwe was wrongly extinguished. They suggested the appointment of Mandlakayise as Inkosi of the Madlala of Emzumba and that an alternative place be found in which Bhekubukhosi's faction could live. Mandlakayise died in February 1990 before judgment was made. In July 1991 Dumangeze Madlala launched another application in the Supreme Court saying that Mandlakayise was the rightful chief of the Madlala tribe and that his successor should be Nkosiyahlanga David Madlala and Sibangani Madlala should be acting chief. In October 1992 the judge dismissed the Mandlakayise faction's (Dumangeze Madlala and Sibongile Constance Madlala) application and Bhekubukhosi remained chief of the Madlalas. In 1992 he was living away from the tribal area because of violence. In May 1994 Moses Zamindlele Ngamizizwe Madlala, Bhekubukhosi's son with Zulu royal Princess Esther, was appointed as Inkosi. But one year later the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal received a letter from the Madlala people saying that they do not recognize Moses Zamindlele Ngamizizwe Madlala as Inkosi.

7.4.6 Disputes arising from the appointment of a successor by the umndeni

7.4.6.1 Mbhense (Hlanganani)

The emergence of a claim to the chieftainship of the Mbhense clan in the Ladysmith district in the early 1980s is indicative of another key element of the customs relating to chieftainship and succession. This case relates to the question of the power of the umndeni to permanently remove the chieftainship from a ruling blood line or house.

The Mbhense clan has been engulfed by ubukhosi disputes over a long period of time which was caused by the deviation in the succession line of ubukhosi at one stage in the

clan's history. During the 1940s, at a time when the clan was ruled by chief Nguqu, the Dundee Magistrate criticized the Chief for not attending meetings which were called by the magistrates to discuss important issues concerning his area. The Magistrate threatened to put the Mbhense tribe, which was under Chief Nguqu at that time, under other Chiefs who were loyal and respected the voice of the Magistrate. The Magistrate held a meeting with the members of the tribe to discuss their chief. He informed the tribe to ask Chief Nguqu why he was not following the instructions given by the magistrates. The members of the tribe responded by saying that their chief stated that the salary being paid to him as the chief of the tribe was not enough for him. The magistrate suggested to the members of the tribe that Chief Nguqu must return the letter of appointment and the letter of conferment of civil and criminal jurisdiction in his area and the tribe must nominate another person as their chief. As a result of these criticisms of the inkosi, Chief Nguqu kaNgodweni was deposed in 1959. His son Fana, who was a minor at the time could not take up the ubukhosi. The tribe then nominated Moses Shumbu, a half-brother of chief Nguqu, to be their chief at Engqekeni. Some members of the tribe decided to move from Hartang to the Aliva area where they were ruled by Chief Moses Shumbu Mbhense. Shumbu ruled the tribe until he reached an advanced age. Nguqu was still based at Hartang, and was not doing anything in that area. Nguqu eventually passed away. The Hartang area was left with no Chief and no Headmen. Chief Shumbu suggested that the prominent tribe members and the royal family, together with the magistrate, must nominate another person to be the chief of the tribe because he was now old and sick. At a meeting of the clan held on the 30th November 1982, the headmen and the royal family nominated uMthintwa, who was living in Johannesburg, to succeed Chief Shumbu.

Nguqu was survived by a son, Fana, who was said to be his general heir. Fana was only 4 years old at the time his father was deposed in 1959. At this meeting he put forward his claim to the chieftainship. One member of the umndeni explained that when Moses was proposed to replace inkosi Nguqu as the chief of the clan in 1959 at a meeting with the Native Commissioner he was not proposed as an acting chief for anybody. The distinct intention was that he should take over the chieftainship permanently without any further consideration of the house of Nguqu. (According to the Assistant Chief Ethnologist, Mr. Malan, this attitude was clearly reflected in the relevant documents on record.) Furthermore, the member of the umndeni added, an umndeni has the power to take such drastic measures. This was being confirmed at the present meeting which upheld that decision taken years ago. It clearly implied that Fana had no claim to the chieftainship, even though he may have been of chiefly blood: his father had elected to end the blood line. It appears that Fana indicated at this meeting that he understood the situation.

According to the Assistant Chief Ethnologist who was in attendance at the meeting, the fact that Fana had put forth his claim himself was indicative of his lack of support. Fana and his mother also sat all alone and separated from the rest of the meeting. Furthermore, since acting inkosi Moses was still alive he must of necessity remain inkosi. The Assistant Chief Ethnologist recommended that he be relieved of his duties and his son, Mthintwa, be appointed to perform all the duties on behalf of his father until such time as he may succeed to the chieftainship. It was further recommended that Mthintwa be

appointed *an inkosi in his own right (not acting inkosi)* after the death of his father Moses.

The Bhense people who favoured Nguqu took Fana to the offices of the Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs in Ulundi to report to the Department that Fana was the general heir of Nguqu and that they wanted him to become the chief of the tribe instead of Mthintwa, the son of Shumbu. They argued that Shumbu was an Acting Chief, and his son Mthintwa could not become a Chief of the Mbhense tribe. The members of the Mbhense tribe in the Aliva area were not going to allow Fana to be their Chief because his late father Chief Nguqu abandoned the Mbhense chieftainship. On the other hand, while some people claimed that Shumbu was acting, others claimed that he was nominated by the Mbhense tribe to be their chief and not an acting chief. According to the records from the Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs, Fana is the rightful heir to this chieftainship, and not Mthintwa Mbhense because the latter's father, Moses Shumbu was the younger brother of the chief who was removed from the chieftainship. That means his father was an acting chief, and not a chief, and was supposed to act for Fana. It also appears that the magistrates of the time played a crucial role in convincing the members of the tribe and the royal family to oust chief Nguqu.

It was subsequently pointed out to the umndeni that Moses Mbhense had been appointed acting inkosi on behalf of ex-inkosi Nguqu's son, Fana, and that he had no right to nominate a successor. The decision of the umndeni was therefore *ultra vires* in that *they could not extinguish the line of succession without the express approval of the rightful successor whose claim preponderates*.

In 1983 Cabinet resolved to hold in abeyance the matter of the chieftainship of the Mbhense clan until the son of Nguqu Mbhense, Fana Victor Mbhense, was ready for appointment as inkosi. When this resolution was adopted Fana was unmarried and therefore could not qualify for appointment. After Fana got married by Christian rites his appointment as inkosi of the clan was approved by Cabinet on the 21st February 1984. However, due to continued opposition to his appointment from Mthintwa's faction, the Cabinet decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the claims of both parties and to make recommendations to Cabinet. Fana Mbhense's appointment was held in abeyance until the Commission of Inquiry had completed its task.

In 1985 the Commission of Inquiry found that Fana Mbhense was the rightful heir to the chieftainship, and recommended that his appointment as inkosi of the clan be confirmed and that he be installed as inkosi. The Commission also recommended that the acting appointment of Moses Mbhense be withdrawn. However, a section of the umndeni continued to favour the appointment of Mthintwa Mbhense, the son of Moses Mbhense as inkosi. In this they were supported by the magistrate and the ethnologist.

The Commission of Inquiry concluded its task and recommended that Fana Mbhense be appointed inkosi of the clan. It further recommended that the acting appointment of Moses Mbhense be withdrawn. The Magistrate informed the umndeni about this decision in 1985, but they were not satisfied and made further representations for the appointment

of Mthintwa Mbhense as inkosi. Fana Mbhense was appointed inkosi in 1986. Deputy inkosi Bhozi Phillip Mcwango resigned because the clan was blaming him for the appointment of Fana, indicating considerable dissatisfaction with the decision. At a meeting with the umndeni attended by officials of the Local Government Branch on the 25th March 1986 the position was explained to the umndeni and after discussions those present accepted Fana as their inkosi. It was recommended that Mthintwa Mbhense be appointed Deputy Inkosi (Isekela-lenkosi). However, there still remained a faction of the umndeni and the clan, despite numerous attempts to convince them, opposed to Fana such that by late 1988 he had not yet been installed as inkosi.

In a report submitted by the ethnologist in 1989 it was stated that the pillar of the case of those who argued for Mthintwa's appointment as inkosi constituted the claim that the chieftainship would have perished if Moses Mbhense had not salvaged the chieftainship and that by doing so prevented a situation where the clan would have been absorbed by neighbouring clans, as had been recommended by the Native Commissioner at the time. In the meantime, Fana was experiencing health problems, and Mthintwa Mbhense, as Deputy Inkosi, increasingly performed the functions of the inkosi. The latter was provided with powers of criminal and civil jurisdiction on the 7th August 1989. It was also clear that inkosi Fana had very little support in the community. He had grown up in Durban, and the umndeni was dominated by family members close to Moses Mbhense, and, by implication, Mthintwa Mbhense.

The ethnologist, G. I. Zovitsky, went on to refute many of the conclusions reached by the 1985 Commission of Inquiry, including the conclusion that the customary practice of primogenitary succession (eldest son inheritance) was preponderant. He pointed out that according to Bryant there were no hard and fast rules on this practice. The question was whether the chieftainship belonged to the individual or to the family. According to the ethnologist, Bryant wrote that: "The ... Ubukhosi was the birth right of that family in the clan which had held the most direct descent in the male line from him who first gave the clan its birth and independence". (p. 459). It follows, according to the ethnologist, that if Bryant is interpreted correctly, then the family or tribal or clan elders is a force when appointing a successor. There was evidence in Bryant (p 467) that where a successor has not been named, the tribal or clan elders can intervene and appoint the man of their choice.

The ethnologist felt that Mthintwa, who had grown up with his father Moses – who had served the community well – was better equipped to lead the Mbhense clan than Fana, who was suffering from a mental illness, apparently lacked leadership qualities and had very little support. 'The real test in this case', he added, 'is whether it should be allowed that a line of descent, even though from Indlunkulu, that has for thirty years been inactive in the community and practically unknown, to be re-instated in preference to a line of descent whose members had saved the tribe from extinction and whose members have been for more than twenty years active in the community'. He recommended 'that the KwaZulu Government appoint Mthintwa who enjoys the support of his people and who is best equipped to lead his people and to work towards their development'.

Despite this recommendation, Fana remained inkosi, even though his mental state continued to deteriorate. The faction supporting Mthintwa continued to reject his leadership. In January 1999 they requested the then Department of Traditional and Environmental Affairs to assist them in drawing up a new genealogy of the Mbhense clan because the one they had was not correct. On the 5th November 1999 the Department received a letter from the faction of the umndeni supporting Deputy Inkosi Mthintwa requesting that the latter's son, Satisfied Mbhense, be appointed to act for Inkosi Fana Mbhense. The Ethnologist and a senior official from the Department met with the faction on the same day, where it was resolved that Inkosi Fana Mbhense be retired and that Satisfied Mbhense be appointed to act for the son of Fana Mbhense during his minority. The ethnologist and another official from the department met with Inkosi Fana's section of the umndeni on the 11th January 2000, at which meeting they explained the suggestions made by the Mthintwa umndeni. In response, the Fana umndeni wrote a letter to the Department dated the 19th January 2001 in which it recommended that Dumazile Gloria Mbhense, the full sister of Inkosi Fana, be appointed to act for the son of Inkosi Fana.

The ethnologist met with both factions at a meeting held on the 9th May 2000, where they resolved to work out their differences.

7.4.6.2 Ngcolosi (Ndwedwe)

The succession dispute of the **Ngcolosi clan** of Ndwedwe in the early 1930s illustrates both disagreement among clan members about historical events in the family, particularly about the affiliation of houses of the late inkosi's wives, and customary practices relating to the selection of the heir. In this case, the heir was chosen from the ikhohlo house (that of the second wife), which seems to go against the general Zulu custom that the eldest son from the ikhohlo house never succeeds as inkosi.

Inkosi Vika of the Ngcolosi clan passed away on the 17th November 1933. Ngqabuko Bhengu was appointed acting chief during the minority of the heir. At a meeting of the umndeni in December of that year Dinwabakudo, the son of MaNsukunyana from the ikhohlo house (second wife), was nominated as the heir. It was alleged that Inkosi Vika had never nominated a chief wife and the elders of the clan met and conferred status upon this wife. At the same meeting, the full younger brother of the late Inkosi Vika by the name of Masiboko Bhengu claimed the chieftaincy on behalf of Bekumbuso, the son of MaSinyakanyaka, whom he alleged was affiliated to the first married wife of the late inkosi. Although the Government accepted the family's decision and appointed an Ibamba to act for Dinwabakudo, Masiboko Bhengu continued to object to the appointment of the heir. A Statutory Board of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the claim.

Masiboko testified at the hearing that the late Inkosi Vika had seven wives. His first three wives were commoners, while the fourth wife, MaSinyakanyaka, was the granddaughter of Inkosi Musi. The other three wives were also daughters of commoners. At the time of his death Inkosi Vika had not selected his chief wife, nor had the clan paid lobola for any

of his seven wives. It is the custom of the Ngcolosi clan that the lobola for the chief wife is paid by the clan. Inkosi Vika died before the clan had a chance to contribute cattle for lobola. Since no chief wife had been selected, Masiboko argued, the heir should come from the first-married wife. The second wife was the head of the ikhohlo house and her son could therefore not succeed to the chieftainship. A bride is usually taken and affiliated to the Indlunkulu house. The eldest son from the ikhohlo house would only succeed if no such affiliation had taken place. Masiboko contended that Inkosi Vika had affiliated MaSinyakanyaka to the house of the first-married wife. The basis for this argument was the fact that MaSinyakanyaka did all her cooking, kept all her stores, and the cattle used to celebrate her wedding were killed in the hut of the first-married wife. In addition, she was regarded in every way as a bride of the first house. None of these things were done if the bride was not affiliated to that house. He added that Vika had nominated Bekumbuso as his heir.

Masiboko added more about the customs relating to succession when he claimed that it was customary to regard the first wife as the chief wife until one is appointed. The second wife is regarded as the head of the ikhohlo house, while the third wife could only be affiliated to the first house if her lobola had been paid for by that house. This had not been the case. He admitted that no announcement was made that MaSinyakanyaka was affiliated to the house of the first wife when her marriage took place, nor was he aware that it had been recorded in the Registry of Customary marriages as such. But, he added, it was not usual to announce affiliations. Masiboko had in the meantime ngena'd MaSinyakanyaka, as well as another of late Inkosi Vika's widows, without informing the elders of the clan.

Velaphi Mbambo, the chief induna, responded by informing the Board that late Inkosi Vika's first wife had no children, and Dinwabakubo had been selected as heir because of this fact as well as the fact that the late inkosi had not appointed a chief wife. He argued that the choice of the heir therefore fell on the child of the second wife. However, he admitted that this would not be the case if another wife had been affiliated to the house of the chief wife if the inkosi had appointed such a wife before his death. This the late Inkosi Vika had not done. In the event that a junior wife, MaSinyakanyaka for instance, had been affiliated to the house of the first wife, the clan would have still looked at the house of the second wife for the heir. The clan would not have considered the son of the affiliated wife entitled to succeed in preference to the son of the second wife. Moreover, there was nothing to suggest that MaSinyakanyaka had been affiliated to the house of the first wife. Furthermore, he was not aware of any other member of the umndeni who was supporting Masiboko's claims.

Masiboko responded by asserting that it was not proper to select the son of the second wife because she was the ikhohlo wife. It would have been preferable to take the eldest son of the third wife. Although Inkosi Vika had died without making any declaration about the status of his widows, after his death the first wife would customarily become the chief wife and the second wife the ikhohlo wife. The son from the house of the latter could not succeed to the chieftainship.

Another member of the clan testified in support of Masiboko, claiming that the late Inkosi Vika had informed him that MaSinyakanyaka

However, the Board reported that the claim was invalid because Masiboko did not substantiate the claim about MaSinyakanyaka's status and that the late inkosi had nominated Bekumbuso as his heir. The matter therefore rested with the tribal elders to assemble and consider the status of the widows in terms of Section 104 (4) of the Natal Code.

On the 14th September 1936 the Native Commissioner, Pinetown, announced that the Government had confirmed the finding of the elders, namely that since late Inkosi Vika had died without having instituted his principal wife, his first married wife becomes his principal wife. However, the late Inkosi Vika's first wife had no sons. The elders decided that in this situation the second-married wife is affiliated to the principal house, and Dinwabakubo, her son, becomes the principal heir. Ngqabuko Bhengu was authorized to continue as acting chief during the minority of Vika's heir, who was about 4 years old at the time.

In June 1999 a claim was made to the chieftainship of the Ngcolosi clan by one of late Inkosi Vika's grandsons. The claimant was the son of Bekumbuso, and grandson of MaSinyakanyaka, late Inkosi Vika's fourth-married wife.

7.4.6.3 Ngomezulu

Inkosi Zombizwe ruled the tribe until his death on the 18th January 1965. However, during his reign the inkosi spent most of his time in Swaziland. Two deputies were appointed to rule the tribe inside South Africa during the lengthy periods Inkosi Zombizwe spent abroad. Mhanjana Myeni was appointed as first deputy south of the Ingwavuma River in 1936 because Zombizwe lived mostly in Swaziland and it was difficult for members of his tribe south of the river to make appointments for the hearing of their cases by the inkosi. Mhanjana was followed by Mbalekelwa Mngomezulu, Zombizwe's half-brother, on the 10th March 1939, who was eventually given civil and criminal jurisdiction on the 10th July 1964 because inkosi Zombizwe was no longer able to exercise proper control. Inkosi Zombizwe eventually wanted to dismiss his deputies, which led to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. The Commission found against the inkosi, whose mind was already feeble at the time.

Mbilo Mbamali was appointed deputy inkosi in the northern section of the tribe on the 11th July 1947. He was followed by Nkantolo Piecanin Mngomezulu, but he failed to control his followers until acting inkosi Majheni Mngomezulu stated openly that he did not wish Nkantolo to be in control of the northern section any longer.

After Zombizwe's death, it became necessary to choose a successor. According to the then Director of Authority Affairs and Finance of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office, Mbalekelwa and a faction of the clan maneuvered matters so that not all the members of the umndeni were present at the meeting that led to the decision to

nominate Ntunja as the next inkosi of the clan. He added that this was done with dishonest motives in order to safeguard their position. It is important to quote directly from a report of a meeting with the umndeni of the Mngomezulus held on the 10 Aril 1973: 'When a new chief has to be appointed the Government normally expects the chiefs' relatives to see to the nomination of the right successor. In this case certain members of the family purported to hold such meetings, but misled and deceived the tribe for the sake of their own interests'.

The nomination of Ntunja led to divisions in the Mngomezulu family. Soon after Ntunja was appointed he adopted a high-handed manner that was aggravated when an attempt was made on his life. He became aggressive in his methods of administration and rule, leading to a reign of terror, cases of murder, arson, destruction of property and attachments of cattle as a result of civil judgments.

A Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate Ntunja's right to ubukhosi, following unrest in the tribal area. The Magistrate who conducted this enquiry concluded that 'all the pro-Ntunja witnesses based their choice on the allegation that Zombizwe chose his son Ntunja to be his successor and not on the fact that he was the choice of the Mdeni or of the tribe'. It was revealed that the umndeni was not properly constituted previously when some members met at a meeting where Ntunja was nominated. The Commission found that Ntunjwa Mngomezulu was never nominated by late Inkosi Zombizwe as his heir and successor. It also found that Khathwayo 'was in fact the one chosen and indicated by Zombizwe and that Mbalekelwa deceived the tribe and the Government for personal reasons, that the tribe will accept Khathwayo once the truth has been revealed to them, that Ntunjwa should be summarily dismissed, that Mbalekelwa should be summarily dismissed, and that serious consideration be given to both being prosecuted'.

Ntunjwa and Mbalekelwa were informed of their dismissal from office at the meeting of the umndeni held on the 10th April 1973, and summarily dismissed as inkosi and deputy inkosi, respectively. At the same meeting David Mngomezulu was nominated to act for Khathwayo. However, during the period immediately thereafter the dismissed inkosi and deputy inkosi and their supporters undermined acting inkosi David's administration of the clan. On the 17th May 1973 David's hut was burnt, cattle belonging to his supporters were maimed, and David himself was assaulted on the 28th June 1973. Some members of the tribe of the tribe did not accept acting Inkosi David's administration because they felt that the dismissal of Inkosi Ntunja had been irregular and not in keeping with custom. Among those found to be opposed to his leadership were many indunas, who were also dismissed from the tribal administration. Ntunja departed for Swaziland, and a warrant for his arrest was issued after he failed to appear in court in April 1973.

Khathwayo was appointed inkosi of the clan in 1973, only to be suspended a year later. He died on the 13 October 1977, leaving his one and only son Eric Mdeni Mntomkhulu Mngomezulu, still a minor, as his rightful heir. Immediately after his death fighting broke out in the area between rival factions of the clan. Johannes Khubush Mngomezulu was appointed acting inkosi in 1978, and was suspended from the acting chieftainship on the

29th March 1985. A meeting was held with the Cabinet to investigate Acting Inkosi Johannes's administration on the 20th November 1984. It was found that the acting inkosi had identified himself with the faction in Swaziland to oppose the people who were guarding the interests of the junior heir and his mother. Among the many charges leveled against the acting inkosi, was a claim that he was guilty of a breach of faith with the umndeni because he had been 'heard saying that there will never be any other chief in future apart from himself and his descendants'. In other words, he was stating 'that he has now been recognized as a chief of the Mngomezulu tribe and not merely as an acting chief.' This was the impression that was given to the umndeni, because the acting inkosi also married a princess of the Zulu royal family to cement his claim on the chieftainship. It was also alleged that the acting inkosi had hidden his son, Sizwe, from the royal princess 'as an indication that his son will apparently dispute the chieftainship in future'.

The umndeni had nominated late inkosi Khathwayo's widow, Mrs Thandiwe Jeanneth Mngomezulu to be appointed as acting inkosi and Fanyana Dlamini as deputy inkosi during the minority of the heir. It also called for the dismissal of acting Inkosi Johannes at its meeting held on the 9th July 1984.

Acting Inkosi Johannes was replaced by acting Inkosi Mangotho Mngomezulu. However, the Magistrate at the time recommended a low-key occasion for the appointment of the new acting inkosi because, he felt, there was a tendency among the Mngomezulu to regard an acting chief as a recognized chief and not merely as an acting chief, and the acting chiefs also had the tendency to regard themselves as recognized chiefs and thus arrogated to themselves all the rights and privileges exclusively to themselves and in some instances to the detriment of the umndeni. This then leads to disputes over the chieftainship, the Magistrate concluded.

In the meantime, a dispute had arisen between the KwaZulu Government and the Swaziland Government over the Ingwavuma area. The Swaziland Government claimed the area, and was demanding its return to the country, while the KwaZulu Government opposed the transfer of the area to Swaziland. The faction led by Ntunjwa and Mbalekelwa based in Swaziland, and their supporters in the tribal area, were in favour of the incorporation of the area into Swaziland, while others based in the area were opposed to this idea.

At an umndeni meeting held on the 1st July 1993, Eric Mngomezulu was nominated as the next inkosi of the clan. He was the son of late Inkosi Khathwayo's only wife, and as such was automatically the born inkosi. However, there was opposition to his appointment from the faction of the clan based in Swaziland and its supporters inside the tribal area. One member of this faction, Tindlo O. Mngomezulu, the son of Mbalekelwa, had returned to the area and was agitating against the appointment of the nominee. He, together with other members of the clan, was in favour of the appointment of Ntunjwa's son as inkosi of the Mngomezulu clan and requested a meeting of the umndeni that included them. The Magistrate rejected this request, arguing that the issue of Khathwayo's right to the chieftainship had been dealt with in a Commission of Inquiry in the early 1970s. Further, he could not permit the Ntunjwa faction, which was acting

against the tribal authority of the time, to hold meetings in the area with the purpose of influencing the tribe against the appointment of Eric Mngomezulu. The latter was appointed inkosi in 1994.

7.4.7 Disputes arising from the selection of a successor by an inkosi in contradiction to custom

7.4.8.1 Tembe

The Tembe clan of Ingwavuma, which had earlier experienced a succession dispute in 1951, went through another dispute over succession after the death of Inkosi Mzimba Tembe on the 2nd June 1991. On the one side of the family were those who wanted the successor to be the son of the late inkosi's wife who was affiliated to the indlunkulu house, Mabhudu Israel Tembe, who was a minor at the time. On the other hand, another faction wanted George Tembe, Inkosi Mzimba's son from his third wife, MaSibiya to be appointed as inkosi. At a meeting of the Royal House on the 7th July 1991, George Tembe was proposed as the next inkosi of the clan. At the same meeting, the faction supporting the appointment of Mabhudu as the successor produced a will of the late Inkosi Mzimba, in which he appointed Mabhudu as his successor to the chieftainship.

At a meeting of the umndeni with the Magistrate, Ingwavuma, on the 21st March 1992, the Magistrate informed the umndeni that he had consulted the registry of customary marriages and it was clear that MaMantengu was affiliated to the indlunkulu for the purpose of raising the heir should there be no male issue from the senior house. This had been done in 1975. At the time of death of the inkosi, the indlunkulu house had no male issue, and MaMantengu's son qualified for the appointment as inkosi. However, MaMantengu's son was still a minor, and the umndeni resolved to call another meeting to appoint an Ibambabukhosi. At a subsequent meeting of the umndeni, held on the 3rd November 1992, some members of the umndeni expressed dissatisfaction with the idea of appointing an Ibamba, because it had 'never happened in the history of the Tembes and is against their custom'.

At this meeting, the Magistrate informed those attending the meeting that the late inkosi Mzimba Tembe had followed the requirements of the laws and customs of the country in making his selection of MaMantengu's son as his successor. The appointment of George Tembe as inkosi was therefore unacceptable.

However, one member of the umndeni claimed in the same meeting that 'he was not pleased with the decision of the Department of the Chief Minister because according to his opinion George Tembe should be appointed to act on behalf of Mabhunda Israel Tembe because the late inkosi told him long time before that when he died George Tembe would take over'. However, it appears that this member of the umndeni, Mazunguzungu Tembe, was in favour of the appointment of George Tembe as an inkosi, and not as an acting inkosi for someone else. He stated, according to the Magistrate, Ingwavuma, 'that George Tembe was appointed by the late inkosi Mzimba Tembe and he

even informed the family members of such appointment. He further stated that according to his knowledge the late inkosi Mzimba never appointed his senior wife and he always talked to him that his successor would be George Tembe because according to the Tembe customs an “Ibamba” does not exist at all’. He had been ‘informed privately’ by the late inkosi that he wanted to be succeeded by George Tembe.

Another member of the umndeni stated that the register of customary marriages reflected the appointment of the late inkosi’s wife, MaNtengu, as a senior wife who would give birth to a son who was going to be a successor to the throne. He also suggested that an Ibamba or acting inkosi be appointed on the very same day in the presence of the Chief Magistrate. It was resolved that another meeting be called to select an Ibamba. Indeed, the ethnologist had made a study of the register of customary marriages and found that MaSibiya had never been raised to the position of indlunkulu. The ethnologist asserted that MaNtengu had been affiliated to the indlunkulu house in 1975, and the rightful successor to the position of inkosi for the Tembe tribe was the male child of MaNtengu, i.e. Mabhudu Israel Tembe.

An umndeni meeting was held on the 14th November 1992, but the magistrate was not subsequently informed of a nominee nor did he receive a copy of the minutes of the meeting. Later, it emerged that it was customary for the clan to appoint Ibamba, and that at the recent meeting the umndeni had nominated Phasola Jackson Tembe for the post. It appears that the faction that as opposed to the appointment of an Ibamba were in support of the appointment of George Temba as inkosi.

Later in the year another claimant to the chieftainship emerged. Bizana Tembe claimed to be the son of Nyamazane Tembe, who was the brother of Mhlupheki and Mzimba Tembe. Nyamazane was the eldest son of late inkosi Ngwanase, and the latter had been succeeded in the chieftainship by Mhlupheki from the indlunkulu house. He added that Mhlupheki had one son, Bhekuzulu, who died during the reign of inkosi Mzimba Tembe. In this view, Mzimba Tembe had been appointed to act for Bhekuzulu. However, the latter had passed away before he could take over the chieftainship. According to Mbuzane, after the death of Mhlupheki and Bhekuzulu the ubukhosi had to go to the house of Nyamazane, of which he was the heir.

Mbuzane produced an affidavit in which he claimed that he had visited Chief Mzimba’s kraal on the 8 October 1982 to inform him that he wanted to take over his father’s chieftaincy. Nothing came of his efforts to claim the chieftainship, however.

In the meantime, Phasola was appointed Ibamba. Simultaneously, however, the conflict over the succession raged on within the community. For instance, a faction of the umndeni calling itself the Tembe Royal Family Committee met on the 10th July 1995. The Ibamba and AmNtengu were not present or represented at this meeting. They made the following requests:

- That MaMkhwanazi, the indlunkulu wife of the late inkosi Mzimba whose lobola was paid by the clan, should be appointed inkosi of the tribe in place of Ibamba Phasola

Tembe since the law permitted the appointment of wives of amaKhosi. Afterwards she would be able to appoint one of the sons of the late Inkosi Mzimba to be a successor.

- That it is recognized that in his lifetime Inkosi Mzimba had placed Elizabeth Busiko Tembe, the daughter of Inkosi Mzimba's third wife, MaSibiya, in the house of the indlunkulu. This was an internal arrangement for the Inkosi and was not recorded. According to MaMkhwanazi, this arrangement had to be completed if Elizabeth's brother, George Tembe, was also placed in her house. The umndeni admitted that it was not aware of this incomplete arrangement but now accepted it.
- That MaNtengu was an induna's daughter, and by virtue of her father's status she could not be of higher rank than MaMkhwanazi, who was the daughter of a chief. MaMkhwanazi rejected the claim that MaNtengu was ever affiliated to her house.
- That Ibamba Phasula had been imposed on the family by the Government.

In August 1995 various papers were filed in the Supreme Court by George Tembe against the Minister concerned in which he pushed for his appointment as Inkosi of the clan.

7.4.7.2 Mchunu (Uthungulu)

The dispute over succession in this clan took place immediately after the death of Chief Siphathimandla Mchunu on the 27th April 1987. One section within the royal family was agitating for the appointment of Mbuso as the successor to the chief because he was nominated by his father without the knowledge of the umndeni as a whole. However, a majority within the umndeni was calling for the appointment of Mzikayise, i.e. MaMazibuko's son. In fact, it is argued that he was the general heir of the Cunwini tribe.

Inkosi Siphathimandla had two wives: MaMazibuko, the first married-wife, considered to be the Indlunkulu who had one son, Mzikayise; and MaMajola, the second married wife who had five sons. On the 25th August 1987, Mbuso and two other men visited the Magistrate to inform him that according to the last will and testament of the late inkosi he had been declared as the general heir of the clan. The Magistrate advised them to first discuss it with the umndeni. The Magistrate was subsequently visited by Mbuso's mother for the same purpose. Mbuso was given an opportunity to discuss the will with the umndeni at a meeting arranged for this purpose on the 19th November 1987. He failed to do so. Mbuso again visited the Magistrate on the 18th February 1988 for the same purpose.

However, the umndeni claimed that they only knew Mzikayise, the son of MaMazibuko as the general heir of the Cunwini clan. They further argued that the late Siphathimandla should have informed the umndeni if he was disinheriting Mzikayise as his father Sehla had done. Sehla had first informed the umndeni, then the tribe before making a will in which he had appointed Siphathimandla as his successor instead of Nhliziyombili. In response, it was argued that the late Inkosi Siphathimandla had been unable to speak when he wrote the will. Others argued that he was able to speak sometimes, but was also suffering from mental illness at the time. There was also an argument that Siphathimandla could not write, while others argued that he could write his name.

Mbuso claimed ubukhosi on the strength of the 'Will', which he purported had been signed by the late inkosi on the 4th January 1983, nominating him (Mbuso) "to be substituted as Chief for the area". In addition, his claim was based on the fact that at his father's funeral he pointed the shield at the head of the grave for two reasons: that he was the head of the family; and that he was the successor to the late Inkosi Siphathimandla. This was the custom that was practiced by most of the clans in the province. Despite this, Mzikayise was appointed inkosi of the clan largely because the umndeni had not been informed of the will and it supported the appointment of Mzikayise.

7.4.7.3 Mangwe-Butanani

This is one of the clans in the province that has had serious issues arising from succession disputes. The exact date when the first serious dispute occurred is not clear, but it was probably in the first decades of the 1900s. The inkosi whose actions had given rise to the dispute, Mampunga Mazibuko, had five wives. According to the clan's custom, the first wife was an insila yenkosi; the second the senior ikhohlo; while the third wife had to be the daughter of an inkosi and was known as the Indlunkulu wife. All other wives were affiliated to either the ikhohlo or Indlunkulu house. Mampunga's third wife was not the daughter of an inkosi, but was the daughter of a commoner. Nevertheless, he recognized his third wife as the Indlunkulu, over the objections of the umndeni, who he insisted should accept his decision.

When Mampunga's health was deteriorating, the Magistrate, Nqutu, suggested to him that he appoint his eldest son from his first wife, namely Ndabakade, to act on his behalf. Inkosi Mampunga informed the Magistrate that he had appointed his son Langalakhe from his third wife as his general heir and successor. As the umndeni had already objected to the appointment of the third wife as Indlunkulu, both the umndeni and Ndabakade objected to this announcement. Their rejection of Langalakhe continued after inkosi Mampunga passed away. However, Langalakhe passed away before Ndabakade, and the latter was appointed inkosi.

Inkosi Ndabakade Mazibuko retired in 1963 because of ill-health, and umndeni appointed Nqova as acting inkosi for his heir, Mkhulunyelwa, who was still a minor. The latter died in 1968, and the next in line to take over the chieftainship was Mbekiseni Mazibuko, the only surviving son of Inkosi Ndabakade.

Acting inkosi Nqova resigned on the 25th August 1972, and acting inkosi Shisimpisi was appointed on the 19th September 1972. He also died soon after his appointment, on 6 October 1977, and the Magistrate called the umndeni to a meeting to select a successor. At the time the heir-apparent, Mbhekiseni was about 12 years old. It appears that no one attending the meeting wanted to take up the position of acting inkosi because they feared that they would also die. The Magistrate requested them to consider any one of the sons of Mampunga for the position. Gezendaba then agreed to take up the position, and he was appointed on the 25th June 1978. However, after several years as acting inkosi he felt uncertain of his position because the umndeni was threatening him that he was only

acting for Mbekiseni. Mbekiseni was the son of Ndabakade, born from his wife MaButhelezi. Ndabakade in turn was the son of the first wife of late inkosi Mampunga, and his mother was considered by many members of the umndeni to have been the Indlunkulu wife because Mampunga had not married the daughter of an inkosi.

Ibamba Gezendaba died on the 28th March 1987 when the car he and his wife were travelling in was ambushed. On the 25th June 1987, the umndeni resolved that the heir-apparent, Mbekiseni Mazibuko, should take up the position of inkosi once he got married. However, there was still need for an Ibamba to lead the clan while he was unmarried. The umndeni subsequently selected Simon Mazibuko as Ibamba at a meeting held on the 12th August 1987. Ibamba Simon was tragically murdered on the 19th March 1989.

Archival documents covering the 1980s introduce the name France Mazibuko for the first time. It is likely that he was a descendant of an early claimant to the chieftainship, Langalakhe. In a letter to the Magistrate, Nqutu, from the Secretary of the Chief Minister written in February 1989 a request is made to have France Mazibuko “warned” not to undermine Ibambabukhosi Simon Mazibuko or interfere with the administration of the Tribal Authority. Later, court records for the trial relating to the murder of Ibamba Simon Mazibuko include an allegation that the Ibamba was murdered at the direction of France. At the time it also becomes clear that people nominated by the umndeni for the post of acting chief declined “for fear of their lives”. At one point Mr. S.M. Ntshingila accepted nomination, but his kraal was burnt down and he therefore withdrew from this nomination. “The rightful heir” who grew up away from the district was not prepared to return for fear that he would be killed as well. There is reference to “unrest” in the district as a result of uncertainty regarding the ubukhosi of the Ingwe tribe.

Meanwhile, at Bergville the Inkosi elect, Mbhekiseni announced that he was reluctant to take Ubukhosi since he had not known the tribe from childhood, and that neither they nor his umndeni had ever met him before. His mother said that they should try to convince Mbhekiseni to take up Ubukhosi. It was recommended that Mbhekiseni meet with the Umndeni so that they could explain the position of ubukhosi for the Ingwe tribe. However, there followed a dispute by France Mazibuko, who claimed that the inkosi should be from the ikhohlo house, and therefore he should be chief. At an umndeni meeting in 1992 Mfakazeli Mazibuko spoke on France’s behalf, stating that the inkosi for this tribe was always from the “Ikhohlo house” (junior wife). The ethnologist said that this was contrary to the customs of the Zulu nation and to KwaZulu policy. One of the claims related to France’s case was that Inkosi Ndabakade was wrongly appointed, as he asserted that in Mazibuko tradition titles run through the ikhohlo wife, which was disputed by the elders present. Cabinet approved the appointment of the now married Mbekiseni in 1993, and he was appointed in that year.

7.4.7.4 Mthembu (Zululand)

Inkosi Somopho of the Mthembu clan had two sons. The eldest son, whose name is not known, died and left his wife MaMthethwa. Somopho instructed his other son, Msiyana, to marry MaMthethwa, who he took as his first wife. When he was appointed inkosi,

MaMthethwa became his chief wife. Their son, Madoda, became inkosi on the death of his father. Madoda had six wives: MaMpanza, who was the first wife married, and the daughter of a commoner, but who was Indlunkulu wife; MaBiyela, the daughter of a commoner; MaCebekhulu, an inkosi's daughter, who it is claimed was publicly announced as Indlunkulu; MaMkhwanzai, an induna's daughter; MaNtshangase, an indunas daughter; and MaBiyela, an induna's daughter.

In 1966 two half-brothers, Gezuyisi and Mtateni Mthembu laid claim to the chieftainship. Gezuyisi was the eldest son of the first wife the inkosi married, Nokubeka. Mtateni was the eldest son of the inkosi's third wife, who Mtateni claimed to have been selected as the indlunkulu by the late inkosi. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed and sat on the 6th January 1966.

However, according to one of the late inkosi's brothers, Zibusele Mthembu, in testimony before the Enquiry, Inkosi Madoda had never made a public announcement that he was placing his third wife in the Indlunkulu house. He failed to follow custom because he should have called the Ibandla together and made the announcement. The only proof of his decision was a statement made in the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office to the effect that he had made the third wife his Indlunkulu. The inkosi was then told that he must return to the clan and make a public statement. This he never did – and Zibusele concluded that as far as he was concerned Gezuyisi was the heir of the late inkosi. Thus, although the late inkosi had informed the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of his desire to disinherit Gezuyisi and appoint Mtateni, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner rejected Mtateni's claim because the late inkosi had never, as was required by custom, called together the Ibandla and announced this decision. Gezuyisi was declared the heir of the late Inkosi Madoda Mthembu.

Ethnologist F.S. Mhlongo assessed the case many years later (in 1987). In her report she states that it was asserted that it was the custom of the clan that the first wife married is the chief wife by members of the umndeni. However, this was based solely on the instruction given by Somopho to Msiyana to marry MaMthethwa and take her as his chief wife. No one knew how Somopho had divided his own kraal. The ethnologist asserted that it was pointless for the umndeni 'to argue that the first wife married is the chief wife because Msiyana was following certain instructions imposed upon him by his father. Madoda's first wife was the daughter of a commoner. His third wife was an inkosi's daughter. In cases where the first wife married is a commoner it is the inkosi's right to nominate his heir. It is a general and widely known custom of the Zulus that a commoner's daughter cannot bypass an Inkosi's daughter.' Madoda had in fact publicly declared MaCebekhulu as his chief wife. The ethnologist concluded that:

- AmaKhosi 'are at will to appoint their successors and heirs following their own tribal customs as the customs vary from tribe to tribe.
- It is their right to change their appointment if they feel or foresee a dangerous situation ahead in the future.

The ethnologist also found that Madoda had publicly announced that MaCebekhulu was an Indlunkulu due to her status. An affidavit was also made on the 10 December 1964, and Madoda had approached the Native Affairs Commissioner on the 13th September 1965 on the appointment of his chief wife. The Ethnologist concluded that the rightful heir should have come from the house of MaCebekhulu.

7.4.7.5 Ngcobo (Ilembe)

The inkosi of this clan in the late 1980s, inkosi Bafana Ngcobo passed away on the 6th November 1989. Inkosi Bafana had two wives, namely MaNgema and MaMyeza. MaNgema, who was the Indlunkulu wife, predeceased inkosi Bafana. Their eldest son, and the heir-apparent, Mbabazeni was reportedly mentally incapacitated and his whereabouts were not known since 1988. The second wife of inkosi Bafana, MaMyeza, had four sons, the eldest of whom was Dumisani. In terms of the Fuze family rule of primogeniture, Dumisani was next in the line of succession in the absence of Mbabazeni.

The late inkosi Bafana was the son of MaMkhize, the first wife married to the late inkosi Mazenyane. Inkosi Mazenyane also had two sons, namely Doda and Shendeleka (Shadrack) born to him by his second wife, MaDunga. Shendeleka had a son named Vusumuzi who was the grandson of inkosi Mazenyane. Dumisani and Vusumuzi both laid claim to the chieftainship, and this resulted in a split of the clan into two factions.

On the 5th June 1995 the umndeni submitted a statement recommending the appointment of Vusumuzi Jeffrey Ngcobo. Vusumuzi's claim is based on the fact that his grandfather, late inkosi Mazenyane had pointed out that he would be succeeded by his grandson, Mbabazeni. Later on he announced that ubukhosi should move from grandson to grandson. Despite this claim, however, inkosi Mazenyane was succeeded by his son, inkosi Bafana Ngcobo and not by Mbabazeni, who was the son of inkosi Bafana and heir-apparent. If Vusumuzi's claim was correct, then inkosi Bafana was not an inkosi in his own right but merely acting on behalf of his sons. Vusumuzi further claimed that since Mbabazeni was nowhere to be found, he was the rightful heir to ubukhosi because his grandmother, MaDunga was an inkosi's daughter. Therefore she had the status of being the chief wife. However, according to the genealogical table of the Fuze family the first wife married by the inkosi is the Indlunkulu.

On the 19th September 1995, another faction of the umndeni recommended that Dumisani be appointed inkosi of the clan. Included in this faction was MaMathobela, the wife of Doda, Shendeleka's (i.e. Vusumuzi's father) elder brother. Numerous umndeni meetings were held since then to resolve the crisis, but the faction supporting Vusumuzi was not in attendance at these meetings. At the time, however, Dumisani felt that he was not ready to exercise his right as inkosi of the Fuze clan. The faction supporting him therefore also suggested that an induna, Mosi Joel Khumalo be appointed in an acting capacity until the differences over the issue of succession had been sorted out.

There was nothing to substantiate Vusumuzi's claim that inkosi Mazenyane had stated that he did not want his sons to succeed him and that he should be succeeded by his

grandsons. There was also no record to suggest that inkosi Bafana Ngcobo was appointed in an acting capacity for the grandsons, namely Mbabazeni or Vusumuzi. Furthermore, the system of primogeniture would not have been followed if Vusumuzi, as the son of the second son (Shendeleka) from inkosi Mazenyane's second house (MaDunga), was appointed inkosi. In terms of the system of primogeniture, the right of succession belongs to the first born son.

7.4.7.6 Ngome (*Umzinyathi*)

According to the minutes of an umndeni meeting with the magistrate, Msinga, on the 19th January 1888, there was a succession dispute between Bhambata's son, Bulawayo, and Bhambata's nephew, Solomon. When Bhambata fought in the Zulu Rebellion, Funizwe (the brother of Bhambata) acted in his place. When Bhambata died, Solomon, the son of Funizwe, wanted to be Chief. Bhambata however, had a son, Bulawayo, who was the heir. Bulawayo was eventually appointed. The document has limited information about this dispute. This contradicts an anthropological report compiled by M. Ngubane on the 26th July 2004, in which it is stated that Funizwe was appointed as Chief and when he died, Bhambata's heir was to be the next Chief.

Inkosi Bulawayo Zondi passed away on the 16 October 1978. He died without publicly conferring status on his wives as required by the Natal Code of Zulu Law. In addition, during his lifetime the inkosi made two conflicting statements with regard to his successor, giving rise to a succession dispute between two of his sons. In 1979, there was a claim to the chieftainship of the clan by the late Inkosi Bulawayo Zondi's youngest son, Mzikayise Zondi. Mzikayise claimed that his father nominated him as successor. According to a report compiled by the Assistant Chief Ethnologist, A.O. Jackson, on 14th August 1979, the late Chief took his youngest son to the Magistrate in Greytown in 1971 and said he wanted him to be the heir. This was signed, dated and witnessed on the 17th June 1971. But, according to Zulu custom and law, this is inconsistent since Mzikayise is the youngest of 3 living uterine brothers of which the older 2 take precedence over him. It should be noted, however, that Section 118 of the Natal Code of Native Law makes provision for an inkosi to disinherit his heir and therefore apparently his successor.

Nevertheless, Jackson also stated that the Umndeni unanimously indicated that Fanyana, Bulawayo's son by his first married wife MaNgubane, should be the heir. He noted as well that the tribes-people found the steps taken by the inkosi to disinherit his eldest son irregular particularly because he had not consulted the clan when he took this step. Mr. Bradley, the previous ethnologist at Ulundi, visited Chief Bulawayo Zondi on the 14th May 1973 and the Chief said to him that he wanted Fanyana to succeed him. A.O. Jackson ended his report by saying that he recommends that Fanyana be appointed as Chief. Thus, the rival claims were based on the grounds of primogeniture (Fanyana's) on the one hand and on a deposition made by the late inkosi before a Magistrate (Mzikayise's) on the other.

At a meeting with the tribe on the 26th April 1979, the Magistrate reported that the appointment of Fanyana as inkosi of the clan was virtually unanimously supported by

members of the tribe, with the exception of a few. One member of the umndeni, Mic Zondi, wanted to know if a will existed in which the late inkosi had made a statement to the Magistrate of Greytown on the 1st June 1971. At a subsequent meeting on the 8th August 1979, according to Assistant Chief Ethnologist, the umndeni unanimously indicated that Fanyana, Inkosi Bulawayo's son by his first-married wife, MaNgubane, should succeed to the chieftainship. There was no objection from any member of the umndeni, nor was any other candidate proposed or suggested. Fanyana was duly appointed as inkosi of the clan.

Inkosi Fanyana passed away on the 15th April 1987. A trip report by field officer, B.E. Cele to the Magistrate in Msinga on the 11th March 1988 reveals that there was an underground dispute concerning the appointment of the late Chief Fanyana's heir, Khulekani Moses Zondi. The umndeni went to see the Magistrate without the heir and his mother and recommended that Bethuel Nkosenye Zondi acts for the heir. The Magistrate felt that something was not legitimate about their forcefulness regarding this request. On the 19th April 1988, the Department of the Chief Minister recommended that the Induna currently looking after the affairs of the tribe, Mr. Mzila, should continue to do so until the heir got married and was ready to take over the chieftainship. The Department felt that if Bethuel was appointed, it would cause trouble in the tribe. An ethnological report written on the 30th September 1988 also supported the Chief Minister's verdict. Between 1988 and 1991, the heir was not appointed and the Induna attempted to get the family together to discuss the matter, but was not able to accomplish this as he felt that the umndeni did not want to discuss the matter. Eventually in 1993 the heir was appointed due to the fact that he had got married in December 1992 and indicated his willingness to complete his matric if the funds were made available to him.

In 2003, claims of ubhukosi by descendants of Magwababa Zondi were put forward. The anthropologist's investigation revealed that Magwababa was the younger brother of Inkosi Jangeni and was only appointed in an Acting capacity. The claimant, Irwin Xhengu Zondi, is the younger son of Mhletshwa, who was the oldest son of Magwababa. According to the anthropologist's report, Irwin's claim cannot therefore be supported.

7.4.7.7 Nxamalala (Umgungundlovu)

In some cases, competing accounts of events relevant to selecting a successor to the chieftainship play a significant role in giving rise to a dispute. The situation becomes more complex when an inkosi takes some actions which are contradictory to the clan's customs. This was the case with a succession dispute in the Nxamalala clan of the Umgungundlovu as early as the 1880s.³³³ Matomela was the inkosi of this clan during the days of Shaka. After his death, his son Sondaba, who was the eldest son of the chief wife, became chief. He had two brothers, namely Siguqa and Lugaju. Siguqa was killed by one of Shaka's armies. Umtyolozzi (Umsholozzi) was another of Sondaba's brothers from another of Matomela's wives. Soon after Sondaba succeeded to the chieftainship, Shaka again threatened to attack the amaNxamalala. Sondaba became alarmed and fled with

³³³ The discussion below comes from a 'Report on disputed claim of succession to the AmaNxamalala Tribe of the late Chief Lugaju' made by the Native Commissioner, S.N.A. 631/1886.

some of his followers to the area under the Podos. With him was his wife, whom he had recently married and who died shortly thereafter without any children. According to the custom of the clan, because his wife had died without any children her family was required to return the lobola paid for her or provide Sondaba with another daughter in her place.

After Sondaba fled Umtyoloji gained control of the clan, established friendly relations with Shaka, and was appointed inkosi of the clan. After Shaka's death Sondaba returned to the clan and claimed the chieftainship. However, Umtyoloji had him killed, and Lugaju fled. Dingaan killed Umtyoloji, and the clan became dispersed. Some members of the clan, knowing that Lugaju had fled to seek refuge with the Hlangwini clan across the Umkomanzi River went to him. Lugaju returned to the tribal area in the Imphendhla, where a large part of the clan gradually collected around him. He was recognized as inkosi by the Colonial Government, while that section of the clan that had recognized Umtyoloji as inkosi remained in the Tugela valley. This is how the clan was divided into two sections, with Lugaju being recognized as the senior inkosi, as the son of the chief house and successor of right to his full brother Sondaba.

Lugaju then claimed the return of the lobola cattle paid for Sondaba's wife from her family because she had died without issue. Instead the family provided him with another daughter. At the time Umhlamunye, Lugaju's half-brother and a full brother of Umtyoloji, was the regent of the other section of the clan. Lugaju informed Umhlamunye that he intended marrying the sister of Sondaba's late wife. Umhlamunye advised him against doing this, because if he did so he would be taking her for Sondaba and any son arising from this union would be entitled to the chieftainship. Lugaju requested advice from his own clan, and they advised him to take the cattle instead. However, Lugaju married the woman against the advice of his half-brother and his clan. Lugaju rejected their claim that he was marrying the woman for his brother, but was instead marrying her for himself. The woman had a difficult pregnancy, and on one occasion when she was in pain Lugaju admitted that the woman was Sondaba's wife, and that the inkosi's son was about to be born. He had hardly said the words and made the proclamation when the woman gave birth to a baby boy.

Sometime later Lugaju took a chief wife, whose lobola was paid by the clan. He married the daughter of an inkosi from the Dumisa clan. One member of the clan, Umcungu, claimed that the clan reluctantly contributed, while Umhlamunye refused to contribute, rejecting Lugaju's request for a contribution on the grounds that he had no right to take a chief wife as he had already raised up seed to his elder brother Sondaba who was the inkosi. According to Umcungu, Umhlamunye contended that Mafahleni, Lugaju's son from the sister of Sondaba's late wife, was the rightful heir and that what Lugaju was doing by appointing a chief wife would only be the cause of a succession dispute when he died.

MaDumisa gave birth to a girl and a boy, Umbunda, who was to become the second claimant to the chieftainship. Umcungu claimed that relations between Lugaju and MaDumisa were not very good because she had a violent nature. He added that Lugaju

wanted her sent back to her family because he could not live with her. After lightning struck her hut killing two of her children she left her kraal, never to live with Lugaju again although she remained at another of his kraals. Umbunda later proved to be a violent child and also took to smoking dagga. Lugaju told his head induna Magiyezi that the boy was not fit to be an inkosi because of his violent and uncontrollable temper and that he would return to the original declaration of his people and acknowledge Mafahleni as his heir. On one occasion Umbunda stabbed another of his half-brothers, and was sentenced to three months imprisonment. Lugaju died while he was in jail.

Umcungu conceded that Lugaju had not publicly declared his intention to disinherit Umbunda. However, he had showed his intention to appoint Mafahleni as his successor in a number of ways. One of these was to allow Mafahleni to perform all the duties which belong to the inkosi or the principal son. Most notably, when Lugaju became too infirm to kill the ox at the Dance of the First Fruits, an act always performed by the inkosi, he asked Mafahleni to deputize for him. A faction of the clan claimed that the above-mentioned facts supported their claim that Mafahleni was the proper person by right to succeed as he was the son of Sondaba's wife. This was in accordance with their custom and usage. Moreover, even if this were not the case Umbunda had shown that he was not fit to be appointed as inkosi. They had no trust in him, he had a violent nature and ungovernable temper, and he had been a prisoner in jail.

However, Magiyezi denied many of the claims made above. He denied that he any knowledge of misconduct on the part of either Umbunda or his mother; of ever being told by Lugaju to return Umbunda's mother to his father's family; and that Umbunda had a violent nature and uncontrollable temper. He regarded Mafahleni's mother as nothing more than an ordinary wife of Lugaju's, and denied knowledge of the events accounted above at the birth of Mafahleni provided by Umcungu. He claimed that Lugaju had announced his intention of making MaDumisa his chief wife, had called upon his people to give cattle for her lobola, and had laid stress upon the fact that by contributing cattle they had assented to the arrangement. He did admit that they had advised Lugaju against marrying the sister of Sondaba's late wife. He also could not answer how he could support Umbunda's claim when he knew that according to the clan's laws and customs a younger brother always raised up seed for the elder. He also could not answer the question why the clan had insisted on the return of the lobola cattle because they knew that if Lugaju married the woman she would really be Sondaba's wife and that any children born to her would be his.

Umnyakanya, the son of Umtyoloji, testified that he was a young man at the time when Lugaju had sought advice from his father, and he recalled that Lugaju had been advised to take the cattle because by taking the woman he would be taking a wife for Sondaba and raising up seed for him. When they later learnt that Lugaju had married the woman Umhlamunye had then informed Lugaju that if the woman had a son he would be Sondaba's and would be entitled to the chieftainship. Umhlamunye had also refused to contribute to the lobola for MaDumisa because his brother Sondaba's house was still alive and the Lugaju had raised it up. Umhlamunye informed Lugaju that Mafahleni was the heir to the chieftainship and that he would not therefore contribute to the lobola for

maDumisa. Lugaju had in effect “ngena’d” Sondaba’s wife. Umnyakanya added that Umhlamunye had ordered his son and three of his indunas to remember his words about the situation that Lugaju had created if a succession dispute arose.

Umnyakanya further asserted that he met Lugaju privately before the latter passed away. On this occasion Lugaju admitted that he had made a mistake by marrying MaDumisa and making her his chief wife. He informed Umnyakanya that MaDumisa had behaved badly and that her son had taken after her. He also indicated that it was his intention to make Mafahleni his heir. Lugaju requested Umnyakana, as the next in rank to him in the clan, to inform the clan about his intentions. However, Umnyakanye was later advised by his indunas and two of the neighboring chiefs to only inform the clan once Lugaju had officially sent for him for this purpose. Lugaju died before this could happen. Umnyakande then stated that Mafahleni was the heir to the chieftainship by right of his father Sondaba. If this was unacceptable to him, Umnyakanye, was the next entitled to it.

The Native Commissioner then informed the clan that the ultimate decision about the successor was vested in the Supreme Chief, who would also base his decision on the conduct and fitness of the applicants for the position. The previous character and conduct would be taken into account when making the decision to appoint a person to such a responsible position. He added that even if Umbunda had the support of the whole clan, his previous character and conduct was such that the Supreme Chief had no confidence in him. Moreover, according to the laws and customs of the clan Lugaju had ngena’d his brother Sondaba’s wife and her son was therefore the proper heir. Finally, Lugaju’s wish and intentions were expressed privately and indicated publicly by actions to the clan that Mafahleni should succeed him. There was also nothing in Mafahleni’s prior conduct that could be held against him. The Native Commissioner recommended that Mafahleni be appointed inkosi of the Nxamalala clan.

7.4.7.8 Nyawo (*Umkhanyakude*)

According to the succession principles of the Nyawo clan, the chief comes from the mother whose lobola was paid by the tribe. In other words, Inkosi’s first wife is not appointed as Indlunkulu, nor does she produce the heir. Instead the second or third wife becomes an Indlunkulu. The issue of whether the wife is Indlunkulu or main wife does not receive any preferential treatment in selecting the chief. The chief can come from the third wife whose lobola was paid by the tribe. Therefore, the Inkosi from Nyawo tribe does not have a collateral successor. Further, the Nyawo custom also prescribes that the first wife of the chief is an “Insulamsizi”, meaning that she does not reign at all: she only attends to the affairs of the Umndeni.

The above custom has created a misunderstanding in the clan because it gave rise to a succession dispute in 1997. However, it is necessary first to discuss a succession dispute in a clan that took place in the late 1930s to get a better understanding of the customary rules governing succession applicable in this clan.

The Nyawo clan of Ingwavuma, although mainly Zulu and adhering to the customs of the Zulus, was a mixed clan: having absorbed from the neighbouring clans a considerable number of Swazis and Tongas. The clan dwelt along the Ubombo range between the eastern border of Swaziland and the Pongola River. By the late 1930s they had occupied the area for a century and a half, living under successive hereditary amakhosi.

Inkosi Mtyakela died on the 20th July 1936 apparently without appointing his chief wife, from whose house the successor to ubukhosi would have been selected. The umndeni met on the 15th April 1937 to confer status upon the widows of the late inkosi. It decided that Estela was the principal wife of the indlunkulu house; Gasta was the principal wife of the ikhohlo house, and Leah was the principal wife of the iqadi house. The remaining widows were subordinate wives, and no special status was conferred upon them. The majority of family members attending the meeting supported this decision. However, David Nyawo, the brother of the late inkosi expressed his objection to this decision, and argued that Martha should be declared the principal wife of the Indlunkulu house because this had been the nomination of the inkosi on his death-bed. This argument was supported by ten others in the meeting, including induna Vuka Nyawo.

Vuka contended that late Inkosi Mtyakela had established his own kraal away from the kraal established by Sambane, the late inkosi's father. As such, he had taken with him the ubukhosi (chieftainship) from the previous kraal of his late father to the one he had established for himself. In his opinion, Vuka argued, the successor to the Inkosi should therefore be chosen from the kraal established by the chief, and to which ubukhosi had been taken by the fact that he had established his own kraal.

The Native Commissioner at the time requested further information in this regard from the Chief Native Commissioner. 'Apparently', he stated, 'the "ubukhosi" plays an important part in determining where the Royal Kraal is situated. If for instance a Chief has taken his principal wife, and established his royal kraal, or "Indhlunkulu", the "ubukhosi" is of course taken to that particular kraal. When this chief dies, and his successor and heir becomes chief, does the "ubukhosi" remain at the principal kraal of his father until such time as the new chief has

- (1) Taken his Principal Wife and established his own kraal, or
- (2) Is the "ubukhosi" taken to the new chief's kraal immediately he establishes his own kraal and before he has nominated or taken his Principal Wife?

A Board of Inquiry was appointed to decide on the succession dispute. The claimants to the chieftainship were Mbubane, the eldest son of Estela, the second wife of the late inkosi, and Franz, the second and eldest living son of Martha, the sixth wife of the late inkosi. Mbubane's claim was based on the statements that his mother was the chief wife because Inkosi Sambane had declared her as such on her wedding day and because the tribe had contributed to her lobola. Franz's claim was based on the assertion that, although his mother Martha had never been appointed as chief wife during his father's lifetime, there was evidence to show that Inkosi Mtyakela had intended to recognize her as such. These include a death-bed communication from the inkosi that suggested

preference for the kraal of Franz's mother, certain entries in the inkosi's diary which indicated his choice of his successor to be Franz's elder brother who had passed away, and the inkosi's personal preference for Franz's mother's kraal and Martha herself. However, the Board found the witnesses who put forward the arguments for both sides unconvincing.

The Board stipulated that when an inkosi of this clan died without any formal nomination or legal indication of his heir – basically done by appointing his great house – it was the duty of the elders of the clan to assemble and formally confer status on the widows, appointing the Indlunkulu house with its chief wife (inksikazi) and fixing the rank of each subsidiary house in accordance with the customs of the clan. This was not done. Instead a dispute arose, with the tribe dividing into two factions each of which endeavoured to build up a case in support of the house of its choice. The Board found that the claims of both factions were not established on the grounds put forth by them. There was nothing in the laws or customs governing succession that substantiated either claim. In such a case, the underlying principle is that the selection of an heir to the chieftainship is retained by the clan itself. That principle finds expression in the right of the clan to select the woman who shall be the chief wife. The eldest son of the chief wife so selected becomes the heir. The Board concluded that after extensive enquiry there was overwhelming support in the clan for the election of Mbubane. It therefore recommended the appointment of Mbubane as heir to the chieftainship and general heir to his late father's estate. It also recommended the appointment of an acting inkosi until the heir was old enough to assume control. This decision was to have a bearing on the outcome of another succession dispute, occurring almost 60 years later.

Inkosi Mbabane Nyawo died on the 3rd April 1993. He was married to fourteen wives, had divorced three, while two predeceased him. He was survived by a number of sons from his different wives. The inkosi died without naming his indlunkulu wife, nor did he name his successor.

A series of meetings of the umndeni was held after the death of the inkosi, primarily to name the indlunkulu wife from whose house the successor to ubukhosi would be drawn. At an umndeni meeting held on the 2nd March 1996, the umndeni declared MaMkhize the indlunkulu wife. MaMkhize was the deceased inkosi's second wife, and she had been installed in the late inkosi's Olakeni Kraal, which his father, Mtshakela, had built. In this house, it is said, she served as the 'hand' of her mother-in-law, Mbabane's mother. The tribe's custom prescribed that the heir must hold his father's spear or firearm and stand at the head of the grave during the funeral. As there was no heir at the time, Sonyoni, the Isekela, instructed Mbutho kaSambane to perform this duty. The heir was required to fire his father's grave if he had one in his possession. This function was performed by Johannes KaMzingeli on the instructions of Sonyoni. All the wives were also required to carry the deceased inkosi's weapons at the funeral: MaNdlanzi had his firearm; MaMkhize his battle-axe or 'Isizenze', also regarded by the clan as the symbol for ubukhosi; and MaKwesaba had Ingede and others different weapons. However, it was MaMkhize who was in possession of the late inkosi's weapons, including the stick or symbol for ubukhosi, as well as the late inkosi's traditional attire.

MaDlanzi was the first wife, and as such she was the Insulamsizi, meaning that she attends to the affairs of the umndeni. MaKwesaba was the Imbutho, meaning that she was only affiliated to the Indlunkulu wife. She confirmed MaMkhize's status as indlunkulu wife, adding that MaMkhize was the indlunkulu because 'she was the hand of their mother-in law', was 'in possession of their husband's traditional weapons and attire and was the one carrying the inkosi's battle-axe'. MaMnombeni supported MaKwesaba's conclusions by drawing attentions to the names given to the eldest sons of MaNdlanzi and MaMkhize, i.e. Mlamuli and Mkhulumeni, respectively. The former means the one solving problems, while the latter means the one who speaks on behalf of others.

The umndeni's decision that MaMkhize was the indlunkulu wife was later opposed by Diliza Nyawo, the late inkosi's son from the third wife. This was expressed at a meeting with the ethnologist on the 18th April 1996. Diliza Nyawo alleged that MaMkhize (who was generally known as Indlunkulu), was not considered to be the rightful house to claim chieftainship because her lobola was not paid by the tribe. As a result, MaKwesaba regarded herself as the Indlunkulu because her lobola was paid by the tribe. To this end, the entire royal family regarded MaKwesaba as Indlunkulu. The late chief even built a new kraal (KwaVumayena) for her. This created havoc following the death of chief Mbabane Nyawo because the chief did not nominate his rightful heir and successor. This was followed by a meeting of the umndeni on the 23rd March 1996, when Mkhulumeli Maurice Nyawo's name was put forward and accepted as the next inkosi. On the 31st March, Diliza and a small faction of the umndeni challenged the decision taken at the 2nd March meeting at a meeting of the umndeni on that day. However, the umndeni again confirmed the name of Mkhulumeli as the next inkosi.

At a very contentious meeting of the umndeni on the 31st May 1997, the name of Mkhulumeli Maurice Nyawo was put forward as the next inkosi. There were many objections to this decision, but it was nevertheless the one that was made. Mkhulumeli was duly appointed inkosi on the 8 October 1997. Diliza Thamsanqa Nyawo then took the matter to the High Court.

The Nyawo clan in Umkhanyakude went through two succession disputes that ending in the appointment of Commissions of inquiry to resolve them. The first Commission of Inquiry was held in 1911. The report submitted by the Commission found that, in the Nyawo clan, the order in which the chief married his wives is of no significance, and that there was no custom that the third wife becomes the main wife (or indlunkulu). If the lobola of a particular wife was paid by the tribe it is one factor that is taken into account when deciding on the successor to ubukhosi. No house played any role in the appointing or crowning of the inkosi. Finally, one of the factors taken into account is the measure of support among the tribe enjoyed by the respective contenders for the chieftainship.

Another Commission of Inquiry into the chieftainship of the clan was held in 1936. In its report, the Commission found that when the inkosi dies without any formal nomination or legal indication of his heir, it is the duty of the elders of the tribe to assemble and formally confer status on the widows, in particular, appointing the main wife. When the

claims of contenders to the chieftainship cannot be supported by law or custom, the tribe acquires the right to select the woman who will be the main or chief wife. The eldest son the chief wife then becomes the heir to the chief.

In his papers to the High Court, Diliza Nyawo based his claim, in addition to the reasons given above, on the fact that the second wife was the ikhohlo wife, and as such could not produce the heir to the chieftainship. However, this was incorrect, according to one of the respondents in the court case, because inkosi Mbabane was the son of the second wife of inkosi Mtyakela.

However, it was later decided that the tribe had paid lobola for none of the wives. As for MaKwesaba who claimed that the lobola was paid by the tribe, this was denied on the basis that the eighteen herd of cattle that was paid included that the “invimba” and “inhlawulo” beasts for the reason that Inkosi disturbed her at school. MaMkhize’s son became the rightful heir after a series of interactions and engagements with the Magistrate.

7.4.8 Disputes arising from the appointment of a female Inkosi/Ibamba

7.4.8.1 Cele (*Ezingolweni-Ugu*)

In 1995 Chief Nkosikhona Wilton Kandalesizwe Cele passed away. The uMndeni nominated Mbongeni Shadrack Cele (the late chief’s half-brother) to act as IBamba. The wife of the late Inkosi, MaNgcobo (Indlunkulu), expressed her wish to act for her minor son, Simphiwe Cele. MaNgcobo did not want Mbongeni to act for her minor son because he didn’t give a satisfactory answer to the question she posed about whether or not he would be able to support his own family and the family of the late chief. Their custom prescribes that Ibamba is appointed from amongst the brothers of the late inkosi. However, although it was explained to umndeni that sometimes it became necessary for a female to be appointed to act because of the changes in socio-cultural and economic conditions, they all still disagreed with the idea of appointing a woman. In June 1996, however, MaNgcobo withdrew her original request to act for her son and uMndeni all agreed that Mbongeni Shadrack Cele should act.

After the death of Ibambabukhosi Mbongeni Shadrack Cele in 2006, Simphiwe was still not ready to take over the chieftainship, so his mother, Thembekile Carol Cele (MaNgcobo), was appointed as Ibamba on the 16th May 2007. One faction of the Cele clan was not happy about this and felt that the Kandalesizwe Cele lineage was not the correct ruling lineage, arguing instead that uBukhosi bakwaCele should revert back to the first wife of late Inkosi Munga. Some members of the tribe were not happy with MaNgcobo being involved in chiefly matters because she was a woman. They referred to her as an illegitimate claimant to the Cele Chieftaincy and were unhappy that she was earning a chief’s salary. These tribesmen also blamed ethnologist F.S. Mhlongo for corrupting their chieftaincy. They stated that only Cele-born males could be chiefs, and accused MaNgcobo of fraud by misrepresenting herself and obtaining a salary from the

government. A letter from the Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs dated 21st January 2009 said the disputes were raised by a faction of the Cele clan and were lineage disputes. This faction was advised to take this up with the Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and that MaNgcobo would continue to act until such time as the lineage was proven to be mistaken.

7.4.9 Disputes arising from the selection of the illegitimate son of an inkosi as successor

7.4.9.1 Biyela (Mangindini)

There are different ways in which traditional communities deal with the instances where an inkosi dies without having a male issue from his wives, while having illegitimate sons outside of his marriage. This was the case with the Biyela from the Mangindini area in the mid-1980s. Inkosi Fangelakhe Biyela died on the 8th August 1984. In 1984, the Magistrate of Nkandla informed the Secretary of the Department of the KwaZulu Chief Minister that he had met with a delegation of the late Inkosi Fangalekhe Biyela's family, led by Inkosi M. Biyela of Melmoth, who, he was informed, was the head of the Biyela clan. The delegation informed him on the 18th July 1984 that at a family meeting it was agreed that Mfonyo Biyela, a brother of the deceased inkosi, be appointed acting inkosi of the Biyela clan in the Mangindini area pending the determination of a successor to ubukhosi. He was also informed that the late inkosi had separated from his wives and only had one wife at the time of his death, MaNdlovu. The late inkosi also had no sons with his wives. He did, however, have an illegitimate son from a Gazu woman. The umndeni had also agreed that this son would succeed the late Inkosi Fangalekhe in accordance with the late inkosi's wishes expressed to his mother, MaSibiya, prior to his death. He had also told MaSibiya that he wanted his son to be brought up by the head of the clan, Inkosi M. Biyela of Melmoth, until he reached maturity. In this regard, the son, Mkhokheleni Mbongeni Biyela was to be placed "fakwa" in the house of MaNdlovu, the late inkosi's surviving wife.

A faction of the clan was opposed to the idea of the illegitimate son of the late inkosi succeeding to the chieftainship. They instead proposed that the chieftainship be given to Mfonyo Biyela. However, at a family meeting held on the 9th January 1985 it was agreed that the inkosi's illegitimate son 'would be the hereditary son'. It was further agreed that his uncle Mfonyo would hold the throne for him in the meantime'. Subsequently, a goat was ritually slaughtered by way of which Mkhokheleni Mbongeni was introduced to the family and ancestors as a full member of the family. In a subsequent letter written on the 2nd January 1990, the ethnologist expressed 'reservations about the appointment or nomination of the illegitimate son as successor without guide-lines having been laid down'.

7.4.9.2 Sobonakhona (Ethekwini)

Chief Bangubukhosi of the Sobonakhona clan of the Ethekwini District died in 1947 leaving one indlunkulu wife, MaMzulwini, and no male heir. His half-brother, Lugobe, succeeded him after his death. After he was appointed there was a claim that Lugobe's mother, MaGumede, was not married to his father Dabulasakhe, as no lobola was paid. A commission of enquiry was formed and on the 16th February 1949 they ruled in favour of Lugobe who was appointed inkosi. His indlunkulu wife, maCele had one daughter and his second wife, maNduli, bore him four sons, the eldest being Bhekizitha. During his reign, he decided to revive the house of Bangubukhosi. He arranged for an ukungena union between MaMzulwini and a relative, Nongomela Makhanya. From this union 2 boys were born, Dumisa/Dumisani and Muziwakhe. This resulted in the claim for chieftainship by Dumisani in 1992 and again in 2002. The ukungena union was ruled by the Commission of enquiry as contrary to tribal custom and the two children were regarded as illegitimate. It was therefore not necessary to revive the house when the line of descent had already been changed.

The custom of ukungenisa isisu was applied whereby Bhekizitha, born by maNduli, was placed in the house of maCele and he was appointed as Inkosi in April 1975 and died in March 1992. After his death, his brother, Bhekokwake Makhanya, was appointed to act for Khetha Sakhile, Bhekizitha's son, during his minority. In 2006 Khetha Sakhile was ready to take over but Ibamba Bhekokwake did not want to step down because he aimed to get funds to buy a vehicle for the Traditional Authority from the Trust funds. At this time there is conflict between him, the heir, and the heir's mother, MaZima.

In July 2009 the UMndeni elders stated that they want to suspend the appointment of Khetha Sakhile Makhanya because they question his paternity, he is unmarried and he has bad habits that could interfere with his chiefly duties. In August 2009 the Umdeni had a meeting with the Manager of Traditional Governance from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs, and a full report was given on the legitimacy of Khetha Sakhile Makhanya as Inkosi. The UMndeni accepted this.

7.4.9.3 Tembe (Ingwavuma)

The Tembe community of Ingwavuma experienced a series of factional differences over ubukhosi at virtually every instance when a new inkosi had to be appointed during the 20th century. But the one that deserves attention here is the dispute that occurred after the death of inkosi Mhlupeki on the 27 October 1950.

On the 21st September 1951, a number of tribal councilors and about 150 tribesmen met with the Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma, to inform the latter that they had selected Mzimba Tembe as their new inkosi. Mzimba was the brother of the late inkosi Mhlupeki. It was pointed out that Inkosi Mhlupeki had no children when he died. However, it later emerged that Mary, one of inkosi Mhlupeki's wives, had two sons aged approximately 2 (Mlindeli) and 4 (Bhekuzulu) years old at the time of the inkosi's death. According to the information the Native Commissioner got from indunas of the clan, According to the indunas, Mary deserted the inkosi before the birth of her sons, who were her illegitimate children. After inkosi Mhlupeki's death she returned to the tribal area. However, another

induna, Mazunguzung Tembe, and a tribal councilor, Frank Tembe later asserted that the two sons borne by Mary were legitimate children of the late inkosi. Frank Tembe told the Native Commissioner that Mary was pregnant with Bhekuzulu when she deserted the inkosi. Bhekuzulu was therefore a lawful male issue of the late inkosi Mhlupeki and entitled to succeed in due course to the chieftainship.

At a meeting of the umndeni on the 31st January 1952 other indunas rejected the claim that Mary was pregnant when she deserted Inkosi Mhlupeki. If the children were illegitimate, this would disqualify Bhekuzulu from succession. They instead wanted Mzimba to be appointed as inkosi of the clan. In an affidavit signed by Mary on the 21st March 1952, she confirmed that Inkosi Mhlupeki was not the father the both boys, thereby ending any speculation about their right to succession. Mzimba was duly appointed as Inkosi of the clan. In 1975, Bhekuzulu made an attempt to gain the chieftainship when he visited the Magistrate's office to lodge a claim to ubukhosi. Nothing came of this claim because it had been dealt with earlier in the century.

In this case, it is clear that the line of succession must run through the inkosi or a member of his own family. The illegitimate children of the wives of amakhosi do not qualify for succession.

7.4.9.4 Maphumulo (Umbumbulu)

Following the death of inkosi Phikaziwa in 1949, Xhamu Maphumulo, the brother of Jeqe, Inkosi Phikaziwa's father, was appointed acting inkosi in 1949 and remained in this position until 1977. Phikaziwa had two wives, MaMbambo and MaNdlovu, and two sons, Mbuyiselwa and Edward Baba. The latter was born soon after his father passed away, while Mbuyiselwa died soon after his father. Xhamu managed to rule with respect and integrity. No significant problems were reported during his tenure, but it was documented that he steadfastly refused to relinquish the acting chieftainship against the wishes of the Umndeni. He was deaf, and he could not participate in tribal meetings. Subsequently, he was told to retire by the Umndeni, and Acting Inkosi Amos Maphumulo took over in 1978. Edward Baba was not considered to be fit to be an inkosi because he had a drinking problem. Instead, in 1995 the umndeni selected his younger sister, Thembesile Virginia Maphumulo to be Ibambabukhosi on his behalf.

Among the key actions taken during this period were: a letter signed by the tribal secretary requesting that Mr. Nkosinathi Maphumulo (the chairman of the umndeni who was leading the opposition to the appointment of Thembesile Virginia Maphumulo as Ibambabukhosi) be appointed a councilor with powers to try cases in the tribal court; a letter dated the 29th August 1995 signed by Mr. N.C. Maphumulo and S.S. Maphumulo to the effect that MS Thembesile Maphumulo should not be appointed as Ibamba; another letter dated the 29th August 1995 signed by the same two people recommending that Mr. N.C. Maphumulo be appointed to perform all the functions of the inkosi until the hereditary inkosi was appointed; a meeting of a delegation of the umndeni held on the 19th September 1995 and led by Mr. N.C. Maphumulo requesting that Edward Baba should be allowed to take over ubukhosi instead of being deputized by his sister;

representations from the tribe insisting that Thembesile be appointed as an Ibamba and that Mr. Nkosingathi Maphumulo, Sikhumbiso Maphumulo, Mqapheli Maphumulo and Musa Maphumulo should not interfere with tribal matters because they did not live within the tribal area; affidavit by Edward Baba Maphumulo making it clear that he wanted his sister to deputize for him; and a meeting of umndeni and the tribe led by Ibamba Amos Maphumulo held on the 10 October 1995 where it was insisted that Thembesile Maphumulo be given letters of appointment on a date still to be decided by the umndeni and the tribe. Thembesile Maphumulo was to be given her letters of appointment at a function to be held on the 25th November 1995. The day before this occurred, however, Supreme Court papers were served on Ibamba Maphumulo, Thembesile Maphumulo and the Minister of Tribal Leaders and Environmental Affairs (sic).

In this context, the royal family split into two camps. One group claimed that not all houses of the umndeni were consulted when acting Inkosi Amos Maphumulo held the meeting of the umndeni that nominated T.V. Maphumulo as Ibamba. Their opposition was largely based on the fact that the nominee was a woman. However, their leaders claimed, on learning that she was only going to be appointed as Ibamba, they withdrew their objection. Nevertheless, this group made several attempts to meet with the Ibamba after her appointment, without success.

The group met with the Ibamba and her supporters for the first time on the 19th March 1997. It was stated that Edward Baba and his sister the Ibamba had no claim to ubukosi because both were not the children of the late inkosi Phikaziwa. They were both born long after the inkosi died. Furthermore, Baba was not suitable to be an inkosi. These were the reasons why the group wanted ubukhosi to be transferred to Xhamu's house, which was next in line for ubukhosi. However, if Mqaleli, the son of Xhamu, was not acceptable other names could be suggested by the Ibamba's supporters. On the other hand, the Ibamba's supporters pointed out that Baba was the son of Phikaziwa and was therefore the rightful heir to ubukhosi. (According to the ethnologist, Thembesile and her two younger brothers resulted from an ukungena union between Edward Baba Maphumulo's mother, maMbambo and Zwelakhe Maphumulo.)

It is clear that the root of the problem was disagreement within the family about the legitimacy of Edward Baba Maphumulo: whether or not he was the child of Inkosi Phikaziwa. This became most apparent at a tribal meeting held on the 7th April 1997 at the Umbumbuku Magistrate's office. One faction of the umndeni claimed that Edward Baba Maphumulo was not the child of the late inkosi. According to a field officer's record of statements made by one 'S'khumbuzo' at this meeting: 'Phikaziwa passed away and left two kids, namely Bawelile (daughter) and Mbuyiselwa (son). He then informed the meeting that Bawelile and Mbuyiselwa are the only descendants of Phikaziwa, therefore there are no people left at Phikaziwa's kraal. He explained that Mbuyiselwa died while Baba was about two weeks old and by the time Xhamu was Ibamba on behalf of Mnyiselwa. He then stated that after the death of Mbuyiselwa, Xhamu was no longer the Ibamba but inkosi. He further informed the meeting that when MaMbambo sought for assistance from Xhamu on behalf of Baba, Xhamu refused and told MaMbambo to go to

Baba's real father. He then concluded that Baba is not the son of Phikaziwa.' This group was recommending the appointment of Mqapheli, Xhamu's son, as inkosi of the clan. It was argued that if the house of Phikaziwa had no descendants, then ubukhosi should be transferred to Xhamu's house.

A certain 'Sipho' argued that MaMbambo was pregnant when Phikaziwa passed away. He added that the fact that Xhamu was dethroned because he had neglected Baba and MaMbambo proved that Baba was the son of Phikaziwa. The faction of the umndeni that held this view rejected the idea of transferring ubukhosi to the house of Xhamu.

However, this faction was in the minority, and a vote for or against the appointment of Mqapheli resulted in a majority support for the latter's appointment. One group declared the meeting closed, while the other expressed its opposition to the decision being forced on them.

7.4.10 Disputes arising in clans without historical customs and traditions

7.4.10.1 *Dumisa-Izimpethu-Zendlovu*

The first inkosi of this clan, Dumisa, was not an inkosi by birth, and the clan had been formed by people from disparate clans who became his followers. There was thus no recourse to laws and customs other than those that could be drawn from other clans. The succession disputes that emerged in the Dumisa-Izimpethu-Zendlovu clan are an illustration of the difficulties that arise from this lack of tradition with clearly defined laws and customs governing succession.

The Dumisa tribe, according to the oral testimony of an informant during an interview with the HSRC team, was divided into two sections in the late 19th century by the son of the founder of the clan, Dumisa, in order to avoid a succession dispute. According to the informant, Inkosi Dumisa had passed on the chieftainship to his son, Sawoti, while he was still alive. His intention had been to return to the land of his forefathers where he could die in peace and be buried there. However, a succession dispute arose between Sawoti (Saoti), Dumisa's eldest son from his ninth wife, and Ramncana, the eldest son from the second wife. Dumisa's first wife, MaCibise, had no sons, and Ramncana based his claim on the grounds that he was in line for the chieftainship because he was the eldest son of the second wife. Sawoti's claim was based on the ground that his mother, MaSibayi, was Dumisa's legally constituted chief wife. An Inquiry was held into the dispute in 1883, and the decision was in favour of Sawoti.³³⁴ This was followed by another dispute between Sawoti's sons in 1901, giving rise to another Inquiry.³³⁵

When Sawoti married his first wife his father Dumisa paid the lobola for her. Sawoti's first wife was MaManzini, and their first son was named Jeke (otherwise known as Jack). One witness in the Inquiry into the dispute, Fubu, stated that the custom of the Dumisa

³³⁴ S.N.A. 700/1883, in Volume S.N.A. 701 to 800, 1883.

³³⁵ Refer to S.N.A. 2065/1901.

clan was that the first son of the first wife was the general heir. This was significantly different from general Zulu laws and customs, although it was the custom of various clans such as the Amazizi. However, the members of the tribe wanted Sawoti to marry another wife who would give birth to a son who would succeed him as inkosi. Another witness in the Inquiry stipulated that it was the culture of the Dumisa tribe that the tribe must pay lobola for the chief wife who will give birth to a son who will succeed his father when he dies or retires. This would have been in accordance with general Zulu laws and customs governing succession. Chief Sawoti followed the tribe's instruction and married, MaMangcengeza, his second wife, who was also the daughter of the Royal Family of kwaNgcengeza at Emalangeneni. Their first born son was Mufi (Mofi). However, when Sawoti married his fourteenth wife, Nozinyanga, he declared her his chief wife during the wedding ceremony, against the wishes of the izinduna, further complicating matters. Many izinduna refused to contribute to her lobola. Nevertheless, Sawoti divorced Nozinyanga before she could give birth to an heir.

There were thus three rules of succession in conflict here: the first being the custom that the first-married wife was the chief wife; the second was that the chief wife was the wife whose lobola was paid by the clan and who was the daughter of another inkosi; and the third was the principle that the inkosi had the right to select his chief wife.

Jeke claimed the chieftainship on the ground that he was the general heir of Sawoti as the eldest son of the first wife and requested a declaration entitling him to succeed to that position with all the property rights attaching thereto. It was argued that Inkosi Dumisa had appointed MaManzini as Sawoti's chief wife largely because he had paid the lobola for her. According to Fubu, Sawoti had declared Jeke his chief son and heir after the conclusion of the succession dispute between Sawoti and Ramcana and prior to his marriage to Nozinyanga and her appointment as chief wife. Moreover, after Sawoti's divorce from Nozinyanga, Sawoti reverted to the previous arrangement that Jeke was his chief son. Moreover, according to the testimony of Inkosi Posula Dumisa of a branch of the clan in the Alfred and Ipoleta Divisions, Sawoti himself had objected to Posula's father's intention to appoint his second married wife as the chief wife. Instead, Sawoti had insisted that the son of the first wife was the chief son.

Mufi also claimed to be the general heir. His claim was supported by the treatment given to his mother, including her transfer into the inkosi's publicly declared and recently divorced chief wife's hut in the Inkosi's main kraal, where she was treated with deference and honour; by her placement in her mother-in-laws hut on the occasion of her marriage and the inkosi's reference to her as his chief wife on several occasions; by the establishment of a regiment in Mufi's honour when he was reached puberty (which was not done when Jeke was born); by the contribution of several headmen in various ways to the lobola for MaMangcengeza; by the removal of Jeke and the kraal especially made from him to Crown lands when he and Mufi quarreled; by the fact that Sawoti was living in Mufi's mother's hut just prior to his death; by the burial of Sawoti in front of MaMangcengeza's hut; by the fact that Mufi broke ground for his father's grave; by a death-bed declaration by the late inkosi that Mufi was his heir; and by the fact that

Sawoti's sacrificial axe, bowl and pincers were in MaMangcengeza's possession at the time of his death.

It must be recalled, however, that the earlier Inquiry into the succession dispute between Sawoti and Ramcana had decided in favour of the former. Ramcana, who was the late Inkosi Dumisa's eldest son from his first wife, would have therefore been next in line for the chieftainship if it was acceptable that the first wife married was the chief wife. However, the Inquiry found that Sawoti's mother, Dumisa's ninth wife, had been selected by the late inkosi as his chief wife. Likewise, the Inquiry into the dispute between Jeke and Mufi found in favour of the latter, basing its decision as well on various indications accounted above that his mother was the chief wife.

According to oral testimony given to HSRC researchers, Inkosi Mufi had fathered a son by the name of uDumezweni. Dumezweni didn't live long. He died at Himmelburgh Mission School (a boarding school). It was suspected that Dumezweni was poisoned by some members of the Royal Family because he was going to be the chief of the tribe. Mufi also didn't live much longer. He died of natural causes before he could become chief of his tribe. While chief Sawoti was still alive, he decided to appoint Njeza, his son from another wife as the chief of the Dumisa tribe. The Dumisa tribe was subsequently divided into two sections, which still exist today. The first section was based at Umgubowendlovu, or Emandleni-Endoda, and was led by Njeza. The second house was located at Ezimpethwinizendlovu, and was led by another son of Sawoti's from the house of Ezimpethwinizendlovu. It is claimed that Sawoti divided the clan because he didn't want any dispute.

In 1972 there was a dispute over succession and the tribe was not happy with the acting chief, Mtakati Duma, who had been acting since the 7th August 1970. Chief Henry Duma passed away on the 9th July 1970 and Mtakati Duma took over as acting chief because Henry Duma's son, Protus Duma, was only 8 years old at the time. The elders of the Duma family wanted Malahleka Duma (who was the late chief's eldest brother) to be appointed as acting Chief. In the beginning the elders did not want Malahleka Duma to be the acting chief because he wasn't married. The agreement was that during the period until he got married, Mtakati Duma would be the acting chief. Malahleka got married and then the elders wished him to be instated as acting chief. Mtakati Duma denied that there was ever such an agreement. The tribesmen were divided, with half being in favour of Mtakati and half for Malahleka. The Magistrate in the Vulamehlo district said in his report of the hearing on the matter that there is little evidence that Mtakati is a good chief and leader. In January 1974 a recommendation was made by the KwaZulu Government Service that Malahleka should be appointed as acting chief of the Duma clan. In April 1974 he was appointed as acting chief, a position he held until the 21st March 1985 when Muziwendoda Protus Duma was appointed as Chief of Duma tribe.

During the course of his reign Inkosi M.P. Duma was charged with 3 counts of misconduct. The charge of misconduct was for using tribal funds for his own benefit and beating 2 women on different occasions. He was suspended for 3 years in 1989. The Magistrate of the Vulamehlo district urged that Senior Induna Mdiniswa Shozi be left in

charge of the tribe. On the 27th January 1990, Chief Muziwendoda Protus Duma was reinstated after a tribal meeting. On the 9th April 1990 a letter from the Department of Justice said that Inkosi M.P. Duma had defaulted on his terms of suspension. It is not clear, but it is suggested that Induna Mdiniswa Shozi was in charge once again. Induna Mdiniswa Shozi died on 23 September 1991. Induna Mhlakaza Mntungwa took over as acting Inkosi, but there was a dispute because he was ill and not performing his duties.

On the 29th February 1992 Simon Madoleni Duma was illegally installed as Inkosi at the tribal court and the tribe was unaware of this. This appointment was overthrown. On the 24th February 1993, Chief Muziwendoda Protus Duma was reinstated as Inkosi of the Duma clan.

7.4.10.2 *Khumalo (Amajuba)*

The history of the Khumalo clan from Newcastle began in 1892 with the appointment of Mandlalelwa Khumalo as their first inkosi. Inkosi Mandlalelwa was appointed by the Natal Government and it was assumed that the clan had no hereditary ubukhosi. Therefore, Inkosi Mandlalelwa was an appointed and not recognized hereditary inkosi. This status had some implications with the customary system of succession as stipulated in the Natal Code, namely that the first-married wife produces the heir. In terms of the customs of many other clans in the province, however, the first wife is never the one that produces the heir.

These conflicting approaches often lead to disputes over succession. When the time came to select Mandlalelwa's successor it was found that the tribe had paid lobola for one of his wives. In Zulu custom, the eldest son of the wife whose lobola is paid by the clan is the heir to the chieftainship. However, the Natal Government refused to recognize the son of this wife, and instead appointed the son of the first-married wife, Mathebeni, in 1924. He at first rejected the position, because he had grown up with relatives in Paul Pietersburg, and thus did not have the necessary contact with his clan. As a result inkosi Mathebeni enjoyed no support from his clan.

After the death of Mathebeni in 1931, acting Inkosi Mkitikili was appointed to act on behalf of Cinsa, the son of late Inkosi Mathebeni's first-married wife. The clan was not happy with the nomination of Cinsa as heir, and instead suggested that Paulos, the son of the seventh wife of Mandlalelwa should be appointed inkosi. Mkitikili threatened to abolish ubukhosi if this was done. Mkitikili's threats never materialized, and Cinsa was appointed inkosi in 1932. Inkosi Cinsa died on the 20th July 1967. After his death it was recommended that the tribe be dissolved and the subjects informed to 'khonza' with the chiefs where they were staying at the time. This recommendation was made due to the fact that there were no more than 200 members in this clan.

The umndeni met in 1968 and nominated the eldest son of Inkosi Cinsa, Albert Mgwazeni Khumalo as the heir to the chieftainship. Albert Mgwazeni Khumalo was unmarried, and died before he could be appointed as inkosi. In 1973, after umndeni had nominated Bantu David Khumalo, the younger brother of the late Mgwazeni, to be

appointed as inkosi, Mzikayise Obed Khumalo made a claim to the chieftainship. Bantu was twenty-eight years old at the time, and unmarried. Mzikayise Obed Khumalo based his claim on the argument that Bantu David Khumalo was not the legitimate son of the late chief and therefore not entitled to ubukhosi. Mzikayise Obed Khumalo was the son of Vika Khumalo, the brother of the late Inkosi Cinsa. He was unable to substantiate his claim and died without achieving his goal. Bantu Khumalo had meanwhile disappeared. It was only on the 23rd April 2003 that the umndeni, at a meeting held on that day, was able to nominate Themba Gladwin Khumalo as inkosi of the clan. Themba was the eldest son of Bantu David Khumalo, who was old and ill at the time and unable to perform the duties of an inkosi.

7.4.11 Disputes arising in non-hereditary clans

7.4.11.1 *Nkumbini*

The groups that made up the Nkumbini tribe are: Nikwe, Mthembu, Gigaba, Mavundla, Radebe, Shibe, and Mkhize. This tribe is an amalgamation of various groups that were placed under Henry Fynn during the period after the Anglo-Zulu War and the annexation of Zululand. It appears that the Nkumbini tribe was placed in the location that became known as Tom Fynn's Location to act as a buffer between the warring Machi and Cele tribes. Following the death of the last coloured chief (since the area was under coloured chiefs) Wilson Fynn, several claims to the chieftainship were received. This forced the government to institute a commission of inquiry. Tribesmen were given the opportunity to state their views. It was decided that once the Coloured chief died the chieftainship would go back to the Gigabas. As a consequence, the late Nkanyezi Gigaba was elected as chief. But it was made clear that this chieftainship was not to carry any hereditary status. Chief Gigaba ruled until his death in 1976.

Thereafter a dispute arose between the different tribes who are calling for the recognition of their chiefs. The tribes involved in this dispute are the Gigabas, Nikwes, Abathembu and Mavundlas. The Gigabas claim that they arrived first in the area and therefore they are entitled to the chieftainship. However, the authorities decided otherwise by giving the chieftainship to the Mavundlas. The Mavundlas are seen to be ineligible for chieftainship because they arrived a little late in the area. This has led to much of the friction between these tribes. Anderson Gigaba incited the tribe to act defiantly towards the Mavundla chief. This caused so much unrest within the Nkumbini tribe. Although there are these troubles, the Mavundlas continued to hold on to the chieftainship regardless of the pressure from the Abathembu, Gigaba, and Nikwe tribes.

7.4.12.2 *Qoloqolo*

During 1859 the Qoloqolo were ruled by Mvundlase, who invited the American Board mission to visit his tribe. At this time, the Natal Colonial Government had a plan to establish so-called Mission Reserves as distinct from tribal areas. The Africans who were converted from their traditional African way of life into the Christian way of life wanted

to leave their traditional communities and Mission Reserves were established for them. In 1885 the Christian converts requested the Natal Colonial Government that they also wanted to be a community with an Inkosi. That request was granted and the Mthwalume Mission Reserve community elected their first Inkosi, Shunguza Khumalo, who died in 1894. His son did not succeed him as Inkosi because he was not Christian, and Mxinwa Zama was elected as heir. He was chief from 1907 to 1908. He was succeeded by Jubede Zama (1908-1923), followed by Isaac Zama (1924-1949) and Elijah Zama (1949-1988). Although the Qoloqolo was a Christian community whose amakhosi were elected, they have since 1907 elected the amakhosi from the same family – the Zama family. Each time the son of the preceding inkosi was chosen, giving it the semblance of a traditional succession.

Inkosi Elijah Zama of the Qoloqolo clan passed away on the 23 December 1988, leaving behind his son and heir Mandlenkosi Eulysis Zama, who was then 28 years old and unmarried. The Senior Induna was placed in charge until a successor was nominated. In September 1990 Nhlama Khumalo claimed that he was the rightful heir to the chieftainship since his father, Nsizwana Khumalo, ‘lent’ the late chief, Elijah Zama, the chieftainship. Nhlama Khumalo requested that the chieftainship of the community should now revert to its original position, the Khumalo family, as it stood before it was ‘lent’ to the Zama family by his father. He argued that his grandfather was the chief of the community, and that Isaac Zama had taken over as regent. In consequence, all the Nzama’s who had led the community since then had been regents, and not amaKhosi. He further claimed that since there was now a vacancy the chieftainship should revert to the rightful heir.

On the 12th February 1991, the uMndeni unanimously nominated Mandlenkosi Eulysis Zama as successor. On the 18th November 1991 the magistrate once again received a letter from Nhlama Khumalo’s lawyers claiming the right to the chieftainship. Nhlama claims his grandfather was the chief of the tribe and that Isaac Zama took over as regent and that Elijah Zama, son of Isaac also acted as regent. Nhlama feels that now there is a vacancy, he should take over as heir. According to the files, nothing came of this dispute.

7.4.12 Disputes arising from the loss of royal status

7.4.12.1 *Zulu-Emandleni clan*

The succession disputes arising in this clan have their roots in events in the 19th century. The Ntombela tribe has apparently been resident in the Nquthu area that it currently occupies prior to the time of Senzangakhona, the father of King Shaka. The tribe was then ruled by the hereditary Inkosi, Faku Ntombela kas Ziningo. Lubudlungu, son of Faku (then an old man) took part in the Bambatha rebellion, causing Faku to be deposed.

At the time, the Zulu King, Cetshwayo, had two sons, namely Dinizulu and Manzolwandle. Dinizulu was the rightful heir to the throne and after his appointment as King he gave a piece of land situated in the Nquthu district to his brother Manzolwandle

to rule. The Ntombelas claim, that during the Zulu civil war between the Mandlakazi and Usuthu factions Manzolwandle joined the Mandlakazi faction. He fled to his brother-in-law, Faku, where he was given a piece of land. After the death of Faku the government enquired about the successor to the ubukhosi. The mother of the King in exile (Cetshwayo) told the government that Manzolwandle had to be in charge and he was so appointed. When Manzolwandle passed away his son erroneously became an inkosi. The Ntombelas claim that Manzolwandle was appointed Ibambabukhosi for Lubhudlungu, the son of Faku who was in jail as a result of the part he took in the Bambatha rebellion.) Manzolwandle kaCetshwayo was appointed inkosi over the Ntombela clan by the government on the 23rd January 1907, immediately after the Bambatha rebellion. Inkosi Lubudlungu was deposed by the government for the role he played in the Bambatha rebellion against the government.

Before this occurred, however, the Magubane clan had paid homage (khonza) with other groups like the Shanges, Nenes, Ngobeses and Sikhakhanes. Inkosi Manzolwandle took control over these people, and they were henceforth designated to be part of the Zulu tribe. In 1923 Lubudlungu agitated for the return of the chieftainship to the Ntombelas, and after his death in 1935 his son Makwembeza Ntombela pursued where his father had left off. Inkosi Manzolwandle died on 9 December 1951, and his son William Qangqatho was appointed chief of that area. During his rule there was trouble in the clan resulting in a faction fight which cost the lives of 46 people. Following an investigation, it was found that William was mentally disturbed, and he was deposed on the 2nd November 1961 and removed to the Nongoma District. John Shange, a senior induna, was appointed Ibambabukhosi from the 2nd November 1961 on behalf of the minor son of inkosi William Zulu. John Shange died on the 1st March 1967. He was succeeded by John Ntombela as Ibambabukhosi from the 16th May 1967.

After the appointment of John Ntombela as Ibambabukhosi, and especially after he became too ill to be effective as inkosi, various factions of the Magubanes and Ntombelas put forward their claims for the chieftainship. In 1972 a deputation under Hangaza Ntombela made representations in Pretoria and claimed ubukhosi of the tribe. They were told to submit their claims to the KwaZulu Government. They duly approached the King, who promised to look into the matter. This request was also put to the Magistrate and the office of the Chief Minister on a number of occasions. They based their request on the claim that there would never be peace in the area as long as the chieftainship was held by the Zulu tribe, because even at that time, two of deposed inkosi William's sons were contesting the Ubukhosi. They argued that once any of the two sons was installed the tribe would be divided into two factions and conflict would be inevitable.

The Magubanes and Ntombelas met with the King on the 3rd April 1978, where the Magubanes put forward their claim to have their chieftainship and land, lost after the Bambatha rebellion, restored to them.

At a tribal meeting on the 14th November 1981, Ibambabukhosi John Ntombela introduced Hangaza Ntombela as his Isekela-Lenkosi. He also requested that he be relieved of his responsibilities as inkosi. On the 11th March 1982, deposed inkosi William

Zulu introduced his heir Siphos Bukhosibakhe Highlands Zulu to the umndeni in the presence of senior Prince Mcwayizeni. Later that day the Senior Prince introduced Siphos to the tribe at a meeting attended by approximately 200 tribesmen as inkosi William's successor. Ex-inkosi William had earlier been interviewed on the 10th February 1982 where he stated that his chief wife was MaSindane, his third wife, Siphos's mother. He had also made a statement to the Magistrate, Nqutu, on the 24th February 1982 to the effect that he wanted to abdicate his position and recommended the installation of his son, Siphos. The appointment was approved by the KwaZulu Cabinet (Resolution 108/82). On the 4th February 1983, the Senior Prince and members of the umndeni, as well as deposed inkosi William Zulu introduced Siphos as his heir and successor to the King at Dlamahlaha. However, before he could be installed the inkosi had to establish a house for himself and his family in the area. He was unable to raise sufficient funds from the tribe.

On 22 October 1984 a delegation led by Mpikayibonwa Ntombela handed a memorandum to the Magistrate in Nqutu in which they requested that ubukhosi of the tribe should be given to Hangaza Ntombela. A similar request was made to the Department of the Chief Minister on the 22nd May 1985. Meanwhile, a dispute had arisen over the appointment of a successor to deposed Inkosi William Zulu. Numerous deputations to the Magistrate of Nqutu registered their opposition to the appointment of Siphos Zulu as inkosi. Among these was a delegation on the 26th March 1985 comprising eleven tribesmen who complained that they had not been given a chance to air their views when ex-inkosi William introduced Siphos as his successor at a meeting on the 11th March 1985. They were in favour of the appointment of Magiya, Siphos's half-brother. They requested a meeting with the King, to be attended by all interested parties, to discuss ubukhosi. This faction wanted Wellington Magiya Zulu to be appointed inkosi because, they claimed, his mother's lobola was paid by the late inkosi Mansolwandle. They added that Siphos was from a junior house, ex-inkosi William's second wife, and therefore not entitled to ubukhosi. On the 7th May 1985 Cabinet considered a claim to Ubukhosi by a half-brother of Inkosi-elect, Siphos Zulu. Cabinet rejected the claim (Resolution No. 158/85). Inkosi-elect Siphos Zulu was murdered by his brother-in-law on the 4th August 1986. The issue of ubukhosi was up for grabs.

One suggested solution to the problem was to appoint any man from the tribe as inkosi. This was rejected by Hezron Zulu who said that the Zulu chieftainship cannot be thrown to the hands of commoners. The idea was then ignored. However, it was openly stated that the tribesmen no longer wished to return to the line of the late inkosi Manzolwandle to have control over them. The matter was put to the Zulu King at a meeting attended by the ethnologist, F.S. Mhlongo, and a Mr. H.B. Nxumalo on the 15th April 1987. The King noted that the late inkosi S.B.H. Zulu was survived by a son, Siphamandla, who was about 27 years old at the time. However, because Inkosi Zulu had been killed by Siphamandla's uncle (his mother's brother) he would be unacceptable to the Indlunkulu. Another son of Inkosi Zulu, Magiya Wellington was not suitable because of his mental state. The King also noted that the tribesmen were opposed to being ruled by the line of Manzolwandle. Finally, he noted that the Magubanes and Ntombelas were both claiming

the chieftainship. The King suggested that he would take over as ruler of the clan. He was opposed to the division of the land between the various factions claiming ubukhosi.

On the 19th September 1988, Cabinet approved (Resolution 348/88), placing the administration of the clan under the jurisdiction of the King and the appointment of an Isekelalenkosi to represent the King in the area. A meeting attended by 250 tribesmen on the 14th April 1990 was informed about this decision. The Ntombela faction did not attend the meeting. A delegation from this faction met with officials of the Department of the Chief Minister and the Magistrate on the 8th August 1990. Hangaza Ntombela argued that the area in question belonged to the Ntombela clan and that he was the rightful heir to Ubukhosi of this tribe.

However, before the King could appoint an Isekela-lenkosi for the clan, Nhlanhla Farewell Zulu claimed the chieftainship on the grounds that he was the son of Sipho Highlands Zulu. By 1997 the community had been without an administrative head or senior induna for a period of more than five years. Albert Musawenkosi Mtshali was appointed the Senior Induna after being nominated by a Tribal Council held on the 10th March 1997.

7.4.12.2 *Mthethwa (Zululand)*

One of the key issues was the claim of chieftainship (ubukhosi) by a section of the Mdletshe family living under inkosi Ntemba Mthethwa in the early 1990s. The family claimed that they are the descendants of Ngomane, who was an induna under inkosi Dingiswayo. When Shaka sought refuge with the Mthethwa he was under the tutelage and guardianship of Ngomane. When Shaka became king he gave Ngomane a piece of land stretching from Macelane to Sangoyane as a reward for bringing him up. Ngomane became inkosi of Mdletsheni from then on. He was succeeded by his son, Dedela, who in turn was succeeded by Ngqangi. Ngqangi fathered Masovalu, who was still too young to be appointed inkosi when his father passed away. Masovalu went to stay with his maternal grandparents at Kwa-Mbuyasi at KwaMbonambi. When legislation was introduced placing amakhosi under magistrates, there was no one to represent the Mdletshe ubukhosi because Masovalu was too young. Somopho Mthembu, a cousin of the young Masovalu, came forward and was appointed regent of Mdletsheni. Somopho Mthembu passed away and was succeeded by his son, Msiyane. When Masovalu became old enough he approached Msiyane to take over ubukhosi. The latter refused to step down, Masovalu passed away and his son, Msawenkosi approached Madoda, the son of Msiyane, about ubukhosi of Mdletsheni. The latter refused to step down. Since then there have been reminders to the Mthembus to return ubukhosi to the Mdletshe. By the 1980s the descendants of Ngomane were living under the Mthethwas. Their request was for a piece of land and to appoint Mkhangiseni as inkosi of the Mdletshe on their own land.

7.4.12.3 *Ntshangase (Zululand)*

The Ntshangase clan in the Simdlangentsha district of Zululand experienced a number of succession disputes during its history. However, the issues around chieftainship in this

clan range from claims to chieftainship from a sub-clan in their tribal area of jurisdiction to disputes among members of the royal family for the chieftainship.

In 1973, Mbhobho Thabede was causing trouble in the family and holding illegal umndeni meetings as though he was the inkosi of the Ntshangase clan. The Ntshangase family unanimously believed that the man should be removed from the area because he was causing conflict within the tribe. The Thabeles fall under the jurisdiction of the Ntshangases. Later in that year, he began demanding that the paramount chief give him his own area where he could rule. This created discord amongst the tribesmen.

Mbhobho Thabede's claim to chieftainship and request for the establishment of a chiefdom has its roots much earlier in the century. A delegation of members of the Thabeda clan met with the Magistrate of Simdlangentsha on the 16th February 1981. Here they claimed that the Thabede were an independent clan in the Mahlalela area in the Piet Retief district under Inkosi Makabaka Nhlamvu Thabede around about the year 1918. Inkosi Makabaka Nhlamvu Thabede died in 1930, and Mazeze was appointed as regent for the heir to the chieftainship, Mbhobho Thabede. Mazeze died two years later, and no one was appointed to replace him. At the time of Mazeze's death, Mbhobho was a young boy. When Mazeze died the Thabede clan became leaderless. In 1950 Mbhobho claimed his right to the chieftainship.

In February 1974, the paramount chief stated that he had looked into Mbhobho Thabede's claims of chieftainship and said that there was no evidence to support it. In 1977, the Secretary of the Department of the Chief Minister, Ulundi, said that Mbhobho Thabede's claims were unfounded and he was not a chief and his father had not been a chief. The letter stated that the magistrate needed to inform Mbhobho Thabede that if he did not stop pursuing his claim, legal action would be taken against him.

In 1980, the claim arose once again, and the magistrate recommended that this investigation be handed over to the KwaZulu Government in Ulundi. In 1981 the meeting between the Thabedes and Magistrate mentioned above took place. The KwaZulu government recommended that an ethnologist investigate this claim fully.

On the 28 October 1981, the Ethnologist, C.W. Malan, wrote a report about Mbhobho's claim to the chieftainship. He found that the Mahlalela area does not exist in the Simdlangentsha area. Mahlalela is a Buthelezi area where Cetswayo had given Sihlazi Thabede, the father of Bakabaka Nhlamvu Thabede, permission to stay close to the ekuBuseni Royal Kraal. In the days of DiniZulu during the Sibhenbhu unrest, Sihlazi fled from Mahlalela. He was then given permission by Sithambi Ntshangase to build at the foot of the Ngedle Mountain amongst the Ngwenya people. There is a lot of evidence to say that Sihlazi, was a man alone with his household and not with his entire tribe. The Thabedes also alleged that a 'Mr. Marx', who was apparently the magistrate at Piet Retief, appointed Mazeze as acting chief for the minor heir, Mbhobho. Mr. Marx was just an interpreter and had no jurisdiction to appoint a chief. Mbhobho also had no umndeni whatsoever. The ethnologist confirmed that the Thabede's family tree did not look like one of a chiefly house. He rejected Mbhobho's claim to chieftainship.

In 1989, Swekizwi Dlamini and family had a meeting with Inkosi David Ntshangase of the Ntshangase clan in whose area they were living to discuss the re-instatement of ubukhosi and rights for the Dlamini tribe. The inkosi and council accepted the complaint and said they would investigate. In 1989 the assistant chief ethnologist stated that there was no basis for the claim because it was recorded in 1947 that Mshokobezi Dlamini recognised that Mqumsheli Ntshangase, father of Londowake, was inkosi and was also recognised by other amakhosi. Swekizwi Dlamini did not give up easily and wrote a series of letters from 1992-1995 asking again and again for ubukhosi and for him to be appointed as inkosi. In 1996 Mr. Dlamini was installed as Inkosi of Moyeni in an unlawful ceremony. In 2000, after unrest in the area, the government recommended that Inkosi David Landokwakhe should hold a meeting with people in the Moyeni area to inform the community that Swekizwi Dlamini was not inkosi and should never hold any meetings or settle any disputes because he did not have the authority.

7.4.12.4 *Sibiya*

Although not specifically an issue about succession, the events in the Sibiya community at least from the late 1960s are important for understanding the issues around the restoration of traditional communities and leadership. The Sibiyas migrated from the surrounding areas of Mahlabathini and Mthonjaneni where the Ndaba clan split. Zingelwayo and Zembete were brothers, and Zembete migrated with Bapepezini and Zingelwayo migrated with Malandela. Apparently, Zembete built himself a hut below the Mkumbane River. He fathered a son named Gazu, and in this area generated the section of his family's clan known as the Sibiyas of Gazu. Zingelwayo and Malandela found the valley most trying and moved up the Mfolozi River in the footsteps of Nozinja's son, Zulu. They settled next to Zulu at Mthonjaneni. Domestic stock thrived there and people used to say that the Sibiyas fenced their kraals with cattle while others fenced them with tree branches. As the clan grew it moved further up the Mfolozi River, until they reached the Zulus. They reunited with their Gazu relatives, who had remained behind.

After a while one of the men of the Sibiya clan decided, together with his followers, to explore across the Mfolozi River and rounded the Nhlazatshe Mountain and settled in the country between this mountain and kwaNtabankulu Mountain. Ndaba fathered Sibiya, from who the Sibiya clan got their name. Ngobe was the grandson of Sibiya and was appointed as induna in the Ngotsha area after King Shaka expelled Mzilikazi from there. Nogwaza Sibiya, son of Ngobe, was an induna of Hamu who assisted King Cetshwayo during his fight with Hamu. For this loyalty Cetshwayo placed Sibiya in charge of the land north of the Pongola River in order to prevent Hamu from forming alliances with other tribes against the Zulu King. The relationship between the Sibiyas and the Zulu Royal Family was strengthened by Nogwaza's son Mtshekula, the father of Chief Bhekayiphi, who married Mpande's daughter, Nokwenda.

According to the Sibiyas, when the Mntungwa Ndlangamandlas under Makwekwana and the Mavuso under Mgayi arrived in their present areas they requested Nogwaza to accompany them to King Mpande to khonza. King Mpande left it to Nogwaza to give

them a place in his area. They then konzaed under the Sibiyas and were made Indunas over their own people. After the fighting between the Usuthu and Mandlakazi, Mtshekula was placed in charge of the area north of the Pongola River by the Indlunkulu as a reward for the part he played during the fighting. It is generally accepted that the Sibiyas have the largest number of followers in the area compared with the Mavusos, Msibis and Ndlangamandlas.

In 1968, two of Chief Bhekayipi Sibiya's indunas, Mkhunjini Ndlangamandla and Mbango Mavuso, were appointed as Chiefs by the Commissioner General. This was done to keep the peace in the area. From that time Chief Bekayipi was not pleased about this and claimed to be unaware that this was going to happen. The land of the Sibiya Tribal Authority was not divided between them. Instead the name was changed to the Masidla Community Authority and the 3 chiefs were expected to live harmoniously together. In 1974 the Paramount Chief felt that Chief Mkhunjini Ndlangamandla and Chief Mbango Mvuso were not appointed according to Zulu custom and he promised to investigate the issue. There is no evidence in the files that an investigation was carried out or the outcome of it. The archival documents reveal that throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s the faction fighting between the 3 chiefs and their followers was continuous, most particularly between the Sibiyas and Mavusos. These conflicts also involved boundary disputes. In 1997 the conflict was still on-going, and the Regional Authority recommended that a meeting between the inkosi of the conflicting factions at the time, Inkosi T.K. Sibiya, and the Sibiya tribe from the Vimbemshini community should be held with the Minister in Council. In this case, the Vimbemshini were trying to break away from the Sibiya tribe and this was therefore an issue of ubukhosi. In this regard, it appears that they wanted the creation of their own ubukhosi.

7.4.12.5 *Zondi (Uthungulu)*

A slightly different claim for the restoration of ubukhosi to a royal family occurred in the Zondi clan in Uthungulu. On the 26th April 1995, some members of the Zondi Umndeni from the Ladysmith area contacted Attorneys C.M. Sardiwalla & Co to apply for the recognition of Mkhipheni Paulos Zondi as the chief of the Amampumuza Tribal Authority. In the umndeni statement they said that the original chief in their area was the late chief Bhevu Zondi. After he died in 1935, his son King Zondi was Acting Chief. The latter died in 1974. King Zondi's son, Mkhipheni Paulos Zondi, was too young to be appointed at that time. He had now come of age and they wished for him to be appointed as chief.

The preliminary investigations by the Secretary of the Department of Traditional and Environmental Affairs revealed that the recognised Inkosi of the Amampumuza tribe was Inkosi Ntsikayezwe Welcome Zondi kaBhekiziwe and that the late Inkosi Bhevu Zondi left no male issue. He revealed that King Zondi did not act for Mkhipheni Paulos Zondi. The Secretary recommended that the umndeni who had contacted the lawyers should approach Inkosi Ntsikayezwe Welcome Zondi and the elders of the Zondi family to discuss the matter. The lawyers responded by saying that their client did not dispute the

fact that N.W. Zondi was the Inkosi of the Amampumuza tribe in Pietermaritzburg, but it was their clients contention that he was the heir of the tribe in Ladysmith.

On the 17 September 1995, the Secretary said that there was only one recognised chief on record for the tribe and again recommended that Mkipheni Paulos Zondi consult with Inkosi N.W. Zondi about the matter. In 1996, however, the Magistrate of Emnambithi recommended that Mkipheni Paulos Zondi be appointed as Inkosi of the Emnambithi area.

On the 1st April 1997 Inkosi Ntsikayezwe Welcome Zondi sent the Magistrate of Emnambithi a lawyer's letter (Mason Weinberg Inc.) to say that he had not given M.P. Zondi any rights to be an Inkosi of the Ladysmith area. He indicated in the letter that he had also heard a rumour that M.P. Zondi was to be appointed as Chief for this district on the 26th April 1997. A letter from the Secretary of the Department of Traditional and Environmental Affairs of the 3 April 1997 to Mason Weinberg Inc. stated that the department knew nothing about the installation of M.P. Zondi and if he was appointed as Inkosi it was done illegally.

A meeting was held at the Mpumuza Tribal Authority on the 14th May 1997 with anthropologist F.S. Mhlongo. The Inkosi (N.W. Zondi) said that his forefathers Laduma and Bhevu had quarreled and Bhevu broke away and settled with a section of the Mpumuza tribe in eMnambithi. After the death of Bhevu, the inkosi appointed two of his indunas to look after affairs in eMnambithi because Bhevu left no male offspring. Now the Zondi family living there wanted to appoint M.P. Zondi without consulting the Inkosi first. The issue was debated but no solution was reached at the meeting.

At an umndeni meeting held on the 23rd May 1997, anthropologist F.S. Mhlongo said that the problem with the tribe started after the death of Tetelegu who was secretive and did not declare the status of his wives. MaDlamini and MaNgubane were two of his wives. MaDlamini had a son, Laduma and MaNgubane had a son, Bhevu. Both wives were daughters of two different chiefs. MaDlamini was the daughter of Chief Dlamini of the Nhlangwini and MaNgubane the daughter of Chief Ngubane of the AmaBomvu tribe at Msinga. Laduma was eventually appointed as heir and this caused Bhevu to take legal action to contest the appointment. In 1900 there was a court case about succession to the clan's chieftainship and the Chief of Bantu Affairs noted that both Bhevu and Laduma had a claim to the Amaphumuza chieftainship. He therefore separated the clan. Laduma remained with his section in Vulindlela and Bhevu moved to the Ladysmith area. They both became Chiefs and had their own rights independently.

When Laduma died, his son Bhekizizwe was the heir to the chieftainship of this section of the clan. Vova acted for Bhekizizwe when he was still a minor. Bhevu passed away leaving no male issue. However, before Bhevu passed away he had placed King Zondi in the house of his Chief Wife, MaNcwadi and made him his son. King was the ukungena union between the widow of his late brother Mpindela Zondi and Madlozi Zondi. He nominated King as his general heir. In 1935 when Bhevu passed away, King was still a minor.

After this there was a dispute about who should act for King Zondi. The dispute was between the late Chief Bhevu's brothers, Madlozi and Mandlakayise. The dispute led to Ubukhosi reverting back on the 1st April 1937 to kwaMpumuza at Pietermaritzburg, which was done without the consent of the family members. Between 1970 and 1974 King Zondi wanted to take up his position as Inkosi but his claim was disputed by the Amampumuza in Pietermaritzburg. On the 8th December 1974, King Zondi passed away leaving no male issue and also before he could be appointed as inkosi.

At the umdeni meeting held on the 23rd May 1997, Inkosi N.W. Zondi said that M.P. Zondi should have their ubukhosi back for the sake of peace but should stop calling themselves Amampumuza.

7.5 Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the main rivals for ubukhosi are the sons of amakhosi, in particular brothers from different wives of amakhosi. It is also clear that sections of the community often support contending claimants to the chieftainship, giving rise to factional disputes that lead to violence and deaths. In some cases succession disputes have resulted in divisions in clans that could only be resolved by the separation of competing factions and the formation of new independent branches. In short, succession disputes have been extremely disruptive of traditional communities. Most importantly, however, the analysis demonstrates that clearly defined succession principles, with each principle ranked in a scale of importance from the most important – for example, that the Indlunkulu wife must be the daughter of another inkosi, followed by payment of lobola by the clan – down to the least important – for example, the son who fires the ceremonial weapon at the funeral – would be helpful in settling succession disputes. Nevertheless, this analysis has demonstrated that conflicting accounts of events occurring in the community and the actions of amakhosi that have reference to the selection of an Indlunkulu wife or the successor to the chieftainship will always occur in traditional communities that face a situation where the inkosi has not selected his Indlunkulu wife before his death.

Chapter 8

The creation of a database

In the first report submitted by the HSRC research team it was suggested that it might be possible to plot each community's data against a timeframe – so that it is clear how far back its history is known. This was based on archival searches and in fact would have been problematic since the actual number of communities expected to be dealt with in empirical research are much more than the number of traditional communities with files in the Department's archives. However, the information in departmental files made a tremendous contribution to the development of such a database. It is possible to go back in the departmental files to the period when certain polities were created in the late 19th century and early 20th century. During Phase Two of the research it became clear that it was possible to create at least three data files per community:

- 1) based on archives (including departmental) and secondary literature;
- 2) based on oral sources; and
- 3) based on researchers' analysis of both.

However, in the Second Report it was indicated that the latter is not budgeted for in this study and that it could prove useful to do it immediately after each cluster of districts had been covered the information was still fresh in researchers' minds, rapport with communities could still be used to fill in the gaps and archival data was still accessible.

The four key areas of focus for this research (historical background, migration, succession disputes, and genealogies) are crucial to review in relation to the factors affecting traditional leadership as a system of governance through time. In this study, only three of the above areas have been dealt with.

- The analysis of the historical background of traditional communities focuses on the history of the clan from its origin prior to settlement in the province, its leadership over time, and significant historical events and processes affecting communities where applicable.
- The analysis of migratory trends focuses on the factors that cause migration and the particular pattern of migration of individual communities.
- The analysis of succession disputes focuses on the main factors giving rise to such disputes, the positions of contending parties, the succession principles at play in such disputes, and the outcomes of the disputes.

The analysis of the historical backgrounds of a number of communities in chapter 5 of this Report is useful in developing an understanding of the genesis of clans, their relationship with other clans, and the effect of significant events and processes on them. It is quite clear from this analysis that many of the clans have a common genesis, a considerable number have been formed by the separation of members of a clan to form a new one, a number were destroyed during the wars of expansion of, and other upheavals

within, the Zulu kingdom, that new clans were created out of the fragments of disintegrating or scattered clans, and so on.

The analysis of migratory trends indicate the extent to which certain events and processes were causes of migration, how and when certain white authorities began to influence the location and movement of communities, and the relevance of other factors on the movement of clans and sections of clans. It is clear that the overwhelming influence on migration were the upheavals resulting from the expansion of the Zulu Kingdom, as well as upheavals within the kingdom, and the arrival of white settlers and colonization of a part of the region.

The analysis of succession disputes indicate the predominant causes of disputes, the succession principles of the communities experiencing such disputes, and the basis for the determination of certain outcomes. It is clear from the analysis above that the predominant factor giving rise to disputes is the failure of amakhosi to declare their chief wives, followed by contending notions of the principles governing succession.

The Report does not include a chapter allaying genealogies and lines of succession. Such a chapter would involve considerable effort because of the vast number of clans under study, and the complex nature of the subject itself. Instead, genealogical charts, and lines of succession will be provided in each file whether generated from available archival documents or obtained in the interview process.

The research process has also given rise to the development of electronic files for each community studied. These files consist of a number of components:

- Summary of Contents of Departmental Files
- Archival Research Template
- Data Summary Template
- Interview transcript
- Notes from interviews
- Legal Documents

The summary of the contents of departmental files indicates the existence of documents in those files that deal with the key subjects of this research: (1) historical background, (2) migration patterns, (3) genealogical charts, (4) lines of succession, (5) succession principles, (6) succession disputes, and (7) the key issues facing clans. The archival research template contains information about the files in the Department's archives, such as the subject matter of documents, the key issues dealt with in the documents and the quality of these documents. The data summary template contains the information gleaned from the archival documents that relate to the seven key subjects of the research project. Thus, brief historical backgrounds and migration patterns are provided, for example, where available. In addition, the template includes the observations of the researcher about the contents of the files.

This is followed by the transcript of the interviews held with the communities. The fieldworkers conducting interviews were also required to take notes during the course of the interviews. These notes are included, and they are summaries of the interviews. Included here are the observations of the fieldworker: for example, the display of hostility towards the project by an inkosi, the unhindered provision of information by those being interviewed, etc. Finally, legal documents such as Government Notices, Certificates of Jurisdiction and Letters of Appointment conferred upon amakhosi are included in the files. Examples of these files can be found in Appendix 1 of the Report.

Among the most important benefits arising from the creation of electronic files are:

- The ease with which it is possible to add documents to the files. The Department will be provided with two versions of the files: an MS Word version and a PDF File. The PDF files can be placed on the Department's website, restricted for use by relevant personnel, or open to the public if it so decides. These files cannot be altered. The MS Word files, which can be used to add documents to the files, should be kept in a secure location.
- The increased accessibility to the files for members of the Department on its website.

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