

***Ikhanda*: An ethno-historical archaeological investigation of Nguni  
military homesteads between the Mfolozi and Tugela Rivers, Kwa-  
Zulu Natal, South Africa**

**by**

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## Declaration

I declare that the dissertation that I am hereby submitting to the University of Pretoria for the MA degree in Archaeology is my own work and that I never before have submitted it to any other tertiary institution for any degree.

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R.H. van der Merwe

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Date

## Abstract

The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw great changes occurring in the political organisation as well as the demographical distribution of the people living within southern Africa. These changes would lead to the creation of the *ikhanda* (plural *amakhanda*) settlement form which was unique in both its organisation and demographic composition. In recent years there has been a renewed interest in the study of settlements within southern Africa, with the main settlement model, the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) coming under continued criticism. The aim of this study was to create a structural model for the organisation of an *ikhanda* settlement by drawing from ethnographic, historical and archaeological sources. This model was then compared with homesteads (*umuzi*) within Kwa-Zulu Natal in order to determine whether an *ikhanda* can be distinguished from *umuzi*, archaeologically. This study identified a number of differences which would potentially enable archaeologists to distinguish between *amakhanda* and other settlements. This model indicated that an *ikhanda* was organised into three structural sections namely the central enclosure, regimental housing and *isigodlo*; each of which was used for very specific purposes. Additionally, this study was able to identify and explain the functionality of previously unexplained features observed in the original excavations at uMgungundlovu.

Despite sharing many similarities with settlements constructed according to the CCP model, the *ikhanda*'s unique organisation and function illustrate the limitations of using the CCP model as an umbrella term for all southern African settlements. The simultaneous existence of CCP-based *umuzi* alongside *amakhanda* undermines the static nature that southern African settlements are believed to have had; indicating that superficial physical appearances may actually hide significant social, demographic and structural differences.

Keywords: Age regiments system, Central Cattle Pattern (CCP), ethnography, historical accounts, *Ibutho*, *Ikhanda*, settlement patterns, Zulu

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw great changes occurring in the political organisation as well as the demographical distribution of the people living within southern Africa. These changes were associated with the event referred to as the *mfecane* in Zulu and *difagane* in Sotho (Shillington, 1995:258). The origins of the *mfecane* can be found in 19<sup>th</sup> century Kwa-Zulu Natal as different northern Nguni chiefs fought each other in attempts to expand their power and influence. Although well documented from a historical perspective, the extent of the social changes that resulted from this period is still poorly understood. An example of these social changes was the creation of a new form of settlement among the northern Nguni; a military barracks called an *ikhanda* (plural *amakhanda*). Although the *ikhanda* settlement form has been partially studied over the years, the settlement structure has not been fully described nor has it yet been determined how the *ikhanda* differed from the *umuzi*, the normal Nguni homestead. It is generally believed that the primary impact of the *mfecane* was on the political organisation and social distribution of the peoples within southern Africa. Changes to the social organisation of these peoples are sometimes noted, nevertheless, it is usually treated as being of minor importance. The creation of a new settlement form that was an integral part of a ruler's ability to maintain authority, demonstrated that the social and political aspects of change cannot easily be separated. Therefore, by understanding how this new settlement form was organised and how it functioned within the larger society will also aid in the understanding of the new forms of political authority that emerged in 19<sup>th</sup> century Kwa-Zulu Natal.

## 1.2 Research aims and objections

Literature concerned with the Zulu social system often has sections discussing the regimental system. However, these writings often fail to take note of the fact that the *amabutho* system and the *amakhanda* settlements may predate the rise of the Zulu kingdom and that they were not only limited to the Zulu. This system can be found

among all of the northern Nguni and Sotho-Tswana groups (Omer-Cooper, 1966). Despite the importance assigned to the regimental system during the rise of the Zulu kingdom very little work has been done on *amakhanda*. When reading Julian Cobbing's article, "*The evolution of the Ndebele amabuntho*" (1974), it becomes clear that this has been the case for some time.

Therefore, the research question of this study is whether or not it will be possible to distinguish an *ikhanda* from an *umuzi* archaeologically. From historical accounts (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Merrett, 1995) it is known that the *ikhanda* and the *umuzi* existed simultaneously, whereas ethnographic accounts indicate that the two settlements had different functions (Krige, 1965). Despite this, the exact structural layout of the *ikhanda* is not clearly known nor to what extent it differed from the *umuzi*. Were these differences only of a social nature or can they be seen within the archaeological record as well?

The aim of this study was, therefore, to determine the structural layout and demographical composition (age and sex distribution of people who lived within these settlements) of the Zulu *ikhanda* settlement by utilizing archaeological, historical and ethnographical sources. Although ethnography forms a critical part of our understanding and interpretation of archaeological sites, the use of these accounts were limited by the incompleteness of the information supplied. It is not easy to determine which aspects of an ethnographic account are accurate and which aspects are not. A possible way of determining the accuracy of an account is to compare ethnographic information with the recovered archaeological data. This will enable a two way approach in interpreting and understanding archaeological sites; potentially minimizing the bias of using only one source type. Ethnographic accounts on their own provide useful information that can aid in understanding the layout and meaning of settlements. When combined with archaeological data it can in turn assist in interpreting the archaeological information of the site. Since known *amakhanda* have been excavated and documented, for example Ondini (Rawlinson, 1985; Watson and Watson, 1990; Van Schalkwyk, 1999) and uMgungundlovu (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Watson and Watson, 1990; Plug and Roodt, 1990;

1992 & 1993), it is possible to determine the level of correlation between ethnographic accounts and the archaeological record.

In order to determine the structural and demographical layout of an *ikhanda*, this study followed a two pronged approach. Firstly, a model for the classification of *amakhanda* had been created by using information obtained from archaeological excavations of known *amakhanda*, such as Ondini, uMgungundlovu and kwaBulawayo (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985; Rawlinson, 1987; Plug and Roodt, 1990; Watson and Watson, 1990, Whitelaw, 1994), as well as historical accounts (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Bird, 1965; Gardiner, 1966; Baldwin, 1967; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995) and ethnographical accounts (Krige, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Webb and Wright, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1986 & 2001). Secondly, this model was then used to determine whether an *ikhanda* could be distinguished from an *umuzi*. According to ethnographic accounts, *amakhanda* shared many similarities with the *umuzi*, such as sharing the same basic layout. However, differences in their demographic composition, dietary preferences as well as social organisation were also noted (Krige, 1965; Webb and Wright, 1976). It is, therefore, theorized that differences existed in individual hut design and placement as well as in the settlements sizes. It is also proposed here that should these differences exist it would be possible to distinguish between *ikhanda* and *umuzi* archaeologically.

Subsequently, this study had three main objectives:

- Creating an archaeological model of an *ikhanda*, that incorporates settlement layout, as well as possible archaeological material.
- Using the model in determining whether *amakhanda* can be distinguished archeologically from *umuzi*.
- Determining the level of correlation between ethnographic accounts and the archaeological remains of an *ikhanda*.

This study will focus on the Late Iron Age (LIA) ( $\pm$ 1700-1879 AD) period within Kwa-Zulu Natal. This period witnessed dramatic changes in the socio-political organisation of the people inhabiting the region. These changes resulted in the

creation of centralised polities in Kwa-Zulu Natal and eventually led to the formation of the Zulu, Ndebele, Swazi, Ngoni and Gaza kingdoms.

Although the economic basis of the southern African Iron Age people had always been a mixture between farming and pastoralism, the LIA saw a shift in the importance of specifically cattle (Maggs, 1989; Mitchell, 2002). Although cattle were used as a source of food, their value went beyond the simple nourishment of the populations, that is, to act as a form of wealth to those who owned cattle. The acquisition of cattle became an integral part in the social stratification and class divisions occurring in the later Iron Age. Cattle became a means of projecting wealth and power and, as such, a chief's or ruler's authority would become dependent on the amount of cattle he owned. This link between authority and ownership of cattle was especially important among the LIA northern Nguni, particularly the Zulu. The Zulu soldiers connected to the *ibutho* system believed that by consuming cattle meat they would obtain some of the strengths associated with cattle. This meant that Zulu kings had to be able to provide large amounts of cattle to *amakhanda* to ensure that this practice can be continued. The strength and stability of the Zulu kingdom was therefore directly linked to the king's ability to provide cattle, as well as cattle meat, to his soldiers and thereby ensuring their continued loyalty and services (Laband, 1995; Knight, 1995; Huffman, 2007; Mitchell, 2002). The practice of providing cattle and cattle meat to the soldiers of the *amabutho* resulted in frequent raids on neighbouring groups in order to obtain the much prized cattle. These raids played a central part in the subsequent disruptions and upheavals throughout southern Africa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Omer-Cooper, 1966). Eventually in 1879 the Zulu kingdom was invaded and occupied by British forces following the Anglo-Zulu War (Laband, 1995; Knight, 1995). This resulted in the abolition of the *ibutho* system and consequently the *ikhanda* settlement form. Although the *ibutho* system continued as part of the Zulu initiation ceremonies into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it had lost its martial aspect (Borquin, 1986).

### 1.3 Discussion of terms

The *amabutho* system, also known as the regimental system, or simply as age groupings, was a system whereby the youth of the clan were grouped together

according to their age. *Amabutho* is derived from the word *butho*, or *ibutho*, meaning regiment (Bryant, 1905; Dobe and Vilakazi, 1948). When a prefix “*i*” is added it indicates the singular form with the prefix “*ama*” indicating the plural. In this regard, *ibutho* can either be used when referring to the regiment as a whole or when referring to the individual members who make up the regiment.

This regimental system required a need for a new type of settlement; a military settlement or barracks referred to as an *ikhanda*. This type of settlement was exclusively used by the northern Nguni. Derived from the word *khanda*, which can be translated as head, with the prefix “*i*” indicating singular and “*ama*” plural (Dobe and Vilakazi, 1948), *ikhanda* can be translated as head kraal or royal kraal. The word “kraal” is an Afrikaans word generally used when referring to a Sotho-Tswana or Nguni homestead/settlement within South Africa.

Since all the regiments were under the king's direct control, these settlements were regarded as being the king's symbolic home; denoting the name ‘royal kraal’ or ‘*ikhanda*’. These settlements not only housed the men of the *ibutho* system, but also the female equivalent called the *isigodlo*. *Isigodlo* is derived from the term *godlo*, meaning ‘girls of the royal establishment’ (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948). Therefore it can either be the wives of the king or women who were selected to be part of the *isigodlo*. All the members of the *isigodlo* were symbolically seen as being part of the king's family. The prefix ‘*isi*’ has no independent meaning and is added as part of the use of the noun (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948).

*Umuzi*, based around the word ‘*zi*’, which in this case is always used along with the prefix ‘*umu*’, means kraal, village or collection of huts under the authority of one headman. It can also be used to refer to a European town or city as well as to a family group (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948). It can thus be translated as referring to either a settlement with many families living in it, or to a homestead occupied by only one family.

The term *Zulu* is today used as a generic label to describe all Zulu-speaking people in South Africa. The use of the term ‘Zulu’ in this way is, however, problematic since it ignores the differences that existed between the Zulu pre- and postdating the Zulu

kingdom. Originally (since the 17<sup>th</sup> century) the term *Zulu* was used to describe the people who formed part of the clan founded by an individual called Zulu (Bryandt, 1965). The rise of Shaka kaSenzangakona (1816-1826), however, signified the start of the Zulu kingdom (Laband, 1995; Knight, 1995); a new era in the history of the Zulu. During Shaka's phase of expansionism, conquered clans were incorporated into the kingdom. These clans brought with them their own culture and traditions which were slowly amalgamated into the Zulu culture; making it quite distinct from the Zulu culture predating the Zulu kingdom. Since our information on the *amakhanda* is based on accounts provided by people who lived during the time of the Zulu kingdom (as well as their descendants) this study uses the term Zulu to refer to people postdating the rise Zulu kingdom (1818 onwards).

#### **1.4 Historical background**

The culturally distinct group known today as the Nguni, originated around the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Maggs, 1989; Laband, 1995). The term 'Nguni' is derived from the word *abaNguni*, a term these communities used when referring to themselves (Bryant, 1965). During the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries the Nguni occupied the whole area of northern Kwa-Zulu Natal, expanding inland from the coast (Maggs, 1989; Mitchell, 2002). Sometime around the 16<sup>th</sup> century some of the Nguni clans started to migrate southwards down the coast. Although the exact reasons for these migrations are unknown, it appears that this was likely due to an increase in regional population and ecological pressures (Guy, 1994). As a result of these southerly migrations, the Nguni were divided between those that had stayed in the north (northern Nguni) and those that had moved further south (southern Nguni) (Bryant, 1965; Hammond-Tooke, 1993). Today, the southern Nguni constitute many groups, such as the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Bhaca and Mfengu, while the northern Nguni in southern Africa constitute the Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele (Matabele) (Bryant, 1965; Hammond-Tooke, 1993). Historically the northern Nguni include far more clans than mentioned above, with all but the Swazi and Ndebele being incorporated into the Zulu kingdom. The Zulu as a clan only came into existence sometime around the 17<sup>th</sup> century, obtaining their name from their founder, Zulu (Bryant, 1965). Originally the Zulu were only a small clan which formed part of the northern Nguni (Bryant, 1964:131). Under

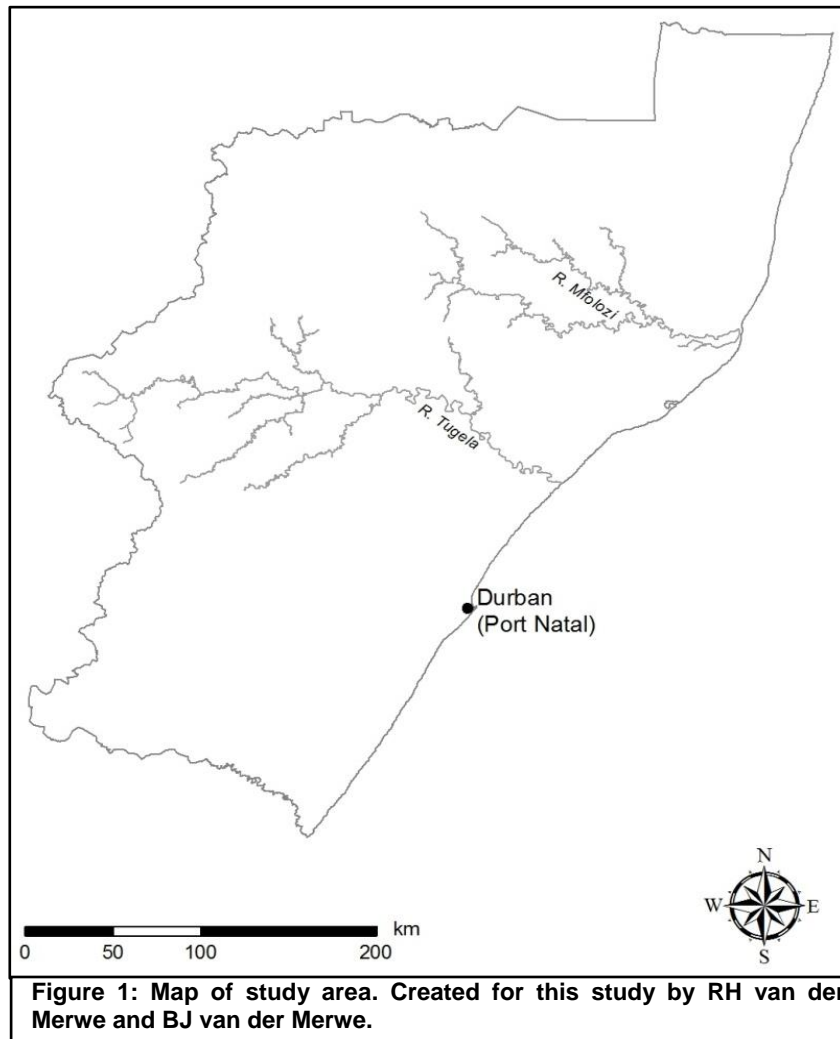
the leadership of Shaka kaSenzangakona the Zulu incorporated the majority of the other northern Nguni groups into their clan (Bryant, 1964:141; Laband, 1995).

By the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Kwa-Zulu Natal was inhabited by a multitude of Nguni clans which in general existed peacefully with each other (Bryant, 1964:126). Nonetheless, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, warfare among the northern Nguni was on the increase in both frequency and severity. It is unclear what caused this heightened aggression among the northern Nguni clans, with environmental factors and overpopulation being suggested as possible causes (Guy, 1980). Similarly, it had been argued that the period of expansion and state building which occurred during this time was driven by a desire to control the trade with Delagoa Bay (Gardiner, 1966; Laband, 1995). This trade was primarily focused on selling ivory and obtaining beads and other European commodities such as blankets. From the 1840s it was also used by the Zulu to obtain firearms, which the Colony of Natal refused to sell them (Gardiner, 1966; Laband, 1995). It is impossible as yet to explain what exactly caused these events during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; nevertheless, it is likely that all these elements played a part. This period of aggression, called the *mfecane* in Zulu, would eventually lead to the development of the Zulu *amabutho* system, as well as the rise of the Zulu kingdom (Huffman, 2004; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Guy, 1994).

## 1.5 Study area

This study was done in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province of South Africa, between the Tugela and Mfolozi rivers (Fig.1). Nevertheless, due to the limited amount of Late Iron Age sites that had been excavated, some of the sites used within this study are located outside, but still bordering on the study area. It is known from historical sources that the vast majority of *ikhanda* were located within this area (Knight, 1995). Kwa-Zulu Natal is the most south-easterly province of South Africa and covers an area of 92,285km<sup>2</sup> (Eeley *et al.*, 1999). It is bordered to the north by the states of Swaziland and Mozambique, in the south the Province of the Eastern Cape, with the Drakensberg Mountain range forming its boundary to the west and the Indian Ocean forming the eastern boundary (Eeley *et al.*, 1999).





Kwa-Zulu Natal can be divided into three distinct geographic regions, namely: the coastal belt, the midlands and the highlands. The coastal belt stretches the whole length of the coastal boundary of the province and varies between 15-20km wide in the south to 70-80km wide in the north (Du Plooy, 1949; Eeley *et al.*, 1999). A marked feature of the coastal belt is a relatively low altitude; with an approximate rise of 200m above sea level when it reaches the plateau area separating the midlands from the coast. Having an altitude of approximately 600m to 1500m, the midlands lie between the coastal belt in the east and the Drakensberg in the west (Du Plooy, 1949). Occupying most of the interior of Kwa-Zulu Natal, the midlands are characterised by many river valleys as well as a number of single standing mountains such as mount Alida near Grey Town (Du Plooy, 1949). The Drakensberg Mountain range forms the last of the three distinct geographical areas in Kwa-Zulu Natal. This area ranges between 1500m and 3000m above sea level, with both the highest peak in South Africa as well as in southern Africa being found in the

Drakensberg range. An interesting feature is the deep river valleys carved by the Tugela River along with its tributaries (Du Plooy, 1949; Hall, 1980; Eeley *et al.*, 1999). At the southern end of the Natal Drakensberg the average width of the mountain range is approximately 60km, with the northern most end being less than 20km wide. As a result, the width of Kwa-Zulu Natal, from the coast to the Drakensberg, is 150–280km, rising approximately 3000m from the coast inland (Du Plooy, 1949; Eeley *et al.*, 1999).

This dramatic rise in altitude has a marked impact on the climate of Kwa-Zulu Natal (Fig. 2). In general, Kwa-Zulu Natal is located within the sub-tropical zone with an average rainfall of 800-1000mm per annum (Du Plooy, 1949; Eeley *et al.*, 1999). The majority of the moisture falling on the coastal belt originates from storm systems moving in from the Indian Ocean, along with the occasional typhoons. As the moisture moves deeper inland, the geography of Kwa-Zulu Natal forces the moisture rapidly to higher altitudes until it finally falls as rain on the Drakensberg Mountain range (Du Plooy, 1949; Eeley *et al.*, 1999). As a result, the coastal belt tends to have a higher annual rainfall than the Midlands and the Drakensberg. This difference in annual rainfall has a marked impact on the vegetation of the three regions. Indigenous forests are found along the coast, with Indian Ocean coastal belt forests occupying the relatively flat coastal plains. Swamp, sand and riverine forests are confined to the north whereas dune and lowland forests are found as far south as Durban (Eeley *et al.*, 1999). Afromontane forests (montane and mist belt) are also found in isolated pockets on the midlands and Drakensberg Mountains. Furthermore, the Midlands' area is dominated by mostly moist grassland and savannah biomes, with the Drakensberg being primarily alpine grasslands (Maggs, 1989: 36-45). Due to the high amount of annual rainfall, Kwa-Zulu Natal has a number of annual and semi-annual rivers of which the Tugela is the largest; with a length of 502km (Du Plooy, 1949; Wilson, 2001). The Tugela River splits the province almost in half, with the sources of the Tugela being located in both the central and northern parts of the Drakensberg, emptying into the Indian Ocean just north of KwaDukuza. It is also fed by a number of smaller tributaries as it moves towards the coast.

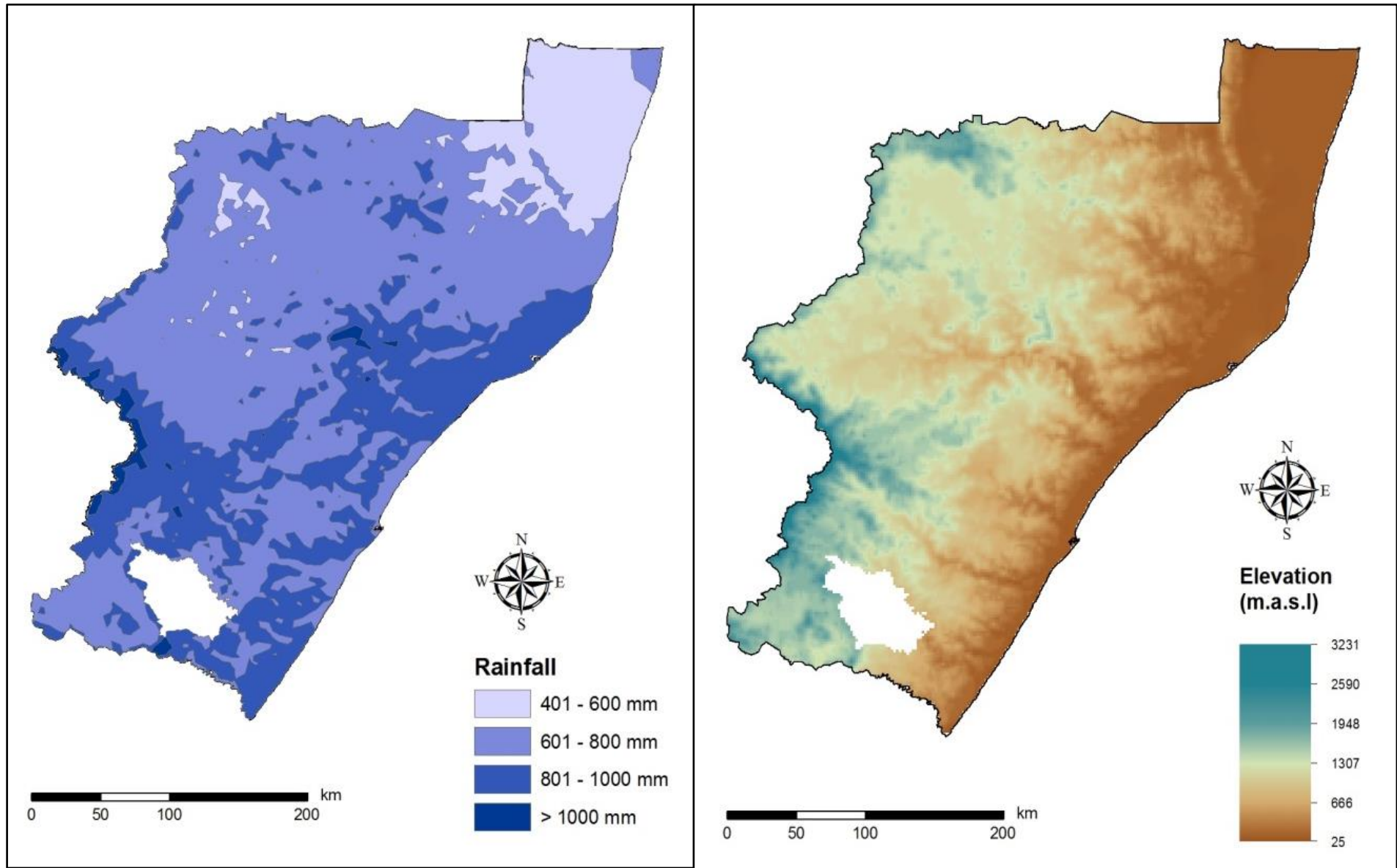
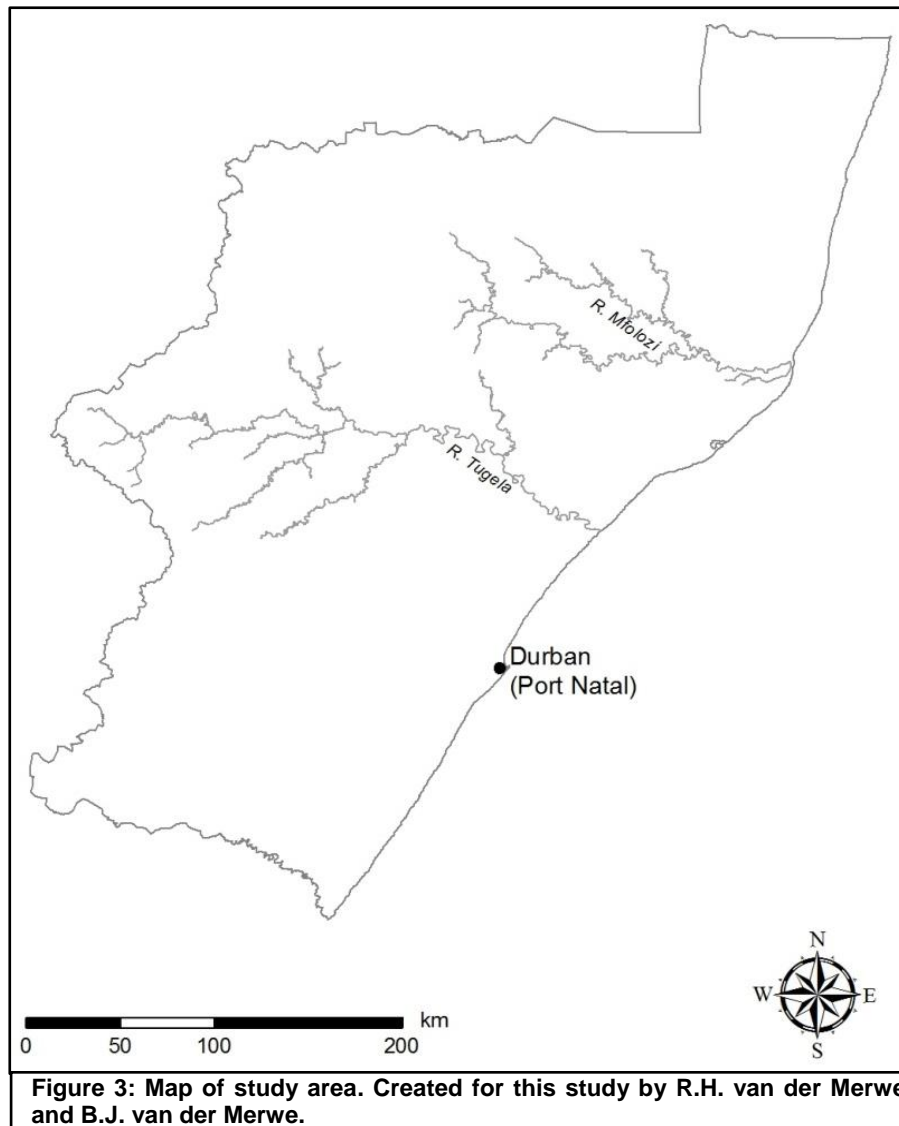


Figure 2: Elevation and rainfall in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Data provided by Riet *et al.* (1997:n.a). Created for this study by RH van der Merwe and BJ van der Merwe.

The Pongola River is located to the north of the Tugela, on the border between Swaziland and South Africa. Smaller than the Tugela, the Pongola has its source in the highlands of Swaziland, and eventually joining the Maputo River which empties into the Indian Ocean at Maputo Bay. Another important river in this area is the Mfolozi River which flows almost halfway between the Tugela and Pongola Rivers, and empties into the Indian Ocean at St. Lucia. This river is important due to the fact that it flows through the old heartland of the Zulu kingdom, with many of the Zulu kings buried in the river valley. However, as Hall (1980) has noted, the vegetation of Kwa-Zulu Natal has undergone a dramatic change in the last century. Kwa-Zulu Natal is today more woody than it was a century ago, with the midlands having more grassveld than woodlands.

This area also witnessed the start of the *mfecane* ( $\pm 1800$ ), an event which would drastically alter not only the demographic distribution of peoples within southern Africa, but would also see the rise of centralised kingdoms as far north as Central Africa. The region between the Tugela and Pongola Rivers saw the simultaneous development of four power blocks, the Ndwandwe, Mtethwa, Zulu and the proto Swazi (Ngwane) (Fig. 3). The resulting conflicts between the four groups eventually lead to the creation of both the Zulu and Swazi kingdoms. Due to clashes between the four groups, the area where these four power blocks bordered each other should theoretically yield the highest concentration of *amakhanda*. For this reason, this area was chosen as the focus area for this study.



## 1.6 Organisation of study

This study is organised into ten chapters. Chapter one already provided the introductory chapter for the study. It is followed by a literature review provided in chapter two. The nature of the research that had been done on Nguni settlements as well as archaeological research in general will be analysed and discussed. Nguni settlements are divided between the *umuzi* and the *ikhanda* settlement form. By reviewing these two aspects separately, a clearer understanding of the difficulties of distinguishing between the *umuzi* and *ikhanda* can be obtained. Furthermore, since the events that led to the rise of the *ikhanda* settlement form similarly had, had a large impact on the region as a whole, a review of the nature of the archaeological literature of the region will be necessary. Chapter three will examine the nature of the

manner in which settlements are studied, in other words, an examination of the sub-discipline of settlement archaeology. The main focus will be on the examination of the theories of settlement pattern studies in a general context. This discussion will be narrowed down in the next chapter, focussing specifically on southern Africa and the northern Nguni. Chapter four will examine settlement studies within southern Africa and will include a discussion of the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni settlements. This includes an examination of the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP), the model primarily used to interpret southern African settlements. The limitations of the model as well as the critique that has been launched against it will also be examined. This chapter uses the Zulu *umuzi* as the basis for the discussion of the CCP model, with the settlements of the Sotho-Tswana receiving only a partial overview.

Chapter five will examine what is currently known of the *ikhanda* settlement form. The *ikhanda* will be examined as a settlement form on its own, with the focus extending beyond the Zulu variant. Consequently, the *ikhanda* of the Swazi, Ndebele and Ngoni will be examined on the same basis. As the main cause for the existence of the *ikhanda*, the *amabutho* system used by all these groups will likewise be examined. Chapter six will then outline the research methodology as well as the theoretical approach used within the study. This includes an examination of the nature of the sources, focussing on both their advantages and limitations. In order to facilitate this examination, the chapter is divided between the four types of sources used, namely: archaeological, historical, ethnographical, and Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) reports; as they will be used to create a settlement model.

Chapters one to six thus provide the background information required for the interpretation of the collected data. In order to be able to create a settlement model of an *ikhanda*, it is necessary to examine the archaeological, ethnographical and historical sources. Consequently, chapter seven examines the archaeological information of *amakhanda*. In this chapter the focus is on what is known of the *ikhanda* settlements themselves. This information was obtained from archaeological excavations of known *amakhanda* such as uMgungundlovu and Ondini. As part of the objectives of this study, the archaeology of *umuzi* will similarly be examined in

order to evaluate whether these two settlements can be distinguished from each other. Chapter eight will consist of the constructed settlement model of the *ikhanda*. This model will be based primarily on the ethnographical and historical descriptions of *amakhanda*, and will be supported by the information obtained from archaeological excavations. The main reason for this approach is due to *amakhanda* being well documented from an ethnographical and historical perspective, with the archaeology being limited to the two settlements, uMgungundlovu and Ondini; with Ondini constructed to resemble uMgungundlovu. This is then followed by a discussion in chapter nine, when all the information will be evaluated to determine whether or not it is possible to distinguish the *ikhanda* from the *umuzi* archaeologically. This will be done by comparing the settlement model of the *ikhanda* with the excavations and ethnographic accounts of the *umuzi*. The study will then be concluded in chapter ten where it will be determined to what extent the aims and objectives of the study have been met. Correspondingly, a discussion will be given regarding the significance of the *ikhanda* for southern African settlement studies as well as its ramifications for the CCP model.

## 1.7 Conclusion

It is generally believed, archaeologically, that only one settlement form was present in Kwa-Zulu Natal during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Maggs, 1991; Mitchell, 2002; Huffman, 2007). The historical and ethnographical accounts, however, already indicate a distinction between *ikhanda* and *umuzi* before the arrival of European settlers (Omer-Cooper, 1966; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992). This study will, therefore, endeavour to determine what the nature of this distinction was. Furthermore, our understanding of settlement patterns in southern Africa has been dominated by the CCP model since the 1980s; however, in recent years it has become apparent that the CCP model may not be as complete as was originally believed. This study will therefore aid not only in our understanding of the nature of settlement patterns in Kwa-Zulu Natal, but also the interaction between settlements and political authority within the region. In order to attempt answering such questions the sources available have to be discussed in terms of where they derive from and how they can be utilized. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Settlements have been the subject of study in South Africa for a long time. Interest in the subject declined during the 1990s and early 2000s with more research being directed towards Stone Age and Rock Art sites. In recent years, the interest in settlement studies seems to be on the increase again, possibly due to the recent critiques launched against the accepted model for identifying and interpreting settlements in southern Africa, namely the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP). The model had been criticised since the 1980s, primarily by Hall (1984 & 1986), with recent criticism being launched by Badenhorst (2009). As more settlements are found and excavated, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the CCP model may not be as conclusive as was originally believed. This chapter will examine the research that had been done on settlements within southern Africa, with the main focus on settlement studies within Kwa-Zulu Natal. The rest of the sub-continent will be examined on a broader scale.

### **2.2 Settlement patterns of southern Africa**

Globally, a large amount of research had been done on settlement patterns. It had become clear that all settlements, regardless of size and complexity, shared a certain amount of similarity in terms of their physical characteristics and determining factors (such as resource availability). Trigger (1968) called these similarities determinants, and these can be used to explain all aspects of a settlement's layout and placement. These determinants are used, in one form or another, by all people who study settlement organisation and distribution, such as Chang (1968), Hall (1980), Dewar (1991), Dewar and McBride (1992), Flannery (2002) and Trigger (2007). Although these determinants can be very useful, their general nature dictate that they can never, on their own, sufficiently explain specific aspects of any settlement. Therefore, they have to be adapted to meet the requirements of each region and society under study.



The history of settlement pattern studies within southern Africa stretches as far back as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sites such as Great Zimbabwe have been studied, in one form or another, since the late 1890s (Huffman, 1982; Huffman and Vogel, 1991; Pikirayi, 2001). In South Africa settlement studies date back to the 1930s with the excavations of Mapungubwe and K2 (Gardener, 1955; Huffman, 2000). Settlement studies in southern Africa tend to focus primarily on the Highveld regions situated in the four northern provinces of South Africa (Gauteng, North-West, Mpumalanga and Limpopo), Zimbabwe (primarily the southern part) and parts of eastern Botswana. This does not mean that the rest of the region had been ignored. All areas of the sub-continent had been studied to some extent; it is simply the above mentioned areas had been the subject of more extensive research than the rest of the sub-continent. This had primarily been due to two factors; namely that the vegetation in these regions ranges from savannah to semi-arid, and that stone was the primary settlements construction material. As a result, site identification and excavation in these areas were easier than in the woodland areas of the lowveldt and coastal regions. In the northern part of the Eastern Cape, settlement studies were limited to the LIA due to southern migrating peoples only reaching the area during the LIA. In the case of the Free State, which can be seen as a transition area between northern migrating Europeans and southern migrating Bantu, one can find settlements dating to the Historical period and also the LIA (Maggs, 1979).

Kwa-Zulu Natal is characterised by the use of either stone or wood and grass as construction material for settlements. Due to the more durable nature of stone, settlements constructed with this medium had a higher survivability rate than those constructed from wood and grass. The preservation of wood and grass settlements had however, increased in cases where these settlements were burnt down. The reason for this being that the intense heat from such fires enabled the clay hut floors to be baked and hardened to a bricklike consistency. Once baked, these floors could survive for much longer periods, enabling archaeologists to observe these *in situ*. An interesting feature of settlement construction in Kwa-Zulu Natal is that settlements constructed during the EIA (Early Iron Age) tend to be constructed using stone, with LIA settlements seeming to prefer wood and grass (Maggs, 1989; Whitelaw and Moor, 1996, Mitchell, 2002). Nevertheless, these building materials cannot be used

as an effective method to date settlement sites, as either one of these building mediums could have been used during either the EIA or LIA; it just seems that most LIA settlements were more regularly constructed using grass and wood mediums. The most likely explanation for the choice of construction material is due to local environmental condition (Hall and Maggs, 1979; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Roby, 1980; Hall, 1981; Maggs, 1982; Rawlinson, 1985; Rawlinson, 1987; Roodt, 1992; Roodt, 1993).

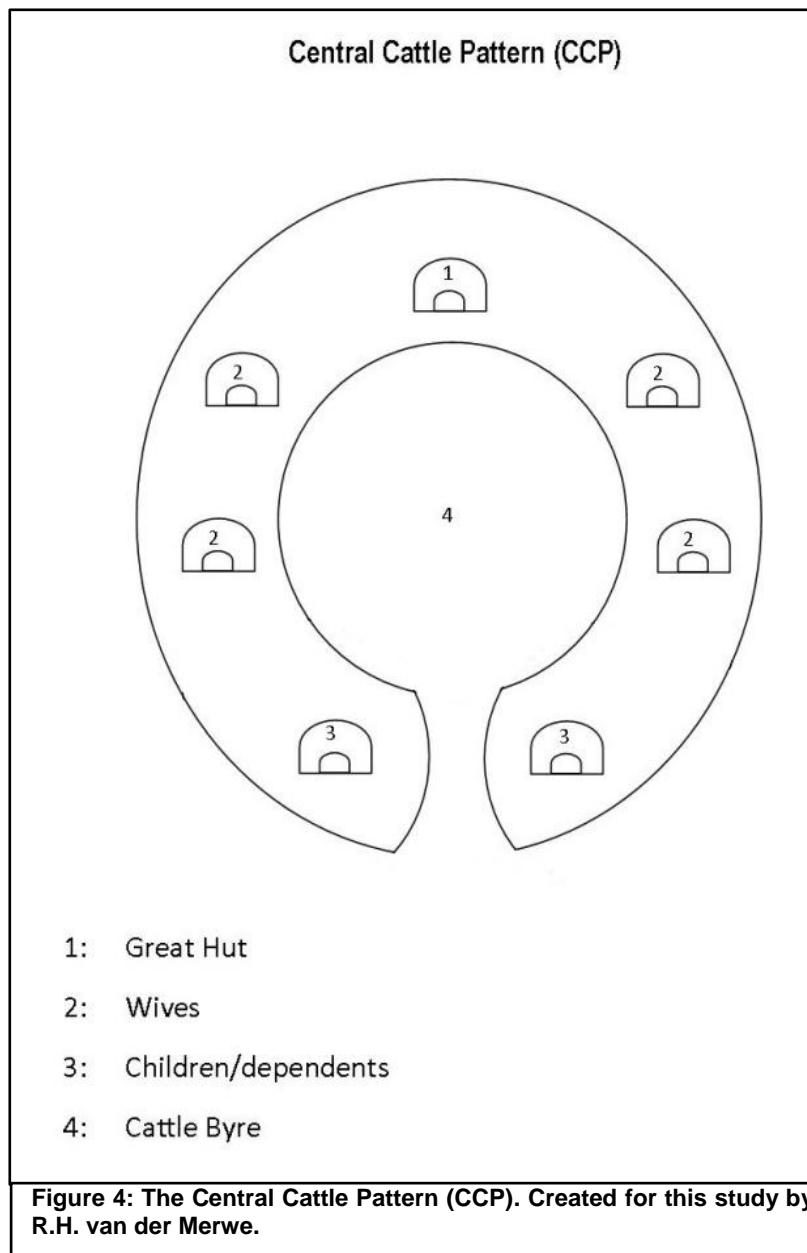
## 2.3 Nguni settlement patterns

Being the main focus of the study, Kwa-Zulu Natal will be examined in greater detail. Nguni settlements of the LIA differed noticeably from the settlements constructed by the Sotho-Tswana living on the Highveld. However, it must be remembered that the settlement form that existed when the Europeans arrived in Kwa-Zulu Natal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was of a different construction than those of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The 18<sup>th</sup> century and older settlements of the Nguni had more in common with the layout seen among the Sotho-Tswana, than the 19<sup>th</sup> century equivalent. Although the differences between the two periods' settlements were marginal, it appeared to indicate that the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been a transition period, for whatever reasons, between two types of settlement forms. The Literature review for the Nguni will be divided between the *umuzi* and the *ikhanda* settlement forms. This is necessary in order to be able to determine the differences between the two settlement forms. It will also make it easier to assess the nature of our understanding of Nguni settlements.

### 2.3.1 Umuzi

Our understanding of the Zulu *umuzi* is derived from archaeological, ethnographic and historical sources. Many of these sources are limited to the *umuzi* form constructed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and far less is known about the *umuzi* of the EIA and pre-19<sup>th</sup> century LIA. Our main archaeological interpretation of the Nguni *umuzi* is based upon the CCP model (Fig. 4) developed by Huffman during the 1980s (Huffman, 1986a, 1986b & 2007). Huffman based his model primarily on the ethnographic work done by Adam Kuper (1980 & 1982). Kuper's research focussed

on the social aspects of the southern Bantu culture, specifically on the Nguni cultural group. In his research, Kuper showed that the main difference between many different Nguni groups' settlements was not in the way they were constructed and organised, but in the social meaning associated with different areas. This could be seen in aspects such as orientation of the huts' entrances, placement of huts in relation to differing seniority levels etc.



An important source of information used in these ethnographic studies was the research of Bryant (1905, 1964, 1965 & 1967). Bryant collected ethnographic data on many different aspects of the Zulu; including their history, social organisation, cultural practices and to some extent their settlement organisation. These ethnographic studies were then followed up by other studies such as Krige (1965), Hammond-Tooke (1993) and Van Warmelo (1962 & 1974). All these studies focus on the Zulu, either exclusively or as part of the Nguni. Other ethnographic studies undertaken on additional Nguni groups further aid our understanding of Nguni settlements in general. Some of these studies were those of Hammond-Tooke (1962) on the Bhaca, and Hilda Kuper (1952 & 1961) on the Swazi. An indispensable source of information for the 19<sup>th</sup> century Zulu was published in five volumes from 1976 to 2001, called 'The James Stuart Archives' edited by Webb and Wright (1976, 1979, 1982, 1986 & 2001). James Stuart collected many ethnographic accounts from various informants on all matters of Zulu society. Fortunately, these include the *amabutho* system and the *ikhanda* settlement form. An ethnographic study done in 1991 by Mack *et al.* of two conservative modern-day Zulu settlements, focussed on the way in which these communities constructed their settlements. Their study illustrated that even among two closely related modern-day settlements there can be variations in settlement construction. Together, all these sources aided in creating a clearer image of the possible layout and organisation of the Nguni, and especially the Zulu *umuzi*.

Our knowledge of the Zulu *umuzi* is even further enhanced by historical accounts. These historical sources are divided between modern historical research and first-hand accounts of Europeans travelling through and within Kwa-Zulu Natal. None of the modern historical studies examined the *umuzi* directly. These studies focussed on Zulu society in a broader context, discussing aspects such as political organisation (Guy, 1983) and society as a whole (Guy, 1980). The vast majority of historical work on the Zulu focussed on the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Examples of these were the studies of Laband (1995) and Knight (1994 & 1995). Although these studies focussed on the Zulu and British armies and how they interacted during the conflict phase, they still provided valuable insights into the *amabutho* system. Laband (1995) similarly had chapters devoted to the Zulu as a society, in which

aspects such as seniority and settlements were partially discussed. These sources provided information on how the *umuzi* was constructed, affectively distinguishing between *umuzi* and *amaikhanda*. Unfortunately, this distinction was only by stating that there were different “kraals” as they were referred to, with different purposes. No additional information pertaining to settlement differences was given nor did they discuss how these settlements could be distinguished from one another. Valuable information was further gained from the historical accounts of Europeans that ventured into Kwa-Zulu Natal during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These accounts ranged from the 1820s right up to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Examples of these were the diaries of Fynn (Stuart and Malcolm, 1986), Gardiner (1966), the adventures of Isaacs (1970) and the papers of John Ross (Grey, 1992). Earlier accounts of shipwreck survivors can be traced back as far as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These include the historical accounts of the Portuguese ship São João (Maggs, 1984) as well as the governmental records compiled by Bird (Bird, 1965). Besides the valuable information rendered by these accounts on the social practices and habits of the Zulu, they also provided descriptions of the Zulu capitals they visited during their travels. Many of these accounts have detailed sketches of the capitals, providing valuable information about the settlement layout of both *umuzi* and *amaikhanda*.

It is clear that from a historical and ethnographic perspective, the Zulu *umuzi* had been well documented. Unfortunately, evidence and detail of the archaeological nature of the *umuzi* had not received the same attention. As stated earlier, the CCP model was based on ethnographic work that had been adapted for archaeological purposes. Very few LIA *umuzi* had been excavated in Kwa-Zulu Natal and all of these sites pre-date the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, many of the LIA *umuzi* that have been excavated were situated in southern Kwa-Zulu Natal. Southern Kwa-Zulu Natal was a transition zone between the southern and northern Nguni. Settlements constructed in this area would therefore have had influences from both groups which would be reflected in their settlement construction. Examples of two LIA settlements excavated in northern Natal are Nqabeni, excavated by Hall and Maggs (1979) and Mgoduyanuka, excavated by Maggs (1982). Both these sites were dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and possibly to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, thus pre-dating the Zulu kingdom. Some LIA sites in northern Kwa-Zulu Natal dating to the 19<sup>th</sup> century had also been

excavated. The two most prominent of these are the Zulu capitals of uMgungundlovu (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Roodt, 1992 & 1993) and Ondini (Rawlinson, 1985, Watson and Watson, 1990; Van Schalkwyk, 1999). It is, however, problematic to use these capitals as examples of traditional CCP settlements, due to the fact that these capitals were *ikhanda* and not *umuzi*. The CCP model for the 19<sup>th</sup> century *umuzi* was supported by both eye-witness accounts as well as ethnographic studies. Problems do arise, however, when the CCP model is used for pre-19<sup>th</sup> century *umuzi*, as the settlement layout only match the CCP in its most general form.

### **2.3.2 *Ikhanda***

The nature of the information available for the *ikhanda* is slightly different from that of the *umuzi*. Whereas the main source of information for the *umuzi* is of an ethnographic nature, there is more archaeological than ethnographical information for the *ikhanda*. The main archaeological sources that are available are the studies done by Parkington and Cronin (1979), Hentorn *et al.* (1979), Rawlinson (1985 & 1987), Watson and Watson (1990), Roodt (1992 & 1993), Whitelaw (1994) and Van Schalkwyk (1999). All these sources are based upon surveys and excavations done on three of the Zulu capitals, namely: uMgungundlovu, Ondini and kwaBulawayo. Although at face value this appears to be a good state of affairs, there were a large range of problems associated with these studies. Firstly, the work done on kwaBulawayo was a survey undertaken to document possible features, such as hut floors and middens, with no excavations being undertaken. Moreover, Whitelaw (1994) stated that the preservation of the site was also poor, a problem that existed to some extent at all three sites. uMgungundlovu was relatively well preserved to allow for large scale excavations of many of the features. Although Parkington and Cronin (1979) did note that a small part of the site had been destroyed by agricultural practices, the majority of the site was left undisturbed. A similar situation was to be found at Ondini; unfortunately a large part of the site had been destroyed by agricultural activities and the construction of a private road. Despite these problems, a number of excavations were undertaken at Ondini (Rawlinson, 1985). uMgungundlovu can therefore be seen as providing the basis of our archaeological understanding of the *ikhanda* settlement form. A faunal analysis was also done on the remains recovered at uMgungundlovu (Plug and Roodt, 1990) and Ondini

(Watson and Watson, 1990). The results of these analyses allowed for a partial reconstruction of the diet of the inhabitants of these capitals, which in turn could be used to reconstruct the possible diet of the inhabitants of an *ikhanda*.

All three these capitals were visited by European explorers during their occupation and provided first-hand accounts of settlement features and daily life. The best known of these contemporary descriptions was that given by Gardiner of uMgungundlovu, which also included a sketch. Other accounts available are those of Leslie (Drummond, 1875), Owen (Cory, 1926), Smith (Smith, 1955), Holden (1963a & b), Bird (Bird, 1965) and Champion (Booth, 1967). The sketch provided by Holden was based on a discussion with a close friend who visited uMgungundlovu and is the most detailed sketch of the settlement available. Despite not witnessing uMgungundlovu personally, Holden's sketch largely corresponds with the historic, ethnographic and archaeological information available today. First-hand accounts are also available for kwaBulawayo namely: the accounts of Fynn (Stuart and Malcolm, 1986), Isaacs (1970) and Ross (Grey, 1992). Unfortunately, these accounts are not as detailed as Gardiner, Owen, Holden and Champion's, nor do they provide their own sketches. Fynn provided a sketch which Gardiner used in his account and also mentioned that the account written by Lt. King had more detailed information in this regard. Unfortunately, it appears that the account of Lt. King had either been lost or has not yet been published, for only the references of Fynn and Isaacs could be found. Some accounts are also available for Nondwengu namely: Baldwin (Baldwin, 1967) and Barter (Merrett, 1995), as well as Ondini (Borquine, 1986). Although limited in the detail provided, what makes the account of Borquine (1986) important is that it was written by a woman named Paulina Dlamini, who had been a member of the *isigodlo* located at Ondini. She had converted to Christianity and in a series of letters written to a fellow missionary, she described her life among her people and how she had converted to the Christian faith. This is the only known account of the Zulu *isigodlo* written by a member of the *isigodlo* itself.

Our ethnographic understanding of an *ikhanda* is far more limited than is the case with the *umuzi*. An important discussion of the Zulu *ikhanda* can be found in the

study done by Krige (1965). Krige provided a detailed discussion of the *ikhanda* settlement form as well as all aspects of life within the settlement. These aspects included settlement layout, social meaning attached to different areas within the settlement, settlement organisation, population composition, and dietary practices. As is the case with many of the ethnographic studies, the informants questioned did not live in the *ikhanda* themselves, rather they retold what had been told to them by their parents and grandparents. An exception to this problem of second-hand reports is the ethnographic accounts collected by James Stuart during the 1890s (Webb and Wright, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1986 & 2001). Many of the informants which Stuart had questioned had first-hand knowledge of the subject, with Stuart only documenting what he was told and only rarely providing his own interpretations and opinions on what was described to him. What further makes the James Stuart archives so valuable is the inclusion of two sketches within the text illustrating two variations of *amakhanda*. One sketch is a drawing detailing the settlement layout of uMgungundlovu, which becomes extremely meaningful when used alongside the sketches of Gardiner, Smith, Holden and Champion. Stuarts work also included a sketch of a non-capital *ikhanda*. As all of our information regarding the *amakhanda* is based on the capitals, this sketch of a normal *ibutho's* *ikhanda* is of great value in aiding our understanding of *amakhanda* in general.

Another means of reconstructing an *ikhanda* is by examining which traits the Zulu *ikhanda* had shared with *ikhanda* from other northern Nguni groups. A similar system existed among the Sotho-Tswana, which may be distinguished by small but very important differences that will be discussed later. Ethnographic accounts discussing the *ikhanda* of the Swazi and the Ndebele were used, namely the studies done by Hilda Kuper (1952, 1954, 1961 & 1986). Similar to the other ethnographic studies of the Zulu, Kuper focussed on the Swazi as a whole, with all aspects of the society being studied. What makes the Swazi studies advantageous is that their form of the military system was still being practiced when the ethnographic accounts were made, thus providing direct insight into the manner in which the Zulu system might have operated. The Ndebele, or Matabele, can also provide insight into the Zulu system. The Ndebele broke away from the Zulu in the early 1820s. Since they were originally incorporated into the Zulu army as an *ibutho* regiment, they continued the



principles and practices of the regimental system as they migrated north. It is also known that they had constructed *ikhanda* settlements in their new homeland. Cobbing (1974) provided a detailed discussion on the Ndebele military system, examining both the *ibutho* system as well as the *ikhanda* settlements. There are a number of limitations that have to be kept in mind when using the Swazi and Ndebele systems as sources of comparison. As both these groups incorporated and effectively altered the *ibutho* system to conform to their own cultural beliefs and traditions, they will present with key differences even though the basic structure would be similar to that of the Zulu system.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

A large amount of information is available for use to study Nguni settlements. These include archaeological, ethnographic and historical sources. By drawing from three types of sources and combining first-hand accounts with ethnographic studies and archaeological excavations, it is possible to reconstruct, with some certainty, the structural layout and organization of the *ikhanda* settlement form. Most of the sources used here are quite old, which has the added benefit of providing more accurate information in the sense that informants could still remember events and provide more accurate information. Now that the available literature had been examined and discussed, it is necessary to examine what is known about the study of settlements (settlement archaeology), which will be discussed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 3: Settlement Archaeology: A theoretical perspective**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Settlements tend to act as a mirror, “reflecting” the society which created them. This “reflection” can be seen in both settlement organisation and construction. Consequently, when a society undergoes a certain degree of change, these changes would then be reflected in their settlements and the patterns associated with these settlements. As societies change over time, the materials that they deposit within the archaeological record would similarly undergo a degree of change (Kelly, 1992; Berelov, 2005; Jerardino and Maggs, 2007). These changes may have been in the form of pottery style changes, the introduction of new forms of tool use or new materials for the manufacturing of tools. Societies were not fixed in time or space and as such they were involved in a continual cycle of change and adaptation. Change could have been triggered by events such as climate change or contact between different groups (Huffman, 2008; Huffman 2010). These changes had been observed in many forms, ranging from the faunal and floral remains associated with dietary change, to differences in the construction of buildings and settlements. As a source of safety and security, the study of settlements is likewise a study of the interaction of individuals with their surroundings, both human and environmental. The study of settlements therefore includes the study of the nature of humanity regarding the means and extent to which humanity manipulates the surrounding environment and in the process transforms itself. This chapter examines the nature of the study of settlements, as well as how humans transformed the physical spaces around them in order to create their own meaning and usage of these environments.

### **3.2 The study of settlement patterns in archaeology**

Settlement archaeology, or the study of settlement patterns, has been around in one form or another since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Trigger, 1967:149). Although the term was first used by Kosinna in 1911, it became a subject of wider discussion with the publication of *Prehistoric settlement patterns in the Virù Valley, Peru* by Gordon

Wiley in 1953. What made this new approach to the study of the human past popular was that it had allowed for a greater understanding of the nature and interactions of past societies (Trigger, 1967:149). It was realised that by understanding how settlements were constructed and organised, that more could be learned from a past society than what the artefacts alone can provide. What made this new approach effective was its use of cross-disciplinary perspectives of the study of past societies. These new approaches incorporated information from disciplines such as archaeology, history, ethnography and geography, in order to generate a more expanded and detailed view of a society's past (Trigger, 1967: 150; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). The underlining theory in this regard was that each society would leave an imprint of its culture in the settlement patterns that they created. Consequently, by examining aspects such as dwelling design and placement, the location and organisation of graveyards, along with design and location of public buildings, one can deduce much of past family lives, their spirituality, and how the society was organised (Trigger, 1967:150; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). Although the individual settlement was an important part of this method, it was likewise important to understand how settlements interact with each other. This forms a vital part of settlement archaeology (Roberts, 1996:1; Trigger, 2007:120-121; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:169). These interactions provided an understanding of the size and complexity of the society under study, which in itself provides a better understanding of how the individual interacted with his/her surroundings (Trigger, 2007; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:170-173).

A fundamental approach in the study of settlement patterns was the idea that societies that had developed to the same level of complexity would also share a number of similarities (Trigger, 2007:28-39; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:170). Accordingly, by using a well-known society as a point of comparison one could, theoretically, be able to better understand other societies of the same complexity. When utilising this approach of implied similarities, it was believed that by using modern societies as a departure point, one would be able to understand and interpret sites further back into antiquity. Since the 1980s it had become clear that although societies of the same level of complexity may have shared many similarities, they may also have had very important differences, and as such this

approach should be used with caution (Trigger, 2007:15-16; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:170). Societies were therefore traditionally divided into four basic levels of complexity, each following on the previous level. These four were: Mobile Hunter Gatherers (similarly called bands), Segmentary Societies (also called Tribes), Chiefdoms, and Early states (Trigger, 2007:40-48; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:170-173). It remains, however, very difficult to place any given society into any of these categories. A society may present with characteristics of more than one category at the same time; making classification based on these categories problematic. These categories remain, consequently, limited to the theoretical sphere, with little practical implication.

An aspect of settlement patterns that had often been ignored was the fact that, in general, the settlements that were being studied by archaeologists were abandoned at some stage. Although this may appear as stating the obvious, the manner and nature of settlement abandonment had a direct impact on the distribution and nature of the artefacts and features found within that settlement (Cameron, 1993:3). A settlement abandoned overnight will have a completely different artefact assemblage than a settlement abandoned over a long period, which in turn directly affects the nature of the settlement as well as the settlement pattern. Settlements that were abandoned in a short period of time would result in artefact assemblages that will have a definite temporal signature. This simply means that there will be a definite stratigraphic marker for the end of the occupation (Cameron, 1993). Settlements abandoned in such short periods are often associated with conflicts or natural disasters. When the events that led to abandonment were more prolonged, as is often associated with decline in the economy or a drought, the assemblage deposits' temporal signatures will differ throughout the site (Cameron, 1993). Some areas of the settlement would have been abandoned before others, which would have resulted in a partial occupation of the settlement. Therefore, the nature of the distribution of the assemblage may, in itself, indicate the cause of the settlement abandonment. Nevertheless, site formation is not as clear and simple as the end to depositing of artefacts within the matrix (Schiffer, 1983). The nature of the assemblage will depend not only on the type of artefacts deposited within the matrix, such as size, material type, artefact function etc., but also on a number of human

and natural processes. Reuse or recycling of artefacts for other purposes, as is often the case with building materials, could have had a drastic impact on the nature and interpretation of the assemblage found (Schiffer, 1983; Cammeron, 1993; Roberts, 1996; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). A site's specific location within the natural landscape would also have had a direct impact on the nature of the assemblage. Proximity to rivers or sand dunes, for example, can either enhance the preservation of artefacts within the assemblage (arid environments) or destroy it (regular or catastrophic flooding; Schiffer, 1983).

Abandonment is a complex process that can be divided into a number of stages. The first stage involves the abandonment of settlements as a whole or the abandonment of settlements throughout a geographical region. This is referred to as regional scale abandonment. Secondly, certain areas and structures within a settlement may become abandoned with the rest of the settlement still being occupied, and is referred to as intra-site abandonment (Cameron, 1993:4-5, Roberts, 1996:127-9). Abandonment of settlements on a regional scale is often associated with the periodical abandonment and reoccupation of settlements, such as in the case of the mobile hunter gatherers' seasonal migrations, or nomadic pastoralists' movements. However, it could also have been as a result of a cataclysmic event, such as draught, famine, or invasion, which usually results in the permanent abandonment of settlements throughout a geographic region (Cameron, 1993:4-5; Roberts, 1996:127-9). Settlements are in a constant state of use and disuse and as such it is not uncommon for certain areas of a settlement to be abandoned. One of the primary processes that affected intra-site abandonment was scavenging and reuse. Building materials of abandoned buildings were often "recycled" for construction of another building or the building itself may undergo a change in its function (Cameron, 1993:5; Roberts, 1996:127-9). Both these processes would have had a marked impact on the artefacts deposited in the archaeological record as well as on the interpretation of sites.

### 3.2.1 Landscapes and Settlement Patterns

It has long been understood that the archaeological landscape consisted of more than just land usage and physical features, such as mountains and rivers. The archaeological landscape consisted of both land usage as well as aspects of spiritual significance of naturally occurring features within the landscape (Ashmore and Knapp, 2003:1-21; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:254-264). Settlements, therefore, were only a part of the archaeological landscape, with all aspects of the archaeological landscape affecting each other (Roberts, 1996; Ashmore and Knapp, 2003; Trigger, 2007; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). In the case of settlements, there were a number of factors from the landscape, both natural and cultural, that had a direct impact on settlement placement and settlement pattern. The natural landscape is the simplest factor for archaeologists to determine. Phenomenology argues that all aspects of the human environment were culturally construed due to the fact that humans attach cultural values to all aspects of their lives (Tilley, 1994). For example, a river that acted as a border between two areas was not seen as a mere border. Since this river also marks the boundary between “us” and “them”, it also marks where one culture or society ends and another begins. Therefore, a river acting as a border was viewed in the same way as a sacred mountain, since both had cultural meaning attributed to them. That all aspects of the natural environment had always had a degree of cultural meaning associated with them, is not in dispute. However, some features of the environment would have had a higher level of cultural value associated with it than others. A sacred mountain, for example, had a higher degree of cultural value than a river that only acted as a physical boundary. It is therefore still possible to isolate and examine only the natural features of the landscape (a river being a source of irrigation) without examining its cultural values as well. As such the natural/cultural divide can still be used since it is possible to view and analyse natural features of the landscape without examining their cultural meanings as well.

Settlements directly affected, and were directly affected by the natural landscape, with settlement placement and construction directly influenced by the latter. The natural landscape therefore incorporated aspects such as water availability, lakes and rivers; the size and impregnability of mountain ranges, such as the Alps,

Rockies, Drakensberg and Himalayas; and lastly climate (Roberts, 1996:134-135; Huffman, 2010; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:254-264). Furthermore, the presence of natural resources such as gold or iron may have been the primary motivation behind the placement of settlements in order to exploit these resources. The cultural aspect of the landscape can be much harder to determine than the natural. This is due to the fact that the cultural significance attached to a specific landscape, such as a sacred forest such as for example, may not leave behind any tangible evidence. Consequently, what may appear as only a forest or mountain to us today, could have had religious significance in the past, but has left no physical remains behind to indicate this cultural perspective of the landscape.

Cultural characteristics of the archaeological landscape will include features such as sacred forests, rivers, mountains, as well as arable land and hunting grounds; the presence of which would have influenced the placement of settlements within the landscape (Ashmore and Knapp, 2003:1-21; Trigger, 2007:120-141; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:254-264). Often settlements may be found in inhospitable areas, far from water and arable land, seemingly with nological reason for their placement. In these cases, these settlements may be located close to areas that were considered sacred and which therefore provided the motivation for their construction. This process is complicated by the process of climate change. In such cases, a settlement that is today located in an inhospitable area may have been constructed during a period when the natural environment was more favourable towards settlement construction. As a result, the process of climate change and environmental degradation should be incorporated into any examination of the origins and positioning of a settlement.

The last aspect of the landscape that should be considered is intra-settlement layout. This is the relationship that exists between buildings and features within the settlement (Change, 1968; Trigger, 1968; Roberts, 1996; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). Building and feature location within the settlement were affected by social practices such as religion, social hierarchy, social organisation as well as economic practices (Trigger, 1968, Roberts, 1996; Trigger, 2007). Therefore, the placement of administrative and religious buildings was often a physical representation of power,

wealth and authority of ruling individuals or lineages (Trigger, 2007:120-141; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:171). Similarly, the placement of public meeting areas and trading areas may have been based on either economic reason, such as proximity to markets and resources, or as a means of indicating political organisation, such as the *agorae* of the Ancient Greek City States. The relationship between dwellings and surrounding buildings may also have been an indicator of the type of settlement planning that was utilised in the layout and construction of the settlement. Planned settlements tend to have a linear layout whereas organic settlements, which systematically developed and expanded over time, have a more disorganised settlement layout (Roberts, 1996:87-119). Lastly, the architecture of the buildings as well as the shape and frequency of open areas can also indicate aspects of religion, world view and social organisation (Trigger, 2007:564-582) For example; settlements located in conflict zones tend to have a more dense settlement organisation, with the buildings constructed close together and with narrow walk ways. Buildings in such settlements will likewise be constructed with only a door as entry, with no windows on the first floor. This architectural style will aid in the defence of the settlement should it become necessary. Therefore, when one finds a settlement following this layout and building style, one can assume that it was built and occupied during a time of conflict. Furthermore, a society that had a religion based upon nature may have had a more dispersed settlement pattern with wide open areas to accommodate their religious views. Social values and beliefs can therefore be seen within the architecture and open areas located within a settlement.

The relationship of settlements with each other is often illustrated and studied by the use of differing techniques to understand settlement patterning and dynamics. These techniques are called Central Place theory, Site Hierarchy, Thiessen polygons and XTENT modelling (Renfrew and Bahn, 2012:174-176)<sup>1</sup>. Although a detailed

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<sup>1</sup> These are techniques that create settlement distribution maps in different ways. Central place theory determines the relationship of settlements with other features in the surrounding environment and can be seen as a spider's web, spreading from one central place. Site Hierarchy simply organises the settlements based on their superiority, from capital to rural town. Thiessen polygons (Bassel and Reif, 1979) create distribution maps that create areas of influences around a settlement, with settlements each having areas of equal size. XTENT modelling was created in order to solve some of the problems associated with Thiessen polygons and consequently incorporate natural aspects and features such as rivers and mountains, as well as site hierarchy, into the distribution map. For a short and detailed description of these techniques see Renfrew and Bahn (2012).



discussion of these techniques is not required here, there are some aspects of these techniques that should be considered, and which are relevant to this study. Firstly, all these techniques are a means of illustrating and understanding the relationship of different settlements with each other. Secondly, since settlement archaeology follows the assumption that a society is reflected within the settlement patterns they create, these techniques aid us in interpreting and extrapolating information about the society as well as the settlement they lived in.

Despite the usefulness of these methods, there are a number of underlying problems associated with their use. All these models had their origin in geography, and were intended for use in contemporary sites for which all the information is known (Dewar, 1991; Ducke and Kroefges, 2008). This has a number of implications for the use of these methods within an archaeological context, due to the fact that usually very little information is available for any particular site. When a settlement distribution map is created, it is assumed that all the sites on the map are contemporary with one another, often referred to as the 'contemporarity problem' (Greenfield and Van Schalkwyk, 2008; Dewar, 1991). Contemporarity is achieved by grouping sites into similar phases with the help of archaeological material and dating. This data is then used to group all the "contemporary" sites together and then create a spatial distribution map. The grouping together of such sites to form a spatial distribution map, results in what Dewar (1991) calls the 'synchronistic paradigm'. This paradigm states that when sites are grouped together in a temporal manner, it is assumed that they were all present at the start and end of the phase (for example the start and end of a century). These models therefore do not allow for the possibility that the quantity of sites under study may have been higher at the end of the phase than at the start or *vice versa*. In other words, these models do not allow for the abandonment and creation of settlements within a phase. Settlements are grouped together as forming part of a phase without incorporating their temporal relationships (Dewar, 1991).

A logical outflow of this paradigm is the belief that when one phase is ended and another is started, there follows a reorganisation of the whole settlement pattern. At a particular moment in time, settlements are abandoned and populations are

resettled almost immediately in accordance with the new phase (Dewar, 1991). This is called *punctuated equilibria* and although known to not be the case in practice, it is often the end assumption given by spatial distribution maps. A practical problem of these *punctuated equilibria* is determining population size and density. Site size along with its distribution in the landscape is used in order to determine population density and size (Dewar, 1991; Huffman, 2007). As such, if a settlement in one area is relocated to a new one within a short period of time, it is counted twice. Dewar (1991) refers to it as double counting.

A related problem is the belief that a settlement grows from its founding to its abandonment, with the maximum population at the end (Dewar, 1991). In practice, a settlement's population can also decline from its founding, with the result that the maximum population can be at the beginning instead of the end. Thus, if population density is determined by using only the aggregated size of the site, then the populations' estimates will be inflated for the beginning or end of a phase (Dewar, 1991). These problems, therefore, have a direct bearing on the means in which settlements and settlement patterns are studied. If these models are not properly used, then large errors can be made by the assumptions made and information extrapolated from using these models.

Another problematic issue in the study of settlement patterns is the assumption that humans always act in a rational manner and that motives are "profit" driven (Hall, 1981). In other words when a site was chosen, the full potential of the site was known. Such a site was therefore chosen as to allow for the maximum exploitation of the resources for the least amount of effort (Hall, 1981). As a result, these methodologies have difficulty in incorporating any site that was not created with this underlying assumption; which makes the definition of determinates for settlement selection increasingly difficult (Hall, 1981). A feature of an organic settlement is often that of a haphazard and illogical settlement layout, since the layout was determined by different factors over many years. In such a case, although a logical explanation for the placement of settlement and buildings can often be found, it should be remembered that individual choice and preference can also have had an important

impact on settlement patterns, and may often appear as an illogical placement of settlements and buildings.

### **3.3 Determinants**

One of the most distinguishable aspects of all societies is the way in which they plan and organise their settlements. All settlements, regardless of size and complexity, shared a number of determining factors which influence how they were organised (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Roberts, 1996; Trigger, 2007). These determinants may include environmental factors such as terrain and climate, and socio-cultural factors such as religion and social stratification (Trigger, 2007). Although the techniques for studying settlement vary, most studies tend to incorporate both aspects in their analysis; with the nature of the study determining which approach receives more emphasis (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Fletcher, 1986; Roberts, 1996; Coombes and Barber, 2005; Krich, 2005; Evans, *et al.*, 2009; Trigger, 2007; Kowalewski, 2008; Mouton, 2009).

Although there are a large number of differing determinants within each natural and social environment, they can all be broadly divided into three categories. These are: individual buildings (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Roberts, 1996; Huffman, 1997; Huffman, 2007), environmental factors (Paynter, 1982; Trigger, 2007; Huffman, 2008; Badenhorst, 2009; Huffman, 2010) and community actions and interactions (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Hall, 1986; Davison, 1988; Roberts, 1996; Flannery, 2002; Berlov, 2005; Trigger, 2007; Huffman, 2007; Badenhorst, 2008; Badenhorst, 2009). An environmental approach examines how the natural environment impacted on building construction and settlement organisation. This approach affectively analysis the interaction between humans and their environment (Paynter, 1982; Trigger, 2007; Huffman, 2008; Badenhorst, 2009; Huffman, 2010). In settlement studies, a socio-cultural approach examines how settlements reflect the society which created them and how this may provide further knowledge about the society at hand (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Fletcher, 1986; Roberts, 1996; Erickson, 1999; Sluyter, 2003; Trigger, 2007; Kowalewski, 2008; Fletcher, 2009). This approach analysis the impact of a

society's political, social and religious organisation on the settlement patterns, either on a macro or a micro scale (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Roberts, 1996; Trigger, 2007). The macro scale involves analysing these aspects on settlements over the whole landscape as well as inter-settlement interactions. On the other hand, a micro scale analysis examines the impact of these different aspects on individual settlements as well as their interaction within the same settlement (Sears, 1961; Trigger, 1968; Trigger, 2007; Kowalewski, 2008; Mouton, 2009). The examination of this interaction is complicated by the movement of settlements within the landscape. What may well appear as two different settlements can, in fact, be the same settlement in a new locality (Dewar, 1991). Within these two broader approaches, a number of different determinants exist. Determinants are factors which impact on the organisation of a settlement, regardless of size and complexity (Trigger, 1968:55-70; Paynter, 1982; Badenhorst, 2009).

Individual buildings are studied based on their interaction with surrounding buildings as well as their function (Trigger, 1967; Trigger, 1968; Roberts, 1996; Trigger, 2007). Building location and construction can illustrate a variety of aspects, namely how societies are organised, both socially and physically; how they adapted to their environment; as well as reflecting their world view (Roberts, 1996; Hiller, 2002; Huffman, 2007; Evans *et al.*, 2009). Environmental determinants, on the other hand, can be sub-divided into three sub-categories, namely: interaction between the site and area; resources available; and environmental change over time (Trigger, 1968; Deacon, 1972; Maggs, 1976; Roper, 1975; Guy, 1980; Coombes and Barber, 2005; Kirch, 2005, Huffman, 2010). Lastly, community actions and interactions have a significant impact on settlement organisation and layout. Furthermore, the nature of the community will determine the sedentary level of the settlement (Trigger, 1968; Roper, 1975; Hall, 1981; Kelly, 1992; Roberts, 1996; Trigger, 2007; Fletcher, 2009). This determinant is probably the most used in Iron Age studies in South Africa, and can be seen in the works of Maggs (1976); Marks and Atmore (1980); Maggs (1989); Mack *et al.* (1991) and Huffman (2001). The study of settlement patterns can, therefore, become a useful means of understanding past societies and their culture and how they convey this in their structural and material culture.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

It has become clear that there exist a large number of variables and aspects that should be considered when studying settlements and settlement patterns. Aspects such as settlement abandonment, religion, socio-political organisation and even the level of complexity of the society all influence settlements and settlement patterns. Not all of these aspects can necessarily be observed within the archaeological record and it is for this reason that settlement archaeology uses cross-disciplinary approaches. Disciplines such as history, ethnography and geography can all aid in our interpretation of the nature of the societies which created the settlements. Each of these disciplines has their own inherent limitations which should be kept in mind and compensated for when used in a study. Failing to do so could result in a misinterpretation of the settlement and the society. Now that a broad understanding for the interpretation and studying of settlements has been created, it is necessary to focus this understanding on a specific region. The next chapter examines the nature of settlement studies in southern Africa archaeology.

## **Chapter 4: Settlement Studies in southern African Archaeology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The archaeological study of settlements in southern Africa has been a source of interest since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Huffman, 1997). Since the 1900s, scientific excavation throughout the region has greatly improved our understanding of not only past societies, but also the modern societies that had developed from them. Nevertheless, there is still a large gap in our understanding of the nature of past societies, which in turn impacts on our understanding of the settlements which they created. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is not a simple process to determine the nature and function of any settlement. Combined with the general problems that are associated with settlement studies, each region also has its own unique advantages and limitations. This chapter, therefore, focusses on settlement studies within southern Africa. According to Huffman (2007) southern Africa was characterised by three different forms of settlements, namely the Western Streets Pattern, the Zimbabwean Pattern and the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP). The main focus of this chapter will be on the CCP settlement form with an examination of the CCP settlement layout and structure, along with the problems and limitations associated with the model. Although considered the dominant settlement form within southern Africa, research is beginning to show that greater variations in settlement forms existed than indicated by the CCP model (Hall, 1986; Maggs, 1989; Badenhorst, 2008; Badenhorst, 2009). This chapter will use the Zulu *umuzi* as the basis for the discussion of the CCP pattern within southern Africa.

### **4.2 Southern African Iron Age settlement patterns**

Since the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) is the main model used in the interpretation of settlements throughout most of southern Africa, a brief examination of its relationship towards other models used to interpret settlements within the sub-continent is essential.

#### 4.2.1 Western and Eastern Bantu

When examining southern African settlement patterns there have traditionally been a divide between eastern and western Bantu (Huffman, 2007:28-29; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). This was not only just a geographical divide but also a cultural one. Traditionally, the eastern Bantu who migrated into southern Africa from the north, had a circular settlement layout, were patrilineal and built round huts (Huffman, 2007:28-29). Within this tradition, two main types of settlement patterns have been identified; namely, the CCP and the Zimbabwean pattern (Huffman, 1989; Huffman, 2007). The western Bantu, on the other hand, were matrilineal and had rectangular huts with long parallel or rectangular settlement layouts (Turner, 1955; Huffman, 2007:28-29; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). In this tradition, one finds a pattern referred to as the Street Pattern (Fig. 5).

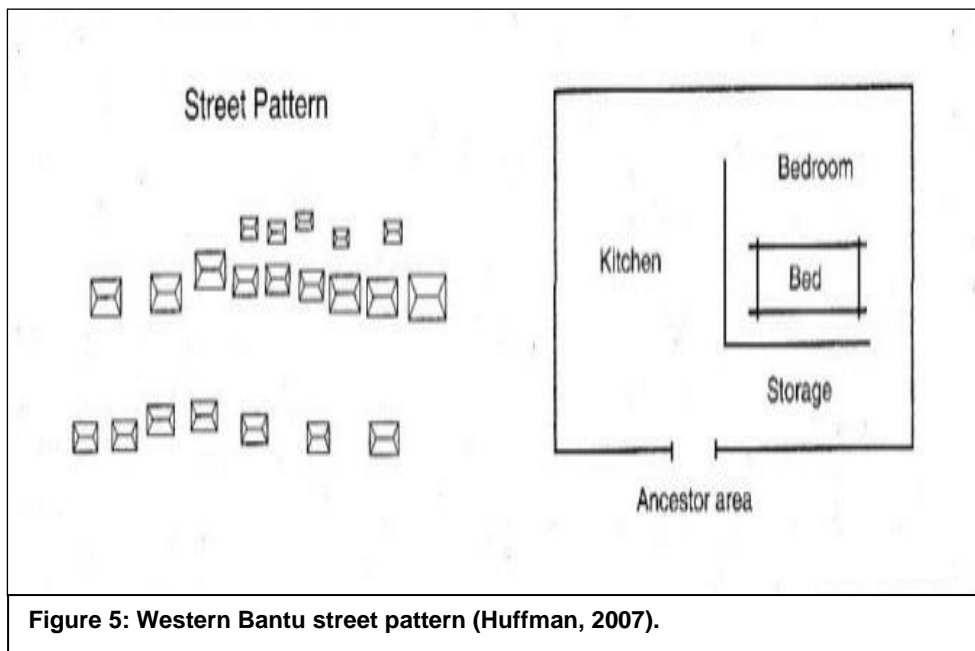
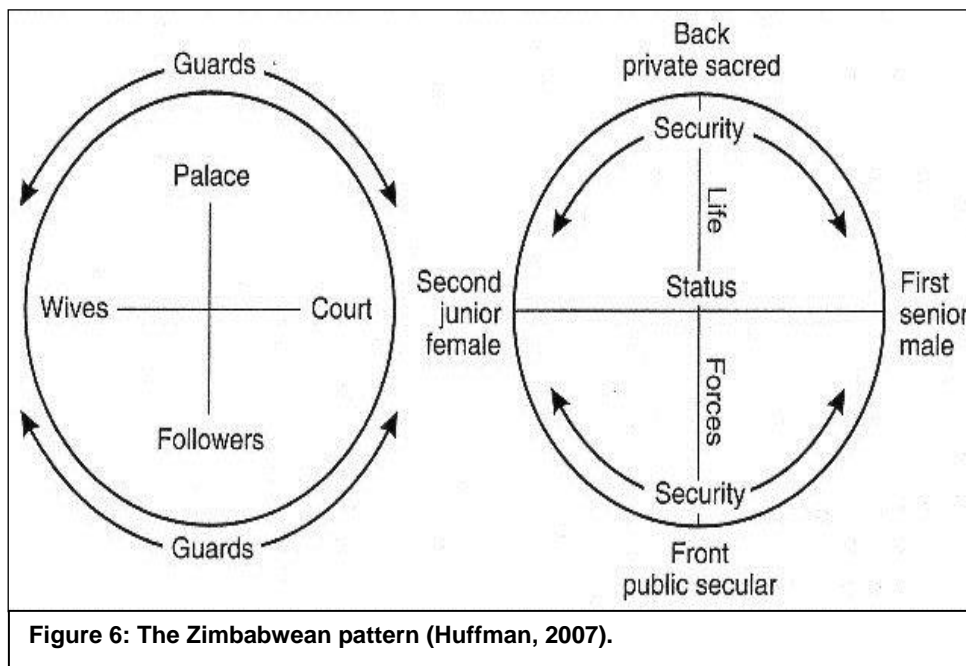


Figure 5: Western Bantu street pattern (Huffman, 2007).

### 4.2.2 Zimbabwean Pattern

The Zimbabwean pattern (Fig. 6) had a circular/oval settlement layout and was organised around the institution of sacred leadership, with a strict social and hierarchical divide (Huffman, 2007:25-26). At the top end was the palace, where the king lived along with a number of his wives. The rest of the society constructed their houses to the left of the palace, with the palace forming the top central part of the settlement. The royal court was also located at the palace with the commoners' court opposite the royal wives' huts. These commoners lived in an area below the royal apartments (Huffman, 2007:25-26). However, there has been some debate as to the accuracy of this settlement model as proposed by Huffman (see for example, Beach, 1997; Hall, 1997; Pikirayi, 1997; Pikirayi and Chirikure, 2011). New research on sites such as Great Zimbabwe shows that this model is either absent or differs from that proposed by Huffman (Pikirayi, 2001; Chirikure and Pikirayi, 2008:976; Pikirayi and Chirikure, 2011).





### 4.2.3 The Central Cattle Pattern (CCP)

The CCP (Fig. 4) derives its name from its most distinguishing feature; a centrally located cattle enclosure or byre (*uluGange* or *uluThango* in Zulu) (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1980:8; Kuper, 1982; Hall, 1981; Huffman, 1982:140; Hall, 1984:65-66; Huffman, 2001:20-21; Huffman, 2007:25; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). The main purpose of this centrally located byre was to provide livestock with the maximum amount of protection. For these communities, cattle were an integral part of their lives, not only as a source of food, but also as a source of wealth and status. Furthermore, these communities venerated ancestors, some of whom were buried in the livestock byre and, therefore, cattle provided the symbolic link between the ancestors and the living (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1980:10; Huffman, 1982:140; Huffman, 2001:20-21; Huffman, 2007:25, 33-46; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). The CCP model, as put forward by Huffman in his articles (1982; 1986a; 1986b; 2001; 2004), was based on the ethnographic studies done by Adam Kuper (1982) on the Eastern Bantu Cattle Pattern.

A CCP settlement, originally called the Bantu Cattle Pattern by Kuper (1982), was a type of settlement that had a circular layout, distinguishable by an inner and outer circle. The outer part constituted a fence made of either timber or bushes with stone walling being common among the Sotho and Venda, but rare among the Zulu (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1980:10; Kuper, 1982:140-143; Hall, 1984:65-66; Maggs, 1988:417; Huffman, 2007:33; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). The preference for bush or timber rather than stone among the Nguni may be attributed to the greater abundance of these materials in Kwa-Zulu Natal, compared to the general scarcity of these materials on the South African Highveld (Maggs, 1988:417; Mitchell, 2002:348). Residential areas were placed between the outermost part of the settlement and the centrally located cattle byre, forming a circle around the cattle enclosure. Here, both the enclosure and the settlement's entrances (*isango elikhulu*) faced downhill (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1980:10; Hall, 1984:65-66; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986:289; Mack *et al.*, 1991:85-92; Knight, 1995:26; Huffman, 2001:20-24; Huffman, 2007:25, 33-46; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). The entrance of the settlement was always in line with the entrance of the cattle enclosure, with the ash midden located at the entrance (Krige, 1965:42-44; Mack *et al.*, 1991:88). Although

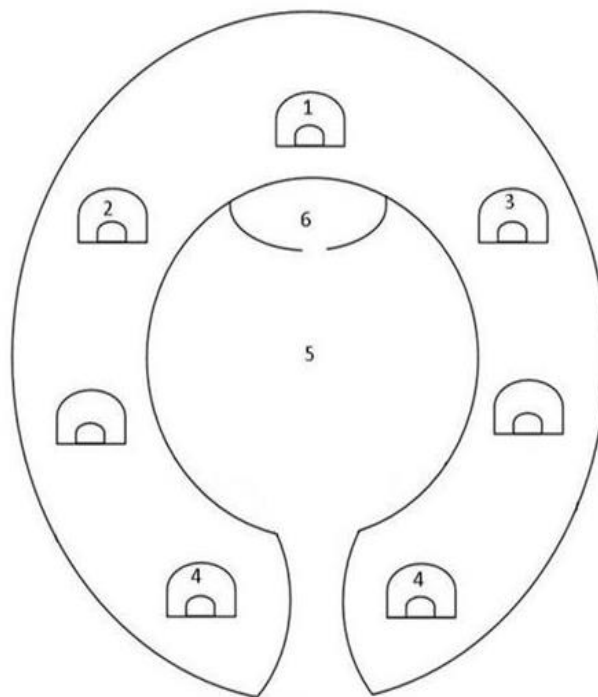
the ideal form of a CCP settlement was circular, local topography determines the final layout. Each part of the settlement had its own ritual and symbolic meanings associated with it; thus their locations were pre-determined by these aspects. Despite being used by both the Sotho-Tswana and the Nguni, there existed a number of differences (Maggs, 1976; Maggs, 1989; Hall; 1990). As a result, the CCP can be sub-divided into the Nguni style and the Sotho-Tswana style.

### 4.3 Nguni style

As the main protagonist of the CCP settlement pattern form, Huffman argued that its layout was a reflection of the male dominated aspect of Nguni culture (Huffman, 2007:441). Consequently, the CCP was seen as a gendered pattern due to the divide between male and female spaces (Krige, 1965:39-41; Kuper, 1980:8-10; Huffman, 2004:83; Huffman, 2007:441). This circular layout illustrated the dominance of the polygamous family although non-family members may also have lived within the settlement in a client relationship towards the family (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982:140-143; Hall, 1984:65-66). In a Nguni homestead (*umuzi*) (Fig. 7), the great hut (*indlunkulu*), where the chief or family head resides, was situated above the cattle enclosure in a direct line with the entrance of the settlement (Hoernlè, 1962:82-83; Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1980:9; Kuper, 1982:140-143; Mack *et. al.*, 1991:84-104; Knight, 1995:26; Huffman, 2001:20-21; Huffman, 2007:25,33-46; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). To the left of the great hut, the principal hut, belonging to either the chief's mother or his principal wife, was located (Hoernlè, 1962:82-83; Krige, 1965:39-41; Kuper, 1980:10; Knight, 1995:26; Huffman, 2001:20-21; Huffman, 2007:25; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). Inside the great hut, there was also a left (female) and right (male) divide which to some extent followed the same principle as the settlement (Huffman, 2001:20-24; Huffman, 2007:25). Nonetheless, different Nguni groups differed in which side was defined as male and female, with the above having been the case among the Zulu (Kuper, 1980:10). This hut was also the living place for both the chief and his principal wife. However, it was not uncommon for the principal wife to have had her own hut immediately to the left. The chief would also sometimes have had a hut reserved for his private use (*ilawu lomnumzane*), which would have been situated to the right of the principal wife's hut. If the chief decided

not to have his own hut, the second wife's hut would then be located in this area (Hoernlè, 1962:82-83; Krige, 1965:39-41; Bryant, 1967:75-77; Knight, 1995:26; Huffman, 2001:20-21; Huffman, 2007:25, 33-46; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149).

### Zulu *umuzi* constructed along the lines of the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP)



1. Great hut (*indlunkulu*)
2. Principal hut
3. Second wife's hut
4. Children/dependents' hut
5. Cattle enclosure
6. Calves Enclosure

Figure 7: Zulu *umuzi*. Created for this study by R.H. van der Merwe

Each wife would have had her own private hut, with seniority being shown from left to right, stretching from the great hut towards the settlement's entrance. Status was also indicated by the proximity of a hut in relation to the great hut (Hoernlè, 1962:82-83; Bryant, 1967:75-77; Krige, 1965:39-41; Kuper, 1980:10; Kuper, 1982:140-143; Hall, 1984:65-66; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986:289; Knight, 1995:26; Huffman, 2001:20-24; Mitchell, 2002:281; Huffman, 2007:25,33-46; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). Each hut was equipped with its own cooking and storage areas along with its own grain bins. Children considered old enough not to live with their mothers were also given their own huts, although more than one child may have lived within a hut. The location of these huts followed the same pattern as those of the wives, with huts located to the left of the great hut being more senior than huts located to the right side. As boys matured to adulthood they received their own huts which were located in the same area as those of the children. Married men left the family *umuzi* and erected their own *umuzi* nearby (Hoernlè, 1962:82-83; Kuper, 1982:140-156; Hall, 1984:65-66; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986:289; Huffman, 2001:20-24).

Clients and retainers of the family would have constructed their huts at the bottom of the settlement closest to the entrance. Sons that continued to live at the *umuzi* for an undefined period of time, referred to as *indlunkulu*, had a hut located at the entrance of the settlement. Retainers were not viewed as being part of the family; rather, they worked for the chief or family head in return for support (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982:140-143; Hall, 1984:65-66). Aristocratic settlements would also have had one or two huts located at the entrance of the settlement (*izimVali*) that acted as gatekeepers with an additional hut for the night watchmen (*umVakashi*) (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982:140-156). The cattle byre was also divided into two sections. Calves were kept in a separate area of the enclosure closest to the great hut, and this enclosure was also where the chief would perform his religious rites. Bulls and cows were kept together in the rest of the enclosure while pens for the sheep and goats were constructed outside of the settlement, although, in rare cases, they were also kept within the settlement but not within the byre (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982; Hall, 1984:65-66). Depending on the size of the settlement as well as the size of the cattle herd, the settlement may also have had separate enclosures for different groups of cattle within the main cattle byre (Parkington and Cronin,

1979:136). At the top of *umuzi* in the area of the great hut there may also have been two smaller entrances, one to the left and one to the right, with strangers and visitors forbidden to use this entrance; they were only allowed to use the *umuzi*'s main entrance (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982:140-156). When it was still common practice for weapons to be stored in the *umuzi*, a special hut (*indlu yezikhali*) was built on ten foot poles for this purpose, in the top left hand side of the *umuzi* (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982:140-156).

Additionally, a Nguni *umuzi* was also seen as having a left/right, up/down and an inner/outer divide (Kuper, 1982:140-156). The left/right divide, mostly associated with the male/female divide, was also seen as a divide between members of the same gender in connection with their status. It is often assumed that the right side represented a higher status than the left. Yet, the decision of which side was more superior to the other differed from one group to another, with no accepted general practice for either (Kuper, 1982:140-156). An up/down divide could have been seen as a temporal divide. A "permanent" section was located at the top of the homestead, with a "temporary" section located at the bottom (Kuper, 1982:140-156). "Permanent" referred to those members who stayed at the *umuzi*, such as the chief/family head and his wives, with "temporary" referring to those who would eventually leave, such as the sons and daughters (Kuper, 1982:140-156). This permanent/temporary divide was used in hut placement for those living in the *umuzi* and did not refer to people's daily movements. Lastly, the inner/outer divide represented safety, with the inner part of the *umuzi* being the safest and outside the most dangerous. Raw crops were stored outside the *umuzi*, and as it was refined to either food or beer it was moved to the inside of the *umuzi*. Similarly, cattle were slaughtered outside of the *umuzi* and then cooked and eaten inside (Krige, 1965:42-44; Kuper, 1982:140-156). Grain was threshed on a site (*isibuya*) that was specifically prepared for this purpose outside the settlement and was usually fenced and connected to the outer fence. Aristocratic homesteads may have had one *isibuya* for each section, with an entrance leading into the settlement (Krige, 1965:42-44). Grain was sometimes temporarily stored in these areas, in huts made of grass and placed on wooden platforms. However, the primary granaries for long term storage were located within the cattle byre with no obvious surface features

indicating the location of these granaries (Krige, 1965:42-44, Kuper, 1982:140-156; Huffman, 2001:20-21; Huffman, 2007:25, 33-46; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). Each section of the *umuzi* also had its own storage area for grain, vegetables and beer (Krige, 1965:42-44).

This is the conceptual layout of a standard CCP settlement. However, due to the fact that landscapes and local cultures differed, there were local variations to this pattern. Each clan within the larger northern Nguni culture had its own variations in settlement structure and layout, but with the basic circular layout remaining constant (Kuper, 1980:9; Kuper, 1982:140-156). One variant was that both the principal and second wife's huts were located on the left side of the great hut, with the third wife's hut being the first on the right hand side (Kuper, 1982:140-156; Huffman, 2001:20-24). A greater variant was the orientation of both the settlement and hut entrances (Kuper, 1980:8-10; Kuper, 1982:140-156). Theoretically, the entrance of both the hut and the settlement should be facing downhill with some sources (e.g. Samuelson, 1929) stating that east was the preferred direction. In an ethnographic study done by the Archaeology Department of the Natal Museum (Mack *et al.*, 1991), it was found that the only determining factor to entrance orientation was that a settlement's entrance should be facing downhill, and not any particular direction, a conclusion supported by Krige (1965) and Hall (1984).

Even though the study by the Natal Museum was done on modern settlements, the settlements used followed traditional approaches to settlement layout. As a result, it can be safely assumed that they would follow similar practices to that of their archetypes. In the study, they found both western and eastern facing entrances with no mention being made by ethnographic sources of a preference for either direction. Although more entrances were facing east than west, this could be attributed to the predominance of eastern facing slopes in their study area (Mack *et al.*, 1991:85-87). Maggs (1988) also found that a settlement entrance was determined by the direction of the hill's slope. Bryant (1967) mentioned that some of the hut entrances were facing west in order to receive more sunlight. Other variants can be seen at Nqabeni, which was excavated by Martin Hall and Tim Maggs in the 1970s (Hall and Maggs,

1979). Nqabeni is situated in the northern part of the White Mfolozi River valley with the entrance to the settlement facing uphill (Hall and Maggs, 1979, 1984:68). Mack *et al.* (1991) noted in their study area that some of the great huts were situated at right angles to the cattle byre. The explanation was that the prevailing wind should not blow directly into the hut owing to the danger that fire embers posed to thatched huts, and the inconvenience the smoke would have caused the inhabitants (Mack *et al.*, 1991:102-111). Thus, it can be seen that local environmental conditions determined local variations in settlement layout and patterning. Kuper (1982) also argued that variations in settlement organisation were another means of representing cultural differences and status. An important person such as a diviner may alter his *umuzi* layout to any degree in order to emphasise his own position, as in the case of the diviner Laduma Madela whose *umuzi* was the reverse of the “traditional” *umuzi* and had no central cattle byre (Kuper, 1980:18; Kuper, 1982:140-156).

Each part of the settlement had both a ritualistic and symbolic meaning associated with it. As can be expected, the most important part of the settlement was the centrally located cattle byre which was primarily associated with men (Kuper, 1982:140-156; Huffman, 2001:20-24; Huffman, 2004: 83; Huffman, 2007:441; Badenhorst, 2009:148-149). This area formed the centre of both the religious and political lives of the clan in general and it was the place where the chief would have held court sessions and meetings with his advisors. Also, the council of elders, called the *ibandla*, would gather in an area, also called the *ibandla*, which is either located at the area immediately in front of the cattle byre or just outside the settlement’s main entrance (Kuper, 1982:140-156). Furthermore, raised and lowered grain bins used for long term storage were located within the byre (Huffman, 2001:20-24). Evidence suggested that manufacturing (brass and shields) occurred within the byre, as well as serving as a burial place for prominent individuals (Huffman, 2001:20). Ash middens were located at the entrance of the settlement, with variations existing with regards to whether the location was on the left, right or both sides of the settlement entrance (Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1989:99-100; Mack *et al.*, 1991:123-125). The outer area, between the cattle byre and the outer fence, was associated with women. This area contained residential huts, with their associated kitchens and grain

bins. Furthermore, this area would be used as a burial site for the women (Huffman, 2001:20-24)

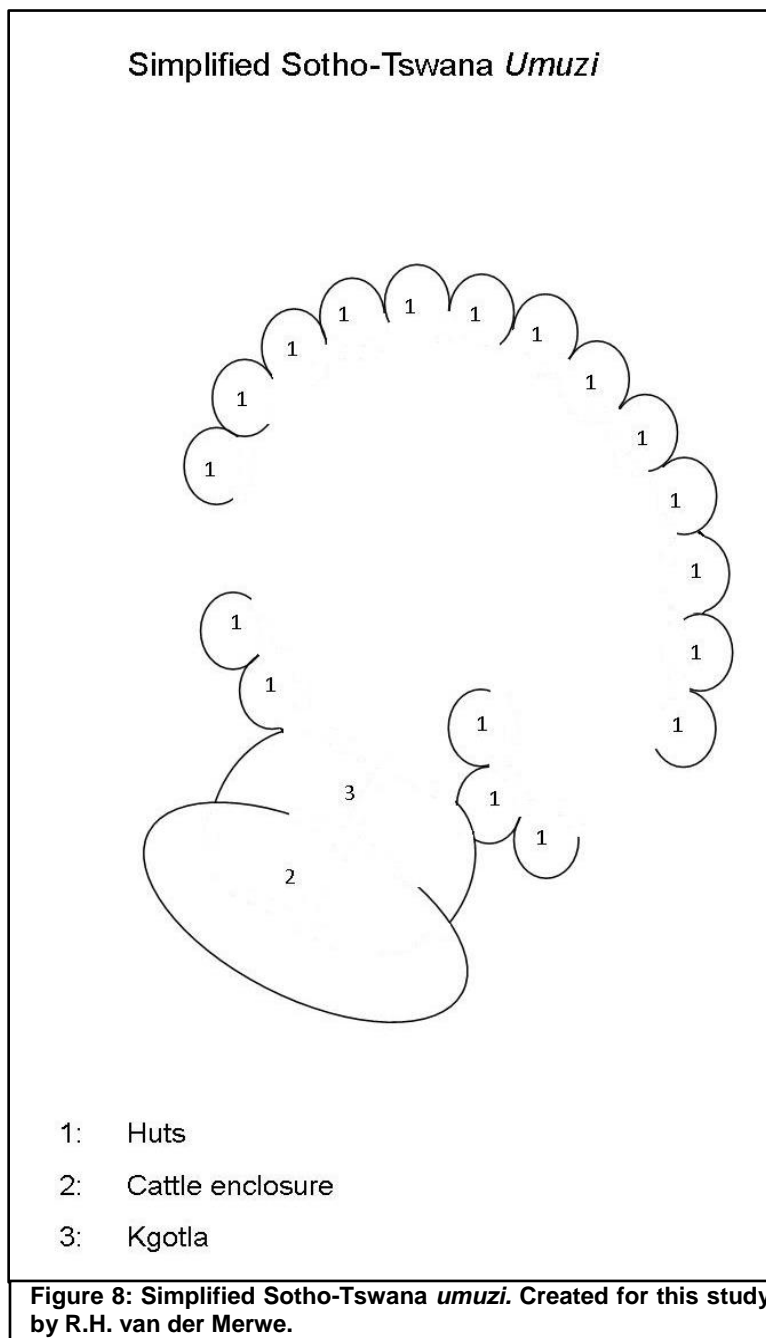
It is interesting to note that the archaeological record indicated that, before the period of the *mfecane/difagane*, greater variation existed in settlement design among the grassland Nguni in contrast to the uniformity of the coastal Nguni (Maggs, 1989:31). This might have been an indication of a greater level of social flexibility among the pre-Shakan Nguni than the ethnographical accounts appear to suggest. Correspondingly, our understanding of LIA Nguni *umuzi* is more limited than our understanding of that of the Sotho-Tswana. The main reason for this is due to the materials used in the construction of a LIA Nguni *umuzi*, which greatly limits its preservation and archaeological visibility. *Umuzi* that have been burned or had clay floors, are the ones that have the highest survival rate in the archaeological record (Maggs, 1988:417).

#### **4.4 Sotho-Tswana style**

As stated earlier, a number of differences existed between the form of CCP used by the Sotho-Tswana (Fig. 8) and the Nguni. Two reasons can be given as to why such differences are evident between the two. Firstly, the two groups occupied distinctly different biomes (Maggs, 1976; Hall, 1990; Mitchell, 2002). The Nguni were located in the sub-tropical coastal belt of Natal, covered with woodland, savannahs and grasslands. Although droughts were not uncommon in the area, they tend to be shorter and less severe than those in the interior. In contrast, the Sotho-Tswana occupied the savannah to semi-arid regions, which were sometimes marked by long and severe droughts (Guy, 1980; Maggs, 1976:16; Mitchell, 2002:349). As a result of these two differing biomes, the economic nature of the two groups also differed. The coastal strip of South Africa had favourable conditions for cattle keeping and, as a result, the Nguni were predominantly pastoralist. Due to the drier areas occupied by the Sotho-Tswana, they were predominantly agro-pastoralists, combining both agronomy and pastoralism. Although the Nguni also practised agronomy, it was not on the same scale as that of the Sotho-Tswana. Secondly, the Nguni tended to have



more dispersed settlements with a low population density, whereas the Sotho-Tswana tended to congregate in large centralised towns with a high population densities (Hoernlè, 1962:88-93; Kuper, 1982:148-156; Pistorius, 1992:12-17; Mitchell, 2002:360). A reason for these opposite tendencies may have been due to environmental factors. The harsher climate of the interior demanded more land for the purposes of farming and grazing; resulting in more concentrated and dense settlements. Furthermore, the concentrated settlements also provided greater safety for the inhabitants (Maggs, 1976:24).



Although it cannot be said that the Sotho-Tswana were more aggressive than the Nguni, the harsher climate of the interior resulted in fewer resources (farming and grazing land) that could be shared and, as a result, there was greater competition between groups for these resources. However, it can also be argued that the agglomerated settlements of the Sotho-Tswana may in part have been caused by political needs, owing to the fact that small dispersed homesteads were sometimes found among the Sotho-Tswana as well as agglomerated settlements being found among 19<sup>th</sup> century Nguni (Kuper, 1982:148-156). It appears that where strong centralised leadership was found, the settlements tended to be larger and more agglomerated (Kuper, 1982:148-156, Mitchell, 2002:360).

These differences were illustrated in the settlement patterns employed by the Sotho-Tswana. Sotho-Tswana settlements were more densely constructed and populated than those of the Nguni. They had a central cattle enclosure, sometimes multiple cattle enclosures in one settlement, with differing sections, or wards, attached to each enclosure. These settlements were divided by archaeologists into 9 classes; class 1 referring to the small family homestead and class 9 to the large agglomerated settlements (Pistorius, 1992:12-17). A greater emphasis was placed on the men's meeting place or *kgotla* than on the cattle byre which might have displaced or partially displaced the cattle byre (Hoernlè, 1962:88-93; Schrapera, 1962; Kuper, 1982:148-156). However, the location of the *kgotla* is not crucial and might have been located either at the entrance of the cattle byre or between the cattle byre and the great hut (Hoernlè, 1962:88-93; Schrapera, 1962; Kuper, 1982:148-156). A marked difference however, between the Nguni settlement and that of the Sotho-Tswana was the tendency of the latter to organise their settlements into wards, with each ward being similar to an Nguni *umuzi* in terms of size and organisation. As new groups or families joined the tribe, they would construct a new ward which was then attached to the settlement. Nevertheless, the same ranking system was used for the wards as that used for hut placement (Kuper, 1982:148-156). Among the Pedi, for example, the headman's homestead was in the centre, with the next senior family to his right and the second to his left and the third again to his right and so forth (Kuper, 1982:148-156; Mönning, 1988:218-223). When wards were grouped together to form a larger town, the same system was applied. The chief's house (*kgossing*) was

located within the central ward (*fa gare*). Also located within this area was the main meeting place of the council, as well as groups that were affiliated with the chief. The central ward therefore acted as the living place of the chief and his affiliated groups. Two sections were then allocated above and below the central ward; the upper section (*dintlha or ntlha ya godimo*) which was to the west of the *kgosing* and the lower section (*ntlha ya tlase*) which was to the east of the *kgosing* (Schapera, 1943; Kuper, 1982:148-156; Boeyens, 2000:8-11). The upper side usually housed the nobility and the lower side the commoners. These settlements were divided into types V, N, Z and R with each form being a different variant of the basic pattern (Maggs, 1976:28-44; Mitchell, 2002:350-354; Huffman, 2007:33-46; Boeyens and Plug, 2011:4, Steyn, 2011:109). Sotho-Tswana settlements were also mostly constructed from stone and not wood, as was the case among the Nguni.

#### **4.5 Criticism of the CCP model**

Although the validity of the CCP throughout the history of southern Africa has been questioned (Hall, 1986; Badenhorst, 2009), it appears that, for specifically the 19<sup>th</sup> century Nguni, the model is still applicable (Pistorius, 1992:12; Badenhorst, 2009:149-152). In recent years the validity of the CCP in southern Africa as well as the western/eastern Bantu divide had received heavy criticism, most recently from Badenhorst (2009). Although it is generally accepted that the CCP system is applicable to the Late Iron Age in southern Africa, the arguments have been over the antiquity of the pattern (Hall, 1986:83, Badenhorst, 2009:149-152), with Huffman (1982, 1986a, 1986b, 2007) arguing that it is applicable for the last two millennia in the southern African past. Hall (1986) provides two main criticisms of the CCP model. Firstly, he points out that the model was based on studies that were done on a historical population and as such does not take into account the impact of change. Huffman (1982) argued that the Zimbabwean Pattern developed out of the CCP model and as such can be seen as a further evolution of the model. Hall (1986) points out that if both the CCP and Zimbabwean Patterns are linked, then the world view that created one should have continued into the other. Hall argued that a society's world view should survive the political and economic changes associated with settlement enlargement and an increase in wealth (Hall, 1986:83). Hall

furthermore argues that the model does not explain why the 19<sup>th</sup> century Zulu kings, faced with similar changes, modified the CCP model to accommodate these changes, a path not taken by the Zimbabwean Culture (Hall, 1986:83). Secondly, Hall (1986) argues that an important component of the CCP model is the cognitive approach used by Huffman, which is not clearly defined. In this argument, Hall asks how two different cognitive approaches can exist within the same economic system, yet not be mutually connected (Hall, 1986:83). He also questions how one cognitive approach can be changed and interlinked, such as decoration on pottery reflecting ethnicity, yet has no impact on other cognitive approaches such as architecture (Hall, 1986:83).

Badenhorst's (2009) criticism on the CCP is based on three arguments. Firstly, that the circular/rectangular distinction between eastern and western Bantu is a recent event (Badenhorst, 2009:149-152). Secondly, that a circular settlement layout with an enclosure in the centre is the best pattern for an open savannah area with predators like lions and leopards being a constant threat to livestock. Lastly, he states that the archaeological record for Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is too incomplete to allow for statements on patterns as defined by Huffman (Badenhorst, 2009:149-152). Badenhorst makes a valid point when stating that the CCP form is the most suitable for a savannah area since this form has also been found in Khoesan settlements (Jerardino and Maggs, 2007:107). Another point that Badenhorst raises is that the dung analysis of many CCP settlements in the Early Iron Age (200–900 AD) and the Middle Iron Age (900–1300 AD) indicated that mostly sheep, not cattle, were kept as livestock (Hall, 1986:85; Badenhorst, 2009:149-152). Badenhorst concludes his criticism by saying that there is more to the CCP than just a circular settlement layout with a centrally located cattle enclosure, an argument that is supported by Hall (1986). Seeing that this study focusses on the LIA and, specifically the later part of LIA, the CCP model will still be used as a comparison for the *ikhanda* as it bears the closest resemblance to the CCP model.

## 4.6 Conclusion

Although the Sotho-Tswana and the Nguni shared many similarities in how they organised and constructed their settlements, there were also a number of marked differences. Although both utilised the CCP settlement form, their settlements had a distinctly different shape and layout. Furthermore, it has been shown that noted changes in the settlement layout had been used as a means of distinguishing between different communities as well as a means for an individual to highlight his own uniqueness and authority. Although the CCP model provides a basis for studying settlements within southern Africa, it is clear that a broader and more detailed understanding of the model is needed. As the *ikhanda* settlement form will show in the next chapter, two settlements with a very similar structural layout can have not only markedly different functions, but also represented very different forms of social organisation. It therefore becomes problematic when one tries to attach social meanings to a settlement form that is intended to transcend cultural boundaries such as the CCP. The following discussion of the *ikhanda* settlement form will highlight the potential problems of creating settlement models with trans-cultural implementations.

## Chapter 5: *Ikhanda* or Military Barracks/Kraal

### 5.1 Introduction

The *ikhanda* was a settlement form which was found among the northern Nguni, yet was more prevalent among the Zulu. Forming part of the *ibutho* system which was central to the northern Nguni political organisation, it was found among the Ndebele, Ngoni, Shangana and Swazi. The *ikhanda* settlement form, as employed by the varied groups, will be examined, with the main point of study being the Zulu. Leading to the creation of the *amakhanda*, the *ibutho* system was found as far north as the Ngoni of Nyasaland (modern Malawi) and as far south as the Zulu of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Nonetheless, the *ikhanda* was used only by peoples who were of northern Nguni descent and was introduced by northern Nguni migrants to the other areas of southern Africa. The *ikhanda* was an extension of the *amabutho*, or regimental system, and can therefore not be studied separately from the latter. This is due to the *ikhanda* having served as housing for the *amabutho* soldiers, and as such could be seen as a military town. Like the forts and castles of Europe, these military towns had both a residential function as well as being a physical manifestation of the leader's authority and power. The *ikhanda* was constructed in a similar layout to that of the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP). The main difference was, however, the social organisation utilised by these two different types of settlements. It is not clear when the *ikhanda* was created; however, it was already present among the Nguni of Kwa-Zulu Natal by the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD (Cobbing, 1974:607; Hall, 1990:136-141; Knight, 1995:51-56). The regimental system was practiced by all the groups within southern Africa, except for the Shona (Kuper, 1954), with each group eventually creating its own version of the system. Furthermore, it is unclear when the changes in the *ibutho* system, along with the implementation of the *ikhanda* settlement form, occurred. By examining the different forms of *ikhanda* used by the different groups, we hope for a better understanding of the relationship between the *ikhanda* and the *amabutho*, as well as how different rulers in the region used and projected their authority. This chapter acts as an overview of our current knowledge of the *ikhanda*, with a more detailed examination of the Zulu *ikhanda* in chapter 8.

## 5.2 *Amabutho*: Regimental or Age Group system

The organisation of sexes into age groups is a practice found among all Bantu groups of southern Africa, with the only exception being the Shona (Kuper, 1954: 20). This form of organisation is called *ibutho* among the Nguni, *libutfo* among the Swazi, *mophato* among the Sotho-Tswana and *libandla* among the Ngoni, and is often referred to in the literature as regimental groups, age regimental groups, age sets or just as age groupings (Kuper, 1954:20; Hughes, 1956:11; Hoernlè, 1962:82-86; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Kuper, 1986:54; Laband, 1995:23-25; Knights, 1995:32-35). It can be argued that these groups can be divided into two primary versions, namely, those of the Nguni and those of the Sotho-Tswana. It is unclear exactly when the system employed by the Nguni started to differ from that of the Sotho-Tswana. However, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Nguni had developed a system unique to them. Whether this change in the nature of the *amabutho* system was part of the cause for the social political upheavals of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century or just a by-product of these upheavals is still unclear (Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Hoernlè, 1962:82-86; Guy, 1980; Knight, 1995:33). After the upheavals of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, a number of secondary variations developed which combined aspects of both the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana systems. Of these variations only those of the Ndebele, Swazi and Ngoni will be discussed.

Among the Sotho-Tswana and southern Nguni these age groupings formed part of their initiation ceremony. For the northern Nguni they also formed part of the social political organisation of the kingdom and as a result were not necessarily always part of the initiation ceremony (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Knight, 1995:32-35). Among the Ndebele, only initiates who had passed initiation could join an *ibutho*. All the groups employing the regimental system shared three similar traits. Firstly, the king or paramount chief was the only one who could create a new regiment. Secondly, the creation of a regiment always occurred during the ritual of the first fruit ceremony. This ceremony occurred after the first harvest in which the king would allow the people to partake in the harvesting process. Thirdly, youth of around the age of seven “apprenticed” for their place in a regiment by either herding cattle or acting as carriers for a regiment (Read, 1956; Krige, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Guy, 1983).

### 5.2.1 Regional Variations

#### Northern Nguni

In the literature the system employed by the northern Nguni groups such as the Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele is often referred to as the Nguni system (Krige, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966). However, a difference did exist between the northern and southern Nguni systems, with the southern Nguni employing a system more closely resembling that of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Nguni (Knight, 1994). Due to the Zulu belonging to the northern Nguni, and because this system would influence the other northern Nguni groups, the northern Nguni system will be examined first, followed by an examination of the southern Nguni system. The Ndebele that will be examined are the Ndebele living in Zimbabwe, also called the Matabele, and not the Ndebele living on the South African Highveld, traditionally referred to as the Transvaal Ndebele. The Ndebele came to their present area of southern Zimbabwe around 1840, led by Mzilikazi (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:48; Van Warmelo, 1962:53; Cobbing, 1974:607). As Mzilikazi moved north out of Kwa-Zulu Natal, he started to incorporate Sotho-Tswana groups into his own. This resulted in a number of differences between the Ndebele and Zulu regimental systems. The Ndebele differ from both the Zulu and Swazi in one important aspect; they progressed from a regimental society to a civilian society. Since they moved north out of Kwa-Zulu Natal as only a regiment, all the women who eventually formed part of the Ndebele were captured during the migration north. This meant that once they settled in southern Zimbabwe, they had to develop a societal system out of their regimental system. Therefore, their *ikhanda* developed into *umuzi* and were not two separate settlements (Chanaiwa, 1976:55-60).

The *amabutho* system was at the heart of the Zulu kingdom's power and it is believed that the system was adopted by the Nguni after encounters with their Sotho-Tswana neighbours, sometime around the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48). Amongst the Nguni it was standard practice for boys to undergo circumcision before they were considered to be men. These circumcision schools were called *amabutho*, with the time served in the *amabutho* being determined by the chief. Members of the *amabutho* were similarly under the direct control of the chief (Hughes, 1956: 9-19; Hoernlè; 1962:82-86; Krige, 1965:261-266; Omer-



Cooper, 1966:24-48; Hedges, 1978:196; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986:283-286; Knight, 1994:43-48; Laband, 1995:23-25; Knight, 1995:32-35). Each *ibutho* had its own name and insignia, and the chief could utilize the *amabutho* for his own needs such as enforcing tribute, hunting, building or conquering new lands. The reward for service in the *amabutho* was the right to become a man (Krige, 1962:261-266; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Hedges, 1978:197; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986:283-286; Knight, 1994:43-48; Laband, 1995:23-25; Knight, 1995:32-35).

By the time of Shaka kaSenzangakona's reign (1816-1828), a number of changes to the traditional *amabutho* system had occurred. Firstly, the *amabutho* were no longer circumcision schools, their function having been altered to that of military regiments. This can be seen in the abandoning of circumcision by the Zulu during the reign of Shaka's father Senzangakona (1757-1816), with some stating as early as Shaka's grandfather Jama (Krige, 1965:261-266; Hughes, 1956:9-19; Hoernlè, 1962:82-86; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Knight, 1994:43-48; Laband, 1995:23-25; Knight, 1995:32-35). Secondly, the *amabutho* were no longer organised according to regions. Instead they were organised by age. Nevertheless, during this period some Nguni clans still organised their *amabutho* by region, yet, the Zulu under Shaka were organised by age. This means that boys from the same age (usually sixteen) were placed in the same *ibutho* regardless of which area of the kingdom they originated from. These boys first entered a period of cadetship (*ukuxeza*) for a period of 12 to 18 months before becoming active soldiers (Hughes, 1956:9-19). This ensured that men's loyalties were to the regiment and the king and not with their regional chiefs. Correspondingly, it was believed that the king/chief or *inkozi* obtained their strength from the same place, and as such soldiers were dependant on the *inkozi* for their strength (Krige, 1965:269-272; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Hedges, 1978:197-199; Laband, 1995:23-25; Knight, 1995:32-35). Each regiment was loyal to its own commander; yet the position as head of a regiment was not hereditary and could be changed by the king at any time (Hughes, 1956:9-19). Likewise, commanders of an *ibutho* were commoners who owed their position directly to the king. Thirdly, among the Zulu the period of service in the *amabutho* was extended to the age of forty resulting in an increase in the number of men available for service. Lastly, men who had gone past the age of forty could still be called upon to serve in an *amabutho*, even after they were married. Moreover, during his service in *ibutho*, a man was not

allowed to live within his own *umuzi*. However, in practice it was common for the soldiers to live at both their family *umuzi* and *ikhanda*. It was however, expected that enough of the regiment be present at the *ikhanda* to maintain it (Krige, 1965:264-266; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Laband, 1995:23-25; Knight, 1995:32-35). The result was that many members of an *ibutho* often remained as bachelors in their father's *umuzi* (Hughes, 1956:9-19).

Each *ibutho* was commanded by an *induna* and his second in command, called an *ipini*. The *ipini*'s main responsibility was the distribution of arms and supplies to the rest of the regiment (Hughes, 1956:9-19; Guy, 1983; Rawlinson, 1987:11-52; Web and Wright, 1976). Each regiment was grouped into a number of platoons (*amaviyo*) with the amount of soldiers in each platoon (*iviyo*) numbering from 20 to 60. An *ibutho* could incorporate anywhere between three and eighty *amaviyo*, with no fixed rules regarding the *ibutho*'s size (Bryant, 1965:642-647; Rawlinson, 1987:11-52; Web and Wright, 1976). When new soldiers were conscripted (*ukukleziwa*) into the army after their cadetship, they were either sent to an already existing *ibutho* in order to strengthen its numbers, or were commanded to create a new *ibutho*. When a new *ibutho* was created, it was given its own name and insignia and was also expected to construct its own *ikhanda* (Bryant, 1965:642-647; Rawlinson, 1987:11-52; Web and Wright, 1976). Each regiment also had conscripted boys, who were too young to fight and who served and assisted the soldiers of the *ibutho*. These boys (*udibi*) would act as carriers for the regiment when on campaign and assisted in maintaining the *ikhanda* when not on campaigns (Rawlinson, 1987:11-52; Web and Wright, 1976).

This resulted in the need to house the *amabutho* in more permanent structures than what was used traditionally, which in turn led to the creation of the *ikhanda*. Therefore an *ikhanda*'s location was determined by political needs and not social norms. A large *ikhanda* would likewise have an *isigodlo* connected to it. An *isigodlo* was a female *amabutho* regiment and they were seen as being the king's women. The *isigodlo* was divided into black and white with the king residing in the black *isigodlo* (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:143-148; Roodt, 1992:11, Knight, 1995:34-35; Webb and Wright, 1976). The white *isigodlo* housed the unmarried "king's women" (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:143-148; Roodt, 1992:11; Knight, 1995:34-35; Webb

and Wright, 1976). These were women given to the king either as gifts, selected during the annual *umkhosi* or “bearing of the first fruit ceremony” or captured during raids (Roodt, 1992:11). When the king/chief allowed the *ibutho* to wed, the members of the *ibutho* would choose their wives out of the *isigodlo* (the king’s women section) connected to their *ikhanda* (Krige, 1965:264-266; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Hamilton, 1985:174; Roodt, 1992; Laband, 1995:23; Knight, 1995:34-35). Although all *amakhanda* had an *isigodlo* attached to it, the *isigodlo* women were not necessarily physically present at the *ikhanda*, with the girls of the *isigodlo* remaining at their father’s *umuzi* until the *ibutho* was allowed to wed (Hedges, 1978:209-212). Since the *isigodlo* formed part of the *ikhanda*’s layout, a detailed description of the Zulu *isigodlo* is given in chapter 8.

### Southern Nguni

A discussion of the regimental system among the southern or Cape Nguni is not as clear as it may at first appear. The reason for this complex nature of the *ibutho* system among the southern Nguni or Xhosa is due to two reasons. Although a large amount of the southern Nguni had been present in the area for centuries and had adopted the original Sotho-Tswana system, the area experienced a large influx of groups from the north during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hammond-Tooke, 1962; Hammond-Tooke, 1993:32). These groups brought with them aspects of the northern Nguni system and incorporated the Sotho-Tswana and southern Nguni living in the area (Hammond-Tooke, 1962). As a result, the *ibutho* system had many variations among the southern Nguni, with all sharing some basic characteristics. Age hierarchy played as an important a role among the southern Nguni as it did among the northern Nguni; however, there existed no tribe-wide *ibutho*. Among the Xhosa, for example, there was no regimental system, with the chief being able to command only those men that were economically dependent on him. Paramount chiefs could not command lesser chiefs to war nor could a chief command a commoner to war (Knight, 1994:179-186). In such a case, the chief would have had to explain the reasons for the war, with cause and clan loyalty being the main factor in obtaining support. Warriors would similarly group around proven or charismatic commanders; nonetheless, this was not a formal organisation but one that was dependent on individual choice (Knight, 1994:179-186, Hoernlè, 1962:74-81). However, the Xhosa

still practised circumcision (Hoernlè, 1962:74-81; Omer-Cooper, 1966:156-163) and had age groups similar to that of the Sotho-Tswana. Again, these age groups were not a formal grouping (Hammond-Tooke, 1962).

Another example is the Bhaca, who migrated to the north-eastern part of the Eastern Cape area during the *mfecane*. Originally from an area in northern Kwa-Zulu Natal, also occupied by the ancestors of the Swazi, they moved south to avoid the Zulu armies (Hammond-Tooke, 1962). They quickly developed a reputation as raiders and warriors, though there was no formal *ibutho* system employed by them. All able-bodied men formed part of the army and were used as needs arose. Yet, as with the Xhosa they also had an informal age grouping which the youth left behind as soon as they became adults. There was no age limit or means of establishing when a youth became an adult (Hammond-Tooke, 1962). An interesting thing to note is that the Bhaca did not practise circumcision when they left Kwa-Zulu Natal (Hammond-Tooke, 1962), and as such it would indicate that the abandoning of circumcision among the northern Nguni was a widespread practice and not connected with the expansion of the Zulu. The Bhaca, who today practise circumcision, adopted the practice from the neighbouring Sotho-Tswana and Xhosa (Hammond-Tooke, 1962). Consequently, the southern Nguni system resembled more closely that of the Sotho-Tswana's than the system of the northern Nguni.

### **5.2.2 Sotho-Tswana Variant**

It is believed that the first group to employ the age regimental system in southern Africa was the Sotho-Tswana (Omer-Cooper, 1966:1-24). The system used by the Sotho-Tswana would eventually form the basis of all the regimental systems used until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As stated earlier, the regimental system used by the Sotho-Tswana is similar to that employed by the southern Nguni. Both the Sotho-Tswana and northern Nguni systems shared many of the same basic fundamental ideas; nevertheless, how these ideas were practised differed greatly. The first main difference between the Sotho-Tswana and northern Nguni systems was the practise of circumcision (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Mönning, 1988:108-120). By the time of Shaka this practise had disappeared among the northern Nguni, but was still being practised by the Sotho-Tswana (Hoernlè,

1962:91-93; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48). Among the Sotho-Tswana, the regimental system was still an initiation school where the initiates would undergo circumcision as part of their transition from boyhood to manhood. In both systems the initiates were separated from the rest of the population (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Schapera, 1962; Omer-Cooper, 1966:156-163; Schrapera, 1970; Mönning, 1988:108-120; Knight, 1994:90-94). There were two ways in which this was done among the Sotho-Tswana. Firstly, by constructing a separate building for only this period; with the building being demolished after initiation (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Mönning, 1988:108-120). Secondly, by spending time secluded in the veld, during which a structure was not necessarily constructed (Schapera, 1962). Therefore, unlike the northern Nguni, the Sotho-Tswana only constructed a single building for the duration of the initiation ceremony. This highlights a fundamental difference between the two systems. The Sotho-Tswana saw the system as only part of the initiation process, not as a way of life, such as was the case among the northern Nguni. A further key difference between the two systems was the way in which the initiates were grouped together. Among the Sotho-Tswana the initiates were grouped (*mophato*) via region, with all the boys from sixteen to twenty being eligible, in a ceremony called the *bogwêra*.

During this ceremony each regiment would also obtain its name and was usually derived from an event which occurred at the time of the ceremony, such as great rains or wars etc. Some groups' names would have been derived from a numerical sequence and not by events (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Schapera, 1962; Mönning, 1988:108-120). Each regiment was organised around a chief's son or family member of the right age, who would act as the regiments' leader (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Schapera, 1962; Omer-Cooper, 1966:156-164; Schrapera, 1970; Mönning, 1988:108-120; Knight, 1994:90-94). The initiates were then available as free labour and had duties such as guarding cattle, helping with settlement construction and maintenance, or any other activity that requires labour. Even though they shared the military role of the northern Nguni system, it was not the primary function of the regimental system among the Sotho-Tswana (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Schapera, 1962; Mönning, 1988:108-120; Knight, 1994:90-94). Similarly, any breach of discipline in the regiment was dealt with by an *ad hoc* court presided over by the regimental leaders and not the normal courts (Schapera, 1962; Mönning, 1988:108-120).

The time spent in the regiment also differed greatly between the two systems. It was uncommon for Sotho-Tswana initiates to have had spent more than a couple of months in the regiment, with the average time being a couple of weeks up to six months before they were allowed to finish the initiation and become adults (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Schapera, 1962; Mönning, 1988:108-120). As stated earlier, a male among the northern Nguni could have spent most of his adult life in the regiment, only being allowed to become a man at around the age of forty. Although these extreme periods of service in the *ibutho* were only done during the reigns of Shaka (1816-1828) and Cetshwayo (1872-1879), the average time spent in the *ibutho* among the northern Nguni was still measured in years instead of months. Both systems can be seen as an initiation practice, for the reward at the end is the right to become a man and marry (Hoernlè, 1962:91-93; Schapera, 1962; Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Knight, 1994:90-94). As a result, the system had greater meaning for the northern Nguni. The northern Nguni never separated the *ibutho* system from its martial function. However, the members of the *ibutho* also had other functions and duties that they had to perform, besides being soldiers. The northern Nguni always viewed these duties as being of less importance. Its members were always seen as being soldiers and new regiments were mostly formed during times of conflict. Also, the northern Nguni used the *ibutho* system as a power base for their rulers, a practice not found among the Sotho-Tswana (Omer-Cooper, 1966:24-48; Knight, 1994:90-94).

### **5.2.3 Systems combining aspects of both the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana**

When internal conflict started to increase amongst the northern Nguni, some tribes started to leave Kwa-Zulu Natal, with some moving north or south along the coast. The best known of these were the Shangana led by Soshangane, also known as Manukuza, who eventually moved north into Mozambique, and the Ngoni who eventually settled in Malawi (Read, 1956:5-10; Van Warmelo, 1962:45-57). Two other well-known groups who moved into the interior were the Swazi, led first by Sobhuza and then his son, Mswazi, from whom they obtained their name, and the Ndebele (Matabele) led by Mzilikazi (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:43; Van Warmelo, 1962:45-57, Cobbing, 1974:610-618). Although all four of these groups retained parts of the northern Nguni *ibutho* system, only the Ndebele, Swazi and

Ngoni will be discussed as examples of how the two variants were combined to form a unique system in each group. The Shangana are omitted due to a lack of available information for their system.

#### Ndebele variant

Ndebele regiments were organised according to region and not age, although as among all the groups that employed the *ibutho* system, age was still used to determine when a youth would join an *ibutho* (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:55-60). Each *ibutho* was associated with an *ikhanda*, which was always named after the regiment, except in the case of the capital Bulawayo. In this sense a marked distinction between the Ndebele and Zulu systems occurred. Only in extreme cases were new *ibutho* created, with the existing regiments being “renewed” with new recruits as the warriors in it grew older (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:55-60). As such, the number of *ibutho* at the birth of the kingdom was almost as many as when they were occupied by the British in 1893 (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69). Thus, a connection existed between the regiment and the *ikhanda*, a form of shared identity, whereas among the Zulu it was only a place to house the *ibutho* and where no such deep connection existed (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:55-60). As stated earlier, no regimental system existed among the Shona and as a result, the Shona who were incorporated into the Ndebele kingdom, adopted the system from the Ndebele (Kuper, 1954:20).

The Ndebele *ibutho* system can be seen as consisting of two parts. Due to the caste system employed by the Ndebele two sorts of regiments were evident; those regiments of Zansi and Enhla origin (conquering groups) and then regiments of diverse ethnic composition (Hughes, 1956:9-19). Adolescents (around fifteen years old and who successfully completed their initiation ceremonies) were summoned to the capital where they received military training, similar to those used by the Zulu, and were then allocated to a regiment. When the king decided to create a new *ibutho* he would first allocate a number of recruits to that *ibutho*. The new *ibutho* was then given a name and ordered to create a new *ikhanda* which bore the *ibutho*'s name (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-19). Members of a new

*ibutho* were not allowed to wed until the king gave permission; nonetheless, women still lived at these new *amakhanda*. Unlike the Zulu, soldiers in Ndebele *ibutho* were allowed to wed and have children while still serving as active members of the *ibutho*, as long as the king gave permission for them to wed. It is unclear who these women were, for they could either be the *ibutho* members' grandmothers, or mothers and sisters (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-19). This large scale migration of women would lead to a substantial social disruption in their original settlements and as such would seem unlikely, although it is known that women were present at these settlements. Another possibility is that they could have been *isigodlo* women as in the Zulu model.

An *ibutho's* strength was maintained in two ways. Firstly, the sons of *ibutho* members would join their fathers' regiments as other members 'retired'. Secondly, youths who had undergone military training at the capital would be sent to join an *ibutho* that was below capacity (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-19; Cobbing, 1974:610-618). If an *ibutho's* strength fell quickly, youths from other *ibutho* could temporarily join that *ibutho* for military purposes, but remained members of their original *ibutho*. New recruits from all over the kingdom could still join a new *ibutho* for some years after its formation, thus temporarily sharing the cross-regional nature of the Swazi and Zulu (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-19; Cobbing, 1974:610-618). It should be remembered that the *ibutho* among the Ndebele acted not only as a military unit, but also divided the kingdom into political and administrative units (Cobbing, 1974). It therefore resulted in a different role within Ndebele society as opposed to the Swazi and Zulu.

#### The Swazi variant

Both the Ndebele and the Swazi incorporated Sotho-Tswana groups into their society, with the difference being that the Swazi occupied an area already settled by Sotho-Tswana, whereas the Ndebele had incorporated them in the process of migrating northwards. As such, the Swazi kingdom continued the practice of assimilation and incorporation, which was also a hallmark of the Ndebele and Zulu nations (Van Warmelo, 1962:50-53; Kuper, 1952:23-24; Kuper, 1986:10).



A new regiment would traditionally be created every five to seven years as older regiments were allowed to wed and a new *ibutho* was inaugurated at the first fruit ceremony held at the capital (Marwick, 1940:271-274; Kuper, 1952:23-24; Kuper, 1961:119-133; Kuper, 1986:54-60). When a new regiment was formed, the king would announce that he was going to form a new regiment. All the men of the appropriate age were expected to spread the word to their age mates within their districts (Marwick, 1940:271-274; Kuper, 1952:23-24; Kuper, 1961:119-133; Kuper, 1986:54-60). The age at which a regiment was allowed to wed was between twenty-five and thirty-five years. However, here a marked difference existed between the Zulu and the Swazi, since this applied only to those who wished to take up service at the royal villages. Among the Swazi, all men of the right age (usually between fifteen and twenty) were automatically part of a regiment. It was not expected of all members of the regiment to be in attendance at their barracks at the royal village (Breemer, 1937:178-179; Marwick, 1940:271-274; Kuper, 1952:23-24; Kuper, 1961:119-133; Kuper, 1986:54-60). Only those youths who had decided to take up permanent residence at the royal village became members of the royal regiment. Thus, there existed a difference in both practice and status between the royal soldier and the normal soldier, unlike the Ndebele and Zulu where all members of the *ibutho* were royal warriors (Breemer, 1937:178-179; Marwick, 1940:271-274; Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Van Warmelo, 1962:50-53; Kuper, 1952:23-24; Kuper, 1961:119-133; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:55-60; Kuper, 1986:54-60). Although members of a regiment were not officially allowed to wed until they were given permission by the king, in practice this was not always the case (Marwick, 1940:271-274; Kuper, 1952:23-24; Kuper, 1961:119-133; Kuper, 1986:54-60). When, in 1932, king Sobuza II created a new regiment many of the members in the regiment had either already had children and wives, or their 'lovers' were already pregnant (Kuper, 1986:54-60).

Unlike the Ndebele and Zulu kingdoms, the Swazi are the only independent kingdom still in existence, and as such had to incorporate aspects such as differing religions and cultures brought on by the introduction of Christianity and other faiths (Van Warmelo, 1962:50-53). Sometimes, special permission could be obtained by a member of an *ibutho* to wed and thus avoid the penalty imposed on unsanctioned marriages among the *ibutho* (Marwick, 1940:271-274). Regarding fines, to

impregnate a girl was treated in the same manner as unsanctioned marriages. Fines were collected by either the *ibutho* itself (in cases where it was an infrequent occurrence) or by the king himself if breaches of protocol were a frequent occurrence (Marwick, 1940:271-274). A person thus fined would be removed from his *ibutho* and attached to an older *ibutho* that had been granted permission to wed, a position seen as humiliating and of a lesser status (Marwick, 1940:271-274). Conversely, although the Swazi incorporated Sotho-Tswana groups, these would disappear socially in all but name, having adopted the new Nguni culture (Van Warmelo, 1962:50-53; Van Warmelo, 1974:65-66).

### Ngoni variant

The Ngoni, led by Zwangendaba, was another group that had moved north out of Kwa-Zulu Natal at the start of the *mfecane* along with other groups such as the Ndebele and the Soshangane. It is unclear as to the precise nature of the origins of the Ngoni; yet, what is known for a fact is that they were originally part of the Ndwandwe, ruled by Zwide (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85; Nurse, 1973:7-10). Zwangendaba, who at this time ruled the Jere tribe who would later become the Ngoni, was most likely a subordinate chief to Zwide, although some sources state that they were allies or vassals of the Ndwandwe (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85; Nurse, 1973:7-10). After the final battle between Shaka and Zwide at the Mhlatuze Rivier, Zwangendaba separated from the Ndwandwe and moved north with his followers. Another version holds that Zwangendaba separated from the Ndwandwe before the battle between Shaka and Zwide (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85; Nurse, 1973:7-10). The Ngoni moved north along the coast through Mozambique and finally settled in Central Africa in Nyasaland; modern Malawi (although they could also be found in south-eastern Zambia, northern Mozambique and Tanzania as far north as Lake Victoria), taking the Nguni regimental system with them (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85; Nurse, 1973:7-10; Langworthy, 1975:17-23). The Ngoni culture was semi-nomadic, for each village was periodically relocated and they relied mostly on raiding neighbouring groups for supplies and captives. This aspect of raiding was central to Ngoni society, which in turn specifically influenced their

regimental system (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85; Nurse, 1973:7-10).

Sharing attributes of both the Swazi and Zulu systems, the Ngoni system was unique among the northern Nguni and most closely resembled that used by European armies. Every four to five years, depending on the availability of youths and military requirements, the paramount chief would order the creation of a new regiment. The youths would gather at the paramount chief's great wife's village (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85). As amongst the other northern Nguni, at the festival of the first fruit harvest, the regiment was created and given a name. Also as with the other systems, all youths automatically formed part of a regiment, though, unlike the Zulu, Ndebele and Swazi, membership of a regiment was not for life (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85). A Ngoni warrior might have been moved to another regiment due to either his talent in battle, as a reward for his success in obtaining captives, or when a regiment's numbers were low (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85). This ability to get 'promoted' to a regiment with a higher status and reputation was unique to the Ngoni and as a result became reminiscent of the European military system. Nevertheless, a regiment's loyalty was not to the paramount chief, but rather to the village segment in which the soldier lived. However, as leader of the people and all segments, their loyalty was indirectly to the paramount chief. Also, although only the paramount chief could order a large scale national raid, it was not uncommon for small segment rulers, similar to a sub-chief, to order small scale raids on neighbouring groups (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85). Male captives would be incorporated into the regimental system by their age, with no differentiation once incorporated into the system. Nonetheless, on a social level there was a status discrepancy between the two groups, but not to the same extent as with the Ndebele (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85). It was also possible that a regiment could have members of two or more residential segments if the segments were small. During a large battle, members of the same segment within a regiment would be separated to ensure that they did not all die during the battle (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956; Omer-Cooper, 1966:64-85). Furthermore, the usual marriage restrictions placed on members of a regiment in the other groups did not apply to the Ngoni.

Consequently, it can be seen that in many cases the differences between the systems were mostly in the areas of organisation as well as in settlement placement and layout. Although the Sotho-Tswana *ibutho* system differed in nature from those of the northern Nguni, it appears that in all the cases where a Nguni group incorporated Sotho-Tswana groups, the militaristic nature of the northern Nguni system remained, with the Sotho-Tswana social systems merging with those of the Nguni. Thus the Nguni adopted aspects of Sotho-Tswana social organisation and settlement layout while still retaining the predominance of the military role of the *ibutho* system. As this chapter has shown, many of the differences between the various systems came to the fore in the organisation of the *ikhanda*, and as such it is necessary to discuss the *ikhanda* within the Zulu model, as it influenced the *ikhanda* of the other northern Nguni groups.

### **5.3 Ikhanda**

Unlike the *ibutho* system, the *ikhanda* was found only among the northern Nguni. Although the Sotho-Tswana and southern Nguni also utilized the *ibutho* system, the nature of the system did not uniformly necessitate the construction of an *ikhanda*. Nevertheless, the Zulu, Ndebele and Swazi differed greatly in how their *amakhanda* were constructed and organised, as well as in the nature of the *ikhanda* itself. The Sotho-Tswana influence among the Swazi and Ndebele can clearly be seen in the organisation and nature of the *ikhanda*. The Zulu *ikhanda* will be discussed first, due to it having been developed independently from the Sotho-Tswana, Ndebele and Swazi versions, the latter three of which will be discussed in terms of how they deviated from the Zulu model. The Ngoni did not distinguish between an *ikhanda* and an *umuzi* and as such had no *ikhanda*, yet aspects of the *ikhanda* could still be found in their settlement layout (Barnes, 1954).

#### **5.3.1 Zulu Variant**

The Zulu *ikhanda* had a similar structural layout as that of an *umuzi* (Fig. 4), with the Zulu capital always being constructed as an *ikhanda* (Krige, 1965:264-266; Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1989:99-100; Knight, 1995:51-64; Mitchell, 2002:373-376). This was mainly due to the fact that the king would periodically move to different *amakhanda*

throughout the kingdom with at least one regiment always present at the capital (Stuart and Malcom, 1986:283; Rawlinson, 1987:28-53; Knight, 1995:51-64). Although the *ikhanda* followed a similar structural layout as that of a normal *umuzi* (Parkington and Cronin, 1978:143-148; Rawlinson, 1985:2-5; Roodt, 1992:9; Laband, 1995:23; Knight, 1995:51-64; Mitchell, 2002:373-376), the social organisation of the *ikhanda* contrasted with the regular Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) homestead. As with the standard CCP, the settlement was divided into different sections with the top section being the most important (Krige, 1965:264-266; Laband, 1995:23). In this top section lived both the regimental commander and the *isigodlo*, with the *isigodlo* being under the command of a female relative of the king (Krige, 1965:264-266; Hedges, 1978; Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1989:99-100; Roodt, 1992:9; Laband, 1995:23; Knight, 1995:51-64; Mitchell, 2002:373-376). She presided over the *ikhanda* and kept the women of the *isigodlo* in line, as well as supervising the production and distribution of food produced for the settlement. In *amakhanda* which did not have an *isigodlo* attached to it, the regiment was expected to be provisioned by their family *umuzi* or by hunting (Krige, 1965:264-266; Rawlinson, 1985:2-5; Knight, 1995:51-64). Hut placement within the *ikhanda* followed the same hierarchical organisation as that of a standard CCP. The great hut was now the residence of the regimental commander, with the regimental officers occupying the areas usually occupied by the wives. In the area where the children lived, the huts of the foot soldiers were now located (Krige, 1965:264-266; Rawlinson, 1985:2-5, Laband, 1995:23; Knight, 1995:51-64; Mitchell, 2002:373-376). Each *ikhanda* was commanded by a regimental commander called an *induna*, which had the same authority as a chief. Each *induna* had the authority to launch small scale raids on enemy tribes. However, mobilising for war was only done by order of the king and, from Dingane kaSenzangakona onwards, they could no longer grant the death penalty; that right rested with the king's court only (Kuper, 1982:140-156). The only other women allowed at the *ikhanda* besides the women of the *isigodlo* were the wives of the *induna*.

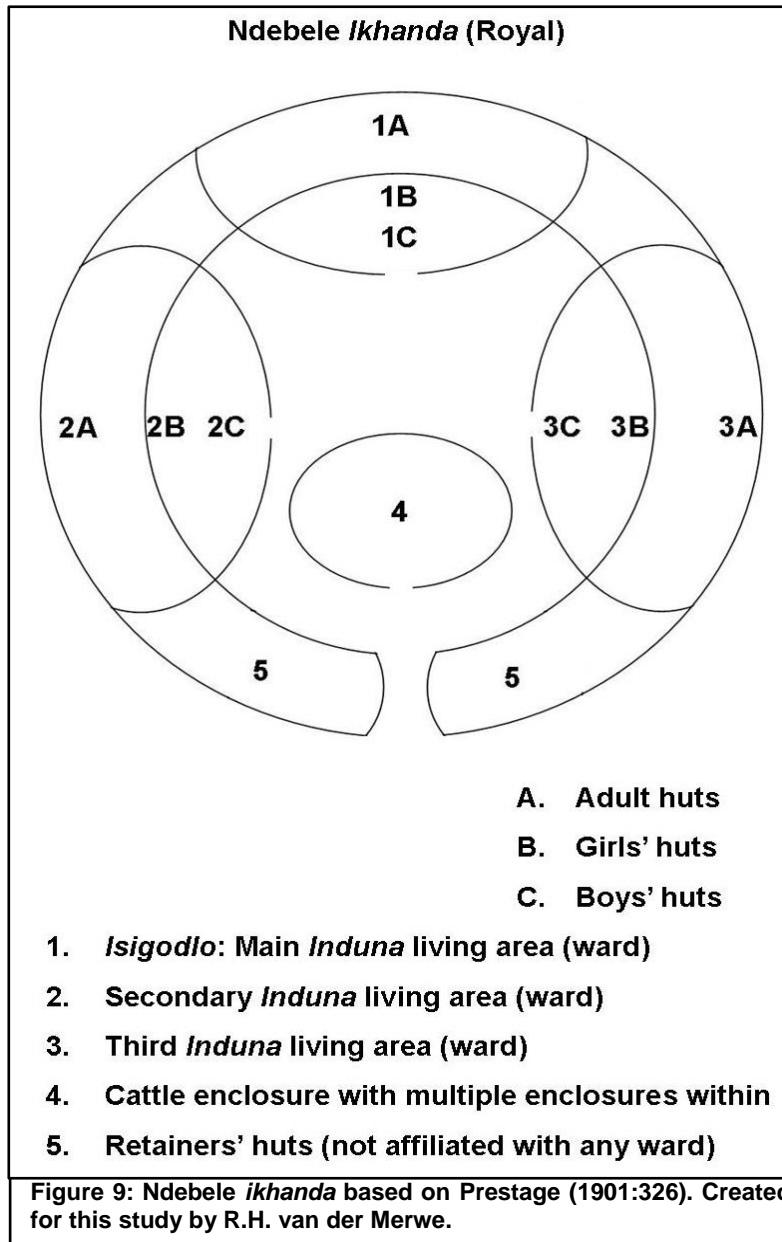
An *ikhanda* tended to be larger in size than an *umuzi* due to an *ikhanda* having a higher population density. During times of peace, the regiments stationed at the *ikhanda* would repair byres and fences, tend to the royal herds and fields and also act as transporters and messengers. On rare occasions when a great hunt was

called, it was also handled by the *ibutho* (Hedges, 1978:196). Strict dietary rules were also observed, with large quantities of meat, beer, and cooked corn being the only foods consumed. This was due to the fact that these food types were seen as strengthening, which would have been essential for the king's soldiers (Krige, 1965:269-272). Thus it is clear that both the *ikhanda* and the CCP settlement patterns were very similar. As can be seen, from both historical and ethnographical sources, it is clear that these two types of settlements served different purposes.

### 5.3.2 Ndebele variant

The Ndebele *ikhanda* resembled the Zulu *ikhanda* in some aspects and differed greatly from the Zulu model in others. This was due to the nature of Ndebele society and history. Although a history of the Ndebele is not necessary in order to analyse their *amakhanda*, what should be kept in mind is that a small group of northern Nguni had arrived and then conquered a large area which would become known as the Ndebele kingdom (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:41; Hughes, 1956; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:58). Two aspects are critical in understanding the difference between the Ndebele and Zulu models. Firstly, the Ndebele *ikhanda* started as a regimental settlement and then developed into a normal non-regimental settlement. Secondly, men were allowed to wed while they were in service in an *ibutho* and as such women and children were also found at Ndebele *ikhanda* (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-12; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:58). Each *ikhanda* formed the centre of an administration unit for the kingdom and was ruled by two *induna*, one for civil matters (*induna umuzi*) and one for military matters (*induna yobuto*). Also, a ward (*isigaba*) system similar to that of the Sotho-Tswana had been incorporated by the Ndebele. Within each administrative area men who had distinguished themselves in military matters would be allowed to construct their own *umuzi*, mirroring the Nguni family homestead settlement layout (Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-12; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:58). These smaller settlements were not *ikhanda*; having closer resemblance to the family homestead of the Nguni.

An Ndebele *ikhanda* (Fig. 9) had a roughly circular form with a cattle byre located in the centre to form the "classical" CCP settlement form.



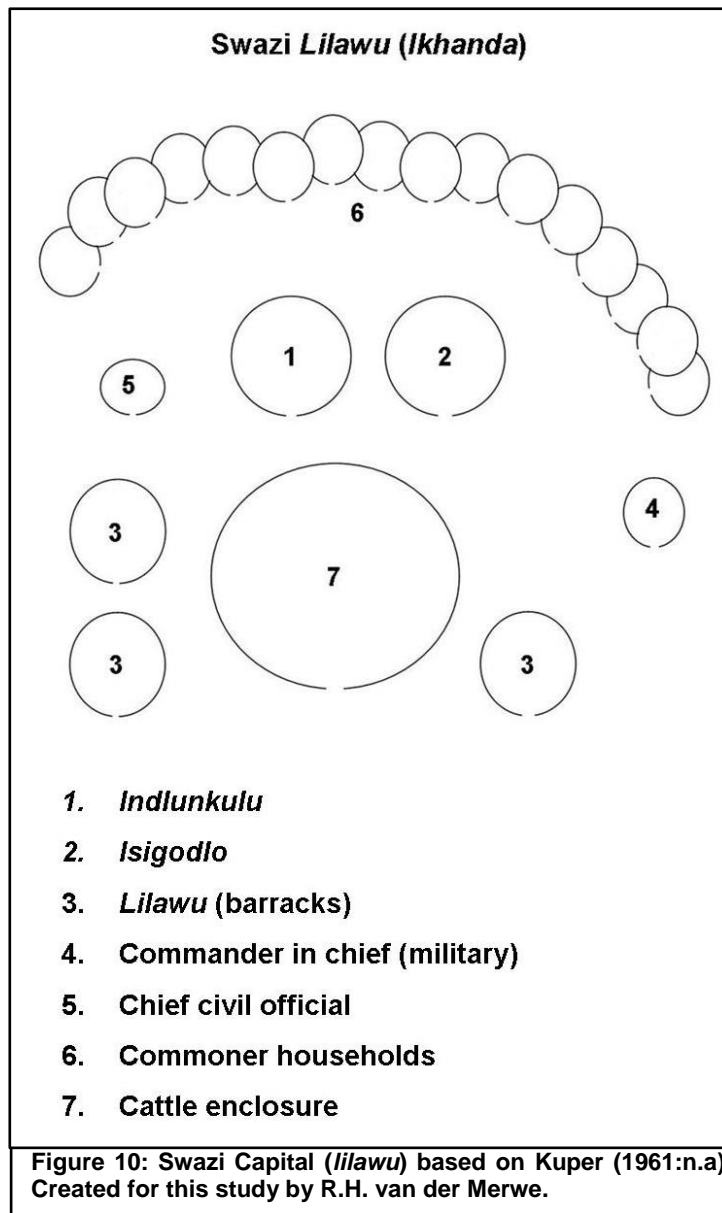
It should be noted that these settlements may also be either irregular or oval in shape (Prestage, 1901:326-329; Hughes and Van Velsen, 1954:64). The huts were located between the two stockade fences with the dormitories (*amaxiba*) nearest to the byre being those of the unmarried boys and girls. Next to these huts the main lived-in huts (*izindlu*) were located, whereas the huts closest to the outer stockade were the ones used as kitchens (*imikulu*). Within the centre of the large *ikhanda* a small settlement was constructed to house the *isigodlo*. As among the Zulu, this area was also referred to as an *isigodlo* and housed some of the king's wives and dependents, and was found only at capitals or settlements of individuals of high social standing (Prestage, 1901:326-329; Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69;

Hughes, 1956:9-12; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:58). The wards in an Ndebele settlement followed the same layout as that of an Nguni CCP; each following the other in a circular shape around the cattle byre in order to create the traditional Nguni CCP form (Prestage, 1901:326-329; Hughes and Van Velsen, 1955:64-69; Hughes, 1956:9-12; Cobbing, 1974:610-618; Chanaiwa, 1976:58).

### 5.3.3 Swazi variant

The Swazi's use of the *ikhanda* differed from the Zulu in both function and organisation. Still, at this point it is necessary to highlight an important difference between the Swazi and other groups. Among the Swazi, the term *ikhanda* was used in reference to a gathering of a whole *ibutho*, not just the members residing at the royal kraal. As such, an *ikhanda* among the Swazi is part of the *ibutho* structural organisation and not a separate residence for the members (Marwick, 1940:13-30). Interesting enough, the Swazi did have separate living areas for the *ibutho*, referred to as *lilawu* (*sing. emalawu*) (Fig. 10), which refers to either a bachelor's hut/s (non-royal village) or a barracks (royal village) (Marwick, 1940:13-30; Kuper, 1961:36-42; Kuper, 1980:11-13; Kuper, 1986:54-69). Thus, when referring to an *ikhanda* among the Swazi, one would talk about a *lilawu*, which served the same purpose. On the other hand, when a new king created his first settlement separate from his mother's, that settlement was also called *lilawu* and would have had an *ibutho* stationed within it (Kuper, 1961:40-44; Kuper, 1980:11-13; Kuper, 1986:54-60). As a result, *lilawu* may refer to either a section of a royal village and capital (queen mother's settlement) or to the king's residence. The difference was that a king's *lilawu* may have contained only the military sections of a royal village, and may not have contained a ritual hut, ritual storage hut, ritual huts in the *isigodlo* nor an inner circle of ritual functionaries' huts (Kuper, 1961:42-44; Kuper; 1986:54-60). Similarly, due to the nature of Swazi villages, which were organised into wards, the *lilawu* was not a separate settlement, but rather an independent ward of a village.





The *lilawu* were placed at the bottom of the settlement at both sides of the cattle byre. As more *lilawu* were added, they would systematically have been moved higher up along the cattle byre, away from the byre's entrance. *Lilawu* of new regiments were located closest to the cattle byre, with older regiments located behind the younger regiments in order to exercise control over the younger regiments (Marwick, 1940:13-33; Kuper, 1961:42-44). If the settlement was the *lilawu* of the king, then within the internal semi-circle of huts, located at the top of the cattle byre, the huts of the civil (*indvuna yenkulu*) authority would have been built at the extreme left, with the military (*indvuna yemabutfo*) authority's huts at the extreme right of this semi-circle (Marwick, 1940:13-33; Kuper, 1961:42-44). The regimental

barracks would always be located below the semi-circle of huts containing the “civilian” population. These barracks were always kept free of obstructions in order to allow easy movement in case of emergencies. When it was time for a newly created regiment to construct its own barracks, the king sent forth a summons, “*lukani tinsambo*” (meaning *plait the rope*). Traditionally, the king would demarcate the area where the regiments had to construct their *emalawu* with a rope, although the king did not necessarily have to do this physically and could simply indicated where the *emalawu* should be constructed (Marwick, 1940:13-33; Kuper, 1961:42-44). Youths who wished to live at the barracks then made their way to a royal village on the appointed day (Marwick, 1940:13-33; Kuper, 1961:42-44).

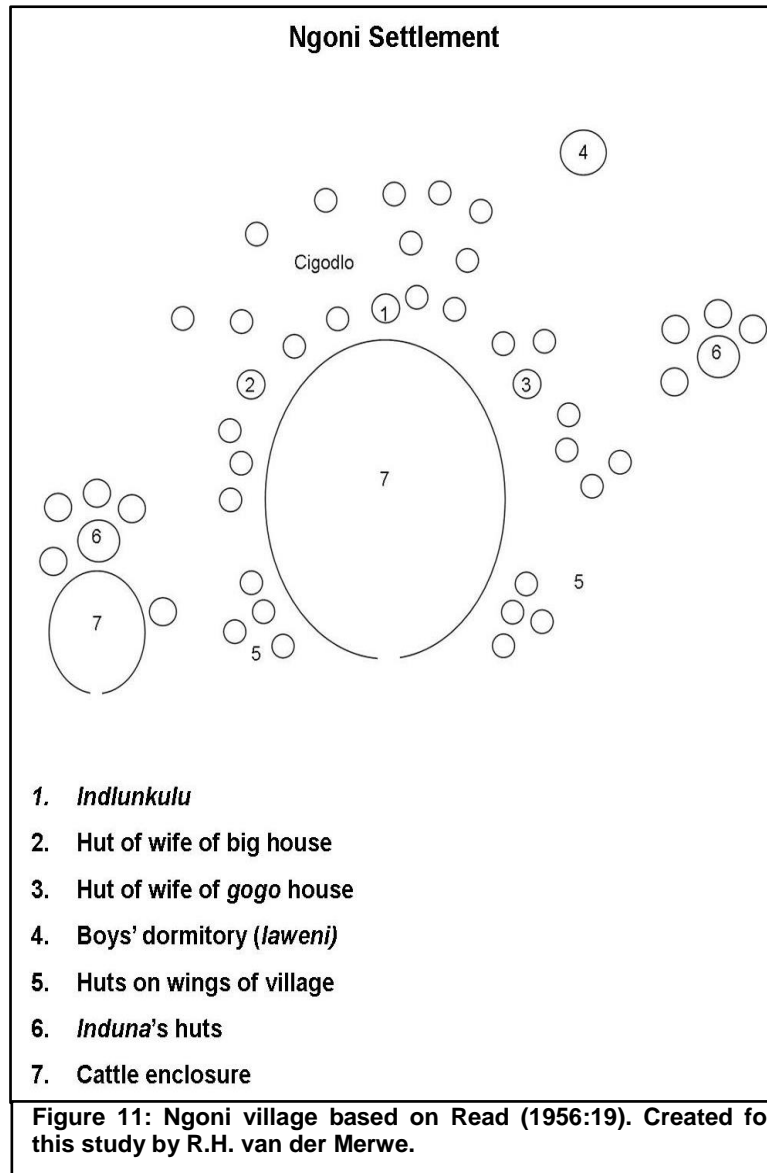
Upon the arrival of the youths, they immediately constructed their barracks huts in the area designated by the king. If the king did not designate an area they were allowed to construct these behind existing barracks. As more huts were constructed, the king may either have allowed them to construct a fence around their barracks, creating separate barracks, or order them to “carry their huts” to a new location (Marwick, 1940:13-33; Kuper, 1961:42-44). Each hut within a barracks housed up to six men, with the accepted owner of the huts being the one responsible for its construction. Any person wishing to live in the hut needed to obtain permission from the owner. Each *emalawu* would have a central meeting place or clubhouse, called *lilawu lenkosi*, meaning *hut of the king*. This hut was distinguished from the rest of the huts by horns placed above the entrance as symbols and tokens of food they received from the king (Marwick, 1940:13-33; Kuper, 1961:42-44). It is therefore clear that the Swazi did not construct a separate settlement to house the regiments, as seen amongst the Zulu. Even when a king created his *lilawu*, it followed the same principle as other royal villages and in time would develop into a royal village (Breemer, 1937; Marwick, 1940: 12; Van Warmelo, 1962; Kuper, 1986:54-60).

#### **5.3.4 Ngoni variant**

Unlike the Zulu, Ndebele and Swazi, the Ngoni did not construct *amakhanda* (Barnes, 1954; Read, 1956). In this regard they contrast notably from the other

northern Nguni groups. A possible explanation for this is the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Ngoni and also the absence of the restrictions on marriage. A Ngoni settlement had many similarities to those of the Zulu and Swazi. Since the Ngoni relied heavily on the *ibutho* system, a quick explanation of their settlement form is needed. Although the Ngoni did not construct an *ikhanda*, they did have a section in the village called the *laweni* (boys' dormitory) which housed all the youths of the age groups between seven and seventeen (Read, 1956:144). The function of the *laweni* closely resembled that of the *ikhanda*, and as such may have indicated a continuation of the original practice of the *ikhanda*, but only in a different form. As was prevalent among the Ndebele and Swazi, the Ngoni village was also divided into different wards, called houses. Although the nature of the ward depended on the size of the village, the first villages of the Ngoni were all large and constructed following the same pattern (Fig. 11; Read, 1956:19-21).

The main cattle enclosure was situated in the centre of the village, with the huts constructed around this enclosure in a circular pattern. In large settlements the wards, constructed to appear as small *umuzi*, were also constructed around the central enclosure and may have had an independent cattle enclosure (Read, 1956:19-20). Status was determined from the top (opposite the entrance of the enclosure) to the gates of the enclosure. The nearer to the top a hut was located, the higher the status of the individual (Read, 1956:19-20). Located at the top of the settlement was the *indlunkulu* hut, which belonged to the owner of the settlement and which was the most important hut within the settlement. On either side of this hut was the hut belonging to the wives of the owner. Behind the *indlunkulu* hut were the huts of the sons that had married and the owner's brothers who had lived with him (Read, 1956:19). Collectively, these huts were called the *cigodlo*, constituting the ruling family. In a large village, the induna may have constructed a small 'settlement' on the sides of the central enclosure. In a small settlement, the induna would construct such a hut behind the group of huts that they controlled (Read, 1956:19).



These small 'settlements' of the induna within large settlements would follow the same structural organisation as the rest of the settlement, only on a smaller scale. Close to the gate of the settlement one would have found the huts of those with the lowest status; the servants or captives of the family who controlled the settlement (Read, 1956:19). If the *indlunkulu* was occupied by the mother of the settlements owner, she would be the widow of his father. During succession the heir came from the big house. This hut was occupied by the main wife of the settlement's owner. The *gogo's* (grandparents') house, located at the opposite side of the settlement, was the primary hut used for ceremonial and ritual practices (Read, 1956:20). Behind the *gogo* house and close to the *cigodlo* was constructed the *laweni*. Among

the Ngoni, the wards were referred to as 'house', yet this did not refer to the hut itself (Read, 1956:19-20).

The *laweni* was an independent grouping of huts which housed all the male youths of the village between the ages of seven and seventeen. A large settlement may have had as many as four *laweni* present, which would then group youths of similar houses, although a large settlement would not necessarily have had more than one *laweni*. When only one *laweni* was present, it grouped all the youths of the settlement together (Read, 1956:143-146). Traditionally, a youth was no longer part of the *laweni* when he married, and thus the age limits should not be viewed in a too rigid manner (Read, 1956:143-146). In the *laweni*, order and discipline were enforced by the older boys, and status was determined by age and not the social standing of the boy's family. Consequently, aristocratic youths were often under the control of boys of lower familial status (Read, 1956:143-146). Herding of the cattle and goats was the main responsibility of the boys living within the *laweni*. Within the *laweni* the youths were taught their skills, such as leadership and fighting (Read, 1956:143-146), and it can thus be viewed as sharing the same function as the *ibutho* system. A key difference, nevertheless, is that once a youth joined a regiment, he no longer lived within the *laweni*, which was where only boys lived (Read, 1956:30-31), and in this regard differentiated the *laweni* from the *ikhanda*. This shows that a number of similarities existed between the Ngoni and Swazi variants. However, the fundamental nature and composition of these settlements were different. As a result, these settlements are viewed as being completely different from each other.

### **5.3.5 Sotho-Tswana and southern Nguni**

As stated earlier, the Sotho-Tswana and southern Nguni did not have an equivalent to the northern Nguni *ikhanda*. This is primarily due to the different nature and purpose of the initiation systems of the Sotho-Tswana and northern Nguni. Some of the groups, like the Xhosa and Bhaca, kept their youths separate from the rest of the population by confining them to a secluded spot in the veld (Hammond-Tooke, 1962; Omer-Cooper, 1966:156-163). Other groups, such as the Langa, built special initiation huts for this purpose which is then ritually burned after initiation (Schapera,

1962; Omer-Cooper, 1966:156-163). These differences were primarily due to the military nature of the *ibutho* system among the northern Nguni which necessitated the construction of an *ikhanda*, which was lacking among the Sotho-Tswana and southern Nguni.

## 5.4 Conclusion

When the *ikhanda* is compared with the *umuzi*, it is clear that they had very similar settlement layouts. However, it has also become apparent that the *ikhanda* was different from the *umuzi* in many important aspects, which in turn shows that these were two very different settlements. Furthermore, it has been shown that although different groups may have shared the same cultural practices, such as the *ibutho* system, in practise this did not necessarily result in the same implementations of these systems. Both the Sotho-Tswana and the Nguni practiced the age class system, yet, it is only among the northern Nguni that the *ikhanda* was found. Even among the northern Nguni, *amakhanda* were constructed along different lines with different social meanings. This in turns shows that even when two groups shared similar world views and social practices, they could still differ on a large scale. In turn, this undermines the basic assumption of the CCP model that the same world view would have produced the same settlement pattern. A logical conclusion to be made from this is that our current understanding of the nature of the CCP may not be as complete and as accurate as is generally assumed. Yet, before the similarities and differences between the *ikhanda* and the *umuzi* are examined it is necessary to examine the nature of the sources used.

## Chapter 6: Research Methodology

### 6.1 Introduction

As stated in chapter 3, every multi-disciplinary study needs to incorporate the limitations of the sources used in order to avoid misinterpretations. This study utilises sources from three disciplines, namely archaeology, history and ethnography, in order to interpret and study the nature of the *ikhanda* settlement forms. By using sources from three different disciplines, it is believed that the strengths of each source type will offset the limitations of the other and therefore provide a more balanced interpretation of the *ikhanda*. Although this cross-disciplinary approach is not new, it has not yet been used to the same extent in the study of settlements within southern Africa. Settlement studies in southern Africa tend to lend itself to a more descriptive nature in which the archaeological finds are discussed and only a basic interpretation (using either ethnography or history, and seldom both) of the settlement's layout is provided. In the case of the studies done on the *ikhanda*, historical as well as ethnographic sources are used. Even so, the same sources are often used in the same limiting fashion (as the information is presented with a narrow focus). In other words, the sources used focussed only on the specific settlements, for example uMgungundlovu, and not on the type of settlement. Although this approach greatly improves our understanding of individual settlements, it does not aid in our understanding of the nature and functionalities of those settlements, nor does it better our knowledge of the relationships between settlements of this type. This chapter will therefore examine the limitations and strengths of the different types of sources used in order to provide a more integrated view of the *ikhanda*.

### 6.2 Methodological approach

This study utilised a multi-disciplinary approach in order to answer the research question, namely whether or not it will be possible to distinguish an *ikhanda* from an *umuzi* archaeologically. Archaeological material recovered from excavated settlements associated with the *ibutho* system, as well as other sites recorded in Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) reports (related to structural sites in the specified

study area), were analysed and interpreted based on a theoretical model that was created as part of this study. This model was created by studying all known archaeological, historical and ethnographic accounts of *amakhanda*, most notably the excavated Zulu capitals of Ondini and uMgungundlovu. Yet, to be able to place *ikhanda* in its proper historical context, a better understanding of both the *ibutho* system as well as the 19<sup>th</sup> century Zulu *umuzi* was required. To this extent, the sources for this study were divided into three types. These three source types are archaeological, ethnographical and historical. Archaeological sources focussing on the description and interpretation of Nguni homesteads were combined with sources relating to the study of settlements in general. Although our understanding of Nguni settlement archaeology is well developed (Hall, 1981; Huffman, 1982; Hall, 1984; Huffman, 2001; Huffman, 2007; Badenhorst, 2009), our understanding of the specifics of the archaeology of a Nguni *ikhanda* is very limited. The majority of what we do know about the organisation and construction of *ikhanda* is based on ethnographic and historical accounts (Krige, 1965; Gardener, 1966; Kuper, 1980; Kuper, 1982; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986). The ethnographical sources provide a clear understanding as to the nature and organisation of the *ibutho* system. However, they provide less information concerning the structural organisation of the *ikhanda* itself.

The historical sources can be divided between first-hand accounts and historical research studies. First-hand accounts provide detailed information concerning the *ibutho* system as well as how the *amakhanda* were organised. These accounts are, however, not always clear when it comes to the meaning of the events and physical features observed. The historical research studies do provide information about the *ibutho* system, however the *ikhanda* is either not mentioned, or viewed as only a minor part of the organisation of the *ibutho* (Krige, 1965; Gardener, 1966; Kuper, 1980; Kuper, 1982; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986). These different source types were then combined to generate a theoretical model of how an *ikhanda* was constructed and organised. This model was then tested on well-known LIA settlements, such as Nqabeni and Mgoduyanuka, in order to determine whether it would be possible to identify *ikhanda* archaeologically. This was done in order to determine the possibility of distinguishing *umuzi* from *amakhanda* in the archaeological record. Lastly, since LIA settlements in KwaZulu-Natal are generally poorly preserved, Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) reports were used to supplement published sources. By



combining the information obtained from excavated *amakhanda* with the ethnographic accounts, a far more detailed picture of the structural layout of these settlements was obtained. Now that the methodological approach used in this study has been discussed, it is time to examine the strengths and limitations of the different sources used.

### 6.2.1 Archaeological sources

Due to the differences that existed between the Sotho-Tswana and Zulu *umuzi* it was necessary to limit the archaeological sources used for this study to those focussing on the Nguni in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Despite the large amount of work that has been done on settlement studies within Kwa-Zulu Natal, our understanding of the northern Nguni *umuzi* is not as clear and complete as it may at first appear. There seems to be some discrepancy between the structural layout provided by excavated *umuzi* and the structural layout provided by ethnographic accounts. What makes this situation even more complicated is that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century two structurally similar, yet functionally different, settlements co-existed. Therefore, the archaeological sources used had to be divided between those settlements excavated that pre-date the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hall and Maggs, 1979; Maggs, 1982) and those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985; Rawlinson, 1987; Watson and Watson, 1990; Roodt, 1993). The settlements that had been excavated from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards are the two Zulu capitals of uMgungundlovu (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1987; Roodt, 1993) and Ondini (Rawlinson, 1985; Watson and Watson, 1990). Since it is known from ethnographic accounts that these settlements were constructed along the lines of an *ikhanda* (Krige, 1965), it seems that no *umuzi* dating to the 19<sup>th</sup> century has as yet been excavated, or whose excavations have not been published. Despite this discrepancy, settlements pre-dating the 19<sup>th</sup> century were correspondingly constructed along the lines of the CCP model and can therefore be used as a point of comparison. Another Zulu capital, kwaBulawayo, was also surveyed (Whitelaw, 1994) and can provide additional archaeological insights into the layout of the *ikhanda*. Consequently, the excavations and surveys of the Zulu capitals can be used to determine what is known of the *ikhanda*, from an archaeological perspective. A recent research project launched by Amafa, the organisation responsible for heritage management in Kwa-

Zulu Natal, is aimed at excavating kwaBulawayo, and will hopefully provide additional information on this matter.

### **6.2.2 Ethnographic and Historical sources**

Although ethnographic and historical sources are often treated as two very separate sources of information, this study utilised them in a more combined manner. As has been showed in the literature review, much of our understanding of the *umuzi*, *ibutho* and *ikhanda* is based on ethnographic accounts as well as historical sources. Due to this duality, it was necessary to use these two source types in combination. This was done by firstly examining ethnographic accounts (Hammond-Tooke 1962; Van Warmelo, 1962; Bryandt, 1965; Krige, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Van Warmelo, 1974; Kuper, 1982) in order to create a baseline understanding of the structural layout, as well as the nature of the *umuzi* and *ikhanda* settlements. Since these accounts are used to interpret archaeological sites, it provided a well-balanced view of the subject. It is fortunate for this study that first-hand accounts of the Zulu capitals and settlements are available for research (Drummond, 1875; Owen, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Baldwin, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Milford, 1992; Merrett, 1995), enabling a clearer understanding of these settlements than the ethnographic accounts alone could provide. Nonetheless, some of these accounts such as those of Barter (Merrett, 1995), Ross (Grey, 1992) and Fynn (Stuart and Malcom, 1986) were written long after their time spent in Kwa-Zulu Natal, and as such should be used with caution. Fortunately though, their descriptions of settlement layouts and Zulu customs do seem to overlap with other first-hand accounts written as diaries at the time. What is noticeable though, is that they tend not to be as detailed in their descriptions as the diaries are. The accounts of Smith (Smith, 1955), Gardiner (1966), Champion (Booth, 1967), Holden (Holden, 1986) and Fynn (Stuart and Malcolm, 1986) also provide sketches of these settlements. Although often defined as historical sources, these accounts can also be seen as being ethnographic, since they discuss aspects of settlement layout, diet and social practices in much the same way as ethnographers do. Another ethno/historical source that is invaluable in this regard is the six volumes of the James Stuart Archives, edited by Webb and Wright (1976; 1979; 1982; 1986 & 2001). Although not a first-hand account of the settlements, the age of these volumes means that the

people interviewed had had direct experience with the *umuzi* and *ikhanda* and as such can be seen in the same light as the ethnographic studies and historical accounts. Historical sources are not limited to these first-hand accounts only, with many historical studies (Guy, 1980; Knight, 1994; Guy, 1994; Laband, 1995; Knight, 1995) being of similar value. Although not dealing with the subject directly, they do provide a different perspective on the Zulu as a society than is obtained by the other source types. Consequently, these sources provide a very detailed view of the construction and nature of the *umuzi* and *ikhanda* settlements.

The uses of historical and ethnographical sources do have some inherent limitations due to the nature of the sources themselves. Accounts and diaries can be of great value in providing descriptions of everyday activities at the time they were being done. One does need to keep in mind, that these diaries and accounts are often written with the idea of them being read and as such one must always be aware of possible agendas and prejudices that the author's may have harboured when he/she wrote the account (Tosh and Lang, 2006:88-111; Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). Ethnographic sources can also be misleading since these studies are always done with a specific purpose in mind, and can often be more of a reflection of the author's view of the society than a description of the society itself (Renfrew and Bahn, 2012). Correspondingly, both historical accounts and ethnographic studies share the problem that the authors do not always fully understand the significance of the events that they are documenting and as such important information may be lost or obscured.

### **6.2.3 Heritage Impact Assessment Reports (HIA)**

Since 1999, South African law has stipulated that all new construction projects had to undertake an Environment Impact Assessment (EIA), of which a Historical Impact Assessment (HIA) forms part. These reports evaluate and document any objects or features within the construction zones that are of historical, or heritage, value. In cases where the archaeology present is of cultural and/or historical significance these sites may either be mapped and excavated as part of a phase II or III mitigation process. During this process reports are compiled and filed with heritage

authorities, such as Amafa (Kwa-Zulu Natal), Heritage Western Cape (Western Cape) or SAHRA (South African Heritage Resources Agency, responsible for the rest of the country). These reports are conserved as part of larger repositories and provide an alternative resource from which to obtain information. By using HIA reports the body of archaeological information already available can be utilised to supplement academically orientated excavations. One of the drawbacks of using HIA reports for academic purposes is that these reports are not normally compiled from an academic point of view, thus limiting the amount of information provided. Regardless of this, there is still enough information contained within HIA to be deemed useful in settlement studies.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

As can be seen, the theoretical model of the structural layout of the *ikhanda* settlement will be created by combining archaeological surveys and excavations with ethnographic and historical sources. What this study will do is to determine how each source type describes the construction and composition of the *ikhanda*. This means that the focus will be on where each source places features such as huts, fences, grain bins, etc., thereby determining what the accepted norm for these settlements was. Part of this process is to determine their physical remains as hard proof of these features' placement. When this is done, the meanings and social functions attached to these features can then be added by using the ethnographic and historical accounts. This approach not only allows one to create a model of a standard *ikhanda* settlement, but also allows for assessing the level of correlation between archaeological material and ethnographic information. It is often difficult to evaluate where ethnographic informants' information is accurate and where it is not. This is partly due to the fact that in most of these studies, only one source type is utilised. In this study the use of more than one source type strives to overcome these biases by critically comparing information from archaeological, ethnographic and historical sources and then compiling a collective model of the *ikhanda* based on those aspects that correspond. This process will be started by first providing the raw data which will be used in creating the model, as the subject of the next chapter.

## Chapter 7: Archaeological Signatures of *amakhanda*

### 7.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 has shown that the *umuzi* and *amakhanda* were similar to each other in terms of their basic physical form. Despite the superficial physical similarities shared between these settlements, it was shown that the structural and demographical organisation between these settlements differed greatly. Although the ethnographic and historical accounts allow for this distinction between these settlements to be made, it is still unclear as to whether or not this distinction is apparent within the archaeology of these settlements. In order to determine this, this study will first provide a discussion on our understanding of the archaeology of *amakhanda* and *umuzi*. This will be followed with a structural model created by drawing from the three source types discussed in the previous chapter. This model will assist in determining whether or not an *umuzi* and an *ikhanda* can be distinguished from each other archaeologically. Consequently, this chapter will focus on our current understanding of the archaeology of these settlements. The sites discussed are limited to the small number of LIA settlements that have been excavated and published within Kwa-Zulu Natal (Hall and Maggs, 1979; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985; Maggs, 1982; Whitelaw, 1994). In order to expand the amount of sites used, Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) reports were also incorporated into the chapter (Becker, 2008; Pelsler, 2013 & 2014).

### 7.2 Characteristics of *ikhanda*

This study has identified a number of characteristics which could be used to identify *amakhanda*. These characteristics are divided into three sub-sections, namely: huts located at the exterior of the settlement, hut layout within the settlement, and the nature of the faunal remains. Those features, which seem to be characteristic of *amakhanda*, are presented in the first three sub-sections below, while those that do not appear to fit into any of these sections are presented and discussed in the fourth.

### 7.2.1 Huts located at the exterior of the settlement

Excavations of uMgungundlovu and Ondini undertaken by Parkington and Cronin (1979), Rawlinson (1987) and Rawlinson (1985) respectively, have found a number of huts located outside and behind the main settlement. Although the pattern in which this collection of huts is placed is not precisely fixed, they are always located outside and behind the upper part of the main settlement. These huts can either be in line with the great hut, or to its left or right. In this study, the upper part of the settlement refers to the area directly opposite the entrance to the central cattle enclosure, which is seen as the bottom of the settlement. The area moving down from the upper end to the bottom end of the settlement (to give the settlement an oval shape) is often referred to as the horns (sides) of the settlement (Laband, 1995), and will be used to this extent in this section.

During their excavations at uMgungundlovu (Fig. 12), the capital of the second Zulu king Dingane kaSenzangakona (1828-1839), Parkington and Cronin (1979) found evidence of 184 daga floors. Of these, seven floors were found 110m away from the upper end of the settlement, roughly in line with the central axis (the imaginary line stretching from the entrance of the settlement to the opposite end) of the settlement. These huts had a different layout from the rest of the huts found, with one indicating the possible presence of a patio (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:141-143). Further excavations done by Roodt of the remaining floors in this area have not yielded any similar hut floors (Roodt, 1992). Roodt believed that the suspected patio was as a result of the floor's deterioration and that all seven huts were of a similar construction (Roodt, 1992). Both excavations found circular trenches dug into the hut floors (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:141-143; Roodt, 1992). Surrounded by a fence, these huts were arranged in a semi-arch. Roodt's excavations of one hut revealed five brass bangles, with excavations of another revealing ochre-stained grinding stones along with nuggets of ochre (Roodt, 1992). Both huts presented with blue-spotted white glass beads (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:141-143). Four depressions, with a diameter of 2m each, were found on the western side of the group of huts. Partial excavations of one depression by Parkington and Cronin (1979) indicated that they had a bell shape with a volume of 5.3m<sup>3</sup> producing a schist mould with fifteen depressions in two rows, approximately 30mm apart. Fragments of a crucible, as

well as droplets of brass, were found between the pits and the central area of the hut enclosure (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:141-143).

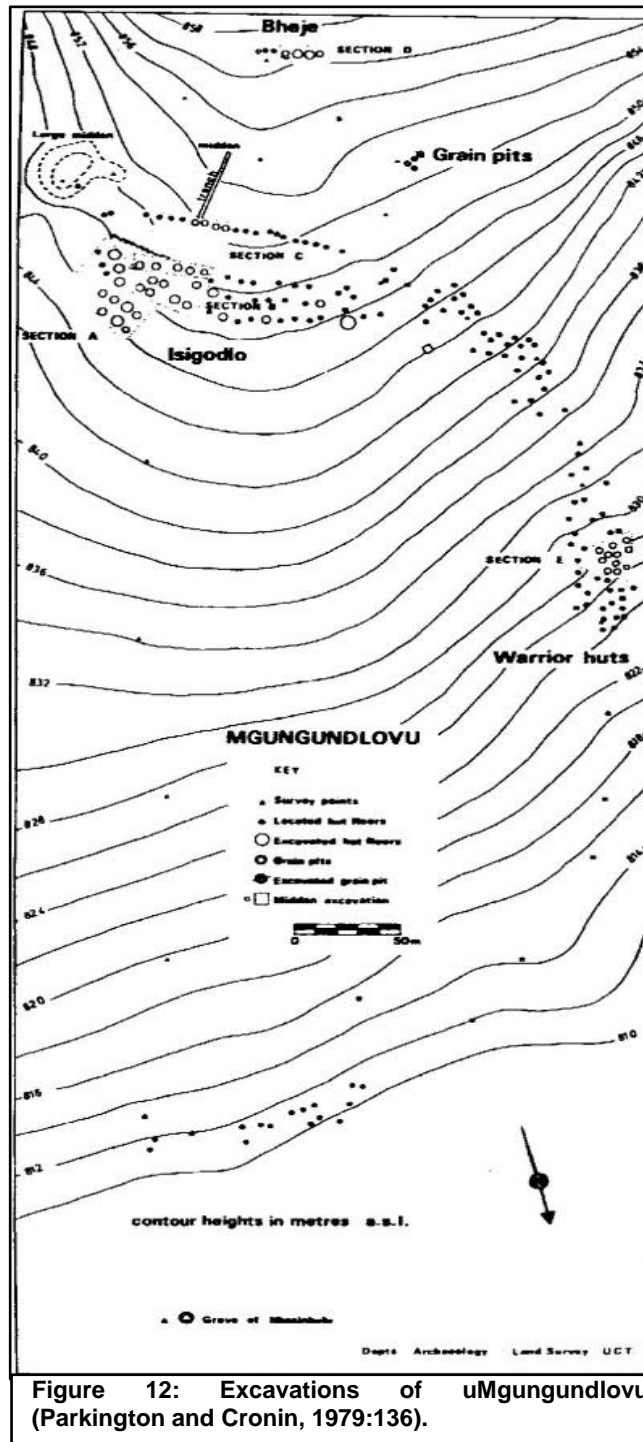
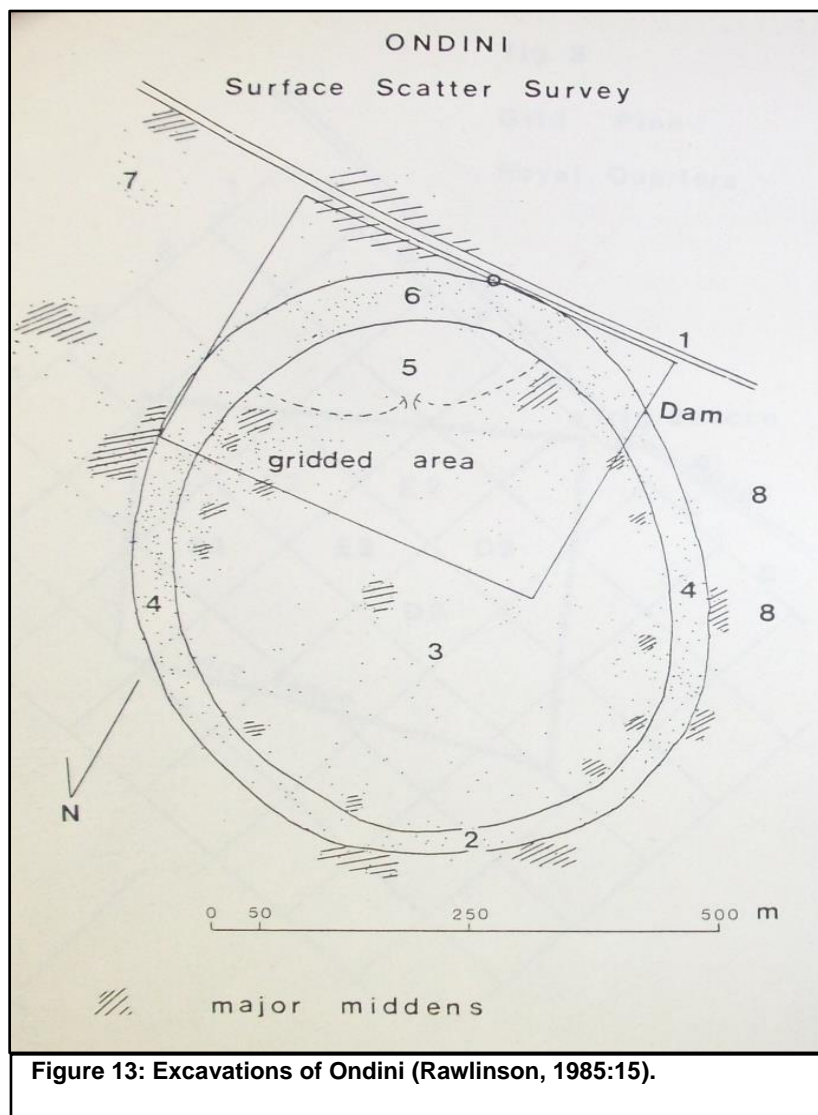


Figure 12: Excavations of uMgungundlovu (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:136).

Another Zulu capital, that of the last Zulu king Cetshwayo kaMpanda called Ondini (Fig. 13; 1872-1879), was excavated in the 1980s by Rawlinson (1985). As was the case with uMgungundlovu, a series of huts were found outside of the main settlement (no. 7 in Fig. 13). These huts were located to the left of the central axis of the settlement. Rawlinson found that they had a semi-arch layout and were completely fenced (Rawlinson, 1985:12-16; Van Schalkwyk, 1999:275). At both Ondini and uMgungundlovu, the huts were physically separated from the nearby settlement by an open area, having their own grain bins and fences (Rawlinson, 1985:12-16, Van Schalkwyk, 1999:275). As at uMgungundlovu, Rawlinson found evidence of smithing activity in this area (Van Schalkwyk, 1999:275).





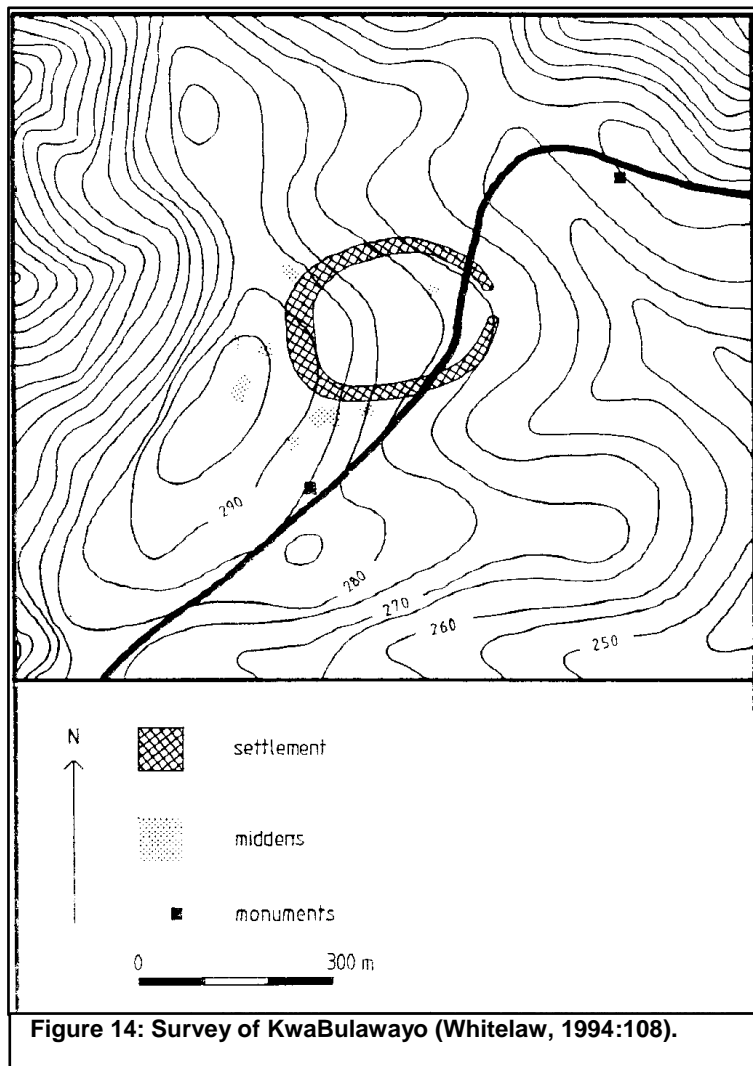
KwaBulawayo, Shaka kaSenzangakona's capital, was partially surveyed by Whitelaw (1994). Unlike uMgungundlovu and Ondini, kwaBulawayo was not burned when it was abandoned, which made the preservation of hut floors poor. Nonetheless, Whitelaw did find evidence of middens in areas which correlated with those of the external hut enclosures of uMgungundlovu and Ondini (Whitelaw, 1994:108). Surface evidence, in the form of tubers and slag at these middens, indicated that metal working may have been practiced in this area, which is similar to the middens of uMgungundlovu and Ondini (Whitelaw, 1994:108).

### **7.2.2 Hut layout within the settlement**

Parkington and Cronin's excavations of uMgungundlovu showed that the settlement could be divided into two separate hut areas; one located at the top of the settlement and the other moving down the sides (horns) of the settlement (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:133-143; Roodt, 1993). These two living areas, located between the outer and inner fences, were divided from each other by a third inner fence. In the upper area of the settlement, evidence of the presence of fifty hut floors was found (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:141-143; Roodt, 1993). The excavators found that these huts were divided into four rows, with the back row separated from the other three by an open area of 25m (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-143). Huts located in the first three rows did not share a unified design, but presented with large variations in size. Excavations (Parkington and Cronin, 1979) showed that these huts had had a diameter of approximately 5-6m with a large distance of 8m between them. These huts also seemed to have been individually designed (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-143). The back row, or fourth row, was found to be more unified in design, with each hut being of similar size (approximately 3m in diameter; Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-143). Each hut was located closer to each other, with a distance of approximately 6m separating the hearth of each hut (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-143). They found no evidence of further internal division between the huts. Although only a small section of the regimental area was excavated, they did find evidence of the existence of thirty-three huts, with an average of 5m separating each hearth (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-143). Although having a general linear alignment, some huts were not part of this linear grouping. What, Parkington and Cronin (1979) did find however, was that each hut was of a standard

design with the distance between them remaining similar. Each hut's hearth in addition, was found to be of a similar size, approximately 58cm (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-143). Located between the inner and outer fence, these huts were organised in a linear row consisting of eight huts (Roodt, 1993). By extrapolating from the area excavated, it was possible to determine the general size of uMgungundlovu. Parkington and Cronin (1979) estimated that uMgungundlovu would have had a circumference of approximately 1.7km, covering an area of approximately 22.5 hectares. The central cattle byre presented with a length of 570m and a width of 500m (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:143). By taking into consideration the number of huts found, along with the settlement's size, Parkington and Cronin estimated that uMgungundlovu contained around 1100 to 1700 huts within its fence and housed approximately 5000 to 7000 people (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:147; Roodt, 1993).

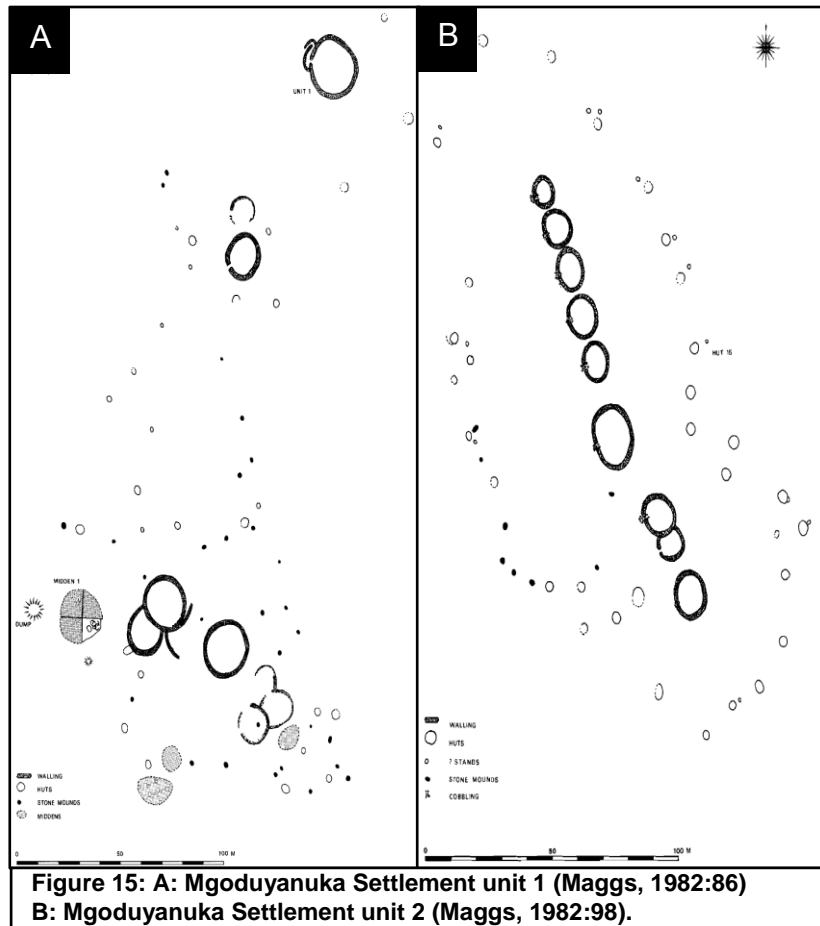
Rawlinson (1985) similarly found that Ondini (Fig. 13) could be divided into two living areas; one located at the upper end of the settlement (no. 6) and another located on the horns (no. 4) of the settlement (Rawlinson, 1985:12-16). Excavations found that the huts located at the upper end were arranged in three rows, with the majority located in the second row. It was found that the hut floor diameter in this area averaged around 5m, with the diameter of all the huts ranging between 3.5m and 8m (Rawlinson, 1985:12-16). Although the majority of the huts found by Rawlinson were of a similar size, the large variation in hut size correlated with the variations of huts at uMgungundlovu, located within the same area. Each hut seemed to have had the same general construction pattern; nevertheless individual small scale variations did occur (Rawlinson, 1985:12-16). There appears to be no similarity in the distance between individual huts, nor is there any apparent order in huts' placement within this area, except for the basic three row alignment (Rawlinson, 1985:12-16). Rawlinson found that this area was fenced, with no evidence found of internal divisions between the huts. Ondini was also similar in size to uMgungundlovu, having a length of 650m from the outer fence to the entrance, and a diameter of 550m. It covered an area of around 35 hectares, had approximately 1500 huts and was estimated to have housed between 4000 to 5000 people (Rawlinson, 1985:15; Van Schalkwyk, 1999:271-273).



The survey of kwaBulawayo (Fig. 14) done by Whitelaw (1994) found that the settlement had an approximate length of 300m to 350m with a width of 200m to 250m (Whitelaw, 1994:108). No hut floors were found during the survey, but taking into account that the settlement size is almost half of that at uMgungundlovu and Ondini, it may be possible to determine the number of huts that kwaBulawayo had. Judging from its size I estimate that it had between 700 and 800 huts, with an approximate population of 2000 to 3000 people. This estimate is based on the fact that kwaBulawayo was estimated to have been half the size of uMgungundlovu (Whitelaw, 1994:108). Another site surveyed and partially excavated by Pelsler (2014) is also believed to possibly be the site of kwaBulawayo, which is further north and closer to Ulundi than the one surveyed by Whitelaw (1994). Part of the project's goal was to determine whether or not this was the site of kwaBulawayo (Pelsler, 2014). In his survey, Pelsler found many upper and lower grinding stones as well as

evidence of the existence of four cattle enclosures in a roughly linear pattern. The one enclosure that was measured, was estimated to be 30m in diameter (Pelser, 2014:18). Although research on the site has just recently started, no hut floors were found as of yet. However, due to the linear nature of the enclosures found, along with their small size and the large amount of grinding stones, it does seem unlikely that this site is that of KwaBulawayo. Taking into account that all the first-hand witnesses gave estimates of 2-3 miles for the outer fence and more than 1000 huts located between the inner and outer fence (Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986), the enclosures found are not large enough to meet any of these estimates. Even if they were exaggerated, which remains a possibility, the enclosures found by Pelsler (2014) are still far too small to accommodate the number of huts mentioned. Similarly, the historical accounts make no mention of three enclosures located in such close proximity to kwaBulawayo as was found by Pelsler. However, the linear enclosure pattern found by Pelsler (2014) seems to be similar to that found by Maggs at Mgoduyanuka.

Mgoduyanuka (Fig. 15), a LIA site excavated by Maggs (1982), dating to the period 1630-1830, with the later date yielding an approximate contemporary settlement pattern to that of kwaBulawayo and uMgungundlovu. Mgoduyanuka is located in the grasslands area of Kwa-Zulu Natal in the upper reaches of the Tugela River, and as such presented with evidence of large scale use of stone (Maggs, 1982:84). The large scale use of stone differentiates Mgoduyanuka from uMgungundlovu and Ondini. Maggs found that the hut floors were paved; enabling a reconstruction of the basic settlement pattern (Maggs, 1982:84-100). These huts were arranged in a semi-arch around the primary enclosure of settlement unit 1. This primary enclosure was walled in with earthworks and stone rather than being surrounded by a wooden palisade. Although a number of cattle enclosures were found, Maggs believed that the huts followed a semi-circle around these enclosures (Maggs, 1982:84-100). The huts had an average diameter of 4m, with some having a diameter of 2m; probably used for storage and not for occupation (Maggs, 1982:84-100). These measurements show that these huts would be slightly smaller than the huts found at uMgungundlovu, and similar in size to the huts found at Ondini. These huts also had a far more dispersed layout when compared to the capitals.

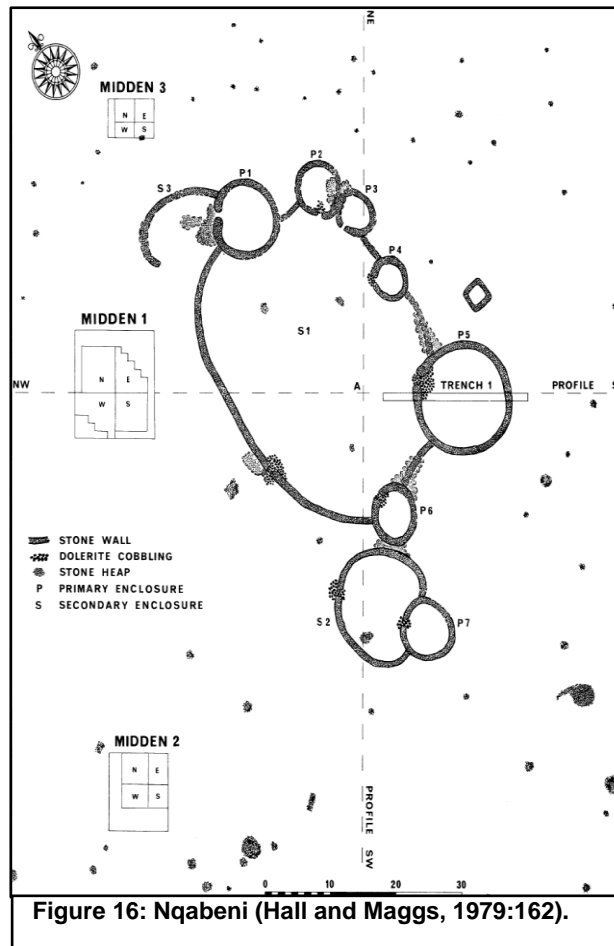


Maggs found that the distance between huts was 11m to 20m, with an average distance from the enclosure being 30m (Maggs, 1982:84-100). Settlement unit 2 similarly had multiple cattle enclosures aligned in a linear pattern. As with settlement unit 1 these enclosures were constructed out of stone and had one row of huts located around the enclosures. These huts were located approximately 40m from the enclosures (Maggs, 1982:98). Maggs believed that due to the large distances between the huts and the enclosures that it was unlikely that settlement unit 2 was surrounded by a fence. As would be expected from an *umuzi*, this settlement was marked by only one row of huts, unlike the multiple rows of huts found at the capitals.

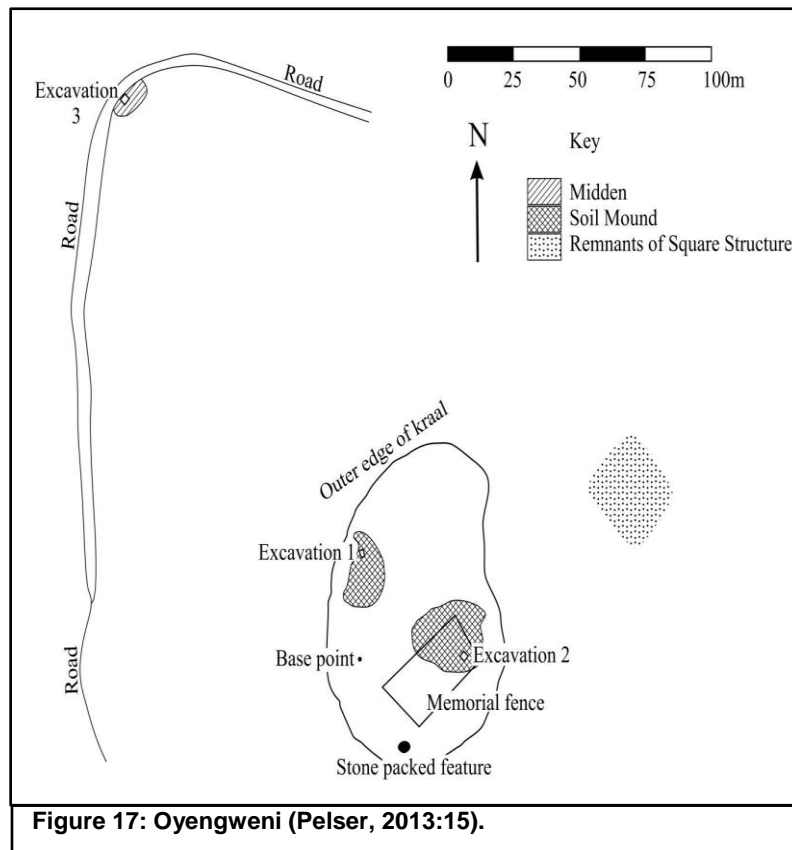
An interesting feature of Mgoduyanuka's primary cattle byre found by Maggs (1982), was an elaborate stone entrance built with a series of narrow passages (Maggs, 1982:89-96). This passage ended at the entrance of the enclosure in a sharp right turn and a dead end (Maggs, 1982:89-96). Maggs further found a ditch of

approximately 90cm deep, surrounding the earthworks of the primary enclosure. After excavating the ditch, Maggs was unable to determine conclusively whether the ditch was purposely built or merely the source of raw material for the earth wall. Maggs did, however, believe that this ditch was purposely constructed, yet the exact reason remains unclear (Maggs, 1982:89-96). Cattle byres surrounded by earthworks, mostly lined with stone, are not uncommon in the area. Despite this, it is unclear as to why Mgoduyanuka's cattle byre is surrounded by stone encased earthworks and a ditch (Maggs, 1982:89-96). Maggs believed the most likely reason for this form of enclosure is to provide the cattle and sheep/goats housed in the enclosure the maximum amount of protection (Maggs, 1982:94). What is interesting is that Mgoduyanuka lacks the palisade fence that surrounded the settlement as a whole, which made the added defences for the cattle byre on one hand logical and on the other unusual. It is unclear why such an elaborate defence for the livestock was built with the basic defence of the settlement left unconstructed.

Nqabeni (Fig. 16), an LIA site located in the same region as Mgoduyanuka, was excavated by Hall and Maggs in 1979. Similar to Mgoduyanuka, Nqabeni had multiple cattle enclosures built from stone (Hall and Maggs, 1979:162). Although no huts were found at Nqabeni, Hall and Maggs believe that they would have been located north-west from the enclosures, close to the midden (Hall and Maggs, 1979:173). If true, it would place the huts approximately 20m from the enclosures, which is similar to what was found at Siklibeni (Becker, 2008). Hall and Maggs (1979) further found a number of interesting features regarding the cattle enclosures at Nqabeni. Firstly, there were three large enclosures surrounded by a number of smaller enclosures, attached to the large enclosures. Secondly, these enclosures were constructed of stone. Lastly, at the entrances to the enclosures, cobbled stones made from dolerite were found (Hall and Maggs, 1979:163). Their excavations indicated that cattle were kept in the smaller enclosures attached to the large enclosures, and not in the large enclosures itself (Hall and Maggs, 1979:172-173). Both Nqabeni and Mgoduyanuka form part of type B sites that were characterised by stone built enclosures (Hall and Maggs, 1979:161; Maggs, 1982).



Oyengweni (Fig. 17) and Siklibeni (Fig. 18), two settlements nearly contemporary to kwaBulawayo, had been surveyed and partially excavated by Pelsler (2013) and Becker (2008) respectively. Preliminary excavations of Oyengweni, thought to be Dingiswayo kaJobe's homestead, had revealed a rough estimate of the cattle byre's extend along with possible hut locations (Pelsler, 2013:14-35). Pelsler estimated the cattle byre to be approximately 30-50m in radius, giving it a 60-100m diameter (Pelsler, 2013:14-35). Pelsler located evidence of only one hut floor, with indications of other possible floors arranged in an arch around the cattle byre (Pelsler, 2013:14-35). Only one midden was found, approximately 120m north-west from the cattle byre, and containing pottery, stone tools and faunal remains (Pelsler, 2013:14-35). His initial results indicated that the site had had two periods of occupation, one during the Middle Stone Age (300 00-20 000 years ago) and the other during the Late Iron Age/Historical Period (Pelsler, 2013:14-35). Upper and lower grinding stones were also found at the site (Pelsler, 2013:14-35). Further excavations of the site are planned and may reveal more of the sites features.



Becker believes Siklibeni to have been the *umuzi* of Shaka kaSenzangakona's father, Senzangakona, dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Becker, 2008:4). Siklibeni is therefore a settlement that was in existence when Shaka obtained the chieftainship of the Zulu, and theoretically started the *ikhanda* settlement form. Consequently, it can be viewed as a transition from one settlement construction type to another. Although not many hut floors were found during the survey, a large number of fireplaces (hearths) were found. The hearths can be assumed to indicate the location of huts due to their close proximity to one another and to the few hut floors found. As can be seen in figure 18, Siklibeni is characterised by two separate living areas. The main area had a rough horseshoe shape around what may have been a group of enclosures (Becker, 2008:7-10). Furthermore, Becker found evidence of the presence of enclosures in between the huts, possibly indicating the presence of both cattle and sheep/goats at the settlement. From the GPS coordinates, this study determined that the settlement had a diameter of approximately 200m with the huts located approximately 100m away from the central enclosures



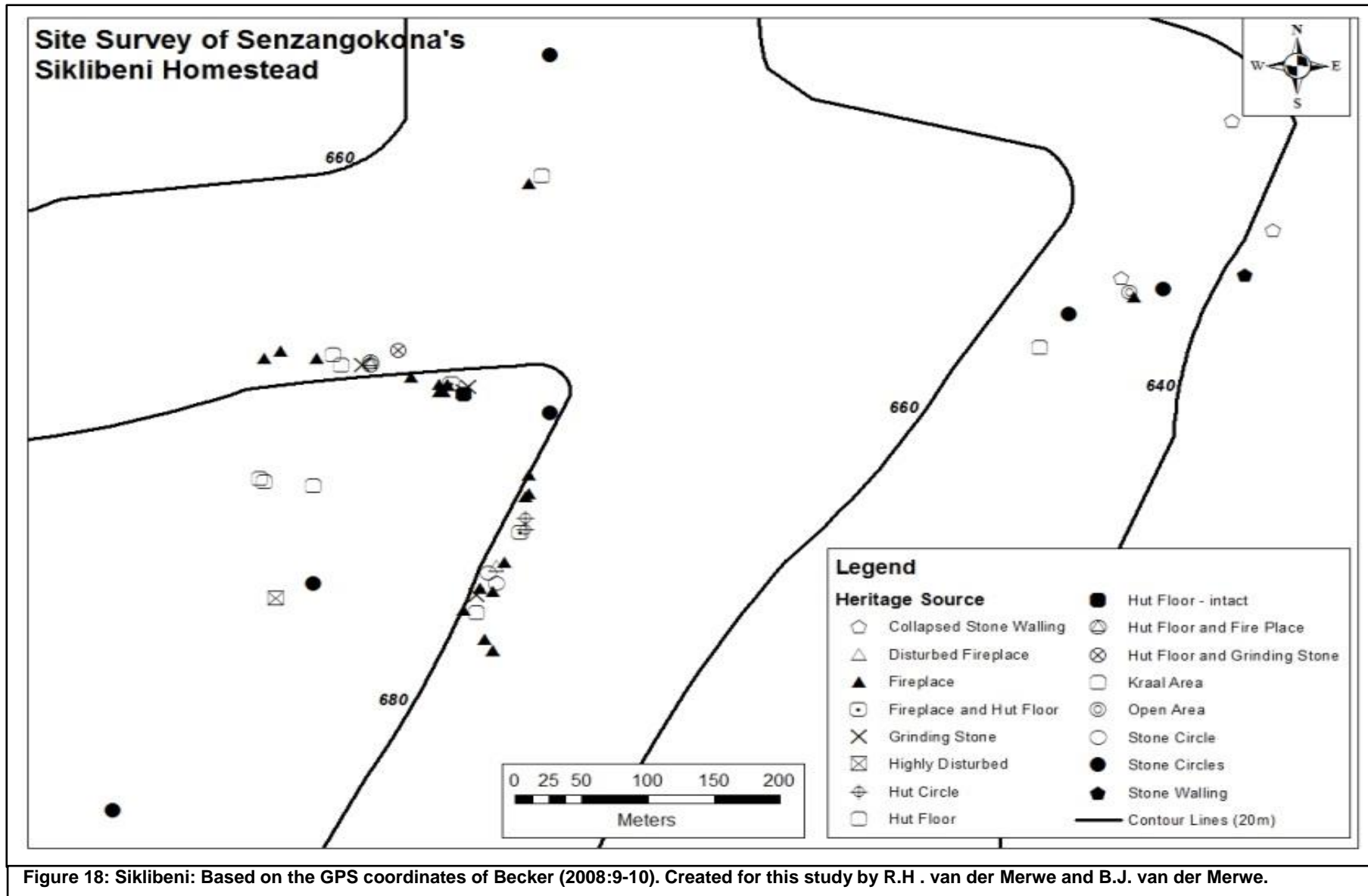


Figure 18: Siklibeni: Based on the GPS coordinates of Becker (2008:9-10). Created for this study by R.H . van der Merwe and B.J. van der Merwe.

Within the residential area of the settlement, the huts were located approximately 10-20m apart, with the enclosure in this area being of a similar distance from the huts as at Mgonduyanuka (Becker, 2008:7-10). It seems therefore unlikely that the settlement would have been surrounded by a fence, due to the large open areas found between the huts. This would seem to correlate with the other settlements such as Nqabeni and Mgoduyanuka. If the horseshoe shape is accepted, which is how a traditional CCP cattle byre is often described, it would appear that the entrance of Siklibeni would have been located uphill from the huts, instead of the general accepted downhill location. The secondary living area was approximately 400m away from the main living area and had a linear pattern (Becker, 2008:7-10). This area was marked primarily by stone walling and stone circles, with evidence of a hut and a separate fireplace having been found. Due to the presence of the stone walling, I believe it is most likely that this secondary area constituted the remains of stone walled enclosures, with the hut probably being the living area for the person responsible for the safety of the cattle. Evidence of a single hut floor and a fire place was also found approximately 100m north of the main living area (Becker, 2008:7-10), with it being unclear as to what the function of this single hut may have been.

### 7.2.3 Fauna remains

In order for the faunal assemblage to indicate the presence of an *ikhanda*, the faunal sample has to be dominated by cattle remains. This can be attributed to the diet of the *ibutho* soldiers consisting of large quantities of meat (primarily cattle). Soldiers of the *ibutho* believed that to eat anything else would weaken them (Krige, 1965). Historical sources agree that the soldiers consumed primarily cattle meat; yet, due to the economic value of cattle it seems unlikely that this would have been the case in an *umuzi* (Gardiner, 1966:47; Isaacs, 1970:94; Grey, 1992:52). Consequently, it can be expected that an *ikhanda* would have an assemblage with a higher density of cattle bones than an *umuzi*, with the capitals having the highest density of cattle bones of them all.

Roodt (1993) collected faunal material from four areas during the uMgungundlovu excavations. Two areas were located outside the main settlement in areas

associated with craft working as well as a midden (A4 and Y6); yet another was located in the upper living area (C9), and the last (D4) within the cattle byre; an area sometimes associated with craft working (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52; Roodt, 1993). Roodt further divided area Y6 into two excavations, Y6 and Y6j10. Y6j10 was located close to the huts outside the settlement and may have been associated with those huts. The amount of fauna recovered from these excavated areas was approximately 50 000 fragments with the minimum number of individual animals (MNI) being 140 (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). Of these fragments, 99% belonged to cattle, with the remaining 1% being divided between sheep/goats and naturally occurring herbivores (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). From these fragments, Plug determined that the sample consisted of 140 individuals, spread over 10 species (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). Of these 140 individuals, 124 were identified as cattle. Age could be determined for only 61 of the 124 individuals (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). Plug found that the majority were of adult to mature adult age (n=54), with the remaining seven being of juvenile (n=6) and sub-adult age (n=1). The six juvenile individuals were only recovered in C9 (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). Additionally only six individuals were identified as being sheep/goats, of which two were determined to be juveniles (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). Plug could not determine the ratio of adult to sub-adult for the sheep/goats due to the nature of the bones in the sample (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). Furthermore, it was only in the upper living area that evidence for sheep/goats was found. Fragments from all parts of the animal were found, but the degree of representation differed among the four areas excavated. The percentage range for C9 and Y6 was 17% to 34% and 14% to 33% respectively for all parts of the animal. A4 was dominated by cranial bones, which constituted 66% of the sample, whereas Y6 (excluding Y6j10) represented only 17% of the sample (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52). The ratios of long bones likewise differed between the 50% for Y6, 17% C9 and 10% for A4. Bones from Y6 and A4 had copper stains on them, with the majority of bones having chop and cut marks (Plug and Roodt, 1990:49-52).

Ondini's internal middens, located in both living areas, were excavated and the faunal remains were analysed by Watson and Watson (1990). Cattle were also the primary source of meat consumed at this settlement (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-

38). A total of 89 616 bone fragments were excavated from the site, of which 2877 pieces were diagnostic. From these fragments, Watson and Watson determined that the bone sample represented a minimum of 239 individuals (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-38). These in turn represented 28 species, with cattle being the most dominant (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-38). Cattle made up 40.6% (n=87); sheep 2.1% (n=5), goats 0.8% (n=2) and 7.1% (n=17) of what could be either sheep or goat. Consequently, 50.6% (n=121) of the sample represented domesticated animals (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-38). The remaining 49.1% of the faunal sample was derived from local, indigenous animals. Of these animals, Watson and Watson identified that 7.5% (n=18) were from indigenous hares, 6.3% (n=15) from the common duiker, 6.3% (n=15) of what can only be identified as small herbivores and 7.9% (n=19) as large herbivores. The remaining species were only represented by 13 individuals, and as such made a minimal contribution to the diet (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-38). Watson and Watson could age only 73 of the individuals identified as cattle. Watson and Watson found that the ratio of juvenile to adult cattle was higher at Ondini than at uMgungundlovu. The majority of the cattle being slaughtered were adults to old adults. Lower limbs formed the overwhelming majority of the skeletal parts found, followed by the upper limbs, the cranium and then the vertebrae. Although few of the bones had had indications of cut or chop marks, their distribution throughout the excavation indicated that these animals were slaughtered, possibly for both dietary consumption and for craft working (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-38). Furthermore, Watson and Watson did not find evidence for selective body part distribution or social restrictions on species use. However, it should be kept in mind that the area excavated was only a small portion of the whole site (Watson and Watson, 1990:35-38).

Plug and Brown (1982) analysed 3681 fragments of bones for a faunal analysis of Mgoduyanuka (Plug and Brown, 1982:115-120). Of these, 503 were viable in determining species identification. The sample consisted of 68 individuals, covering 16 species (Plug and Brown, 1982:115-120). Plug and Brown found that domesticated stock dominated the sample, with 50 of the individuals identified as domesticated animals. Of the domesticated stock, cattle were slightly more prevalent than sheep/goats; with 27 individuals being identified as cattle, 1 positively identified

as sheep, and 22 individuals belonging to the sheep/goat category (Plug and Brown, 1982:115-120). One individual was identified as hippopotamus, 10 were identified as being small herbivores and the remainder belonged to small game such as guinea fowl and rodent (Plug and Brown, 1982:115-120). Domesticated animals (cattle and sheep/goats) contributed to 98.1% of the total meat consumption, of which adult cattle were 81.4% and juvenile cattle 11.3% (Plug and Brown, 1982:115-120). It is clear that both cattle and sheep/goats contributed almost equally to the people's diet. The importance of domestic stock to the diet is further emphasised when considering that hunting occupied only 20.6% of the people's daily activities, while herding occupied 72%. Furthermore, hunting only contributed 1.8% to the total meat consumed (Plug and Brown, 1982:115-120). Although domestic stock was the primary source of meat at both Mgoduyanuka and at the capitals, the relationship between cattle and sheep/goats was noticeably different. As would be expected from an *umuzi*, Mgoduyanuka had an almost even distribution between cattle (45%) and sheep/goats (38.3%). This stands in stark contrast to the extremely low numbers of sheep/goats remains found at uMgungundlovu (1%) and Ondini (2.1%). It is interesting to note that meat obtained from hunting was far more prevalent at the capitals than at Mgoduyanuka. Since it is known that the soldiers of the *ibutho* preferred meat above other foods, it is not unexpected that hunting was more prevalent at *amakhandas*. Even though cattle meat was preferred, it would make sense that soldiers substituted their beef rations with game meat from time to time to keep up with the high demand.

Although only a small number of remains were excavated at Nqabeni (Hall and Maggs, 1979:170), a partial reconstruction of the diet could be generated. It was found that both cattle and sheep/goats were kept at Nqabeni. Eight individuals were identified as being cattle, of which 7 were old and matured animals with only 1 being a young animal (Hall and Maggs, 1979:170). Hall and Maggs made no attempt to distinguish between sheep and goat, and as such these findings were combined. As a result, 4 individuals were identified as belonging to the sheep/goat category; with one young animal, two mature animals, and one old (Maggs, and Hall, 1979:170). As with Mgoduyanuka, cattle and sheep/goats were again represented somewhat

equally in the faunal assemblage. This may indicate that a normal family's diet constituted almost equally of cattle and sheep/goats.

The faunal sample size found at Oyengweni was not large enough for a formal archaeozoological analysis. Nevertheless, Pelser's initial analysis of the 39 pieces of identifiable bone found at the site indicated the presence of cattle and sheep/goats as would be expected (Pelser, 2013:14-35). Pieces of the skeleton that were found included ribs, vertebrae, long bones, pelvic bones and cranial bones. Age and MNI, as well as species identification beyond the basic identification of cattle and sheep/goat, were not possible as of yet (Pelser, 2013:14-35).

#### **7.2.4 Other**

An interesting feature of the excavation of uMgungundlovu was the burnt hut floors found by Roodt (1993) at the excavation sites D4 and Y6. Y6 was located close to the exterior huts, with D4 found within the cattle byre (Roodt, 1993). Within D4, there was evidence of a hearth with the large amount of brass (Roodt, 1993). Evidence for copper smelting was similarly found in the enclosure area located outside of the main settlement at Ondini (Rawlison, 1985:11). A rectangular hut constructed along European lines, with clay fired bricks, windows and rafters, was also found within the upper living area of Ondini (Van Schalkwyk, 1999:277). This rectangular structure had four rooms, whitewashed, with evidence of a medicinal grinding stone as well as a number of liquor bottles (Van Schalkwyk, 1999:277). Evidence of the original palisade surrounding the whole settlement was also uncovered. The settlement was surrounded by a double row of palisades, each base beam being 75cm apart, with infill between the two palisade rows with a height of 2m (Van Schalkwyk, 1999:278-288).

### **7.3 Conclusion**

From this it seems clear that differences existed in the layout of settlements known as *ikhanda* and those of the other LIA settlements. When considering the settlement

layouts of LIA sites such as Nqabeni, Mgoduyanuka, Pelsers' kwaBulawayo, Siklibeni and Oyengweni it seems that all of these follow, to some extent, the CCP model. Although the younger sites such as Siklibeni and Oyengweni show the closest resemblance to that of the CCP pattern, which might indicate that slight variations to the basic CCP model existed in the later phase of the LIA. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that all these sites were *umuzi*, since they all have the expected size and general organisation associated with a normal homestead. When they are compared to the two capitals of uMgungundlovu and Ondini, it is clear that they differed noticeably. One can clearly see a size as well as organisational difference between these settlements. Since the capitals were known to have been *amakhanda*, it becomes quite clear that some distinct differences can be expected when observing *amakhanda* and *umuzi* respectively. Since these *umuzi* also follow the same basic pattern as that of the CCP, it is also clear that the *ikhanda* would differ from the CCP model. Although the faunal assemblage for the *umuzi* was limited, it was possible to determine two patterns. Firstly, cattle and sheep/goats contributed almost equally to the diet of the inhabitants. Secondly, although hunting also contributed to the amount of meat consumed at the *umuzi*, it was far less than was seen at the capitals (*ikhanda*). This shows that the consumption of meat was an important part of the diet of both settlement types; although, the importance allocated to it was far higher at the *amakhanda* than at the *umuzi*. Hunting contributed only 1.8% of the meat consumed at Mgoduyanuka as opposed to the 8% at uMgungundlovu and 49.1% at Ondini. This further shows that the obtaining of meat was more important at the *amakhanda* than at the *umuzi*. The large contribution of wild game to the diet of the Ondini inhabitants can be explained by the large scale shortage of cattle (due to drought and disease) that is known to have coincided with its occupation (Watson and Watson, 1990:33) which forced the soldiers to increasingly supplement their meat intake with wild game. The fact that cattle still dominated the sample despite these shortages indicates the importance placed on cattle as source of meat for soldiers of the *ibutho* system. The following two chapters will examine these differences in greater detail and will focus on the creation of a settlement model for the 19<sup>th</sup> century Zulu *ikhanda*. This model is also followed with an interpretation/discussion of the archaeological remains and structural model in chapter 9.

## Chapter 8: Settlement model of an *ikhanda*.

### 8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the archaeological evidence available for the identification of an *ikhanda*. As can be seen from the archaeological material, there was a clear difference between the organisation of the *ikhanda* and *umuzi*. Before an examination of the nature of these differences can be undertaken, a model of the structural organisation of an *ikhanda* is required. The generation of this model will allow for a more effective comparison between the *ikhanda* and *umuzi* settlements. The latter of which is presented by the CCP settlement model and which will be used as a point of comparison. This chapter is therefore concerned with the creation of a settlement model for the *ikhanda* based on the information obtained from the historical, archaeological, and ethnographical sources. Although examples for the construction of *ikhanda* can be found in the works of Parkington and Cronin (1979), Rawlinson (1985 & 1987) and Van Schalkwyk (1999), these all focused on the *ikhanda* as a capital. For example, all these studies focussed on the two capitals of uMgungundlovu and Ondini and assumed that all *ikhanda* would follow this same pattern. This study has found that, although partially true, the capitals cannot be used as a basis for all *ikhanda*. This derives from results obtained in this study, which suggest three variations to the basic *ikhanda* layout and which will be discussed in the sections to follow. The structural model presented in this chapter was created by drawing from archaeological, historical and ethnographic sources. As the *ikhanda* settlement was found among most of the northern Nguni, a short comparison between the Zulu and other Nguni *amakhanda* is will be made. Consequently, this model will allow for a more detailed comparison of these settlement forms.

### 8.2 Structural model of *ikhanda* settlement

This structural model of the *ikhanda* will focus on two aspects of the settlement. The first aspect is the physical construction and layout of the settlement. This will include features of the settlements such as the placement of the huts, how they were

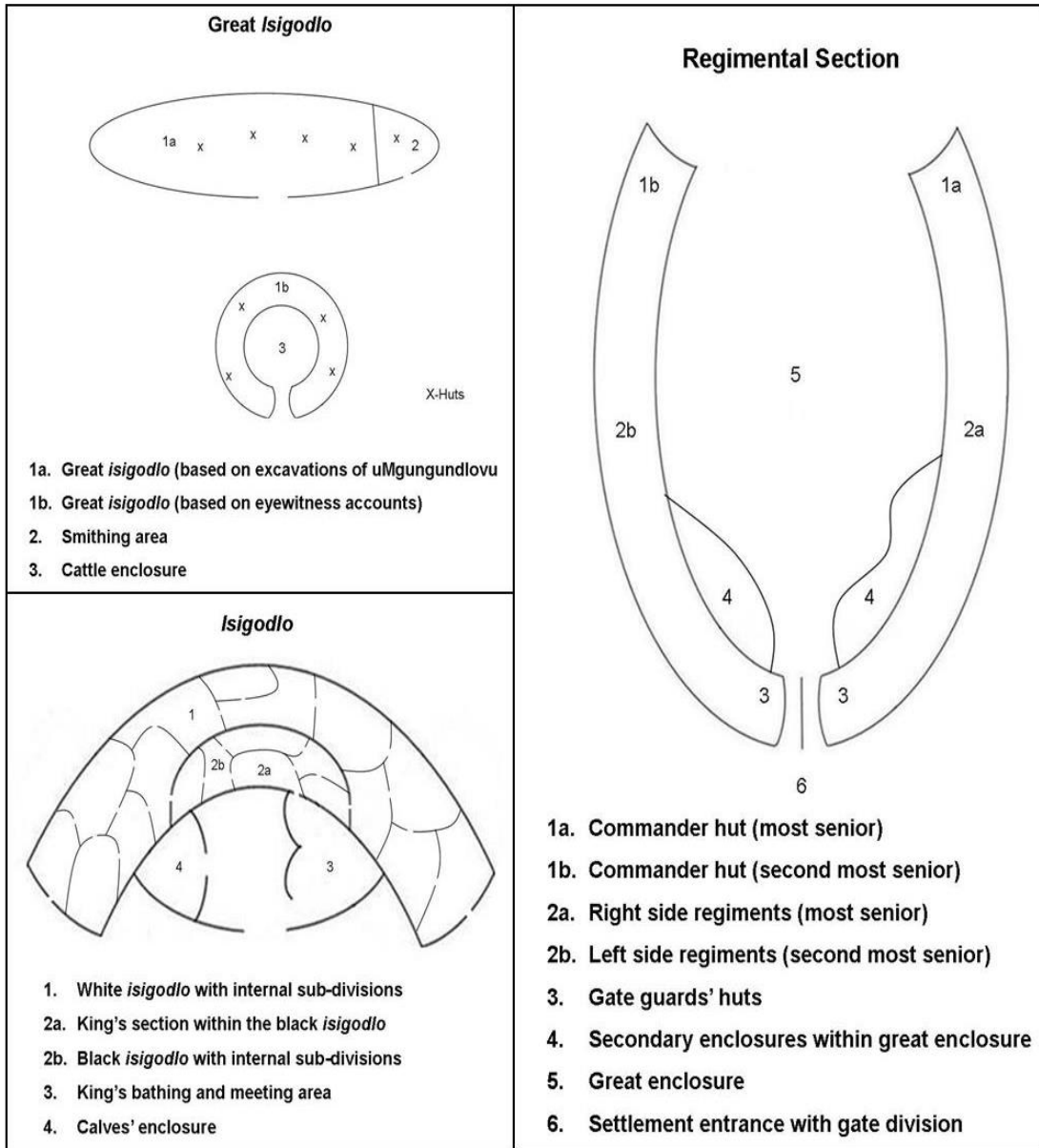


arranged and into what segments the settlement was divided. This aspect is therefore divided into three sections which together will constitute the whole of the *ikhanda* settlement. These sections are the *isigodlo*, the great *isigodlo* and the regimental section. The second aspect that will be investigated is the social meanings and functions attached to each of these three segments, as well as how they differed between the various *amakhanda*. These meanings will be combined into the structural model (Fig. 19), with each section discussed individually. Additionally this study has identified the presence of three different varieties of *ikhanda*, not previously described. These can be divided into the royal, divisional and regimental *ikhanda*. The structural model presented here will be based on the royal *ikhanda* since this variation incorporated all the aspects associated with *amakhanda*. As for the other two varieties (the divisional and regimental *ikhanda*), some of the structures and/or features seen in the royal *ikhanda* were omitted, making them quite distinct from each other. A presentation of the model and a discussion of its variations will be presented in the sections to follow.

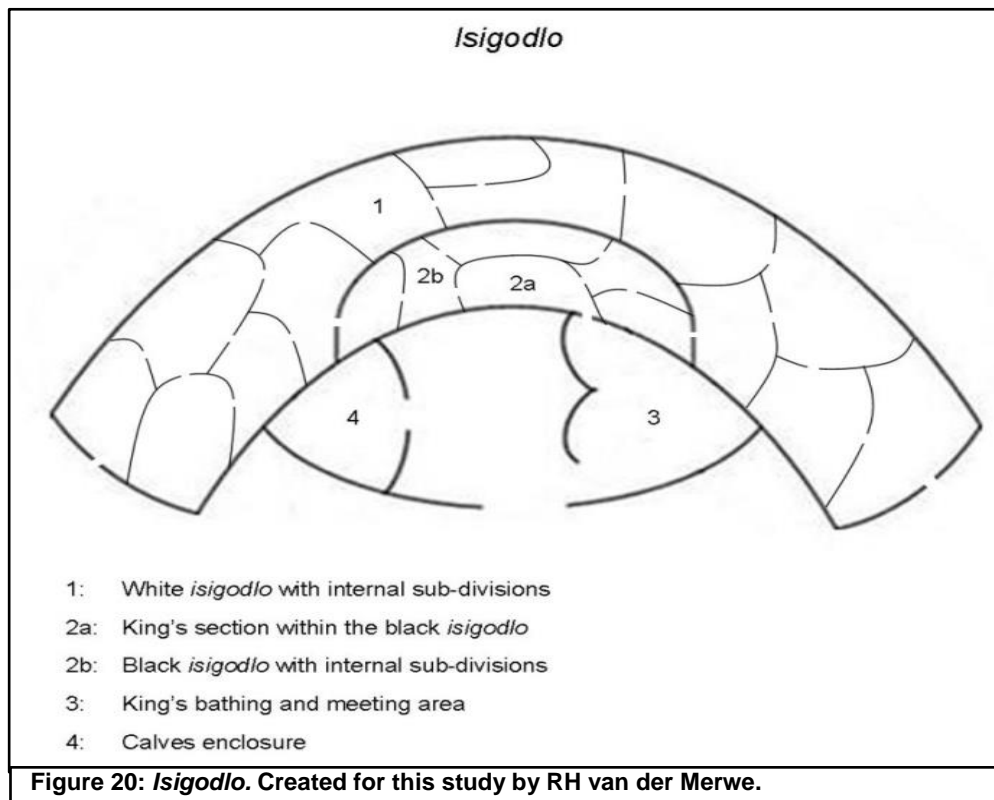
### 8.2.1 Isigodlo

One of the most recognisable features of an *ikhanda* is the presence of what is called the *isigodlo* (Fig. 20). Although the precise origin of this practice is unknown, it was already part of Zulu society by the time the first Europeans arrived in the area during the 1820s (Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Knight, 1994). The *isigodlo* is located at the uppermost end of the settlement, which is the area directly opposite the entrance of the settlement. Within this section is where the king and his family lived, with any access into this section strictly controlled (Krige, 1965, Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967). Since the first two Zulu kings had never married, the wives present in the *isigodlo* were substituted by their concubines, with the rest of the organisation remaining the same. Therefore, this section constituted the king's, or in the case of a divisional *ikhanda* the *induna*'s, his wives/concubines and his mothers' space (Webb and Wright, 1982: 149). The mothers of the king/*induna* included both his biological mother, the wives of his father and also his aunts. Therefore, 'mothers' is a collective term for the women of the royal family with the highest statutes.

## Structural model of an *ikhanda*



**Figure 19: Structural model of an *ikhanda*. Created for this study by R.H. van der Merwe.**



Since the *ikhanda* had been constructed to house the *ibutho* regiments, and the *isigodlo* housed the female members of these regiments, only *ikhanda* would have these *isigodlo* sections present (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1982; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). Owing to the complex nature of the *isigodlo*'s physical and social organisation, it is necessary to discuss these two aspects separately.

### Social organisation

As already stated, the *isigodlo* was constructed in order to house the female members of the *ibutho* system. Theoretically, these female members were stationed at each *ikhanda*, nevertheless, it seems likely that they were not always physically present at all *amakhanda* (Krige, 1965). Some *amakhanda*, such as the regimental *ikhanda*, would in all probability not have had an *isigodlo*. This was mainly due to the fact that these settlements had short habitation periods and were generally quite small, which would have made accommodation of the female equivalent of the *ibutho* system difficult. Although the *isigodlo* members occupied the highest level of the social hierarchy, the *isigodlo* did have its own internal social hierarchical system.

This internal social hierarchy affected only the members' relations towards each other, with the rest of the population treating all members of the *isigodlo* equally (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967).

In an interview that James Stuart had with Ndukwana ka Mbengwana, Ndukwana gave the following description of the *isigodlo* and its occupants:

*“Wives in the black isigodlo. Amakosikazi, i.e. mothers of the king, will be in the white isigodlo- all over it. One enters to the right of the isigodlo, looking north. There were screens (isironqa) many of them, strong fencing made of uklele and umnqandane wattles, and with ugagane thorns on top - put there to prevent people from jumping over. The isigodlo of the kwesikulu and the isigodlo of the uhlangoti - over each was an inkosikazi, a mother of the king. The iBeje women of Dingana - isixebe; they wore brass ornaments (itusi). The umndhlunkulu girls who had been sent to the king by great men, with oxen - these gave the king his food. They lived in the black isigodlo, and were isiklebe. These in Dinagan’s day were called iBeje - no name in Mpanda’s reign or Cetshwayo’s. The kwesikulu and uhlangoti sections of the isigodlo would each have and hoe its own gardens. A regiment or section thereof would hoe for the black isigodlo, assisted by girls belonging to the latter. Those girls sent to the king by important men went into the black isigodlo, also any girls of the isizi (plundered) to whom the king took a fancy would go there. The king’s wives are there too, and mothers, whilst other mothers will be in the kwesikulu and uhlangoti sections. The isinceku did not sleep in the isigodlo. Bejane never slept there. The isinceku would sleep outside, but immediately beside, the isigodlo on either side. There were no such things as eunuchs in the isigodlo. Were all amakhanda joined together, the total girls would have equalled a regiment like the udhloka, of about 80 companies....A girl of the mndhlunkulu when married and lobola’d, and when she has gone past childbearing, will often be taken by the king to become an inkosikazi in the isigodlo. She will rank as a mother of the king and not again return to her husband. Her children may visit her and be fed by her in the isigodlo. No labola would be returned. The iBeje women of Dingana’s day wore brass ornament (itusi) round the neck (large neck rings) and arms (like ingxota armbands). In Mapnda’s and Cetshwayo’s time they did not wear brass ornaments. A girl would be taken, and taken to a man, and*

*he would be expected to labola. They were sent to propertied men. A girl might be asked for by her parents from the king and she would be married to a man with cattle. He would labola and the cattle would go to the ikhanda where the girl was taken from.”* (Webb and Wright, 1986:370-371)

The above interview illustrated the three social levels that could be found within the *isigodlo*, namely: the *amakhosikazi*, *umndlunkulu* and the *isigqila*. *Amakhosikazi* can be defined as: “*the principal wife of a chief or headman; applied by courtesy to any one of the chief’s wives*” (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948:405). However, the aunts of the king as well as his father’s wives likewise form part of this group. *Umndlunkulu* is defined as: “*girl or girls of royal blood*” and “*Maid or maids of honour in a royal household, sent to the king as tribute by prominent tribal headmen, and waiting on the king’s wives, until married with the king’s permission to some high office*” (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948:541) and *isigqila* as: “*Female servant, menial, female household slave (girls originally without responsible relatives)*” (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948:263). An interesting feature of the social organisation of the *isigodlo* is that an *umndlunkulu* woman that could no longer bear children could be elevated in statutes to that of the *amakhosikazi*. Gardiner provided a description of not only the nature of the *amakhosikazi*, but also what their function was within the larger *ibutho* system. In his account, Gardiner stated:

*“The appellation Incosa-casi [inkhosikazi] (literally female chief) is applied to all the women of high rank , many of whom, from their practice of polygamy, are to be met with in every part of the country. These, as well as the immediate relations of the king, are generally placed as pensioners, one or two together, in the different military towns where they preside and are particularly charged with the distribution of provisions.”* (Gardiner, 1966:146)

It can therefore be seen that the *amakhosikazi* had the same power and social standing of an *induna*, and was responsible for the *isigodlo* and all the activities that the *isigodlo* performed (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Bourquin, 1986; Merrett, 1995). There seems to be some disagreement within the historical accounts

as to the precise nature of the responsibilities of the *amakhosikazi* within the *isigodlo*. Some sources like Ross (Grey, 1992) state that they did not have any duties and that these duties fell to the under-wives, or the *umndlunkulu*. Others like Owen, Champion and Barter stated that they were responsible for the brewing of beer and cooking for the king, as well as cultivating the king's fields (often called gardens in the historical and ethnographical accounts) (Cory, 1926; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1976; Merrett, 1995). This conflicting perception towards the roles of the *amakhosikazi* may possibly be attributed to the fact that the social ranking of the *isigodlo* was not prevalent outside of the *isigodlo*, and as such it was not easy for the Europeans and informants to distinguish between the different members of the *isigodlo*. When reading the interviews recorded by James Stuart, it is clear that the majority of informants did not make a distinction between the different members of the *isigodlo*, referring primarily to them in a collective term as *umndlunkulu*. If one considers the role of the *umndlunkulu* it is easy to understand the difficulty in distinguishing between these two groups.

The *umndlunkulu* constituted the largest portion of the women that inhabited the *isigodlo*. The *umndlunkulu* girls were all the women that were selected throughout the kingdom for the *isigodlo*, similarly called the king's women, as well as the king's biological daughters (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1976; Bourquin, 1986; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). It is interesting to note that although the wives of the king were called *umndlunkulu* in the earlier accounts of Fynn (Stuart and Malcolm, 1986), Isaacs (Isaacs, 1970) and Ross (Grey, 1992), they are called the *amakhosikazi* in the later account of Gardiner (Gardiner, 1966), Champion (Booth, 1967) and Barter (Merrett, 1995). Yet the concubines remained part of the *umndlunkulu*, and were never referred to as forming part of the *amakhosikazi*. A possible explanation for this could be that since Shaka (visited by Fynn, Isaacs and Ross) did not have any wives, the first Europeans mistook the concubines as being the wives of the king, with later Europeans such as Gardiner and Champion having an improved understanding of Zulu customs. Therefore, these later Europeans knew the difference between the concubines and the *amakhosikazi*, and as such mentioned them in their correct context. When considering the nature of concubines and wives,

it is not surprising that the concubines never formed part of the *amakhosikazi*, due to the large degree of power and influence the *amakhosikazi* had. Despite these differences in social and political standing between the *umndlunkulu* and *amakhosikazi*, their daily functions appeared to have been similar. Both were responsible for attending to the needs of the king as well as cultivating his fields (Bourquin, 1986; Webb and Wright, 1979). This similarity of responsibilities would have made differentiating between the two groups even more difficult, which further explains the use of the term *umndlunkulu* for both groups.

The *isigqila* made up the numbers of the remainder of the *isigodlo* women and constituted the lowest social level of the *isigodlo* (Webb and Wright, 1986). Although part of the *isigodlo*, the responsibilities and nature of the *isigqila* separated them from the rest of the *isigodlo*. Mkando ka Dlova, interviewed by James Stuart, provided a clear description of the nature of the *isigqila*. He stated that:

*“Nothing in the way of slavery as ordinarily understood used to go on among the Zulu people. There were, however, what were known as the isigqila i.e. maidservants. The isigqila were attached to the mndhlunkulu [umndlunkulu] and were daughters of men who had been for some reason killed off by the kings’ orders. Children of such men were called isizi, and became isigqila at one or other of the royal kraals...As regarding duties, the maidservants were well treated; they might go and cultivate with the other girls in the gardens [farming fields], they fetched water, gathered firewood, cooked and had also to empty the chamber pots used by the princesses and other girls of high position. Mkando saw isigqila at Mgungundlovu.”*  
(Webb and Wright, 1982:162)

It is therefore clear that the role of the *isigqila* was to tend to the needs and comforts of the rest of the women of the *isigodlo*. These women ranged in age from being very young to very old. Furthermore, the fact that they were orphans in the sense that they had no guardians looking after them, or that their guardians were killed by order of the king, explains why these women formed the lowest level of the *isigodlo*. One can argue that since the other women were chosen to be part of the *isigodlo*, and

often came from important family lineages, they would automatically see themselves as being of higher status than these “orphans” whose fathers either angered the king or who died for other reasons. Although such a social hierarchy existed within the *isigodlo*, it should be remembered that there was very little to no physical indications of this social hierarchy. Mkando further explains this aspect of the *isigodlo* when he states:

*“Any isigqila married from the mndhlunkulu carried with her no sense of social inferiority; rather she was regarded as of a higher standing than before because coming from the king’s mndhlunkulu. The king of course received her lobala....Izigqila could not be distinguished from other girls of the mndhlunkulu by their dress or any other mark about them, only by their general demeanour and by the character of duties they had to perform.”* (Webb and Wright, 1982:164)

It is clear from the accounts of Gardiner (1966), Owen (Cory, 1926) and Champion (Booth, 1967) that this social system existed within the *isigodlo* of Dingane ka Senzangakona during the last part of his reign (1836-1838). It is possible that the earlier account of Isaacs, Fynn and Ross, which dates to 1826-1828, did not witness this system as a result of it not existing during Shaka ka Senzangakona’s reign. Nevertheless, due to the large correlations that existed between all the other aspects of the *ibutho* system, as well as the *ikhanda* settlement organisation, this would be strange. The most likely explanation is that the first European visitors to the *amakhanda* did not recognise these differences, and thus grouped all the women together as the king’s wives. A few men did live within the *isigodlo* and were called the *isinceku* (Webb and Wright, 1976; Bourquin, 1986). These were the man servants and messengers of the king. The king’s body servant had a hut within the king’s section of the black *isigodlo* (Bourquin, 1986) whereas the rest of the *isinceku* slept outside the huts of the women of the *isigodlo* (Webb and Wright, 1976).

There were, however, two ways in which women of the *isigodlo* could be distinguished from others in the settlement. All the women of the *isigodlo* wore beads with specific colours of beads reserved for only their use (Drummond, 1875; Cory,



1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). The colours that were reserved did not remain constant, with change being apparent from the reign of Shaka, through to Dingane and eventually Mpanda's reign. Despite these differences, green, yellow and red seemed to have been reserved for the use by the king and *isigodlo* women (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). Likewise, the dresses worn by the *isigodlo* incorporated a large amount of beads into the design, as can be seen in the following extract from Gardiner's account:

*"I admired the arrangement of beads, with which they were literally covered, they were ordered to advance in files, and approached nearer, that their dress may be inspected. They proved to be no other than the king's women, about 90 in number, decorated as they usually are previous to the army taking the field. Their faces were veiled with pendants of beads, with which also the petticoat was covered, forming an elegant checked pattern, while their throats and arms were adorned with large brass rings. Some wore short cloaks also covered with different coloured beads..."*  
(Gardiner, 1966:39)

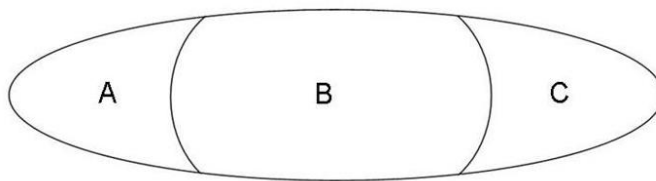
This large scale use of beads would therefore make the identification of the *isigodlo* within the archaeological matrix easier, as its concentration in such areas would assumingly be higher than the rest of the settlement (Parkington and Cronin, 1979). Bead colour preferences may also aid in the identification of the *isigodlo* and king's area. The presence of brass may also help to identify the presence of an *isigodlo*. This assumption is based on the fact that brass was only worn by those granted permission to do so by the king. This permission was usually only granted to persons of high standing, typically those associated with the *isigodlo*. The accounts of Gardiner, Owen and Champion (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967) confirmed that the *isigodlo* women were known for their brass adornments. Therefore the presence of brass, especially in association with high concentrations of beads, may pinpoint the location and presence of an *isigodlo*.

#### Physical organisation

As mentioned previously the women of the *isigodlo* (Fig. 19) would have been treated similarly to those people of less superior social standing. Although this was

the case, social divide and hierarchy were present within the *isigodlo* itself. This hierarchical system could to some extent be seen within the structural organisation of the *isigodlo*. The following two interviews recorded by James Stuart illustrate the layout of the *isigodlo*.

*“There was a white and a black isigodlo. The former bordered on the huts of the other inhabitants. The arrangement was:*



*A and C were the white isigodlo; B was the black. The black used to be occupied by the king and the [selected] amakosikazi. The white isigodlo’s were each presided over by amakosikazi, the ‘mothers’ of the king. The girls all slept in the white isigodlo. In the black used to sleep not only the amakosikazi, but umndhlunkulu, that is, the girls who carries the king’s food, his meat, milk vessels and beer, used to be kept in the huts of the girls, not in the huts of the amakosikazi.” (Webb and Wright, 1976:44-45)*

*“The isigodlo enclosure was always at the upper end of the kraal [homestead] and always fenced in. There was a white section of the isigodlo, where the indhlunkulu [umndhlunkulu] women were, and a black section where the king was.” (Webb and Wright, 1986:347)*

Referring back to the two above-mentioned quotes the *isigodlo* can be divided into two sections; the black (*isigodlo esimnyama*; no. 2a and 2b on figure. 20) and the white (*isigodlo esimhlope*; no. 1) (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Webb and Wright, 1979; Bourquin, 1986;

Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Webb and Wright, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). The black *isigodlo* could be subdivided into two sections; the section which housed the *amakhosikazi* (no. 2b) and the kings section (2a). The white *isigodlo* housed both the *umndlunkulu* and *isigaba* women; nonetheless, during the reigns of Shaka and Dingane (1818-1838) the favourite concubines of the king would inhabit the black *isigodlo* (nr. 2b), although they were not seen as being *amakhosikazi*. Each of these sections was further divided into small subsections, triangular in shape and containing between three and six huts (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Webb and Wright, 1979; Bourquin, 1986; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Webb and Wright, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). These compartments were separated from each other by a fence (1.2m to 1.8m high), which typically separated the black and white *isigodlo* from each other. The size of the *isigodlo* could vary between 365m and 548m in length, and 54m and 182m in width (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Bourquin, 1986; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). This large variation in size may have indicated that there was no standard size for the *isigodlo* section, but rather that the size depended on situational requirements. Despite the large variation in physical size of the *isigodlo*, the accounts agreed to the number of women who were part of the *isigodlo*; with 400-600 living in the capital and 20-60 at the divisional *ikhanda* (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). The women living at the capital could be divided into 70-150 *amakhosikazi*, with the remaining women being *umndlunkulu* and *isigqila*. Only two *amakhosikazi* would be present at any other *ikhanda*. Catherine Barter (Merrett, 1995) mentioned that there were twenty *amakhosikazi* present at the one *ikhanda* she visited. This high number of *amakhosikazi* is most probably a result of Barter not being able to distinguish between the different members of the *isigodlo* (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). Little information is available for the *isigodlo* of the regimental *ikhanda*; nevertheless, due to the temporary nature of these settlements it is likely that they did not have an *isigodlo* physically located at the settlement. If an *isigodlo* was present, it would most probably have been smaller than that of the divisional *ikhanda*.

As is a common feature of any settlement where one section was reserved for members of a higher social standing, the construction of huts within these sections would have reflect the social standing of the individual inhabiting it. A common feature of an *ikhanda* is the uniformity of the hut design and size. This practice could clearly be seen in the construction of the huts within the white *isigodlo* and the regimental section; all of which presented with similar designs and sizes. Members of the black *isigodlo*, on the other hand, portrayed their social distinctiveness through their individually stylised hut designs; visually distinct from one another and the seemingly uniform huts associated with the white *isigodlo* and regimental section (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). An interesting feature of the black *isigodlo* is that the section in which the king lived was sectioned off from the rest of the black *isigodlo*, with the king's hut being the largest within the whole settlement. This section was marked by a large open area in front of the king's hut, where he would have held council meetings (with occasional trials) and met with visitors that were in his favour (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). Within the black *isigodlo* a hut called the *eNkateni*, which housed all the sacred artefacts, associated with the king's authority, such as his *inkatha* and the nation's *inklendla* (a ceremonial barbed assegai) could be found (Bourquin, 1986). As would be expected, the king's section of the black *isigodlo* had its own name, called *ilawu*, which means "hut set aside for unmarried men or boys" (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948:451). As the name suggests, this area was used as living quarters for the bachelors, which is strange when considering the nature of the *isigodlo*. However, when one takes into consideration that the first two Zulu kings had never married, its use when describing the living area of the two later married kings is in all likelihood a continuation of the practice descending from the first two kings. Therefore, it was used to refer to the area in which the king lived and not necessarily to his marital status. It is similarly interesting that the *ikhanda* settlement variation found among the Swazi shared the same name, *lilawu*, which also means bachelors area (Kuper, 1961).

The *isigodlo* could almost be regarded as a settlement within a settlement; a view strengthened by the presence of guard huts at the entrances to the *isigodlo*. They were sometimes called *janissaries* by European visitors (Booth, 1967) in reference to the guards of the Arabic Sultans' harems, a way in which most of the Europeans sought to interpret the *isigodlo* (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Merrett, 1995). Stationed at the entrances, the function of these guards was twofold. Girls of the *isigodlo* were only allowed to leave the *isigodlo* when doing chores and as such had to return to the *isigodlo* every night. Therefore, the function of the *isigodlo* guards was to ensure that the women remained in the *isigodlo* and that no unauthorised person entered. Entering and exiting the *isigodlo* was only by royal permission and any violation of this rule, either from a visitor or a member of the *isigodlo*, was always punishable by death (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Bourquin, 1986). Lastly, a portion of the upper large central cattle enclosure also formed part of the *isigodlo*. In this section the calves had a separate enclosure (no.4) with the king having a small enclosure area (no.3) where he bathed and sometimes held meetings (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967).

A final aspect that should be remembered when reconstructing the hut placement pattern within the *isigodlo* is that not all the huts located there were lived in huts. There were a number of kitchen and storage huts (with the king having his own as well) along with shield huts located throughout the *isigodlo*. Shield huts were also found throughout the rest of the settlement (Owen, 1926). The presence of these huts within the settlement should be considered when viewing the population estimates given by European visitors. These visitors often used the amount of huts located within the settlement to determine the settlements' population size. Unfortunately, it is not always clear whether or not they were able to distinguish between the different types of huts. This may account for the (often drastic) discrepancies in the population estimates given for the same settlements.

An interesting feature found only within the black *isigodlo* of Ondini, Cetshwayo's *ikhanda*, was a square four room brick structure (Bourquin, 1986; Van Schalkwyk, 1999). It was called the *indlu mnyoma* (black house) and served as living quarters and meeting place for the king, eventhough he still had his private hut as well. Within

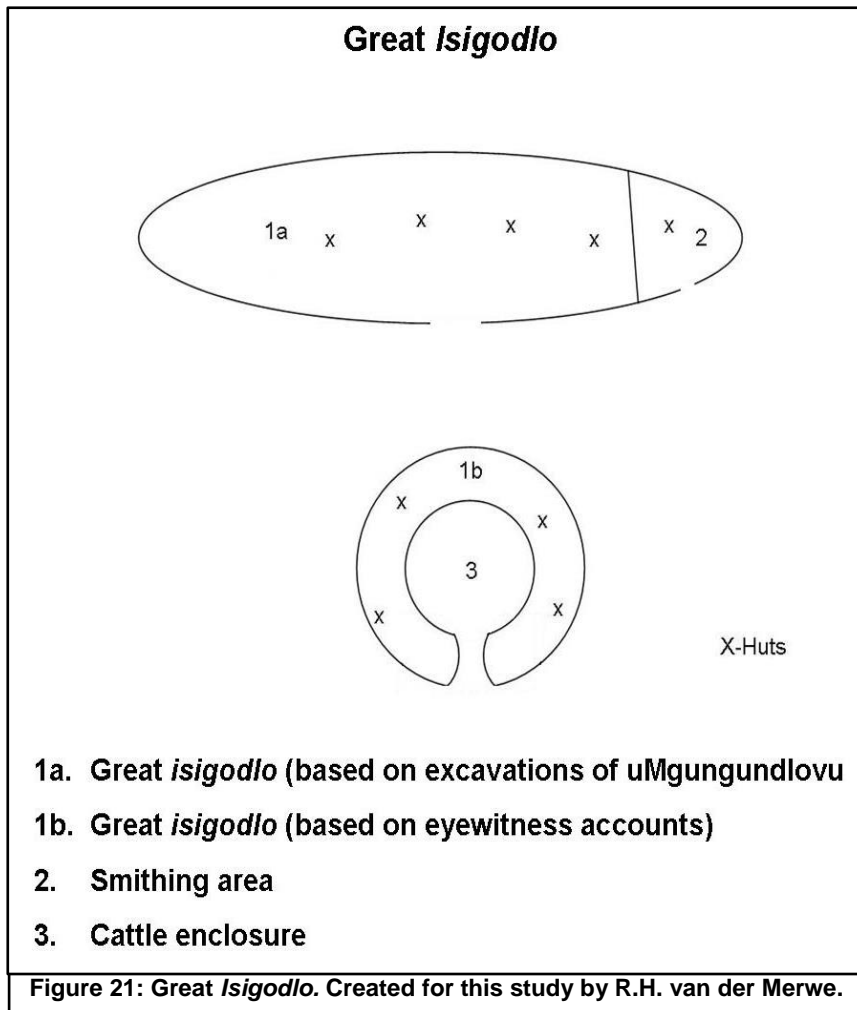
the black *isigodlo* lived two *amakhosikazi* who had the keys to the building and were called the keepers of the keys (Bourquin, 1986). This illustrates how the Zulu started to incorporate western architecture into their own settlement construction.

### 8.2.2 Great Isigodlo

The presence of the great *isigodlo* (Fig. 21) was the most distinguishing feature of the *ikhanda* settlement. Unfortunately, it was only found at royal *amakhanda* and is therefore of limited use in identifying these settlements. Always treated as an oddity found at the two excavated *ikhanda* settlements of uMgungundlovu and Ondini, the great *isigodlo* is a critical component of royal authority. One of the main reasons for the great *isigodlo* being omitted as forming part of the settlement was due to the fact that *amakhanda* were routinely interpreted along the lines of the CCP model, which did not make provision for structures outside of the settlement outer fence. Therefore, structures associated with the great *isigodlo* were treated as being CCP settlements in their own right, with unexplained proximity to the capitals. It is clear from the historical and ethnographical sources that the great *isigodlo* was not just a structural feature found at all royal *ikhanda*, but actually played an important role in the execution of royal authority and prestige. Baleni ka Silwana (interviewed by James Stuart) showed the wide spread nature of the great *isigodlo* when he stated:

*“Cetshwayo’s great kraal was Ondini. Cetshwayo had small kraals, like Mapotweni (outside and above his main kraal). That at Qwageni was called Zinhlendhleni. There was another called Zinkimbini at Ondini, another was Nketa at Ba bangibane; another was Maqeleni at Ndasi; another was Madonovaneni at Buseni. These small kraals were attached to Cetshwayo’s kraals ....There were no more than two of these kraals attached to any settlement”* (Webb and Wright, 1976:24)

This extract provided a number of important facts related to the importance and nature of the great *isigodlo*. Firstly, each great *isigodlo* had its own name, like Beje and eNgome at uMgungundlovu.



Unfortunately, some of these kraals were named after other *amakhanda*, such as Dukuza, which had led to some confusion within the accounts. Secondly, it is clear that there were a number of these great *isigodlo* throughout the kingdom, which was supported by other interviews held by James Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1976). Thirdly, each *ikhanda* had a minimum of two great *isigodlo* attached to the settlement, with some such as uMgungundlovu having three. It does appear though, when reading the ethnographic accounts, that it was customary to refer to the great *isigodlo* as the Beje. Beje was thus a term also used when referring to the great *isigodlo* as a whole and not just to the specific great *isigodlo* located at uMgungundlovu. From the historical and ethnographical accounts it is clear that all the Zulu capitals had great *isigodlo* attached to them, as well as some important non-capital royal *amakhanda* such as Congella (Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1976; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Webb and Wright, 1982; Rawlinson, 1985; Merrett, 1995; Knight, 1995; Van Schalkwyk, 1999).

Although James Stuart did provide us with a long list of *amakhanda* that had great *isigodlo* attached to them, determining their exact nature at first seemed difficult. This is due to the ethnographic and historic accounts providing only a partial description of the functions of these great *isigodlo*. From the ethnographic accounts it is clear that these areas were used for a form of initiation (Webb and Wright, 1976; Roodt, 1992) as well as childbirth (Webb and Wright, 1976). It was also used to keep cattle and store grain, which was primarily used for the king's consumption. Lastly, Champion stated that smithing occurred at these great *isigodlo*, which is supported by the excavations of Parkington and Cronin (1979), Rawlinson (1985) and Roodt (1993), with Owen (Cory, 1926) and Champion (Booth, 1967), correspondingly mentioning shield production as part of the great *isigodlo*'s activities. From all the available information it is clear that all these activities occurred at these great *isigodlo*, and from ethnographic and historical accounts it becomes apparent that they occurred simultaneously. This does provide some difficulty in determining the nature and function of the great *isigodlo* since some of these activities, such as initiation, childbirth and smithing, had many taboos associated with them (Mitchell, 2002; Huffman, 2007) and finding them being practised next to each other is unusual.

Fortunately, Holden (1963a; 1963b) provided us with a sketch (Fig. 22) and a detailed description of uMgungundlovu, which solved the conflicting nature of the great *isigodlo*. What makes this sketch important is that when it is compared with the excavations done by Parkington and Cronin (1979), the two match each other perfectly. Viewing Holden's sketch from left to right, Parkington and Cronin found evidence of a midden in an area that can be matched with the far left great *isigodlo* on Holden's sketch, which he stated was where the cattle were kept. In the middle great *isigodlo*, Parkington and Cronin (1979) and Roodt (1992) found evidence of initiation and smithing, which Holden stated was where the women of the *isigodlo* lived. Lastly, Parkington and Cronin (1979) found grain pits in the area that could be matched with the far right great *isigodlo*, which Holden stated was used for storing grain (Holden, 1963a; Parkington and Cronin, 1979). It therefore seems that each of the different functions associated with the great *isigodlo* was actually divided in space by three different enclosures.



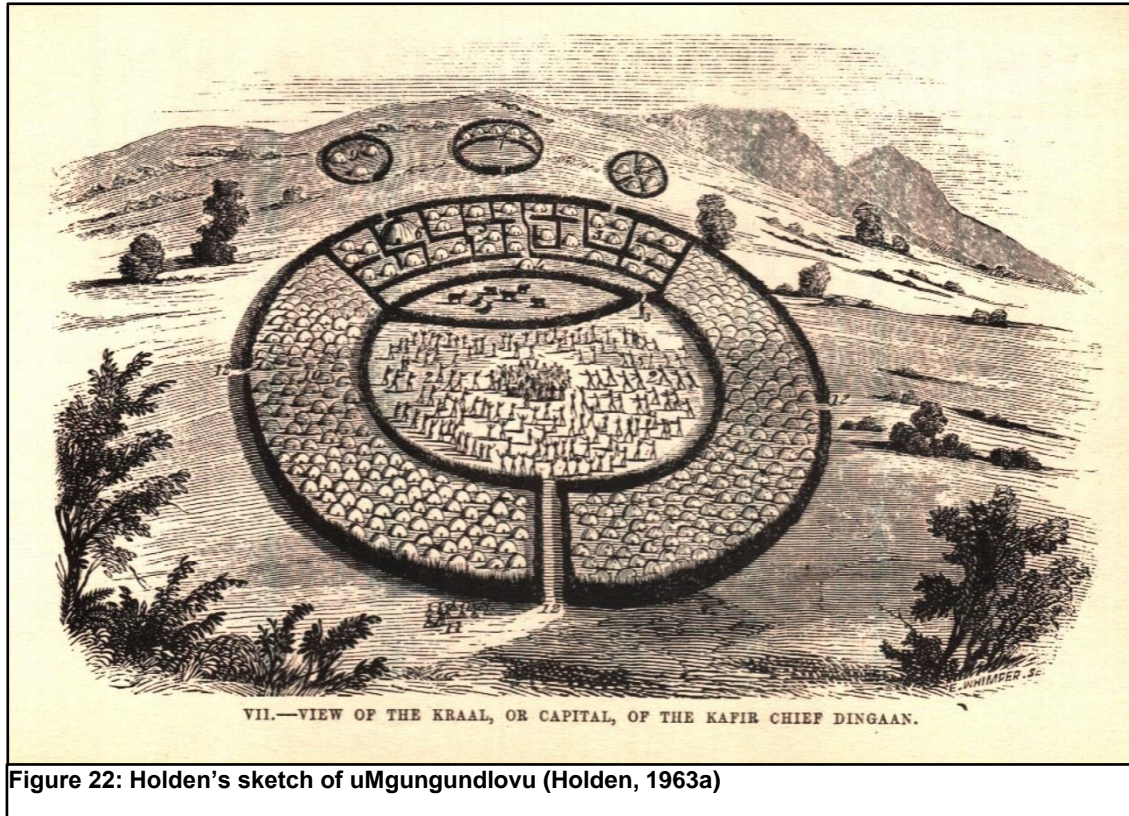


Figure 22: Holden's sketch of uMgungundlovu (Holden, 1963a)

However, it is still very unusual to find an initiation and childbirth area right next to an area used for smithing, as was found in the middle great *isigodlo* by Roodt (1992 & 1993). The exact nature and function of the great *isigodlo* has remained unclear. Roodt was able to show that initiation ceremonies did occur in the central great *isigodlo*. By combining the sketch of Holden (1963a) with the ethnographic record the functions of the other two great *isigodlo* can now also be determined. Numerous references were made within the ethnography to cattle being housed in these areas. The midden found by Parkington and Cronin (1979) supported the placement of the cattle in the great *isigodlo* as illustrated by Holden (1963a). According to the James Stuart Archives, the king's grain was also stored within the great *isigodlo*. This could be corroborated with the grain bins located at the third great *isigodlo* by Parkington and Cronin (1979). From the ethnographic accounts it is clear that amakhanda had multiple great *isigodlo*. However, when discussing their function the impression was given that these functions were associated with each individual great *isigodlo*. It is now possible to show that each of the great *isigodlo* was associated with either one of these functions. It is possible that if only one great *isigodlo* was present at an *ikhanda*, it would have been used for all these functions. This seems unlikely though

due to the ethnographic account mentioning that there were always at least two great *isigodlo* present at an *ikhanda*. In the case where only two great *isigodlo* were present, these functional would most likely have been divided into initiation and smithing at one and cattle and grain storage at the other. It is known that cattle and grain were most often kept within the same enclosures at *umuzi* and as such it is likely that this practice would have been continued at the great *isigodlo*. Initiation and smithing were combined in the same great *isigodlo* at uMgungundlovu and Ondini. This may indicate common a practice of combining these two functions. It therefore appears that this was the most likely grouping of the great *isigodlo*'s functions.

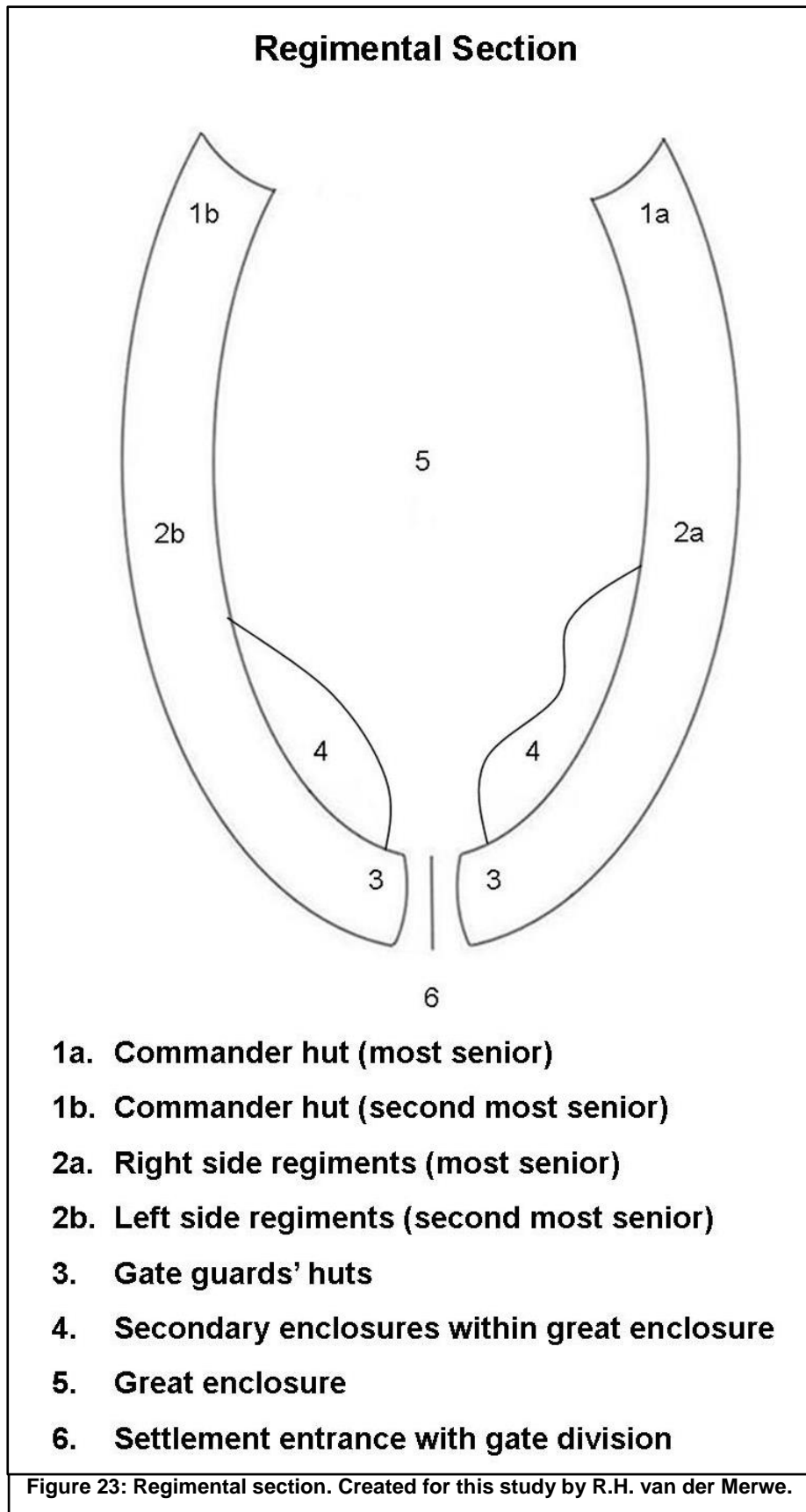
To conclude, the great *isigodlo* seemed to have had four main functions. These included the practice of initiation rites, smithing and the storage of cattle and grain. Depending on how many great *isigodlo* were present at a royal *ikhanda*, enclosures could have had multiple functions. In cases where royal *ikhanda* only had two great *isigodlo*'s associated with them, enclosure one would have been used for initiation ceremonies as well as smithing, whereas enclosure two would have been used to store grain and cattle. In cases where royal *ikhanda* had three enclosures, initiation and smithing activities would still have been conducted in the same enclosure, with cattle herding and grain storage each being given its own enclosure.

At first glance the physical organisation of the great *isigodlo* (Fig. 21) seems to be as confusing as its *function*. Excavations of uMgungundlovu (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Roodt, 1992) indicated that the great *isigodlo* had a linear construction pattern, whereas sketches of uMgungundlovu and Congella provided by Gardiner indicated a circular pattern. The latter was also supported by ethnographic accounts mentioning the presence of cattle at the great *isigodlo*. The keeping of cattle would therefore have required circular instead of linear structures. Again, when examining the sketch provided by Holden (1963a) this conflicting organisation pattern can be clearly explained. Holden showed that the great *isigodlo*, where the initiation rituals and childbirth occurred, had a linear hut placement, as was also supported by the excavations of Parkington and Cronin (1979). This central great *isigodlo* was also shown as having a small enclosure in front of the huts, giving it a linear hut

placement with an overall circular form. Furthermore, Holden showed that the other two great *isigodlo* were circular in construction, which supported the sketches of Gardiner (1966) as well as the accounts in the ethnographic record. It is therefore clear that the great *isigodlo*, used to house the members of the *isigodlo*, would have followed a linear hut placement whereas the great *isigodlo*'s used for cattle and grain storage would have followed a circular pattern.

### 8.2.3 Regimental sections

The last section of the *ikhanda* that needs to be examined is the regimental section (Fig. 23), which included the main cattle enclosure. This section constituted two thirds of the settlement and housed the bulk of the population. It can be divided into two sections; the large central enclosure and the residential section located on the two flanks of the settlement (no. 2a and 2b in figure 23). The central enclosure had two main functions which were to house cattle as well as acting as a parade ground and gathering area for the soldiers. Great dances and national festivals were also held within the central enclosure (Durmond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). As can be seen in figure 23, the *ikhanda* was characterised by a large centrally located cattle enclosure (no. 5) with a double gate (no. 6), which was flanked on both sides with smaller secondary enclosures near the entrance (no. 4). The size of this central enclosure would have depended on the type of *ikhanda*, with divisional and regimental *amakhanda* having smaller enclosures. In the case of divisional and regimental *ikhanda*, the central enclosure may not have had secondary enclosures located at the entrance. Unlike the central enclosure of an *umuzi*, the central enclosure of an *ikhanda* differed in one important aspect. Within an *umuzi*, the cattle were not sub-divided into different groups as was the case with *ikhanda*. Due to the large amount of cattle kept at royal *ikhanda* there was not enough space for all of them in the secondary enclosures. As a result, the cattle were kept in the open area of the large central enclosure. The cattle were organised according to colour, with each group having its own designated area. Since the large central enclosure also served as the parade area, it was not possible for more enclosures to be constructed within the large central enclosure. For this reason these areas can only be identified by the accumulation of dung.



Sheep and goats, on the other hand, were only kept at specific settlements, such as Noyenda (Webb and Wright, 1979:93). At other *ikhanda* settlements sheep and goats were generally consumed on the same day they arrived (Webb and Wright, 1979). Since sheep/goats were only kept at certain *ikhanda*, they formed a small part of the general *amabutho* diet (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1976; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Webb and Wright, 1986).

As mentioned in section 8.2.1 the upper end of the central enclosure was associated with the *isigodlo*. Within this upper area an enclosure was constructed in which the calves were kept. Even though this upper enclosure was structurally situated within the great enclosure it was regarded as being part of the *isigodlo*. Lunguza ka Mpuwane illustrated the dual functionality of the central enclosure when he stated:

*“There were two big gates at the bottom end of Mgungundlovu....companies of men dashing in and proceeding up on one side or the other of the great enclosure. There were imivalasangwana or gatekeepers....There were two for each gate....The cattle were kept apart in the great enclosure, in different parts of it. Each lot had its own place, marked by an accumulation of dung, and got accustomed to it. No-one made his way through the cattle or disturbed them....The herds were called izikuza; there were many of these. They slept at the gate, both sides.”* (Webb and Wright, 1976:311)

In his statement, Lunguza mentioned the gatekeepers (no. 3), who were found at every *ikhanda*. The gatekeepers' huts were constructed on either side of the main entrance of the settlement. It can therefore be seen that two types of guards existed at *amakhanda*; the *isigodlo* guards and the gatekeepers. The gatekeepers should not be confused with the *isigodlo* guards. *Isigodlo* guards were stationed at the entrance to the *isigodlo* and their main responsibility was to keep the women in and the men out. On the other hand, the gatekeepers' responsibility was to open and close the gates of the settlement each day and notify the king/induna when visitors arrived. Visitors always waited at the gatekeepers' huts until they were allowed to enter the settlement. It can therefore be argued that these gatekeepers' function was to receive visitors and to announce them to the king/induna rather than to protect the settlement. The settlement's security was the responsibility of every soldier present

at the *ikhanda* (Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Webb and Wright, 1976; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992).

As with the *umuzi*, the *ikhanda* had both an outer and inner fence, with the huts located in between these two fences (no. 2a and 2b). The huts were arranged in rows starting from the *isigodlo* and moving down the sides to the main entrance of the settlement. The regiments were divided into those housed on the left side and the others on the right. Superiority was shown from right to left. The areas in which the regiments resided were called *isigaba* (Webb and Wright, 1982) meaning “sections or portions divided off from the whole” (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948:224). Both the right and left sides had their own commanders (no. 1a and 1b), with the right side again being more superior to the left. These commanders’ huts were located at the top of the settlement, near the *isigodlo*, and were not part of the *isigodlo* itself. There was no standard practice with regards to the amount of regiments stationed at each *ikhanda*, however the capital would have had the largest amount of regiments whereas the regimental *amakhanda* would have had the least (Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Webb and Wright, 1976; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992).

The historical and ethnographic sources agree that the main entrance to these settlements was not the only entrance that existed. Every *ikhanda* had multiple smaller entrances. These entrances allowed access from the living area to either the central enclosure or to the exterior of the settlement. It was considered a great social offence for visitors and foreigners to use any of these entrances, as people from the outside were expected to use only the main entrance (Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Webb and Wright, 1976, 1979; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992). Therefore, the primary function of the main entrance was to allow cattle to move to and from the great enclosure as well as to allow regiments access to the great enclosure *en masse*. The soldiers of the *ibutho* often had to enter the central enclosure in formation during festivals or when summoned by the king. As a result, these smaller entrances were too restrictive as the soldiers were not allowed to enter the central enclosure individually.

“Huts at Mgungundlovu were very close up against one another. There were nine rows of them....” (Webb and Wright, 1986:176)

The statement above of Ndabambi ka Sikakana illustrated the general layout of the huts within the regimental sections. These huts were of a standard design and size, with no or very little stylistic differences found between them. As stated above, these huts were located in rows, varying from three to nine per section, with an unspecified amount of huts within each row (Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Webb and Wright, 1976; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Webb and Wright, 1982; Rawlinson, 1985; Webb and Wright, 1986; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Rawlinson, 1987; Grey, 1992, Webb and Wright, 2001). Hut entrances were, not all similar as some would be facing towards the outer fence whereas others would have been facing towards the great enclosure (Webb and Wright, 1976). The number of rows as well as the number of huts within each row would furthermore have varied according to the settlement type and the amount of regiments stationed at the *ikhanda*. In between these lived-in huts one would have found shield huts, storage huts, and occasionally, grain huts (Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992). There was no standard number of huts for the different *ikhanda* varieties. The superiority of a settlement was determined primarily by its commander and not its size, although the larger the *ikhanda* the more likely it was that it had been controlled by someone of high standing. The number of huts located in the regimental and *isigodlo* section most often formed the basis for the estimation of the settlement population. Each hut could hold an average of four to six people. The royal *ikhanda* had an average of 1000 to 1500 huts, which allowed for a population estimate of approximately 5000 people. Divisional *amakhanda*, on the other hand, had around 150-200 huts with an approximate population estimate of 800, whereas regimental *amakhanda* had 20-30 huts providing a population estimate of 120 (Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Norris-Newman, 1988; Grey, 1992, Webb and Wright, 2001).

Population estimates for *amakhanda* should be treated with cautions since there was a difference between the maximum population of the settlement and its daily population. From the historical accounts of Owen, Gardiner and Champion, it is clear that most of the time the greater part of the settlement's population, the *ibutho* soldiers, were not present at the *ikhanda*. At these times, these soldiers were living with their families (as bachelors) in their *umuzi* (this practice was called 'to *konza*', or *to go to their outplaces*, their homes). The only time that the whole regiment would have been present was during national festivals and in preparations for war. Consequently, the population estimates of *amakhanda*, such as those provided for uMgungundlovu and Ondini, which came to around 5000 (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985; Roodt, 1993; Van Schalkwyk, 1999), only indicated the maximum number of people living at the *ikhanda*, not its daily population. Gardiner and Owen estimated that the daily population of uMgungundlovu was closer to 1000, of which 500-600 were made up of the women of the *isigodlo* (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966). Owen noted that at the one national festival he witnessed at uMgungundlovu in 1839, that there were more soldiers there than could be housed in the settlement, and that these soldiers had to camp outside the settlement (Cory, 1926). Similarly, the majority of the descriptions of these *amakhanda* were given during great festivals, such as the first fruit ceremony, when the whole population was present. These accounts did not provide detail of subsequent visits, with only Gardiner, Owen and Champion visiting on a regular basis, and with only Owen living permanently at uMgungundlovu.

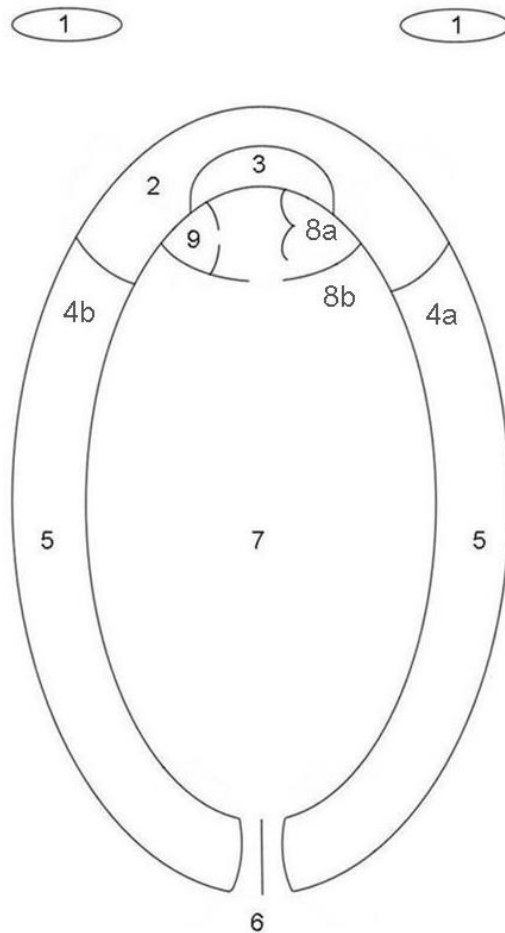
### **8.3 *Ikhanda* settlement variations**

Now that a settlement model has been created for the layout of the *ikhanda*, it is possible to distinguish the different *ikhanda* settlement forms from one another. All three these *ikhanda* had the same basic settlement form, in other words, round/oval, with a central enclosure. Nevertheless, their population composition, density, and function differed from each other. As a result, each settlement variation needs to be discussed individually starting from the largest and most complex (royal *ikhanda*) to the smallest and most simple (regimental *ikhanda*).



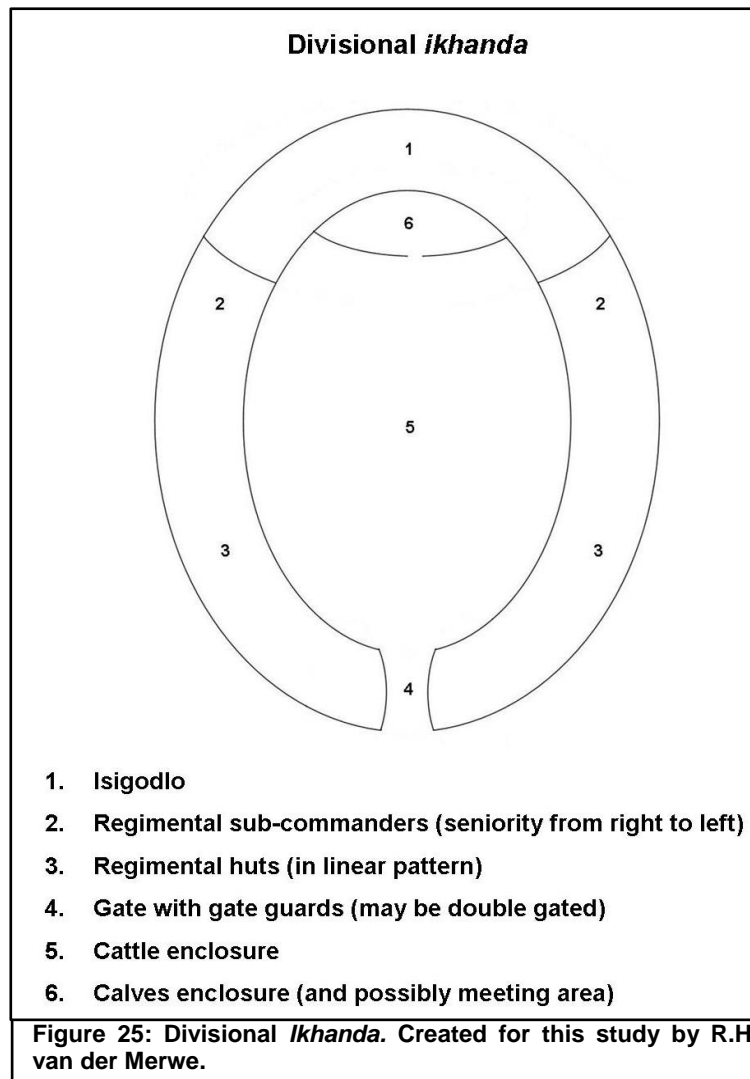
The royal *ikhanda* (Fig. 24), often referred to as the capital, was the largest and most complex of the *ikhanda* settlement variations. Settlements included in this category are uMgungundlovu, Nondwengu, kwaBulawayo, kwaDukuza, Ondini and Congella. Congella was contemporary with uMgungundlovu and was seen as being the second capital of the kingdom, yet was not the permanent residence of the king. The king's permanent residence was always the capital, such as uMgungundlovu. Despite all of these settlements being royal *amakhanda* the residents of the king would always have been the largest, whereas the rest of the royal *amakhanda* would have been similar in size to that of the divisional *ikhanda*. Congella and Intoutella (important divisional *amakhanda*) were estimated as having around 150-300 huts each, significantly smaller than sites such as uMgungundlovu and Ondini (1000-1500 huts; Cory, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Isaacs, 1970; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992, Webb and Wright, 1976). The main difference between the royal *ikhanda* and the divisional *ikhanda* was not its size, but rather the presence of the great *isigodlo*. It is known from historical sources such as Gardiner's accounts that Congella had a great *isigodlo*. Therefore, Congella was a royal *ikhanda* despite being the same size as Intoutella, a divisional *ikhanda* (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966). The ethnographic accounts of Webb and Wright similarly provided a long list of other *amakhanda* that had great *isigodlo* attached to them. These were all settlements that the king would have stayed in, and included Congella in which Dingane stayed every year (Gardiner, 1966). Although the kings could visit and stay in any *ikhanda*, they tended to favour certain ones. Nevertheless, the king was still seen as being symbolically present at all the other *amakhanda*.

## Royal Ikhanda



- 1: Great *isigodlo*
- 2: White *isigodlo*
- 3: Black *isigodlo*
- 4a: Senior *induna's* hut
- 4b: Second most senior *induna's* hut
- 5: Regimental soldiers hut (organised in a linear pattern)
- 6: Double gated with gate guards huts
- 7: Central cattle enclosure (Great enclosure) which may have smaller enclosures within
- 8a: King's bathing and meeting area
- 8b: Secondary area were the king had meetings
- 9: Calves enclosure

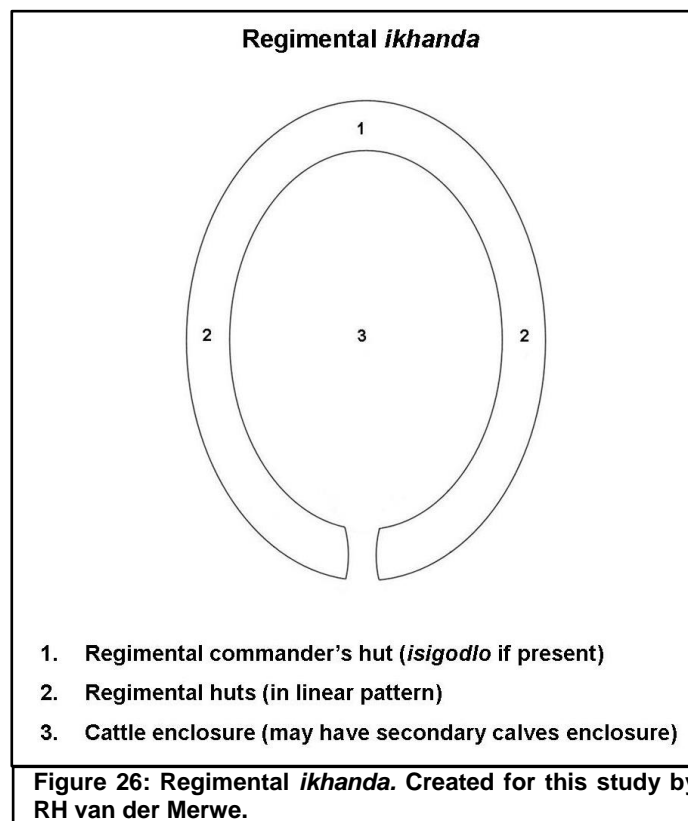
Figure 24: Royal *Ikhanda*. Created for this study by R.H. van der Merwe.



Divisional *amakhanda* (Fig. 25) tended to be smaller than royal *amakhanda*, however, the main distinguishing feature was the absence of a great *isigodlo* at the divisional *ikhanda*. Divisional *amakhanda* had an estimated size of around 1 mile circumference (1.6km) with around 150-300 huts (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Norris-Newman, 1988; Merrett, 1995). Despite this physical means of distinguishing the two settlements from each other, there was also a functional difference. Divisional *ikhanda* were the headquarters of the different regions of the Zulu kingdom, and as such always had both female relatives of the king as well as an *induna* present. The social ranking of the divisional *ikhanda* would therefore have been determined by the social ranking of its leaders, such as the chief *induna* of Dingane who resided at Congella. Congella illustrated that a royal *ikhanda* could also fulfil the role of a divisional *ikhanda*. Nonetheless, a divisional *ikhanda* could not be a royal *ikhanda*. Divisional *amakhanda* were charged with maintaining order among

the regimental *amakhanda* and *umuzi* located in their divisions, as well as ensuring that the king's orders were followed. These settlements had an *isigodlo* attached to them, although it would have been far smaller than the *isigodlo* at the main capital. Divisional *amakhanda* can therefore be seen as divisional headquarters, with the *induna* having absolute authority in the division, second only to the king. No *induna* had authority in another *induna*'s division, unless by order of the king. All aspects regarding laws and foreigners were, however, handled by the king.

Regimental *amakhanda* (Fig. 26) were the most basic in both settlement layout and demographic composition. The regimental *ikhanda* was small, having an estimated circumference of a couple of hundred meters with around 20-30 huts. Although these *amakhanda* may have had an *isigodlo* attached to them, they were generally very small. They would have housed only a couple of women and therefore seldom had an *isigodlo* attached to them. Regimental *amakhanda* were relocated much more often than the royal or divisional *amakhanda*, and would usually have had no more than a few years (mostly one year) of occupation (Merrett, 1995). Therefore, regimental *amakhanda* would have had a very low visibility within the archaeological record.



## 8.4 *Ikhanda* among the northern Nguni

The general layout of the Zulu *ikhanda* had a number of similarities with the systems used by the Ndebele and Swazi. The presence of the *isigodlo*, in one form or another, was found in both the Swazi and Ndebele models. Among the Swazi there was an area at the top of the settlement for the king's family, with the soldiers' barracks on either side and below this area (Kuper, 1952). Among the Swazi, the *ikhanda* was called the *ilawu*, or bachelors' quarters of the king, even if he had children. This referred to the time when he created the *ikhanda* and not to his actual marital status. Among the Zulu, *ilawu* was used only when describing the living area of the king within the *isigodlo*, again not necessarily indicating his marital status. Among the Ndebele the *isigodlo* housed the wives and dependants of the king, and was constructed as a separate settlement within the larger settlement. This was due to the Ndebele using the ward system whereas the Zulu did not. In both the Swazi and Zulu *amakhanda* the *amabutho* huts were placed in rows and were uniformly constructed. However the hut construction of the *isigodlo* seemed to have been different between the Swazi and Zulu.

It can clearly be seen that the presence of the *isigodlo* was one of the most important aspects of the *ikhanda* settlement. As with the *amabutho* system itself, the origins of the *isigodlo* is generally contributed to Shaka. Nevertheless, it is clear that the *amabutho* system predated Shaka. Ethnographic information suggests that Dingiswayo (a contemporary to Shaka but pre-dating the Zulu kingdom) may also have had an *isigodlo* (Webb and Wright, 1986). Furthermore, informants interviewed by James Stuart also mentioned that neighbouring tribes such as the Hlubi did not have *isigodlo*. With other groups such, as the Tulis, they copied the practice from the Zulu (Webb and Wright, 1979).

## 8.5 Conclusion

Traditionally, the *amakhanda* were believed to have resembled the Zulu capitals in form and organisation. Examination of the ethnographical and historical sources has shown that this view was only partially complete. The existence of the great *isigodlo*

at only some *amakhanda*, and the absence of any *isigodlo* at others, illustrated that the layout and organisation of the *amakhanda* was determined by the function it had to perform. Therefore, the traditional *ikhanda* form was modified in order to fulfil the settlement's function. By identifying and highlighting all these factors, this study identified three variations of *ikhanda*, namely the royal, divisional and regimental *ikhanda*; each serving a different function. Furthermore, ethnographic sources indicate that it may be possible that the *ikhanda* settlement form predates the rise of the Zulu kingdom, which in turn will have an impact on how LIA settlements in Kwa-Zulu Natal are studied in the future. Additionally it raises the question as to what extent the CCP model can be used in interpreting these settlements and whether it is possible to distinguish between an *ikhanda* and an *umuzi* archaeologically. Both these questions will be addressed in the next chapter.

## Chapter 9: Discussion

### 9.1 Introduction

Traditionally the *ikhanda* has been viewed as a normal Zulu *umuzi* which was used simply to house the soldiers (*amabutho*) of the kingdom (Omer-Cooper, 1966; Laband, 1995). It is now clear that both the nature and organisation of these settlements differ remarkably. When the archaeological data and structural model, provided in Chapter 7 and 8 respectively, are combined it allows one to determine whether or not it is possible to distinguish *amakhanda* from *umuzi*. A number of aspects have been identified in Chapters 7 and 8 which may be used as categories to identify the different settlement types. Accordingly, this chapter will examine the significance of these differences with regards to the function and nature of these types of settlements. This will be done by comparing the settlement model created in the previous chapter with other non-*ikhanda* settlements excavated within the study area, as examined in Chapter 7. This comparison will take into account aspects such as settlement layout, diet and bead usage. Considering the ongoing debate about the validity of the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) and the nature of Bantu settlements within southern Africa (Hall, 1986; Huffman, 2007; Badenhorst, 2009), the differences found between the *ikhanda* and *umuzi* may also assist us in better understanding Bantu settlements.

### 9.2 Settlement layout

#### 9.2.1 Enclosure size and organisation

Despite the superficial similarities between the *ikhanda* and *umuzi*, closer examination has revealed clear and significant differences between these two. These differences can be seen in the central enclosure, hut layout as well as the fences and walling constructed around the settlement. The most clearly noticeable difference between these two settlement types is their physical size and corresponding difference in population density. Historical sketches, created by Gardiner and Smith (Fig. 27), provided a first-hand view of the *ikhanda* settlement

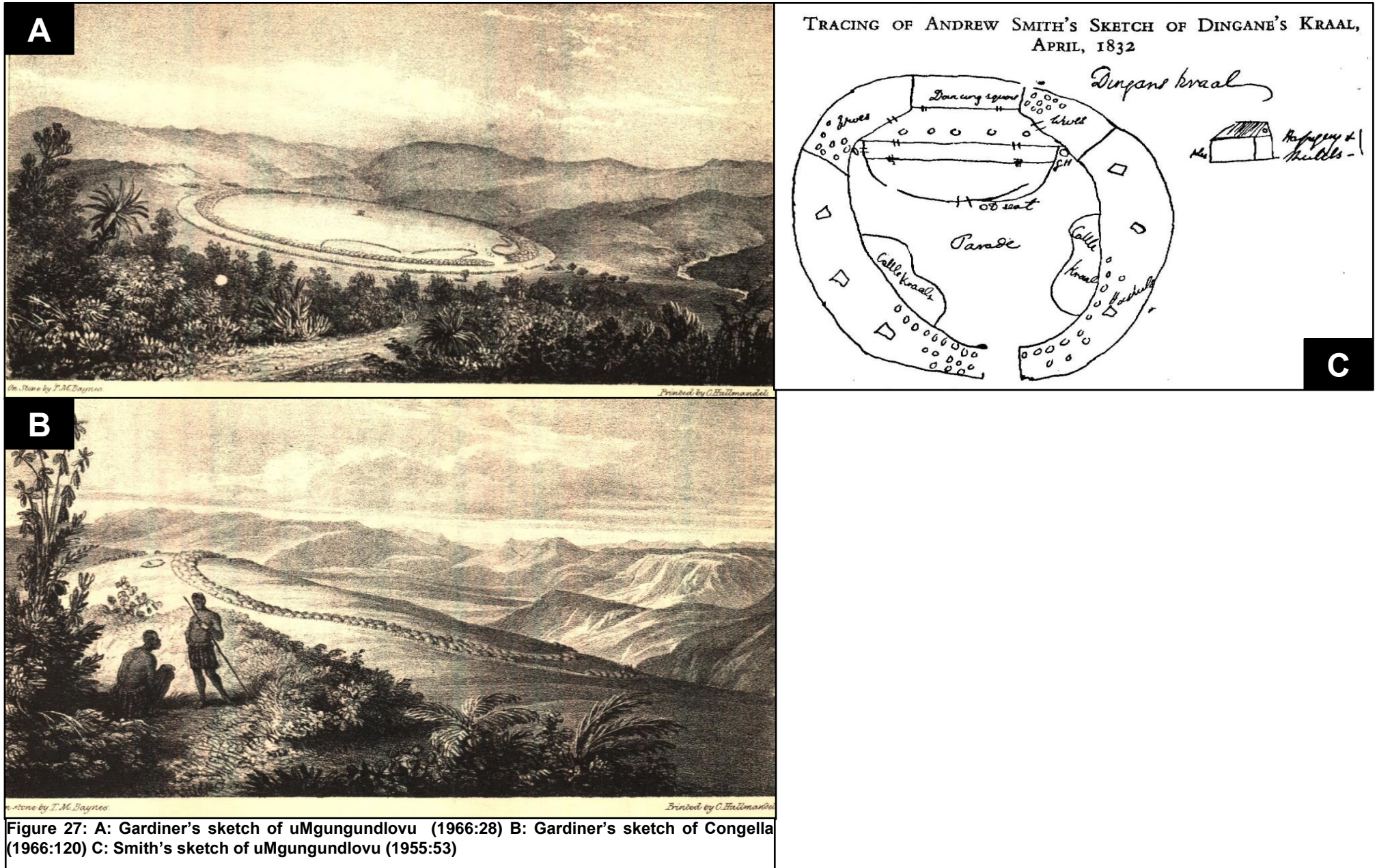


Figure 27: A: Gardiner's sketch of uMgungundlovu (1966:28) B: Gardiner's sketch of Congella (1966:120) C: Smith's sketch of uMgungundlovu (1955:53)



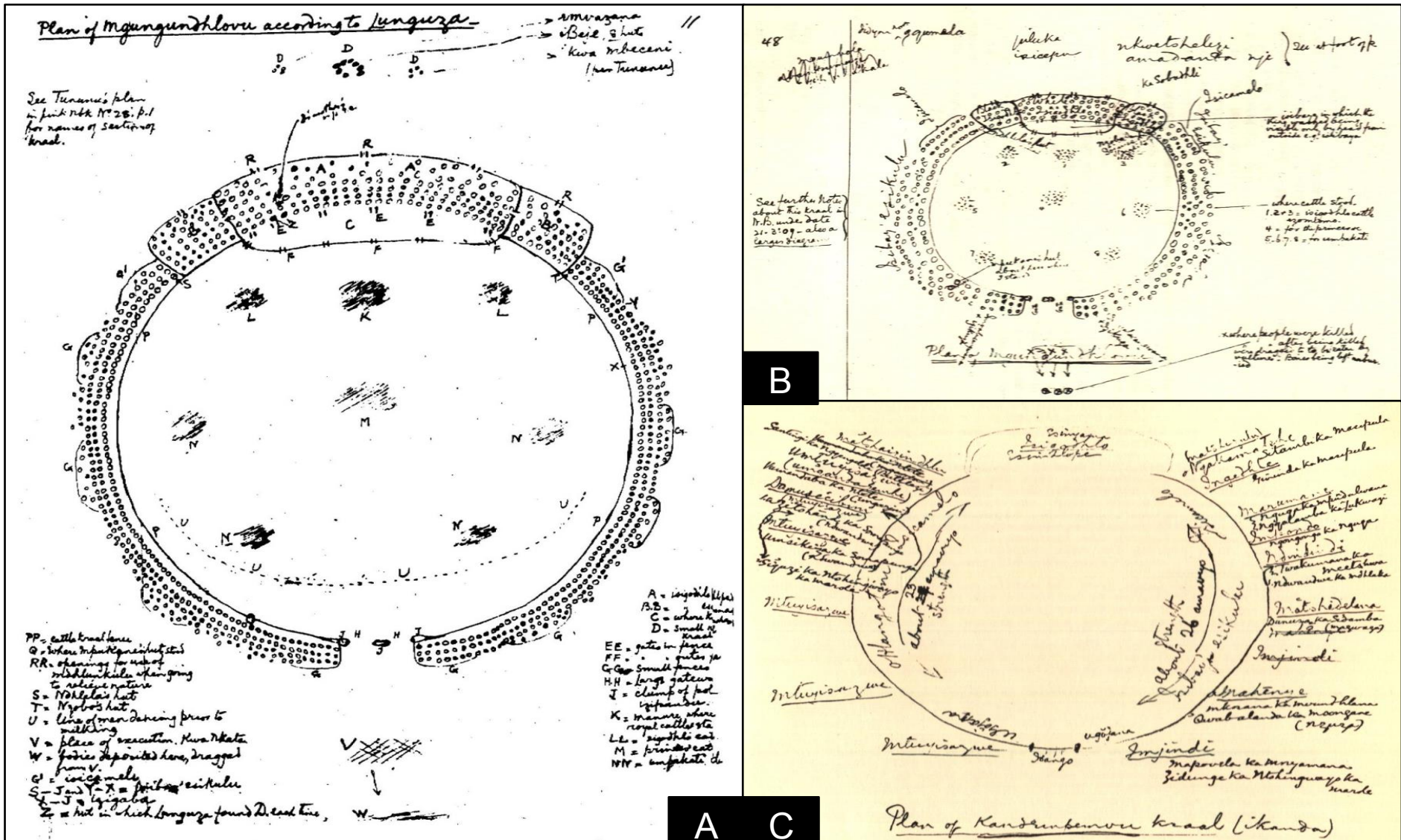


Figure 28: A: Sketch of uMgungundlovu (Webb and Wright, 1976:340) B: Secondary sketch of uMgungundlovu (Webb and Wright, 1976:na) C: Sketch of Kandempemvu ikhanda (Webb and Wright, 1982:85)

with the interviews done by James Stuart providing further diagrams of *ikhanda* (Fig. 28). These 19<sup>th</sup> century sketches and diagrams can be used to compare the findings of the excavations, which will allow for a more detailed reconstruction of the settlement organisation.

Physical size can clearly be estimated in the size of the settlement's central cattle enclosure. Excavations done by Parkington and Cronin (1979) and Rawlinson (1985) of the two Zulu capitals (uMgungundlovu and Ondini) and the survey of kwaBulawayo undertaken by Whitelaw (1994) found that the *ikhanda* had a large central cattle enclosure (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985, Roodt, 1993; Van Schalkwyk, 1999). These enclosures had a diameter of between 200m and 600m. When compared to *umuzi* such as Mgoduyanuka, Nqabeni and Oyengweni excavated by Maggs, (1982), Hall and Maggs (1979) and Pelsler (2013) respectively, there was a clear difference in the sizes of the central enclosure. These settlements' enclosure sizes varied from 10m to 100m, with the average being 30m to 60m. Therefore, it can be seen that the average *umuzi* was still significantly smaller in diameter than the smallest of the excavated *ikhanda*. Due to the extent and clear visibility of the cattle enclosures, they are often far easier to locate than other features such as huts. It would therefore potentially be possible to distinguish an *ikhanda* from an *umuzi* during surveying by determining the extent of the central enclosure.

The size of the central enclosure is, however, not the only discerning factor that can be used to distinguish between an *umuzi* and an *ikhanda*. The central enclosures of the *umuzi* and the *ikhanda* also present with structural differences. For the *umuzi* the central area was divided into multiple enclosures; the centre of which was not necessarily used to house cattle. Hall and Maggs (1979) identified several smaller secondary enclosures surrounding, and attached to, the primary or most centralised enclosure at Nqabeni. These smaller secondary enclosures were used to house cattle, whereas the function of the most centrally located primary enclosure still remains unclear (Hall and Maggs, 1979). When referring to the ethnographic accounts (Krige, 1965; Kuper, 1982), however, it can be assumed that the primary

enclosure was used for gatherings and festivals. Other examples of *umuzi* settlements also presented with multiple enclosures, however these were not organised around the primary enclosure. Sites such as Mgoduyanuka (Maggs, 1982), Siklibeni (Becker, 2008), and the site described as kwaBulawayo by Pelser (2014)<sup>2</sup>, all presented with multiple enclosures. These enclosures seem to be dispersed over the expanse of the site and do not follow any pattern that indicates any association with one another (Maggs, 1982). These *umuzi* also presented with a dispersed hut placement around the enclosures (Hall and Maggs, 1979; Maggs, 1982; Becker, 2008; Pelser, 2014).

This stands in direct contrast to the large central enclosures associated with *amakhandas* (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1987; Roodt, 1993). These central enclosures were further sub-divided into smaller secondary enclosures. However, these secondary enclosures were still situated within the confines of the larger central enclosure (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1987; Roodt, 1993). Hut placement suggested closer proximity to one another and to the central

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<sup>2</sup> Pelser (2014) also found multiple enclosures at the site he believes to be kwaBulawayo. It is however unlikely that the site described by Pelser (2014) is that of kwaBulawayo since the former represents features normally associated with an *umuzi* rather than the classical *ikhanda* features identified in this study. During the surveying done by Pelser (2014) multiple small cattle enclosures were found in close proximity to each other, following roughly a linear pattern. The size of the central enclosure does not seem to fit that of the *ikhanda*. The one found by Pelser (2014) measured to around 30m. Eyewitness accounts such as Fynn (Stuart and Malcom, 1986) and Isaac (Isaacs, 1970) estimated that kwaBulawayo had more than 1000 huts situated between the inner and outer fence (Whitelaw, 1994). As a result, the central enclosure of the settlement would have had to be larger than 30m in order to accommodate a settlement of more than 1000 huts. Furthermore, a large amount of upper and lower grinding stones were found at the site. These were evenly distributed throughout the whole site. Grinding stones were primarily used by women for grinding grains. Within an *ikhanda* the women were restricted to the upper area of the settlement, within the *isigodlo*. Therefore, the grinding stones should be limited to this area since it is known from historical accounts that the soldiers did not grind their own grains, and that women were only allowed to move within the *isigodlo* (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966). When taking into consideration the abovementioned aspects one can assume that the enclosures found by Pelser (2014) is rather representative of an *umuzi* and not an *ikhanda*.

enclosure. These differences can be related to periods of increase conflict associated with 19th century Kwa-Zulu Natal (Laband, 1955; Knight, 1995). This period is marked by an increase in cattle raiding and conquering of neighbouring groups. During this era cattle also became increasingly important, becoming an integral part of chiefs' authority in the newly expanding and centralising chiefdoms (Omer-Cooper, 1966). As a result settlement construction had to be adapted to provide more protection for both the inhabitants and the cattle. These adaptations can clearly be seen in the *ikhanda* settlement form. This new, more centrally focussed settlement organisation additionally allowed the chief to exert greater control over access and use of the cattle; reinforcing the link between cattle and chiefly authority.

It should be noted at this point that all the *umuzi* examined in this study pre-date the rise of the Zulu kingdom. These *umuzi* are believed to have been abandoned by the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century, which indicates that none of them were inhabited during the period of the Zulu kingdom. This has a direct impact on how the CCP model should be used and interpreted within LIA Kwa-Zulu Natal. The CCP model was based on ethnographic and historical studies done on communities that lived after Shaka's wars of expansion (1816-1828) and the establishment of the Zulu kingdom. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a change in the social structures among the northern Nguni, which led to the creation of the Zulu kingdom (Omer-Cooper, 1966). Thus it may be possible that *umuzi* dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and older may not have used the traditional CCP model as it is understood today. A statement made by Ndukwana ka Mbengwana, interviewed by James Stuart in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, may support this view:

*"In the old days, kraals had several cattle enclosures and the cattle belonging to such "villages" were not brought for the night into a single enclosure, but their respective ones. The cattle of each enclosure too grazed apart."* (Webb and Wright, vol4:348)

The multiple cattle enclosures found at Mgoduyanuka, Nqabeni and Siklibeni illustrate that the construction of one central enclosure was not always practised. When considering the close relationship between political authority and settlement

construction in 19<sup>th</sup> century Kwa-Zulu Natal, the alteration in settlement construction becomes a logical course of action. It is a historical and ethnographical accepted view that the Zulu *ikhanda* was used as a means of Zulu kings to expand and consolidate their power and authority (Krige, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Guy, 1983; Knight, 1994; Laband, 1995). Consequently, as these changes in political organisation started to occur with the emergence of centralised authority, it leads to the logical assumption that settlement construction would have mirrored these changes and that it would have filtered through to the *umuzi*. Similarly, this period saw a dramatic increase in the level of aggression among the different groups within the region (Bryant, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966). This increase in conflict could have forced a number of changes upon the *umuzi* constructed in the region. Additionally, it may be that the traditional CCP model, as based on 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century ethnographic studies, was a response to these changes in the region. Hence, *umuzi* constructed before this period, such as Mgoduyanuka and Nqabeni, will not share the same settlement layout as settlements postdating this period. Historical accounts of Champion (Booth, 1967) and Barter (Merrett, 1995) state that the placement of the cattle enclosure within the centre provided the best protection from predators, such as lions, hyenas, wild dogs and leopards, that were plentiful in the region. As a result, a combination of these events might have led to the creation of the CCP model as it is understood today.

Although the presence of the outer fence is described as a key component of the traditional CCP model, there is evidence to suggest that the outer fence may not always have been present. Maggs (1982) found no evidence of an outer fence at Mgoduyanuka and suggested that it was unlikely that one ever existed. Similarly the historical accounts of Champion and Gardiner mentioned settlements (not named in the accounts), as well as the homesteads of the AmaPondo that did not have any outer fences (Gardiner, 1966:167&250; Booth, 1967:108). Champion mentioned that the construction of an outer fence depended on the availability of wood and was often limited to settlements constructed next to woodlands (Booth, 1966:108). Gardiner (1966), Champion (Booth, 1967) and Barter (Merrett, 1995) furthermore mentioned that the outer fence was constructed in order to defend the inhabitants as well as protecting the cattle from predators. It is interesting to note that

both Gardiner (1966) and Champion (Booth, 1967) mentioned the existence of settlements constructed of stone in the region of Nqabeni and Mgoduyanuka. Those settlements that did not have an outer fence, built smaller reed fences next to their huts. These fences were mainly to keep the cattle in (Gardiner, 1966:307; Booth, 1967:108). It may be that the presence of the outer fence, as mentioned by the CCP, was determined by the environmental conditions of the area and not so much by their social practices. In regions where the danger posed to the inhabitants and cattle was high, an outer fence would have been constructed, forming the traditional CCP model *umuzi*. It would have been unnecessary for the inhabitants of more peaceful areas to devote their time and resources to construct an outer fence. In the study on the Anglo-Zulu War undertaken by Laband (1995) he provided a photograph of a 19<sup>th</sup> century homestead without an outer fence but with reed fences constructed next to the huts, illustrating the existence of these settlements. The layout of Siklibeni (Becker, 2008) seems to further support the existence of settlements with such a settlement pattern. It may also be possible that since the average family would not have had a large number of cattle, the construction of an outer fence would also have been determined by the amount of cattle possessed by the homestead.

Since the main function of the *ikhanda* was to house the regiments of the *amabutho* system, it necessitated a minimum size for the settlement which would have been proportional to the number of soldiers stationed there. The minimum size of a regiment was three platoons of between twenty and sixty soldiers each (Bryant, 1965:642-647; Guy, 1983; Rawlinson, 1987:11-52). It follows therefore that, the minimum number of soldiers that would have stayed at the regimental *ikhanda* would have been sixty soldiers. This means that the smallest of *ikhanda* would have been similar in size to a large *umuzi*. Holden (1963b:223-226) stated that the average size of a homestead during the 1860s was between 1-20 huts (with pre-Shakan homesteads numbering between twenty and thirty). Since it is known that the majority of *amakhanda* were of the divisional *ikhanda* type, which would have been similar in size to kwaBulawayo, the majority of *amakhanda* would have been larger than *umuzi*. This distinction can further be supported when considering the number of huts found at *amakhanda*. Nodwengu, Mpanda's capital, was estimated to have had around 2000 huts (Baldwin, 1967). Excavations of uMgungundlovu and Ondini

(Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985, Roodt, 1993; Van Schalkwyk, 1999) estimated that these two settlements had between 1100 and 1500 huts located between the inner and outer fence. KwaBulawayo was estimated to have had between 700 and 800 huts (Whitelaw, 1994) with historical accounts estimating the average hut number of a divisional *ikhanda* at 150-300 huts (Drummond, 1875; Cory, 1926; Holden, 1963b; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Norris-Newman, 1988:84-85). No direct description is provided for a regimental *ikhanda*. However, Gardiner and Leslie mentioned homesteads with around 30-60 huts. Holden mentioned that the average homestead size in the 1860s was between 1-20 huts. This might therefore indicate that the homesteads described by Gardiner and Leslie, numbering between 30-60 huts, were regimental *amakhanda* rather than *umuzi* (Drummond, 1875:9; Gardiner, 1966:145). It is definitely clear that the majority of *amakhanda* had more huts located within their area of occupation than *umuzi*.

### 9.2.2 Hut placement and function

#### Regimental section

Hut placement and organisation within the settlement can similarly be used to distinguish between *amakhanda* and *umuzi*. Historical and ethnographical accounts both mention that uMgungundlovu had a linear hut placement pattern with the huts placed in rows; each hut built roughly the same distance from the neighbouring huts (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966:28; Booth, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986). Excavations of uMgungundlovu and Ondini also delivered evidence of a linear pattern in the placement of huts (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:141; Rawlinson, 1985:16). The regimental section also followed a linear pattern. Huts were arranged from the top to the bottom (the settlement entrance) of the settlement; however, these were not necessarily aligned in straight lines.

It is noteworthy that, when examining the ethnographic accounts of the two capitals of uMgungundlovu and Ondini (Webb and Wright, 1976, 1979 & 1982) no mention is made of any special structural features. It may therefore be safe to assume that there existed a certain degree of continuation in practices from the start to the end of

the Zulu kingdom. The excavations at the two capitals showed that the huts located within the regimental section all had similar hut designs (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985). Each hut had an estimated diameter of 3m with the hearth located in the same position of each hut (Parkington and Cronin, 1979). This pattern is not unexpected when one considers that the warrior class of the Zulu kingdom were all seen as occupying the same hierarchical position. The egalitarian nature of the *amabutho* system would result in a more uniform hut design, as all warriors were regarded as equals.

### *Isigodlo*

As has been mentioned in previous chapters, the *isigodlo* was divided into the black and white section. These two sections can be distinguished as they presented with different hut layout patterns and hut designs. Within the white *isigodlo* a linear pattern similar to that of the regimental section can be observed (Parkington and Cronin, 1979:138-140; Rawlinson, 1985:15). Due to the lower social standing of the women in the white *isigodlo* it is not surprising that huts constructed in this area had a similar pattern and construction. On the other hand, huts within the black *isigodlo* were more dispersed and presented with individualised hut designs. The women occupying the black *isigodlo* were the king's wives or mothers, therefore, these women would have used their hut design and placement as a means of illustrating their different social standings. The king's section of the black *isigodlo* again differed from the rest of the black *isigodlo*. As the king, he had the largest hut located within the settlement as well as additional huts for his own personal use, each one having a different design.

Huts associated with domestic activities such as milling and cooking (which can potentially be identified archaeologically by the presence of grinding stones and pottery) would have been restricted to the *isigodlo* section of the *ikhanda* (Cory, 1926; Krige, 1965; Gardiner, 1966; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Booth, 1967; Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985; Bourquin, 1986; Roodt, 1992; Webb and Wright, 1976). This is due to the fact these activities were primarily associated with women. Women were only allowed to live in the *isigodlo* section of the *ikhanda* and as such



domestic activities would have been restricted to this area. The soldiers were supplied with food from their family *umuzi* and would therefore not have had the need to perform these activities themselves (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967). This is in contrast to the *umuzi* where these activities would have been spread throughout the settlement due to women not being restricted to only one part of the settlement.

### *Great Isigodlo*

The existence of the great *isigodlo* is a criterium that can be used for distinguishing *amakhanda* from *umuzi*, as the latter would not have had a great *isigodlo*. Likewise, it is also possible to distinguish between the royal *ikhanda*, which always had a great *isigodlo*, and the divisional and regimental types which never had a great *isigodlo* attached to it. Although the functions associated with the great *isigodlo* may have varied between the different kings, it was always located in the same area (outside and at the top of the settlement) and surrounded by a fence. During their excavations, Parkington and Cronin (1979) and Roodt (1993) found evidence of brass smithing at the great *isigodlo* of uMgungundlovu. Their findings are also supported by the historical and ethnographical accounts (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1976). It is therefore evident that the presence of brass smelting next to a large settlement would indicate the presence of an *ikhanda*. The function of the huts found at great *isigodlo* is still unclear. Although excavations at both uMgungundlovu and Ondini presented evidence of hut floors, they were all to some extent damaged (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985). Roodt (1992) did, however, find evidence of both initiation and smithing in the vicinity of these huts, yet it is unclear what the direct association between the huts and these activities was.

The presence of the great *isigodlo* can also be used as an indication of social status. Although little reference is made to the great *isigodlo* in the historical accounts, the ethnographic accounts state that each royal *ikhanda* would have had at least two great *isigodlo* (confirmed by Gardiner's sketch of Congella; Gardiner, 1966). Excavations at uMgungundlovu and Ondini (Parkington and Cronin, 1979;

Rawlinson, 1985), however, identified three great *isigodlo* at each of these settlements. This discrepancy may be explained when one takes into consideration that not all royal *amakhandas* were necessarily used as the permanent residence of the king. Those that were used as the king's permanent residence (capitals) would have been of greater importance. In order to emphasize this importance, these settlements may have had distinguishing features such as the presence of three great *isigodlo*. Therefore, the presence of three great *isigodlo* could have been a physical indication that the ruler of the settlement occupied the highest level of the social hierarchy.

Excavations at uMgungundlovu (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Roodt, 1992) and Ondini (Rawlinson, 1985) have presented evidence for non-uniformity in hut construction and placement within different areas of the settlement. This in turn can be used to differentiate between the separated areas within the settlement. Also, it is not clear at this time whether these differences were found at all the *ikhanda* or only at uMgungundlovu and Ondini, as the historical sources only mention that huts had "similar" designs. Although this may indicate a correlation between the archaeology and the historiography, the accounts are too limited in detail for specific comparisons to be made. Furthermore, a more detailed study needs to be undertaken in order to examine the differences between the designs of the huts at the capitals and those at *umuzi*. This will determine whether the huts at the *amakhandas* differed from those of *umuzi*.

### *Umuzi*

It is not possible to reconstruct the position of the huts of the other excavated LIA *umuzi* to the same degree as uMgungundlovu and Ondini. Nevertheless, considering the informal nature of *umuzi* it is unlikely that such a degree of uniformity would have existed. This assumption is supported by the irregular distances between the huts found at Mgoduyanuka and Siklibeni (Maggs, 1982; Becker, 2008). Additionally, it is known from ethnographic studies such as Kuper (1982) that a wide range of variation existed among the Nguni with regards to hut design and construction. Specific hut design and construction would have indicated the social standing of

each wife (along with her children), unlike the uniform designs and layout associated with the white *isigodlo* and the regimental section of the *ikhanda*.

### 9.3 Diet

Faunal assemblages are routinely applied as an additional source of information to understand archaeological sites. The study of faunal remains can be used to reconstruct aspects of diet, dietary preferences (looking at species distribution) and meat usage (looking at age distribution of slaughtered animals and the preferred cuts of meat). Knowing the cultural practices of soldiers' preferred diet, faunal assemblage can be utilised to distinguish between *umuzi* and *ikhanda*.

From ethnographic and historical accounts we know that the soldiers of the *amakhandanda* consumed higher quantities of meat than people living in *umuzi* (Drummond, 1987; Cory, 1926; Holden, 1963b; Krige, 1965; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967; Webb and Wright, 1976, 1982; Bourquin, 1986). This stems from the belief that strength is granted to the soldier when consuming meat, and as such constituted an important part of their diet (Holden, 1963b; Krige, 1965). Although any meat would provide this source of strength, cattle meat was preferred to that of sheep/goat and/or wild game as these were thought to impart less strength to the soldier (Holden, 1963b:235). Cattle had a high level of economic and spiritual value within Bantu society and as such they were believed to provide greater strength to the soldiers than any other meat sources.

The soldiers of the *amabutho* were supplied with cattle meat from the king's own royal herds. This cemented the king's position of authority, as his wealth was so great that he could afford to provide cattle to be slaughtered more regularly. This further ensured the loyalty of the soldier to the king since cattle were granted as reward for service and courage in battle, and as a result was a means for soldiers to acquire status and wealth (Gardiner, 1966; Omer-Cooper, 1966). The consumption of large quantities of cattle meat can be seen within the archaeological record of both

uMgungundlovu (Plug and Roodt, 1990) and Ondini (Watson and Watson, 1990). At both capitals large amounts of charred cattle bones were found, with both capitals' faunal assemblages consisting of 90% or more cattle remains (Plug and Roodt, 1990; Watson and Watson, 1990). Ondini, however, had a slightly higher amount of wild game in its faunal assemblage. This can be explained by the wide spread shortage of cattle in the Zulu kingdom during the 1870s brought on by severe drought and cattle disease (Watson and Watson, 1990). The fact that Ondini still had such a large representation of cattle remains within its faunal assemblage, despite these shortages, emphasises the importance placed on providing cattle to the soldiers. Both the ethnographic and historical accounts make mention of this practice. Mgidhlana ka Mpande (Webb and Wright, 1982:107), interviewed by James Stuart, stated that the cattle were killed in such numbers at uMgungundlovu that they were piled up into mounds, two or three times a month. Owen and Gardiner confirmed that large quantities of cattle were killed at uMgungundlovu, at least once a week, although they stated that the frequency was completely dependent on the whims of the king (Cory, 1926; Gardiner, 1966; Booth, 1967). Gardiner further mentioned that a single ox could support five soldiers for a day and a half (Gardiner, 1966; 175). Although the ethnographic accounts (Krige, 1965; Omer-Cooper, 1966; Webb and Wright, 1976) state that the soldiers' daily diet consisted of primarily beer and beef, it is unlikely that this consumption rate would have been sustainable in the long run. If soldiers were provided with such large quantities of meat on a daily basis the demand would soon have exceeded the supply. This is especially evident when one considers that the estimated size of the Zulu army at this time was approximately 30 000 soldiers (Laband, 1995). Both Gardiner (1966) and Owen (Cory, 1926), however, mention that the amount of cattle killed at the capitals were much higher than that reported for other *amakhanda*.

The importance allocated to cattle meant that they would under normal circumstances only have been consumed on rare and special occasions. This is especially true for homesteads such as *umuzi* (Holden, 1963b:234-234). The consumption of cattle meat was restricted to only very special events such as weddings and funerals, and was seldom consumed on a daily basis (Holden, 1963b: 234-235; Krige, 1965). When analysing the faunal remains of *umuzi* such as

Mgoduyanuka (Plug and Brown, 1982) the apparent difference in faunal assemblages of *amakhanda* and *umuzi* becomes clear. Mgoduyanuka had a far smaller faunal sample with the age distribution of the animals being more balanced (Plug and Brown, 1982). It seems likely that these animals were slaughtered as part of a festival or ritual, rather than as a need for sustenance. This view is supported by Holden (1963b) which mentions that cattle were only slaughtered at special occasions. Additionally, the ratio of cattle to sheep/goats remains is more balanced at Mgoduyanuka, which confirms the more conservative use of cattle at *umuzi* (Plug and Brown, 1982). Considering that even a wealthy individual would not have had the means to provide cattle meat on a regular (daily) basis to the family (living in an *umuzi*), a high frequency of cattle bones within an archaeological faunal assemblage would rather be indicative of the presence of an *ikhanda*.

#### 9.4 Beads

Historical accounts indicate that beads were used to denote wealth and social status. This was also true for the Zulu royal families and members of the *isigodlo*. As is often the case with this form of status, certain types of beads was reserved for use by the king himself and others for members of the royal family. This practice was held in rather serious regard as it was reported by Gardiner (1966), Owen (Cory, 1926) and Barter (Merrett, 1995) that failure to adhere to these restrictions would be punishable by death. Nonetheless, as is always the case with decorative items, the type and colour of beads that were regarded as 'royal' did not remain constant. Historical accounts extending from the reign of Shaka (1816-1826) to the reign of Cetshwayo (1872-1879) do, however, indicate that certain colours were always considered to be royal (Drummond, 1875; Corry, 1926; Smith, 1955; Gardiner, 1966; Baldwin, 1967; Booth, 1967; Stuart and Malcolm, 1986; Grey, 1992; Merrett, 1995). These include red, green and occasionally yellow beads, with each colour's importance varying depending on the shade (Booth, 1967:3; Grey, 1992:66; Smith, 1995:32). From descriptions of the dresses worn by the women of the *isigodlo* as well as the bead covered pots of Dingane's hut, provided by the accounts of Ross (Grey, 1992), Gardiner (Gardiner, 1966), Owen (Cory, 1926), Champion (Booth, 1967), Leslie (Drummond, 1875) and Paulina Dlamini (Bourquin, 1986), it is clear that beads were

extensively used by the members of the *isigodlo*. Extensive bead usage within the area of the *isigodlo* was confirmed during excavations undertaken at uMgungundlovu and Ondini (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985). In both cases high concentrations of beads were found the area of the *isigodlo*, whereas the areas constituting the regimental section were almost devoid of any beads (Parkington and Cronin, 1979; Rawlinson, 1985). Bead concentration can, therefore, potentially also be used as a determining factor to distinguish between the *isigodlo* and the regimental section, where the former would present with much larger quantities of beads within the matrix. Bead colouring can potentially also be used to pinpoint royal areas, bearing in mind that the inconsistencies in colour preferences may to some extent influence the usefulness of this approach.

Large bead concentrations within the archaeological matrix can additionally be used to distinguish between an *ikhanda* and an *umuzi*. No beads were recovered during excavations undertaken at several *umuzi* (Hall and Maggs, 1979; Maggs, 1982; Becker, 2008, Pelsner, 2013 & 2014). However, it should not be assumed that bead usage was not present at *umuzi*. Historical accounts make mention of bead usage within homesteads, however, Barter (Merret, 1995) supports the view that the normal population of the kingdom did not possess large amounts of beads. Therefore, one would not expect to find large concentrations of beads within *umuzi* settlements whereas it would be more prevalent in the *isigodlo* section of an *ikhanda*.

## 9.5 Conclusion

Although there is a high degree of similarities between the *ikhanda* and the *umuzi* it is still possible to distinguish these two settlements from each other archaeologically. This chapter outlined several elements that can potentially be used to differentiate between an *umuzi* and an *ikhanda*. The first and most apparent element covered was that of settlement size. *Amakhanda* seem to have had much larger central enclosures measuring between 200-600m in diameter. This is significantly larger than the average 30-60m provided for *umuzi* settlements. Similarly, the number of soldiers housed in *amakhanda* was generally much larger than the number of people

living within an *umuzi*. Consequently, the amount of huts located in the settlement would be greater in an *ikhanda* than an *umuzi*. The central enclosure of the *ikhanda* presented with some structural variation to that of the *umuzi* which may potentially be observed archaeologically. *Amakhanda* presented with secondary enclosures within the primary or central enclosure; both areas of which were used to house cattle. The *umuzi*, on the other hand, seem to have had multiple enclosures either attached to the primary enclosure, such as at Nqabeni, or randomly dispersed over the extent of the site, as seen at Mgoduyanuka, Siklibeni, and the site described by Pelsner (2014) to be kwaBulawayo.

Hut placement and design were also discussed as possible discerning factors in distinguishing between *amakhanda* and *umuzi*. Hut placement and designs in the white section of the *isigodlo* as well as the regimental section of the *ikhanda* were shown to follow a linear pattern with a uniform hut design. Hut placement in the *umuzi* was more dispersed with huts often constructed and stylized according to individual preference. This study also identified huts associated with the great *isigodlo* section of *amakhanda*. These huts are only present at *amakhanda* and can additionally be used to distinguish royal *amakhanda* from divisional and regimental *amakhanda*, as the latter two settlements would not have had a great *isigoldo*. Dietary differences were also discussed as a possible means of identifying *amakhanda* within the archaeological record. Historical, ethnographic and archaeological sources indicated higher frequencies of beef consumption within *amakhanda* settlements. This relates back to the belief that a diet of primarily meat, specifically cattle meat, would impart strength to those who consume it. Kings would have provided large amounts of cattle to be slaughtered to ensure not only their regiment's strength in battle, but also their continued loyalty towards the king and the *ibutho* system. The faunal assemblages of *umuzi* were equally distributed between cattle, sheep/goat and wild faunal remains, suggesting that a specialized diet of primarily cattle meat was restricted to the *ibutho* system and therefore *amakhanda* settlements. Dietary reconstructions should however not be used as a single source of information to extrapolate information from, as diet can easily be influenced by external factors such as droughts and disease amongst herds. These differences would not be representative of the social practices, but rather the need to adapt to

environmental conditions. Thirdly, beads are a useful means of not only identifying *amakhanda*, but also for identifying the sections within the *ikhanda* itself. As has been shown, bead usage was primarily reserved for the king and the royal family. Areas within the *ikhanda* associated with the royal family (*isigodlo*) presented with much larger quantities of beads than any other area within the *ikhanda* settlement. Such large quantities of beads are also not reported for any of the *umuzi* settlements. Nevertheless, future research into the bead usage and the preferential use of some types and colours of beads at amakhanda may provide greater insight into the social structuring of Zulu society. This chapter has therefore shown that an *ikhanda* and an *umuzi* can be distinguished from each other by examining several archaeological features and objects. The next chapter will revisit the aims and objectives set out in this study and will discuss how each of these was met.



## Chapter 10: Towards a reinterpretation of *ikhanda*

### 10.1 Introduction

The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw great changes in the political organisation and demographical distribution of people living within southern Africa. These changes would lead to the implementation of the *ibutho* system which necessitated the construction of *amakhanda*; both of which formed the basis of the Zulu kingdom's strength during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Due to the nature of the system, *amakhanda* were unique in both their organisation and function. However, currently our knowledge of the *ikhanda* and its layout and organisation is limited to the two well-known sites of uMgungundlovu and Ondini. This study was therefore aimed at creating a more comprehensive model of the *ikhanda* by drawing from ethnographic, historical and archaeological sources. This model was then applied to compare the structural layout and organisation of the *ikhanda* with that of the *umuzi* in order to determine whether these two settlement types can be distinguished archaeologically. This process identified a number of characteristics that cannot be explained by the traditional Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) model. This study therefore demonstrates the limitations of using the CCP model as an umbrella term for all southern African settlements. Furthermore, this study has argued that settlements act as a mirror, reflecting the society that created them. The Zulu tradition can clearly be seen in the structural and demographical organisation of the *ikhanda*, reaffirming the usefulness of settlement archaeology in understanding past societies.

### 10.2 Evaluation of aims and objectives

The aim of this study was to determine what the settlement organisation and demographical composition of an *ikhanda* was. Our archaeological understanding of these settlements is limited to the excavations of the two Zulu kingdom capitals, uMgungundlovu and Ondini. These excavations provide valuable information regarding the settlement's structural features and associated cultural material; showcasing how these relate to each other in time and space. In spite of this, the social meanings and traditions imparted on these physical remains are often lost

over time, making their interpretation difficult. This study overcame this problem by combining the archaeological information with historical and ethnographical sources. It is, however, important to apply these sources in conjunction as neither of them could provide the necessary information on their own. Although the historical sources provide a great deal of detail, the meaning of the objects and events seen was often not understood. Since these documents were written by people who were not part of the culture, they often interpreted what they saw from a western point of view. Ethnographic sources were used to counteract this problem of interpretation. These sources provided the meaning of the objects and events described by the historical accounts. However, many of the ethnographic informants did not witness the events themselves, resulting in the loss of detail provided. Therefore, by combining these sources, this study succeeded in creating a structural model which not only incorporated the physical features, but also their accompanying social meanings. It also showed that a good correlation existed between the ethnographic accounts and the archaeo-historical accounts.

In this study the multi-disciplinary approach was utilised in order to construct a structural model of an *ikhanda*. The archaeological remains provided the foundation for this study, onto which meanings and values could be added, by incorporating historical and ethnographical sources. By merging the physical features with their social values and meaning, this study was able to interpret the complex structural layout and demographic compositions of these settlements that distinguish them from any other settlements in southern Africa. This greatly improves our understanding of not only the *ikhanda* itself, but also the nature and organisation of Zulu society.

In order to be able to determine the structural layout and demographical composition of *amakhanda*, it was necessary to first create a structural model. A settlement model (CCP) for the normal family homestead (*umuzi*) already exists, however, it was unclear whether this model could be used for *ikhanda* settlements, especially considering its unique and specialist function. The structural model created in this study determined that the *ikhanda* consisted out of three sections namely; the great

*isigodlo*, *isigodlo* and regimental section. The great *isigodlo* was located outside and behind the main settlement. This section was used for initiation, smithing and the keeping of the king's cattle and grain. The main settlement was divided between the *isigodlo* in the upper area, housing the king and royal women, and the regimental section encompassing the rest of the settlement. The regimental section included the large central enclosure as well as the residential huts of the soldiers. The latter located on each side of the settlement. This model helped to identify key structural features and demographic differences related to the *ibutho* system. This in turn enabled the identification of three previously unknown varieties of *ikhanda* namely the royal, the divisional, and the regimental *ikhanda*. This study found that each of these three variations fulfilled a specific and unique role within the social-political organisation of the Zulu kingdom, ensuring the effectiveness of the *ibutho* system.

Once the model was created, it was compared to the structural model of the *umuzi*. As the *umuzi* represented the basic family unit, these settlements were primarily occupied by families. Therefore by understanding the differences between the *umuzi* and *ikhanda* a better understanding of Zulu society can be obtained. Settlement archaeology theory implies that a site's function will be reflected within the remains of the site. It can therefore be theorised that an *umuzi* would be structurally and materially distinct from an *ikhanda*. In order to test this theory, the structural model of an *ikhanda* was compared to that of an *umuzi*. Results obtained suggest that these settlements can be distinguished from each other archaeologically. This allowed for the identification of several characteristics (physical size, hut organisation, faunal and bead assemblages) which can be used to distinguish the *ikhanda* from the *umuzi*. A clear means of determining the physical size of a settlement is by examining the size of the central enclosure. Although both the *ikhanda* and *umuzi* had central enclosures, the *ikhanda*'s enclosure was larger, consisting of multiple enclosures within the main enclosure. Another characteristic that can be used to distinguish the *ikhanda* from the *umuzi* is the hut placement pattern. *Amakhanda* are characterised with a linear hut placement pattern as opposed to the more dispersed pattern found within *umuzi*. This organisational pattern had a direct impact on the demographical organisation of these settlements. *Umuzi* were constructed around the family unit and therefore did not separate men from women. Contrary to this

pattern, the *ikhanda* separated men from women, did not allow the presence of children, and had a far more complex hierarchical organisation. Faunal analyses showed that the *ikhanda* had noticeably larger quantities of cattle remains present when compared to that of *umuzi*. This can be attributed to the belief that was prevalent among the *ibutho* that the consumption of cattle meat was essential in providing them with an increase in strength. Differences in the bead assemblage were also a distinctive marker. Due to the large scale use of beads by the members of the *isigodlo*, the *ikhanda* bead assemblages were unique both in its quantity and distribution within the settlement. Beads were primarily confined to the *isigodlo* section within an *ikhanda* as opposed to the widespread distribution pattern found at *umuzi*. If the principles of settlement archaeology are followed, namely that the organisation of the settlement reflects the nature of the society and/or its inhabitants, it is clear that the *ikhanda* and *umuzi* were fundamentally different settlements. The *umuzi* represented the private and the domestic, or one can argue the private sphere of society. On the other hand, the *ikhanda* represented authority, discipline and the state. It was the residence of the king, the army and the government, essentially representing the public sphere of society. Therefore, by comparing these two settlements with each other, the nature of Zulu society becomes clearer. It was a society where service to the king (*ikhanda*) was rewarded with the right to have a family (*umuzi*). A life in the *ikhanda* was rewarded with a life in the *umuzi*; military service was, therefore, rewarded with wealth and status.

### 10.3 Research implications

The differences between the *umuzi* and *ikhanda* allowed for a deeper understanding of Zulu society. However, these differences also have direct implications for the study of settlements within southern Africa. A long-held belief in southern African archaeology is that all settlements should be constructed according to the principles of the CCP. Consequently, settlement archaeology in southern Africa has always sought to interpret the settlements of the region according to the CCP. Therefore, instead of determining whether the CCP model fitted regional settlements, settlements were interpreted so as to fit into the CCP. The existence and organisation of the *ikhanda*, along with its three variations as described in this study,

make this approach to settlement studies no longer feasible. The CCP model cannot be used to interpret the *ikhanda* in any way. Therefore, it stands to reason that there must also be other settlement forms that lay beyond the scope of the CCP. For example a number of variations can be observed between the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana CCP models. Are these differences only variations of a theme or do they constitute two different settlements? Even if this proves not to be the case, the complexity of the *ikhanda* still has implications for settlement studies. This complexity is emphasised by the fact that it requires three source types to be interpreted the nature and function of types of *amakhanda*. This means that it can no longer be assumed that settlements within southern Africa have remained static since the Early Iron Age. The unique organisation and function of the *ikhanda* can only be clearly identified when the archaeological, historical and ethnographical sources are combined. It stands to reason, therefore, that settlements with fundamental differences may have been overlooked due to the limitations ensuing from the use of only one source type. It may be time for a re-evaluation of the assumptions and principles of the Central Cattle Pattern.

## 10.4 Conclusion

By drawing from archaeological, ethnographic and historical data a more comprehensive, refined and detailed model of the *ikhanda* can be constructed. This model aided to identify key structural features and demographic differences related to the *ibutho* system. It has been demonstrated here that the *ikhanda* played a greater and more centralised role within Zulu society than was traditionally believed. Treated as an inconsequential feature of the *ibutho* system, it was believed that its only function was to house the soldiers. Since the *ibutho* system now brought together soldiers from across the kingdom, the *ikhanda* resulted in greater regimental cohesion. It is clear that the *ikhanda* was not limited to only the Zulu kingdom, but that it was central to the success of all the northern Nguni kingdoms. It allowed the northern Nguni kings to exercise more centralised control over their domains as well as forging stronger social cohesion among the peoples of the kingdoms. Furthermore, the *isigodlo* was also found to be a form of organisation unique to the northern Nguni. Functioning as more than just a female version of the

regimental system, the *isigodlo* allowed for the division of authority within each *ikhanda*. These female relatives of the king shared authority with the divisional commander, thereby preventing the development of internal power blocks. This greatly increased the strength and stability of these kingdoms. Therefore, the *ikhanda* can be seen as a physical manifestation of what Omer-Cooper's (1966) called a "...revolution in Bantu Africa".

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