THE SPARTANS AND THE AMAZULU: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THEIR MILITARY

AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

This dissertation is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities, Development, and Social Sciences in the School of Religion, Philosophy, and Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references, and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

The Spartans of archaic Greece and the amaZulu of nineteenth century South Africa, two societies separated by two thousand years and several thousand kilometres, are widely known to have been examples of highly militaristic societies. Ferguson's (1918) paper, entitled *The Spartans and the Zulus: a comparison of their military systems*, reveals a striking number of congruencies in the military systems of these two societies. This dissertation will expand on Ferguson's original comparison, introducing new theoretical perspectives and undertaking a closer reading of the primary and secondary sources. Through the comparison of key facets of their military and social systems, this dissertation aims to use the early development of the Zulu paramountcy under uShaka kaSenzagakhona as a lens through which uncertain and debated aspects of archaic Spartan development attributed to Lykourgos the law-giver may be elucidated.

Chapter One includes an introduction to the study and a detailed literature review discussing the availability and reliability of primary and secondary sources on the amaZulu and ancient sources on the Spartans. The richness of this current debate is of key importance to the following analysis of the Spartans and the amaZulu. The study of the lacunae in both of their historical records has uncovered some deep uncertainties in previous scholarship. The dissertation will provide new perspectives within which the development of archaic Sparta may be better understood.

In Chapter Two, the theoretical framework of the study is outlined with close attention to state formation theory and an introduction to the comparative methodology that will be employed. The analysis of the Spartans and the amaZulu independently on an emic level will then be applied to an etic framework for the comparison. Such methodology will highlight congruent features in the military and social systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu. Furthermore, using current state formation theory the socio-ecological and socio-economic contexts of the πόλις of Sparta and the paramountcy of uShaka will be indentified. These are

of upmost importance to this dissertation's aim to explain the development of archaic Sparta with the use of the nineteenth century amaZulu as a comparative model.

Chapter Three is an analysis of uShaka kaSenzangakhona and his role in the rise of the Zulu paramountcy within the parameters described by modern state formation theory. The two cultural personae that frame this comparison are steeped in historical obscurity and propaganda. Thus the reforms with which they are associated have been deeply imbedded in the ideologies and oral traditions found in extant sources. The following dissertation will juxtapose the historical personality of uShaka with that of Lykourgos to elucidate the ideological nature of the Spartan constitution.

Chapter Four is an analysis of Lykourgos the lawgiver of Sparta and his role in the formation of the Spartan constitution. These two chapters emphasize the emic component of this analysis and further highlight the different paths of development taken by the Spartans and the amaZulu. This dissertation places uShaka and Lykourgos at the centre of the comparison as the mythological sources of the ideologies that underpin the militaristic perceptions of these two societies.

In Chapter Five, the customs of both the Spartans and the amaZulu involved in the initiation of youths into militarised phratric age-groups and the accompanying social and military responsibilities are examined and compared. The core foundation of the Spartan military system was the ἀγωγή educational programme and the methods of ideological conditioning that male youths underwent are of significant value to this comparison. Thus this dissertation will use the congruent system of the *amabutho* in the Zulu paramountcy to further expound the nature of these phratric clusters and the function such ideological conditioning had on the society as a whole.

In Chapter Six, an examination of the subjugation and treatment of neighbouring communities of the Spartans and the amaZulu reveals a congruent three-tiered socio-political hierarchy. The analysis of the marginalisation of the tertiary-tier peoples, the *amaLala* and the Εἵλωτες, is critical in understanding the invader-state ideologies that legitimised Spartan and Zulu authority over occupied regions. The following analysis of the

secondary-tier peoples, the *amaNtungwa* and the Περίοικοι, will further elucidate the socio-political structures by which the Spartan πόλις and the Zulu paramountcy established themselves as dominant polities.

In Chapter Seven, specific features common to both societies' military systems are juxtaposed in order reveal their differences and further explain their congruencies. The concepts of honour and shame are identified as the primary ideological tools for military conditioning and are used to analyse the phratric customs within the barracks-like institutions, the *amakhanda* and the συσσιτία. Military training in music and dance is another congruent feature of these two societies that will be examined and a discussion of the weapons and tactics used by the Spartans and the amaZulu is essential. Thus, the military systems of these two societies will be contrasted within a firm methodological framework in order for valid and culturally sensitive conclusions to be proposed.

Lastly, Chapter Eight presents a comprehensive comparison of the Spartans and the amaZulu as well as a discussion of the finding of the study. This dissertation will use the previous comparison of key social systems to motivate certain conclusions about the development and militaristic nature of the Spartans and the amaZulu. The early development of archaic Sparta will be elucidated through the comparison and the ideological constructs that shaped the identity of Sparta will be contextualised.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All abbreviations of ancient authors are in accordance with those listed in the fourth edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Those not listed in the OCD are provided below.

Strab.   Strabo

IG   Inscriptiones Graecae

JSA   *The James Stuart Archive*

KCM   Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum

OCD   *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*

OED   The Oxford English Dictionary

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The Spartans and the amaZulu,[1] two societies separated by two thousand years and several thousand kilometres, share some remarkable congruencies and revealing differences. The term 'congruency' is used intentionally to escape any suggestion that this dissertation assumes any contact or interaction between the two chronologically and topographically isolated societies of the Spartans and the amaZulu. As Ferguson (1918) states in his article:

> To avoid any misunderstanding, I hasten to state at the onset of this paper that in bringing the Zulus into juxtaposition with the Spartans I am not seeking to establish any racial or political connection between the two peoples.
>
> Ferguson (1918:197)

These two societies are prime examples of polities with highly developed military systems. Being characterised by the distinction of a warrior caste that was largely isolated from the social sphere and was dependent on ingrained phratric ideology,[2] they exhibit many congruent facets of their military systems which operated in unison within strict, hierarchical socio-political structures. Although the similarity of military systems between the Spartans and the amaZulu has been noted previously by other scholars, this study will juxtapose the Spartans and the amaZulu to critically analyse and compare the key cultural features of such

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[1] Refer to the isiZulu Glossary (Appendix Three) for more information on the spelling conventions used for isiZulu terminology and names.

[2] Ideology is here defined as the set of beliefs or precepts that defines any cultural, social, or political structure.

militaristic societies.[3] Thus, this dissertation will expose their striking cultural similarities and dissimilarities. The aim of this is to further the ground-breaking comparison done by Ferguson (1918) to include recent scholarship in Spartan studies primarily, but also Southern African History and Anthropology. The study will include a discussion of the social systems involved in the arrangement of youths into phratric clusters for initiation into manhood, the treatment and function of subjugated peoples, and key facets of militaristic life in barracks-like structures. Due to the reciprocal nature of this analysis, many facets of both cultures can be elucidated by their cultural congruencies. However an investigation into the causes of the incongruencies in their military systems will focus on developing a deeper understanding of archaic Spartan development. As is supported by Hodkinson (2009) in his introduction to *Sparta: comparative approaches*:

> Its ['Sparta in Comparative Perspective' project's] motivation has been the belief that, although comparative analogies emphasising Sparta's exceptional character have frequently impeded understanding her society, the search for better understandings should not abandon comparative or cross-cultural perspectives. The challenge, rather, is to develop more sophisticated comparative analyses, alert not merely to correspondences with other regimes but also to the complex interplay of similarity and difference between Sparta and other societies, in order to provide a more firmly-based contextualisation of Spartan institutions.
>
> Hodkinson (2009:x)

This comparison is not merely a revision of Ferguson's (1918) paper entitled *The Spartans and the Zulus: a comparison of their military systems*, but an expansion and attempt to

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[3] Hodkinson (2003b:51); Forrest (1968:53); Jones (1967:34). See Lafitau's (1724) influencial *Moeurs des sauvages américains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps* which has been regarded as the touchstone for comparative methodology.

refocus some of its concerns, as his paper is significantly influenced by the colonial and racial attitudes of his time and lacks the methodology of recent scholarship. Ferguson does not consider the socio-economic and socio-ecological factors that influenced the development of such militaristic systems. Nor does he use his research to conclude anything substantial about what such a comparison reveals about archaic Spartan development. He does, however, highlight the fundamental congruencies within these two remarkably similar societies and this study intends to identify features of the military and social systems that defined the militaristic natures of the Spartans and the amaZulu. This study will attempt to expand upon Ferguson's paper by elucidating areas of debate with the inclusion of more recent scholarship and a more sophisticated reading of primary and ancient sources.

Structure of Study

In order to compare the Spartans and the amaZulu successfully this study will identify and categorise the primary cultural features of the two societies which influenced the formation of their military systems both directly or indirectly. What these features are and how they relate to the military structures that supported the society's development is critical to understanding the root causes for their congruencies. These indirect and direct features will be discussed in separate chapters to enable critical comparisons. Chapter Two will introduce the methodological approach and the theoretical framework that this dissertation will employ for this aim.

In order to contextualise the socio-political environments of the archaic Spartan πόλις (city-state)[4] and the Zulu paramountcy, Chapters Three and Four will discuss the cultural personae that had a profound impact on their formation. These chapters will also include a discussion on their respective socio-economic and socio-ecological conditions identified by modern state formation theory.

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[4] Refer to the Ancient Greek Glossary (Appendix Four) for more information on the spelling conventions used for Greek terminology and names.

In Chapter Five the first of the indirect features of the military societies, the Spartan ἀγωγή and the Zulu *amabutho* age-grouping systems, will be analysed. A comparison of the practices and rituals involved in the education and training of the youth before induction into the military caste will reveal much about the foundations that supported their militaristic development. Identifying the stages young males underwent in these systems will clarify both the concept of 'coming of age', as well as the characteristics which were cultivated and required in them to be considered ready for military service.

The second indirect feature, discussed in Chapter Six, is the treatment and management of subjugated peoples in the expanding occupied regions. This study will investigate their socio-economic function and how they contributed to the developing polity as well as the extent of their involvement in the military systems. The invader-state ideologies that underpinned the polities' authority over these peoples and established a three-tiered socio-political hierarchy will be shown to be significantly influential in the maintenance of their military systems.

The indirect features that characterised these militaristic societies are then used in an analysis of the primary aspects of the Spartan and Zulu military systems discussed in Chapter Seven. This detailed investigation into the military systems of the πόλις of Sparta and the Zulu paramountcy will include discussion of ideological conditioning, phratric arrangement of warriors in barracks-like structures, music and dance used in training drills, as well as weapons and tactics. The comparison and contrast of all of these features will attempt to expound areas of uncertainty within the study of archaic Sparta and determine their merit in the formation of militaristic societies.

Location of Study

The amaZulu of nineteenth century South Africa, through the leadership of uShaka kaSenzangakhona (*c.*1781-1828 CE), dominated and unified over three hundred neighbouring communities of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region of present day KwaZulu-Natal. His paramountcy's supremacy propelled them into the foreground of South African history.

Although much is debated about uShaka's birth and life, there is considerable scholarship about the influences and impact his reign had on the fractious communities of Southern Africa.[5] Of the five *amakosi* (kings) that reigned over the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region from uDingiswayo kaJobe in 1808 to its decline after the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879, uShaka accomplished the most with his ambition and military skill.[6] The young uShaka assumed control after the death of uDingiswayo, chief of the amaMthethwa paramountcy, in 1818. Building on uDingiswayo's foundations, he radically expanded his control of the region that stretched east to west from the Indian Ocean to the Buffalo River, and north to south from the Phongolo and Mkhuze Rivers to the Mngeni.[7] After uShaka's assassination in 1828, uDingane followed the precedent set by uShaka in his attempt to keep the fractious Zulu paramountcy unified by military force.

The Spartans of archaic Greece were equally impressive in their subjugation of Lakonia and neighbouring Messenia.[8] They are widely recognised as an archetype of military discipline and excellence by their Greek contemporaries and modern scholars.[9] Following the unwritten precepts of their mythologised lawgiver, Lykourgos, Spartan military and social systems underwent a systematic reform which transformed the face of a supposedly idyllic, tolerant and culturally rich πόλις into a collection of systems in which fierce loyalty to the constitution and unrelenting discipline were embedded deeply in every Spartan.[10] These interlaced and pervading social systems supported the Spartan military system. Spartan law and custom controlled the raising of children, personal and cultural activities, and even the Spartan economy. The dates of Lykourgos, the lawgiver of Sparta, and his famous constitution have been inconclusively debated by academics with differing theories about his existence for decades – thus exacerbating the mystery surrounding his

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[5] Uzoigwe (1975:23-24). See also, Wylie (2006).

[6] Refer to Map 3 (Appendix One).

[7] Refer to Map 1 (Appendix One).

[8] Refer to Map 5 (Appendix One).

[9] See Hodkinson & Powell (edd.) (2006); Rawson (1969); Cartledge (1977).

[10] Hodkinson (2003b:49).

name.[11] His name, nevertheless, is widely credited with the formulation and establishment of the renowned Spartan disciplinary and educational systems. This constitution allowed Sparta to harness the fostered military aptitude which they used to dominate Lakonia and in the struggle for the control of Messenia which lasted for nineteen years (*c*. 743-724 BCE) and ended in Sparta's conquest.

Literature Review of Primary Zulu Sources

The obstacle faced by any scholar of early southern African history is the dearth of valid and reliable evidence that is unaffected by the colonial attitudes and often unmethodological historiographical practices of the period. This is a matter of great importance to modern Zulu studies as well as anthropology since a number of what have been considered primary source materials on early Zulu history are partisan, European eye-witness accounts.[12] In the years of colonial occupation and even in early post-colonial South Africa, there have been several attempts to document and repair the lacunae left in the historical record. Yet the task, as will be shown in the following review, is not a simple one. The works of colonial explorers and missionaries, while offering a romanticised version of Zulu history, were based on first-hand accounts and transmitted oral traditions. While these sources are prudently refered to as primary, they will be critically reviewed through a comparison to more direct accounts or with available archaeological data.

Availability and Reliability of Primary Zulu Sources

As has been stated, the availability and reliability of primary sources for the study of early southern African history complicates a truly comprehensive engagement with the topic. There is a considerable shortage of information on the life of uShaka, especially his early and middle years, which has led to contradictory traditions and the mythologising of his

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[11] See Starr (1965); Wade-Gery (1943-1944).

[12] Murray (1981:24).

character.[13] Additionally, the majority of sources that are available were recorded well after his death and have thus been subject to numerous cases of alteration through the process of being transmitted primarily by means of politically and racially biased interlocutors.[14] Therefore, one aim of this study is to provide an evaluated foundation of primary sources from which a relevant and accurate portrayal of uShaka and the Zulu paramountcy can be analysed. As can be seen in numerous places in Ferguson's paper, his reading of the primary sources presents a distorted view of the amaZulu and their social systems.[15] This romanticised portrayal of the amaZulu and uShaka, as will be shown, echoes the similar representation of the Spartans as war-loving and solely militaristic. Therefore, Ferguson's precedent illustrates that the scarcity of available primary sources requires cautious interpretation coupled with sensitive comparison.

iziBongo

Praise poetry by *izimbongi* (praise poets) holds the highest position in the political and cultural spheres for the amaZulu. Although *izibongo* (praise poems) provide a direct insight into the popular opinion of the *inkosi*, the mistake often made is to interpret these unique forms of oral sources with an inflated sense of historical accuracy. By their nature, *izibongo* are cases of poetic propaganda that disseminate either praising or criticising ideology for political purposes. Royal *izibongo* allow for the establishment of social cohesion alongside the pressures of social and military conditioning.[16] This process legitimises the authority of the *inkosi* over deeper levels of the social system.[17] The *imbongi* (praise poet) has a two-fold responsibility in his composition; he must provide a verifiable account of the paramount *inkosi*'s deeds on his behalf for the benefit of the community as well as be a critical voice on

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[13] Golan-Agnon (1990:107-108).

[14] Wylie (2006:5).

[15] Ferguson (1918:198, 222, 229).

[16] Brown (1997:17).

[17] Kresse (1998:177).

behalf of the people.[18] The *izibongo* of uShaka, some of which recorded by James Stuart, speak of the paramount *inkosi* and his deeds and they do hold some merit under the layers of idealisation.[19]

James Stuart Papers

The six current volumes (1976-2014) of *The James Stuart Archive* (*JSA*) by John Wright and the late Colin Webb have been an invaluable source not only for this study, but also numerous scholars in the field of South African history.[20] The *JSA* documents the oral testimonies of nearly two hundred informants gathered by James Stuart in an effort to preserve the traditional history of the amaZulu that he saw was being threatened by the contemporary European administration.[21] The scope of his accounts covers the early history of present-day Kwazulu-Natal and the rise of the Zulu polity. However, as with any oral source, the information provided by the *JSA* cannot be wholly trusted without careful comparison to other primary and secondary sources. These oral histories have been widely criticised, something acknowledged by the editors in later volumes, for the methods in which they were recorded and for the presence of contemporary prejudices and bias.[22] The term informant, used by Stuart himself, has also found criticism in current scholarship.[23] The word does not portray the subjective nature of the sources and their active role in the transmission of oral history. Therefore, the term interlocutor will be used in this dissertation.

Stuart's own approach and interest in understanding the military and social systems of the amaZulu resulted in numerous recorded accounts describing the succession of power, the customs and practices of the *amabutho* age-grouping system, and the significance of

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[18] *Ibid* (1998:179).

[19] Brown (1997:10); Canonici (1996:234-235). See also, Cope (1968:75).

[20] Wright (2011:344). See also, Golan-Agnon (1994); Duminy & Guest (edd.) (1989).

[21] Wright (1996:334-336).

[22] Wylie (2006:6); Stapleton (2002:412).

[23] Wright (2011:346).

subordinate communities within the Zulu polity.[24] Although fragmented and often contradictory, the collection is the closest primary literary source available and it is instrumental in offsetting the unreliable European eye-witness accounts. In order to provide a comprehensive foundation for analysis, the original manuscripts and notes by James Stuart kept at the Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum (KCM) were also consulted for additional sources.

The *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*

One European eye-witness account which has previously been viewed, rather generously, as a primary source by scholars is the collated accounts from the diary of Henry Francis Fynn. This text, however, was largely edited and rewritten by James Stuart in 1950 and bears little resemblance to the original papers.[25] Since 1950 the resulting edition of *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* was considered a reliable source for uShaka and his paramountcy and surpassed Isaacs' (1836) *Travels and Adventures in East Africa* in public opinion.[26] Yet with the advancement of recent scholarship, these collections of pseudo-historiography have lost their credibility.[27] When compared to the *JSA*, one sees clearly that the primary sources for the life of uShaka and the rise of the Zulu paramountcy are thickly veiled by multiple, differing accounts that provide little substance.[28] Fynn's exaggerated expertise on the amaZulu has made him a central contributor to the mythologising of uShaka in the historical record.[29] Yet, an image of the infamous paramount *inkosi* may be drawn from Fynn's diary since he provides an unprecedented narrative of military and social practices for the nineteenth century amaZulu among whom he claimed to have lived for some years under the authority of uShaka.

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[24] *Ibid* (2011:356).

[25] Wylie (2006:7).

[26] Wylie (1995:409).

[27] Wylie (2006:518).

[28] Pridmore (1991:30).

[29] Wylie (2011:15; 1995:421).

Other Primary Zulu Sources

Additional primary sources of Zulu history used in this study will focus on first-hand accounts by colonial explorers and missionaries of the Kwazulu-Natal region coupled with *izibongo* and select archaeological evidence. However, the oral testimonies recorded by James Stuart will be used as an essential resource for comparison and verification. The work of A.T. Bryant (1967) is another primary source that is of some value in this analysis to be used with caution.[30] His accounts of Zulu cultural history that he gathered while stationed at a mission in KwaZulu-Natal in 1883 are limited in terms of historical relevance and were published many years later with much embellishment.[31] Among his accounts is a highly romanticised description of the customs and rituals around puberty. Thus, as it is with all of the accounts from this period of South African history, the reliability of our primary sources is in question and they must be treated carefully.

Modern Scholarship on the amaZulu

The perception of the Zulu paramountcy under the leadership of uShaka as solely militaristic and obtusely brutal dominates most scholarship in Zulu history.[32] Yet, there has recently been a development in this opinion that has until now been obscured by idealisation and tainted with a bias for the legends surrounding the iconic paramount.[33] South African historical writing underwent a critical change in the 1960's in response to the emerging interest in south-east African history. The movement sought to counteract Eurocentric representations of African history that had been produced in reaction to the Anglo-Zulu war. At this time, the first of many reputable works on the history of KwaZulu-Natal, known then as the province of Natal, and South Africa was being written. Brookes and Webb's (1967)

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[30] Wylie (2008:85).

[31] Wylie (2011:21-22).

[32] Monteiro-Ferreira (2005:347-348).

[33] See Carton *et al*. (edd.) (2008); Hamilton (1993).

The History of Natal is a comprehensive text published by the University of Natal Press that drew from the limited availability of scholarship at the time that attempted to investigate a neglected aspect of southern African history. Another notable work in the history of KwaZulu-Natal and Zululand's foundation is *The Zulu Aftermath* by Omer-Cooper (1966). This was the first history to be written from an African perspective.[34] More recently still, Wylie's (2006) *Myth of Iron: Shaka in History* offers a comprehensive re-evaluation of the romanticised and overtly militarised portrayal of uShaka and his paramountcy. This study will rely on modern scholarship only to support or elucidate the lacunose primary sources.

Literature Review of Primary Ancient Spartan Sources

In comparison to the primary sources on the amaZulu, the ancient sources for archaic Spartan development provide an equal challenge for reliability. A very thin and underwhelming collection of literary sources are available about Sparta's obscure archaic period. This lack of ancient literary sources on the late archaic period contrasted with the vast and divergent sources from the classical and Hellenistic periods indicates that, as with the amaZulu, an account of Sparta's early development cannot be taken from these texts alone. In the tendency to trust the wealth of later sources on Spartan society and development over the meagre amount of sources from the seventh and sixth century there is also the risk of overestimating the methodology of such ancient historians.[35] Additionally, a similar concern is faced when one considers the political motivations and embedded Athenian propaganda that is present in sources during and after the Peloponnesian war.[36] The contemporary Greek attitude towards Sparta and her social and military systems can be estimated from examples of later Attic sentiment and criticism. The funeral speech of Perikles in Thukydides (2.34-46) is an excellent example of the Attic anti-Spartan propaganda intended to disturb the democratic Greek world. However, especially

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[34] Duminy & Guest (1989:xvii-xix)

[35] Starr (1965:272).

[36] Tigerstedt (1965:20).

considering the purpose and focus of this study, archaic Spartan history is strongly interlaced with the legend surrounding the mysterious figure of Lykourgos and his literary tradition.

Availability and Reliability of Primary Ancient Spartan Sources

Some insight can be gained through Athenian political commentary on the Peloponnesian war. Critical readings of these sources allows for an understanding of Sparta's reputation in other πόλεις outside of Lakonia and Messenia. This study will draw on a number of ancient sources regarding the military and social systems of archaic Sparta. There are three key stages of the Lykourgan tradition from which our limited and fragmentary knowledge of Sparta is ultimately drawn. The predicament faced by the modern scholar, however, is that information is often taken from a later source without comparison to the earlier tradition. The contradictory traditions that are evident in extant literature illustrate the complex dimensions of the issue that were faced by ancient historians like Plutarch and that are still being faced by modern commentators.[37] The legacy of antiquity and its study offers numerous sources from the classical period which were used extensively by later historiographers. Yet, evidence from earlier sources closer to the formation of the Spartan constitution and the internal operations of the πόλις is scant. Nevertheless, with studious comparison and analysis, the key hypotheses on the transformation and expansion of archaic Sparta and her ideology can be constructed since there is no sign of a disruption of the social and military systems from the time of Tyrtaios until the fifth century. These later, stable and conformist systems, allowing for minor developments, can be taken as evidence of an unwavering tradition of social and military ideology in such a conservative society.[38]

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[37] Cartledge (2002:113).

[38] Kõin (2005:263); Tigerstedt (1965:22).

Plutarch and Pausanias

Working backwards, the first and most prevalent later ancient sources are the works of Plutarch and Pausanias. Plutarch's extant works in the biographical genre is a well-known contribution to our understanding of antiquity. His sources on Lykourgan Sparta, which existed approximately five hundred years before, are noted by commentators to be mostly reliable due to his knowledge of archaic Spartan poetry as well as his extensive reading of other historians and examination of the public archives at Sparta.[39] His sources include many non-extant texts including Aristotle's *Constitution of the Spartans*, although the extent of his editing of this information cannot be known. He is a frequently cited source for the figure of Lykourgos and the development of the Spartan constitution. Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* is one of his many biographies that have contributed largely to the debate over the moralist's reliability as a source for the ancient world.[40] In the absence of an up to date English commentary on this text, the LOEB edition will be used. His vast body of work is seen as the pinnacle of a biographic tradition that, although without any firm methodology, is responsible for the preservation of a large amount of non-extant texts.[41] Plutarch presents a reliable source on the Lykourgan tradition of his time although it must be remembered that this biography is paralleled with Numa, Romes own mythical lawgiver.[42] Nevertheless, the details found in the *Life of Lykourgos* that are corroborated by the first and second stages in the development of the Lykourgan tradition allow much of early Sparta's history to be elucidated. However, the character of Lykourgos that Plutarch draws in his *Life of Lykourgos* should not be taken at face value primarily on account of the multiple, contradicting accounts in the late Lykourgan tradition that Plutarch is heavily swayed by. Furthermore, his moralising agenda dominates his portrayal of the lawgiver to such an extent that Lykourgos' involvement in the reformation of Sparta must be questioned. Tyrtaios from the seventh

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[39] Talbert (1988:3-4); Tigerstedt (1965:24).

[40] Pelling (2002:148-149).

[41] Russell (1973:104); Flacelière, R. *et al*. (edd.) (1957:118).

[42] Kõin (2005:236); Dryden (1864:*xviii*).

century, for example, attributes the institutions of the dyarchy, the γερουσία (council of elders), and the ἀπέλλα (public assembly) to an earlier oracular pronouncement. Therefore Plutarch's attribution to Lykourgos shows a clear augmentation to suit the existing tradition.[43] The biographer's inaccuracies have been abundantly illustrated, yet his position in the list of primary ancient sources for archaic Sparta does not diminish on account of the dearth of reliable sources. The second author in this stage is Pausanias, who wrote a broad overview of Greek geography that contributed immensely to the genre of travel literature. Within his work, he discusses Sparta and her monuments at great length.[44] These two authors are the most extensive and consistent enough to be considered valuable and yet their accounts are not to be wholly trusted.[45]

Fourth-Century Authors

The second stage of the historical tradition is that of the fourth-century Athenian authors. Plutarch draws heavily from these in his biography and we find the names of Aristotle, Xenophon, and Plato used extensively. Although these authors lived several generations after the first Messenian war they either had first-hand experience of Sparta's mastery of Greece or witnessed its decline. However, it must be remembered that the Greeks of the classical period were influenced heavily by their contemporary political climate. The increasing conflict between Sparta and Athens eventually resulted in the Peloponnesian war. A vast amount of anti-Spartan propaganda was disseminated from Athens at the time and the obtusely militaristic and anti-democratic aspects of Spartan society were exaggerated for this agenda. Their knowledge of Sparta's archaic period was tempered by the idealisation and embellished contemporary image of Sparta's militarisation. Additionally, the development of the social and military systems of archaic Sparta was, by the fourth century,

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[43] Wade-Gery (1944:5).

[44] Meadows (1995:92).

[45] Starr (1965:260).

already something of a very ambiguous past.[46] By accepting the accounts of these authors one runs the risk of accepting ancient propaganda with no means of separating the politically-minded fallacies from historical fact.[47] The approach that this dissertation takes towards the biased accounts found among James Stuart's interlocutors on the amaZulu is adopted for the interpretation and understanding of these fourth-century authors. Both groups of sources are removed from the events and systems they describe and occasionally they offer contradictory and unverifiable information. Thus, the true nature of these fourth-century commentators on Spartan society can be revealed and, by using the same methodological approach, valuable information embedded in the accounts can be drawn from these sources. The veracity and reliability of sources such as these are justifiably suspicious to a critical reviewer yet they cannot be marginalised nor should their contradictory accounts be wholly discounted.

Spartan Poets

The third and earliest stage in the Lykourgan tradition is the extant fragments of the Spartan poets Tyrtaios, Terpander, and Alkman, of whom the Spartans were very proud (Ath. 630f). According to Plutarch, these poets were held in the highest regard by the Spartans and would suffer no inferior member of society to debase their tradition:

διὸ καί φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν στρατείᾳ τοὺς ἁλισκομένους εἵλωτας κελευομένους ᾄδειν τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος καὶ Σπένδοντος τοῦ Λάκωνος παραιτεῖσθαι, φάσκοντας οὐκ ἐθέλειν τοὺς δεσποσύνους.

Therefore they also say that later in an expedition of the Thebans against Lakonia the captured Εἵλωτες, when ordered to sing those songs of Terpander

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[46] Becker & Smelo (1931:360).

[47] Starr (1965:258).

and Alkman and Spendon the Lakonian, declined, asserting that their masters
did not wish it.[48]

<div align="right">Plut. *Lyc*. 28.5. Perrin.</div>

It is from Tyrtaios' poem, *Eunomia*, that our most relevant information comes since he is credited with providing the model for the Spartan constitution in his military elegies.[49] The Great Rhetra and its notorious rider, which are preserved in his fragments, unsurprisingly become the central figures of the Lykourgan tradition.[50] Lykourgos' involvement in the reformation of Sparta during a time of great discord is so closely tied with this oracular pronouncement that to ignore such a clearly embedded oral tradition would be an oversight. As this study aims to show, evidence for an oral tradition for Spartan history must be valued as highly as oral sources for Zulu history. This oracular pronouncement for the re-stabilisation and ordering of the Spartan constitution is critical for determining the extent to which the Lykourgan tradition and our knowledge of archaic Sparta has deteriorated and been contaminated by ancient authors, such as Plutarch, writing many centuries later. The Rhetra signifies an enacted law having been presented to and approved by the assembly of Spartans, the ἀπέλλα. The Great Rhetra is also, according to Plutarch, a direct oracular pronouncement from Delphi intended to sanction Lykourgos' reformation.[51] However, as will be shown, the evidence for Lykourgos' involvement stems from persistent cultural ideology of the invader-state to legitimise its authority over controlled land. There is a clear lasting effect of this ideological reinforcement of the Spartan military image and its propagandist agenda. For example, the attitude towards and use of Tyrtaios by the Athenian orator also

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[48] All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[49] Luginbill (2002:409); Balot (2004:422).

[50] Kennell (2010:47-49).

[51] Wade-Gery (1944:6).

by the name of Lykourgos was intended to exaggerate the ideology of the military poet in contrast to Athens' democratic superiority and rationality.[52]

Xenophon

Deserving of a section of its own, Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians* and Lipka's (2002) commentary is a valuable text from which details about the Lykourgan constitution can be gathered. By comparing information from Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* to Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians*, a historian known for his affiliation with Sparta, a reliable description of Sparta's social and military systems can be made.[53] This first extant text on the constitution of the Spartans focuses specifically on the figure of Lykourgos and his system of education.[54] Xenophon was transparent in his support of the Spartan system over that of the Athenians. It becomes apparent that he preferred the training of men in virtue over the sophistry of the Athenian education system. Thus he represents the character of the Peloponnesian side of this cultural divide.[55] The text attributed to Xenophon, however, does not present a complete representation of the Spartan constitution as it does not include the Great Rhetra, nor does it deal with the communities of the Περίοικοι (secondary-tier peoples) and the Εἵλωτες (tertiary-tier peoples) in any great detail.[56] These and other omissions may be due to the Xenophon's desire to maintain his friendship with the βασιλεύς Agesilaus in a time when Sparta's socio-political structure was failing. As with the Zulu component of this dissertation, a greater emphasis will be placed on earlier sources such as Herodotos who is the earliest literary source for Lykourgos and Diodoros whose important work preserves many non extant materials that will not be excluded.

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[52] Ducat (2006a:49).

[53] Harman (2009:368); Ducat (2006b:23).

[54] Gray (2007:39); Lipka (2002:35).

[55] Cawkwell (1976:73-74).

[56] Gray (2007:40).

Modern Scholarship on Sparta

Spartan studies, following the tradition of ancient historians, reflect a similar tendency to portray Sparta as an obtusely militarised society and excludes much of the cultural traditions of the πόλις. There is an unexpected paucity in scholarship that attempts to deconstruct the militaristic image of Sparta that derives from the fragments of Tyrtaios and the exaggerated emphasis on the models of Spartan education and society found in Plato and Aristotle.[57] These erroneous representations are popularly known as the 'Spartan mirage'.[58] To avoid this, the works of Hodkinson as a leading modern scholar in Spartan studies will be used extensively. Other secondary literature such as the studies done in the field of rituals and practices involved in the education and training of Spartan youth by Knotterus and Berry (2002) and Marrou's (1956) broad look at education in antiquity will be consulted.[59] Similarly, the works of Ridley (1974) and Shipley (2006) on the management and function of the Περίοικοι in Sparta will be useful in this study's analysis of the fundamental aspect of Sparta's socio-political dominance. The canonical works of Michell (1964) and Forrest (1968) provide comprehensive foundational accounts of Sparta's history and the factors relating to her constitution. However, larger emphasis will be placed on the information acquired through ancient sources and modern scholarship will serve to support or elucidate areas of uncertainty or contradiction.[60] As the primary aim of this dissertation is to investigate the development of archaic Sparta, an original and critical anthropological approach will be introduced to the field of Spartan studies in conjunction with existing scholarship.

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[57] Hodkinson (2006:ix).

[58] Hodkinson (2006:111-115); Marrou (1956:23).

[59] See also, Harris (1991) for his more recent study on literacy and education in antiquity.

[60] Becker & Smelo (1931:353).

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Objectives

Considering the current transformation that South African universities are undergoing towards a more inclusive understanding of Africa and its history, it is essential that the discipline of Classics in South Africa conform to these new standards and produce pertinent scholarship. As such, this study aims to provide a detailed, culturally sensitive investigation into the military and social systems of the πόλις of archaic Sparta under the 'Lykourgan' constitution and the Zulu paramountcy under uShaka (Chapters Three and Four). This comparison will include an analysis of the practices involved in the education and training of youths as well as the rituals of initiation into manhood (Chapter Five), the treatment and socio-political function of subjugated peoples (Chapter Six), and key aspects of military life in the warrior caste (Chapter Seven). The socio-ecological catalysts that induced and supported the militaristic development of both societies will form a significant component of this analysis and recent scholarship on state formation theory will be closely consulted. Finally, probable causes for their congruencies, as well as differences, will be investigated in order to allow for a richer understanding of both cultures. However, the full spectrum of this rich cultural comparison cannot be exhaustively dealt with in the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, the weight of my concluding observations will reflect the defined objective of this dissertation which is a broadening of scholarship on archaic Spartan development through an innovative approach to the field.

Questions to be Asked

Firstly, an investigation into the pervasive, ideologically influenced perception of the Spartans and the amaZulu as militaristic societies reveals two culturally significant figures. The mythical Spartan lawgiver, Lykourgos, and the mythologised paramount *inkosi*, uShaka kaSenzangakhona, are central to this dissertation. Their names are associated with deep

factual inaccuracies that have been masked by the ideological propaganda in the historical record. The reasons for their significance will be addressed in an effort to elucidate the role of cultural personae as figure-heads in ideological constructs. Furthermore, it will be asked in what ways the militaristic character of their respective societies was influenced by this. Through investigation an understanding of the archaic Spartan πόλις under the 'Lykourgan' system is achieved.

Such a cross-cultural comparison of military and social systems must involve the identification of the integral features of each. What these features are and how they develop in isolation is critical to understanding the function and significance of these systems. The analysis and comparison raises a number of questions. The extent to which the militaristic natures of these two societies are dependent on their social systems will be investigated or, indeed, to what extent their social systems were dependent on their militaristic approach – an aspect which Ferguson (1918) does not address. To develop this further, the socio-economic and socio-ecological conditions under which these systems evolved will be contrasted in order to elucidate their congruent development in light of modern state formation theory. The question of the validity of comparative analysis over such a distance in time and geography is engaged with. This dissertation, through its analysis, will inquire as to the strengths and weaknesses of emic/etic comparative methodology as well as modern anthropological theory for the growth of Spartan studies.

Comparative Methodology

This dissertation does not aim to infer a connection or contact between the Spartans and the amaZulu. It seeks to identify the congruencies found in the military and social systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu in order to develop an understanding of archaic Spartan development within a comparative framework.[1] The conclusions made from these similarities are, by their reciprocal and heuristic natures, able to elucidate the shared factors that

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[1] Cartledge (1980:95-96).

contributed to the militaristic development of these societies. The methodology employed in this dissertation seeks to discontinue the old lines of thought and correct the distorted view of the Spartans and the amaZulu. These two societies are far more dynamic than some scholarship tends to portray them and new movements can be found in both fields that support this approach.

This dissertation will employ emic and etic methodology from the field of anthropology in order to analyse and compare the Spartans and the amaZulu adequately and to propose certain hypotheses with confidence.[2] The relevance of the emic/etic debate in cultural comparisons has been largely compromised by the misunderstanding of the terminology and the distortion of its application. Therefore the following explanation of the terms and their methodological processes will assist in the reading of this dissertation and in understanding the methodology's neglected value for current scholarship in Classics.[3]

Coined from linguistic terminology by Kenneth Pike (1967), emic refers to culturally specific features or actions which can only be interpreted through the lens of that culture. Thus, in the same way that phonemic sound value is dependent on the finite meaning which certain phonemes carry and which can only be interpreted with knowledge of the language, emic analysis aims to identify precise cultural meaning by examining features from the perspective of an insider. Phonetics, on the other hand, delineates the mechanical facets of sound production and categorises them into linguistic groups that are common in all languages.[4] Therefore, etic analysis uses the perspective of an outsider to draw cross-cultural comparisons and outline common cultural features. The tendency in anthropology and ethnoscience to view emic/etic analyses merely from the concepts of insider/outsider perspective has given rise to much confusion.

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[2] Hodkinson (2009:xv).

[3] Hansen (2009:386); Hodkinson (2009:419).

[4] Jorion (1983:41); Harris (1976:331-332).

Emic analyses, in their effort to consolidate comparable data with a wider perspective, must evaluate their conclusions against an etic framework.[5] In anthropology, emic analysis requires an observer to disregard all concepts and ideology external to the culture and its temporal context. All observations are made through the lens of a member within that culture. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from such a synchronic approach bear little significance for comparative studies unless used in conjunction with an etic framework where accurate similarities and differences may be revealed. The study of the cultural concepts and ideologies of a community, while having a valid significance and relevance within an isolated examination of that society, does not have any legitimate application if not juxtaposed to congruent concepts or ideologies found in unrelated societies.

The emic component of this analysis will be used in conjunction with an etic framework. This study aims to identify integral features of the Spartan and Zulu military and social systems that are unable to be removed or altered without the distortion or alteration of the system. While the etic component of the study aims to juxtapose this emic ideological data to elucidate their etic features in order to expose cultural congruencies and differences, there is a need to isolate such features for comparative analysis so that the following juxtaposition can produce verifiable conclusions from the comparison.[6]

The etic features central to this dissertation are the organisation of youths into phratric clusters, the three-tiered hierarchy of subjugated peoples within cellular division of territory, and the ideological conditioning of the warrior caste.[7] Minimal, inter-generational changes of these social and military systems in the source-culture do not affect the emic level of such an analysis. For example, what is true about phratric ideology in Sparta for one generation will be true for the next. Once fundamental changes occur that alter the nature of Spartan phratry, then the emic level is no longer applicable or relevant. Thus the following

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[5] Feleppa (1986:243).

[6] Kay (1970:23) *apud* Feleppa (1986:243).

[7] Hansen (2009:393).

analyses within an etic framework allow for this cross-cultural comparison without affecting the legitimacy of the emic analysis.

It is important to note that while emic and etic approaches may seem to be paradoxical in their opposing perspectives, it is only through the combination of the two that valuable conclusions may be made about social and military systems. Since features identified through emic analysis must be corroborated and compared cross-culturally within an etic framework, it is vital for this dissertation to examine each society separately, and using culturally specific vocabulary, in order for the conclusions not to be misled by oversimplification or misunderstanding. In order to fully compare the social and military systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu for the purpose of elucidating archaic Spartan development, an emic approach will be employed in the individual analyses of the identified features. This will then be applied to an etic framework in which the congruent military and social systems of the two societies may be critically compared without contaminating the gathered data as well as accurately revealing their differences. The purpose of this approach is for hyper-generalisations about either society to be avoided and for the study to remain culturally sensitive.[8]

Zulu Studies

Considering the background of South African historical studies, recent scholarship is attempting to move away from Eurocentric theories that dominated the field in the past. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the amaZulu were popularised as objects of curiosity for European audiences. They were primarily depicted as savage peoples of Africa who presented more of a threat to their neighbouring communities than to the British themselves.[9] However, this image of the amaZulu shifted dramatically at the beginning of the Anglo-Zulu war and a significantly different perspective developed. Within the historiography of the Anglo-Zulu war, the British forces have often been identified as the democratic,

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[8] Hodkinson (2009:420).

[9] Anderson (2008:9-10).

cultured Athenians against the warring, uncivilised 'Black Spartans'. The Anglo-Zulu war began when *inkosi* uCetshwayo, refused an ultimatum delivered by the British government on 11 December 1878. The invasion of Zululand by British forces in the following year was marked by several notable battles, including the battle of Rorke's Drift and the famous victory by the outnumbered amaZulu at the battle of Isandhlwana on 22 January 1879. This battle has often been deceptively referred to by historians as the African Thermopylae.[10] However, the final defeat of uCetshwayo's forces at the battle of Ulundi on 4 July 1879 brought the Zulu Kingdom fully into a significantly Eurocentric era. The mythologised historiography that issued from the Anglo-Zulu war was markedly focused on confirming the non-normative behaviour and development of the amaZulu and their history. The image of uShaka was exaggerated to such an extent that he became the figure-head for non-normative state development.[11]

This study disregards such interpretations and will present a firm foundation from which to investigate recent hypotheses about the Zulu paramountcy and its role in the socio-political history of South Africa. In spite of all the legend and controversy that surrounds the nineteenth-century paramount *inkosi* of the amaZulu, much progress has recently been made in the field of early South African state formation in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region of present-day KwaZulu-Natal. State formation theory, previously a field of study dominated by European studies, is now being adapted for the African context. New understanding of the socio-economic and socio-ecological factors contributing to the development of centralised leadership among the communities in southern Africa has opened up new paths of investigation and analysis of South African history that were neglected in the past.[12]

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[10] Murray (2009:84).

[11] Bjerk (2006:2).

[12] Kuper (1993:469-470); Wright (1987:2-3).

Spartan Studies

Sparta is often depicted in modern scholarship as a warring nation with no appreciation for the cultural pursuits epitomised by their contemporary Greeks. The image of Sparta has come to resemble an army barracks rather than a collection of citizens in a Greek πόλις.[13] It is easy to forget that Sparta's militaristic nature, as understood by modern scholarship, has been augmented and manipulated by the contemporary intellectual and political contexts in which it was applied. Spartan studies has largely been marked by its use in two major militaristic regimes in the twentieth century; the governments of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Features of Nazi Germany were founded on Spartan ideology and the propaganda that ensued from this by both Nazi Germany and the United Kingdom resulted in a comparison which is difficult to exclude.[14] Equally as problematic and pervasive is the comparison of Sparta to the Soviet Union and their ideological propaganda. This dissertation means to reject such propagandist analogies and loaded connotations in order to objectively compare the development and constitution of Spartan and Zulu military and social systems.

Additionally, the ancient sources which are often subject to their own misrepresentations have been diluted by these and other comparisons. In order to fully understand and analyse Spartan military and social systems, it is crucial that ancient and modern agendas do not contaminate the study. Spartan society was not a static singularity but a πόλις that underwent constant change and adaption to multiple influences (Xen. *Lac.* 14.1-7).[15] An awareness of this has led to an increase in recent scholarship that has begun to rescue Sparta from a dangerous trend of misrepresentation.[16] Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Sparta was understood by scholarship to be an example of a typical Greek πόλις. The intellectual shift to a more pro-democratic stance on the ancient world induced a reversal of opinion. Sparta instead was seen as the exception to normative state

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[13] Hodkinson (2006:111)

[14] Cartledge (2009:1). See also, Roche (2013).

[15] Hodkinson (2006:113-114)

[16] Hodkinson (2009:xiii-xiv).

development by ancient historians with Athenocentric attitudes.[17] Some of the earliest extant literary sources allude to the Spartan system as developing out of an uncertain past with the Dorian invasion, figure-headed by Lykourgos (Hdt. 1.56.3; Diod. 15.66.2; Hom. II. 4.53).[18] The aim now, as the trend begins to change and advance, is not merely to revise old thought but to elucidate aspects of archaic Spartan society that have been neglected. The continuation of this ideal in other areas of study, such as the retrospective analysis of early southern Africa, is vital for the integrity of future scholarship.

State Formation Theory

The beginning of the transition from an egalitarian society to a centralised state can be observed in the progression of bands into tribes. Familial groups that are organised according to kinship with no systems of integrated leadership evolve into larger communities that exhibit the integrated leadership of a number of bands and become tribes. The development of the chiefdom occurs when a number of tribes are integrated into a hierarchical political system under one authoritative leader.[19] This political structure is exemplified by the centralised power of a chief that remains stable through the organisation of a labour force and the distribution and allocation of wealth. The socio-economic stability of the chiefdom is dependent on the institutions established by the chief during his reign. Thus collapse of the chiefdom may occur when this leadership is questioned or removed. The defining feature of a state, however, is the institution of political offices that manage political, economic, and legal matters. This solidifies the social and political systems and allows for the continuation of the state despite the removal of one facet of leadership.[20]

The socio-ecological and socio-economic factors that contribute to the conditions necessary for this political transformation have traditionally been debated over by the

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[17] Hansen (2009:385)

[18] Bernstein (1997:278).

[19] Spencer (2010:7119).

[20] Deflem (1999:372).

competing theories of Carneiro (1970) and Service (1975). Carneiro's circumscription theory argues that warfare plays a vital role as a catalyst for state formation under three socio-ecological conditions.[21] Firstly, when arable land is limited chiefdoms attacked by those more dominant are unable to migrate and are thus either subjugated into larger political systems or forced to align with a paramountcy that can offer protection. Secondly, resource concentration induces high stake conflict over the limited access to resources. Through the occupation of these restricted areas a paramountcy can offer both protection and economic stability which results in a growing political system through subjugation and integration.[22] Thirdly, population pressures require the acquisition of land to support the polity. Conflicts become increasingly violent and the total subjugation and protection of desired territory becomes the primary aim of the paramountcy's military system.

Service's theory of institutional leadership, on the other hand, states that the transformation from a tribal community into a state is the result of the consolidation of tribal leadership within hierarchical and legal systems that legitimise the authority's power.[23] The rise of subsidiary bureaucratic institutions allows for the monopoly of the labour force and the redistribution of wealth. Thus, in Service's model the chiefdom is intermediate in this political development where regulated economic and judicial offices have yet to be formed but the control of military force allows for the centralisation of authority. This process of legitimisation of a polity's labour force is concurrent with a monopoly over means of violence.[24]

Deflem (1999) used the origin and evolution of the Zulu paramountcy to examine the competing state formation theories of Carneiro (1970) and Service (1975). These theories which were previously identified by European contexts designate several socio-economic and socio-ecological factors in the formation of the Zulu paramountcy.[25] Yet, as Deflem shows, the diverging perspectives of Carneiro and Service are not independently sufficient

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[21] Carneiro (1970:734, 738).

[22] Abrutyn & Lawrence (2010:424).

[23] Service (1975:74-75).

[24] Abrutyn & Lawrence (2010:421).

[25] Deflem (1999:371).

as a universal approach and he also offers alternative theories. Warfare, and subsequent social circumscription, has been noted as the mechanism by which state formation is driven. However, there are a number of socio-economic and socio-ecological conditions that need to be met since warfare alone does not necessarily induce centralised leadership or socio-political structures.[26] Although Service's theory attempts to account for stratified political systems, this study will identify and examine the various conditions proposed by Carneiro necessary for this development. Therefore, this dissertation will test the following conditions for state formation to support the hypothesis of a universal model.[27] The first condition of geographic circumscription dictates that as neighbouring polities that hold autonomy increase their claim on territory there is a point where unification of communities results in a centralised leadership structure.[28] Strict and elitist access to resources arises from this and the growth in population density reinforces the real or perceived scarcity of resources.[29]

As a parallel to this study's approach to comparative methodology, the ideological apparatus from which the πόλις of Sparta and the paramountcy of uShaka were derived will be closely examined and compared. The myth of the Dorian invasion, discussed in Chapter Four, is deeply rooted in the invader-state ideology and propaganda that are found in fragments of a Spartan oral tradition (Hdt. 8.73). Thus far, explanations of the origins of the Spartan πόλις in correlation with archaeological data have disregarded such resources.[30] This study aims to further elucidate the dark period out of which the Spartan πόλις emerged through comparison with the amaZulu. The ideological apparatus that supported the formations of the πόλις and the paramountcy of such militaristic societies will provide essential conclusions about the nature of their social and military systems.

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[26] Carneiro (1970:734).

[27] Refer to map in Illustration 1 (Appendix Two).

[28] Carneiro (1970:736).

[29] *Ibid* (1970:736-737).

[30] Cartledge (1992:49-50).

CHAPTER THREE

uSHAKA kaSENZANGAKHONA AND THE ZULU PARAMOUNTCY

The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region[1]

KwaZulu-Natal lies along the eastern coast of South Africa sheltered from the dry interior by the eastern rain catchment over the Drakensburg mountain range. The Drakensburg offers a myriad of valleys with plentiful sources of game and shelter in sandstone belts strewn with caves. Much has been lost and neglected about the history of the Stone Age peoples of South Africa whose art decorates these mountains and thus there are numerous hypotheses about their culture and ancestry. Using recent archaeological evidence found at key sites and revisiting many outdated and colonially slanted assumptions, the theories revolving around the Stone Age peoples of southern Africa are under reform by modern scholars.[2] From archaeological evidence it has been hypothesised that the early settlers of the Thukela basin moved south from the equatorial regions of Africa and lived nomadically between the close, sheltered valleys of the Drakensburg during the summer months and the eastern coastlines in larger communities with the sea as a reliable source of food during winter.[3] The sites at these coastal settlements are unique due to the notably more advanced cultural artefacts, tools, and weapons not found elsewhere. This hints at a certain wealth and safety in the Thukela basin that marks a definite motivation for the takeover of these sites by the southward-moving Bantu tribes bringing Iron Age technology.[4] According to the interlocutor uMruyi kaTimuni, the amaZulu arrived as a contingent of the amaQwabe clan into the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in this staggered southward migration, but split off from the paramountcy at an early stage.[5]

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[1] Refer to Map 1 (Appendix One).

[2] Murray (1981:47); Inskeep (1969:175-176). See also, Villa *et al* (2012); Dewar & Pfeiffer (2004).

[3] Mazel (1989:17).

[4] Raum (1989:129).

[5] *JSA* (4:37).

By the middle of the sixteenth century the coastal regions of early KwaZulu-Natal, north of the Mtamvuna River, were densely populated with Nguni-speaking peoples.[6] We know from the records of Portuguese traders that the lexical similarities between these communities and later Nguni languages signify they were unquestionably related. Through mutual terminologies, the linguistic connection also indicates that certain foundational cultural practices and political features were already present in their social systems.[7] Another report from Portuguese sailors travelling between the Mkhomazi River and the Thukela claims that they passed through nine Nguni territories each under the power of an *inkosi*. These 15 to 20 square kilometre *inkosi*-territories were equivalent to the *induna*-territories in Zululand under the rule of uShaka.[8] This clearly demonstrates that the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region was densely occupied by inter-functional communities with rich natural resources in high demand. In this context, the clan based paramountcies that developed in the region (the amaMthethwa, the amaNdwandwe, the amaQwabe, and the amaNgwane) fought to maintain their power and territory while sharing many of the same military and social systems.[9] The amaZulu community under *inkosi* uShaka kaSenzangakhona in the nineteenth century was to rise out of this as the most powerful paramountcy in the region and make a profound mark on the history of South Africa. The ideological methods by which the Zulu paramountcy ensured its authority is the focus of this study and there have been a number of theories to explain the rise of the Zulu paramountcy and uShaka's subjugation of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.

The factors for increased conflict between the southern African paramountcies and the introduction of institutional reforms are of critical importance to this dissertation. The social systems that supported the centralised authority of the paramount *inkosi* worked in unison with social circumscription and the control of scarce resources. Thus it can be seen

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[6] Wright & Hamilton (1989:57).

[7] Etherington (2004:176); Maggs (1989:39-40).

[8] Maggs (1989:40).

[9] Refer to Map 1 (Appendix One).

that the condition of warfare as the mechanism for state development was a significant factor in the formation of the Zulu paramountcy.

inKosi uShaka kaSenzangakhona

Representations of uShaka's military and social innovations are often exaggerated to the point of mythologising.[10] The first misconception, and most important to this study, is that uShaka was the first to centralise control over the communities of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region. Firstly, the political systems by which he achieved this were already in place among the communities of south-eastern Africa.[11] Secondly, there were contemporary paramountcies that rivalled that of the amaZulu which drove the formation of uShaka's superior military system.[12] Thus the expansionism of uShaka made it possible for uDingane's further institution of centralised authority and ideological creation of what is commonly referred to as the Zulu kingdom, which is often misleadingly applied to uShaka's paramountcy. Therefore, as this dissertation will focus on the rise of the paramountcy of uShaka, the political events after his assassination in 1828 will be discounted at the emic level. This synchronic approach will eliminate possible contamination of the data as well as allow for a comparison of the congruencies with archaic Sparta.

The Myths about uShaka

The success of the early Zulu paramountcy was the *inkosi*'s control of traditional labour institutions as well as the centralisation of significant cultural activities. However, the extreme methods of uShaka have been a central feature in early southern African historiography.[13]

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[10] Wright (2006:142-143).

[11] Kuper (1993:472); Raum (1989:135).

[12] Wright (1987:4).

[13] *JSA* (3:43, 249); Lucas (1879:28-29).

Many of his deeds and several events during his reign have accrued a mythological undertone that is present in many of the accounts.[14]

> When he entered on a war with a power, his whole mind and soul were irrevocably bent on annihilation; he had no redeeming qualities; mercy was never for a moment an inmate of his bosom; he had indulged in the sacrifice of human blood, and nothing could sate his monstrous appetite.
>
> Isaacs (1836:266-267)

The Zulu perspective on this ideology was strongly upheld and can be perceived by the *umuzi wesinthutha* (spirit hut) that uDingane had built in his capital to house uShaka's spirit.[15] The social consequences, however, of uShaka and his reputation had a significant impact on the communities of south-eastern Africa and is reported to have given rise to the *Mfecane* (The Scattering of People) that will be discussed shortly.[16] The following account by Fynn gives us another example of the cruelty incorrectly associated with the name of uShaka:

> The country to the north east as also to the west were specially invaded; those who attempted to stand were overpowered by numbers and ultimately exterminated, excluding neither age nor sex; many burned to death, their huts being fired by night, while the barbarous cruelties he practised, terror struck many tribes who had never seen his force and fled at his name.
>
> Fynn (KCM 98/69/1 File 2.9)

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[14] Laband (1995:22); Ferguson (1918:224).

[15] Website 1.

[16] Wright (2008:76-77).

The situation has been greatly exacerbated by the propagandist attribution of violence and barbarism to uShaka in the British perception of the paramount *inkosi*. In 1828, raids on the Cape frontier, misleadingly credited to uShaka, were followed by the indiscriminate devastation of the amaNgwane at the battle of Mbolompo by the British forces and their allies. Yet, on further investigation it was then discovered that Fynn, who was previously stated to have been held hostage by uShaka, was in fact involved and possibly led the raids on the Cape frontier communities. Thus, the mere intimation of uShaka's involvement in this slaving expedition resulted in his name being wrongly associated with aggressive actions of European colonists.[17] Furthermore, uShaka was not the only *inkosi* to be described with such propagandist exaggeration.[18]

The surname, Zulu, is now found extensively across current KwaZulu-Natal and even outside of South Africa. Interestingly, while many hold legitimate claims to the clan, others have adopted the name through a process of appropriating the command and influence that uShaka's name connotes.[19] His name has now become legendary and one closely connected to the history of the amaZulu. Thus, his name keeps the tradition alive for the transmission of cultural knowledge and ideology. The *izibongo* of uShaka are significantly devised for this purpose.[20] Therefore a number of features in the tradition have undergone specific alteration for various political purposes and must be approached with caution.

The Real uShaka

Calculating uShaka's date of birth is a difficult process where the information by Stuart's interlocutors is largely uncertain. However, from these sources the estimated year is 1781.[21] Consultation of the historical record and available primary evidence reveals that very little is

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[17] Wylie (1995:417).

[18] Wylie (2006:337).

[19] Yamba (2005:215-216).

[20] Canonici (1996:87).

[21] Wylie (2006:100-102).

known about uShaka himself and even less is verifiably known about his military exploits.[22] Yet, the effect that the rise of the Zulu paramountcy had on the region was profound and far-reaching. It is known that while uShaka's father, uSenzangakhona, was the *inkosi* of the amaZulu, they subordinated themselves under the Mthethwa paramountcy and paid tribute to uDingiswayo, the paramount *inkosi*. The illegitimacy of uShaka's birth, another aspect in the mythologizing of his character, meant that he had to be raised away from the amaZulu with his mother of the eLangeni.[23] However, uShaka's rise to become the *inkosi* of the amaZulu in 1812 and his defeat of the amaNdwandwe in 1819 is significantly obscured by ideology and stigmatisation.[24]

One of Stuart's most prolific interlocutors, uNdukwana kaMbengwana, who covers a substantial spectrum of the *JSA*'s themes, is a compelling source of information. In an interview in 1897, Stuart and uNdukwana discuss uShaka and his personality as well as the authority held by the paramount *inkosi* over the *amabutho* system. Since this control of a large labour force was an essential mechanism in his subjugation of communities and control of territory, there is no doubt about the source of the perception of him that he was brutal and oppressive.[25] The accounts of uShaka's character often present him as despotic and psychologically unhinged. This perception, however, can be attributed to the last years of his life when the death of his mother is reported to have affected him severely.[26] Furthermore, the claims of his illegitimacy and that he was responsible for his father's death have been found to be clear propagandist statements to undermine his legitimacy in the oral historical record.[27]

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[22] Golan-Agnon (1990:96); Ferguson (1918:226).

[23] *JSA* (4:38, 226).

[24] Wylie (2006:149-150).

[25] *JSA* (2:94).

[26] Wylie (2006:411).

[27] Hamilton (2011:323).

The Reforms of uShaka

There is much evidence to state that many of the cultural practices of the Nguni-speaking communities in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region remained fundamentally unchanged until the nineteenth century, when the rise of the paramountcies in the region set in motion a number of societal reforms.[28]

According to Ferguson, uShaka was responsible for two major military innovations. Firstly, he unified the previously temporary and localised *ikhanda*-based military force into one system.[29] Under uDingiswayo, the *amabutho* were traditionally gathered by their *inkosi* who retained a significant amount of autonomy over their use but could be summoned to form an *impi* (army). Yet, uShaka's centralisation of his paramountcy meant that *amabutho* were created from members of different communities and stationed at any *ikhanda* (barracks-like settlement) that required reinforcement for his purposes. Thus, he exerted his direct control over the labour force that was no longer bound by kinship to their *imizi* (settlements) but by ultimate loyalty to him as the paramount *inkosi*. He ensured the success of this non-hereditary system by awarding positions of authority to those who showed bravery in battle which encouraged the *amabutho* to fight more fiercely.[30]

Secondly, Ferguson attributes the discarding of *izijula* (throwing spears) for the *iklwa* (broad-bladed stabbing spear) as the primary weapon for battle to uShaka.[31] This attribution is a common mistake made by many, as it is now known that the *iklwa* was in use well before uShaka.[32] Ferguson relies on Fynn for this attribution and, as has been discussed, his diary is no longer considered to be a reliable source. Yet, the dramatic shift from projectile combat to close-quarter fighting is a persuasive explanation for uShaka's success.[33] Although the intensification of fighting tactics, as this study aims to illustrate, was the result

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[28] Maggs (1989:40).

[29] Ferguson (1918:222).

[30] Golan-Agnon (1990:98-99).

[31] Ferguson (1918:219).

[32] Raum (1989:128).

[33] Ferguson (1918:224).

of several socio-ecological and socio-economic factors that were skilfully negotiated by uShaka, it is this development that encouraged the stigmatisation of uShaka. Although Ferguson does admit that the tradition in which the *iklwa* is ascribed to uShaka may be misleading, he is unwilling to attribute it to an earlier period before the increased conflict of the paramountcies.[34] It is increasingly evident that the nature of the Shakan tradition is to attribute many of the military practices of the region to uShaka himself as many fables were attributed to Aesop, speeches to Demosthenes, and reforms to Lykourgos. The reception of this practice has severely augmented the portrayal of uShaka and must be discounted for a legitimate image of the Zulu paramountcy to be formed that accurately accounts for uShaka and his reforms.

Another pervasive feature of the reforms attributed to uShaka is his abolition of circumcision practices. Circumcision was dictated by the *inkosi* and was granted when a warrior was permitted to marry. The attribution of the abandonment of this custom to uShaka is a matter of uncertainty even in the historical record.[35] The practice was fading into disuse when the Mthethwa paramountcy was beginning the process of centralised rule in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region. Neglecting these circumcision rights that were traditionally an integral component of a youth's initiation into manhood and an *ibutho* meant that the paramount *inkosi* was able to meet the increasing demands on his military system.[36] By bringing youths into the warrior caste quickly without the time spent during cultural observance, the paramount *inkosi* was able to fashion *amabutho* immediately from the available youths in subordinated *imizi*. This dissertation supports the view that the extent and intensity of the reforms of uShaka have been highly exaggerated in the historical record and will refute these false attributions.

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[34] Ferguson (1918:224).

[35] *JSA* (1:195).

[36] Wylie (2011:37).

The Zulu Paramountcy[37]

According to the oral tradition, the father of uZulu *inkosinkulu* (the great *inkosi*), uMalandela, lived in the Babanango area of modern KwaZulu-Natal. After marrying uNozinja and settling in Eshowe, uMalandela had two sons named uQwabe and uZulu. The elder brother, uQwabe, is reported to have left after the death of uMalandela but returned after finding out that his younger brother and mother had amassed a respectable number of cattle. However, uNozinja left the area with uZulu and established an *umuzi* near the White Mfolozi river. The eponymous founder of the amaZulu established his family among the numerous communities of the region and his descendants assumed the clan name abakwaZulu with an ideologically charged autochthonous claim to the land.[38]

In the second half of the eighteenth century the move from fractious, mutable communities ruled by individual and autonomous *amakosi* towards more centralised systems of control took place.[39] Three coastal paramountcies stand out in this phase: the amaMabhudu, east of the Maputo River in southern Mozambique; the amaNdwandwe, an aggressive paramountcy centralised between the Mkhuze River and the Black Mfolozi; and the amaMthethwa, under whose rule were the amaZulu. In an interview with Stuart, uNdukwana says that during the early expansion of the amaMthethwa as a dominant paramountcy his father was born in the recently acquired coastal territory. These coastal *imizi* were instrumental for the paramountcy's control south of the White Mfolozi river. Similarly, the control of this coastal belt was a significant factor when uShaka moved his capital to kwaBulawayo (The Place of the Killing). This active colonisation tells us not only that establishing territorial colonies was already in practise by paramount polities, but it also tells us about the context in which the small *umuzi* of the amaZulu rose in political strength.[40]

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[37] Refer to Map 2 (Appendix One).

[38] *JSA* (4:277).

[39] *JSA* (4:217).

[40] Wylie (2011:347).

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the rivalry between the amaNdwandwe and amaMthethwa reached a critical peak. During a raid by the amaNdwandwe, uShaka held back his forces and did not send them to the aid of the amaMthethwa which resulted in the defeat and death of their king, uDingiswayo. The amaZulu were then able to confront the weakened amaNdwandwe forces, who uShaka ensured were rested and eager for battle. His victory over the amaNdwandwe and the void left by the defeat of the amaMthethwa guaranteed his domination of the region. The paramountcy of uDingiswayo to which he had belonged was replaced with his own. This newly formed centralised polity grew rapidly and proved to be stronger and more advanced than before with uShaka leading a reform of old traditions and methods of fighting. He offered protection to the neighbouring communities against the amaNdwandwe and they accepted his rule. Any resistance was met with domination and integration. The Zulu paramountcy quickly became the predominant power and the largest controlled territory in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.

As a result of social circumscription, a three-tiered socio-political hierarchy was formed within the Zulu paramountcy that will be discussed in Chapter Six. Zulu ethnic identity was adopted by subordinated communities and they formed the secondary-tier known as the *amaNtungwa* and the *izinduna* (headmen) that governed them under uShaka's authority. These peoples were heavily involved in the social and military systems of the amaZulu yet the persistent pressures of integration into the Zulu paramountcy meant that the lines between those with legitimate claims to the clan name and those assimilating themselves were blurred. The tertiary-tier communities of the Zulu socio-political hierarchy are called the *amaLala*. Their origins are uncertain, but it has been argued that they were the original Khoi-San inhabitants of the region that were displaced by the immigrating tribes and forced to integrate.[41] Highly stigmatised and relegated to specialised labour, these peoples were marginal members of the Zulu paramountcy.

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[41] Monteiro-Ferreira (2005:349).

Socio-Ecological Conditions

Evidence for continuing environmental degeneration in South Africa from the beginning of the nineteenth century can be found in the historical record. There were two major droughts in the first half of the century that resulted in heightened competition between the southeast African paramountcies over scarce resources.[42] The devastating Madlathule Drought (*c.*1800-1806) is attested by the recorded oral history of uLunguza kaMpukane in the *JSA*.[43] This climatic stress can account for the rivalry between the Ndwandwe and Mthethwa paramountcies for access to resources and the militaristic development of the *amabutho* age-grouping system in the early part of the nineteenth century.[44]

Several conditions of Caneiro's state formation theory are met in these early phases of the Zulu paramountcy. The limiting of arable land through environmental stress caused the forming paramountcies to compete for access to restricted resources and the intensified conflict was the mechanism by which their military systems developed. The shift in imagery used in *izibongo* that accompanied the rise of the Zulu paramountcy indicates a source for the connection of this change in political dynamics with uShaka.[45] Instead of using small, cunning animals to describe the characteristics of *amakosi*, larger more dominant animals such as lions and elephants are far more prevalent. Social circumscription through subordination and integration centralised the authority of the territory and increased population pressures encouraged the acquisition of additional land for redistribution. Thus it is evident that the socio-economic and socio-ecological conditions defined by state formation theory are present in the formation of the paramount polities in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region and that warfare was the primary mechanism that determined the development and reform of the social and military systems of the amaZulu.

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[42] Ballard (1986:369).

[43] *JSA* (1:342).

[44] Mitchell (2002:372).

[45] Brown (1997:26).

The *Mfecane*

The effect of uShaka's domination of the Phongolo-Thukela region had far-reaching consequences that led to the mass retreat of a number of communities that were forced into conflict with their neighbours. Referred to as the *Mfecane*, accounts by a number of sources portray the devastation and chaos that was felt far afield as a result of uShaka's expansion of the Zulu paramountcy.[46] By capturing their cattle and integrating their youth into his *amakhanda*, uShaka established a paramountcy that was protected by surrounding depopulated areas and a genuine threat of famine.[47] Reports of bands of cannibals wandering these abandoned spaces are found in many of the sources about the *Mfecane*.[48] However on closer inspection, these reports show no credible evidence to suggest that communities of cannibals were created by the rise of the Zulu paramountcy.[49] In the first volume of *James Stuart's miscellaneous papers on the early history of Natal*, Tom Fynn, the nephew of Henry Francis Fynn, recounts the interaction his uncle had with some members of the peripheral communities. He states that the amaThusi were the only people who remained near the coast at the mouth of the Umzimvubu river. The other communities had migrated inland to escape uShaka.[50] He goes on to relate that they survived as scavengers on the coastline as their cattle had been taken and their crops burnt.[51] Thus many of the members of communities that had escaped found themselves in the wasteland that isolated the Zulu paramountcy from their neighbours. They were forced to forage for nourishment without the support of the paramountcy and it resulted in an untold number of deaths.[52] Similar accounts are given for a number of communities which uShaka encountered in his

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[46] Wylie (2011:28).

[47] Ferguson (1918:221).

[48] *JSA* (1:201).

[49] Laband (2008:170); Wylie (2006:223-225).

[50] Fynn KCM 23463/15.17.

[51] Fynn KCM 23463/15.18.

[52] Fynn KCM 98/69/1 File 2.12.

expansionist efforts.[53] According to his diary, Fynn accepted land from uShaka and was permitted to give sanction to those displaced by the *Mfecane*. This community came to be called the *iziNkumbi* (The Locusts) since he also displayed much of the brutality which was a supposed characteristic of uShaka in his position as an *induna*.[54] Yet, the account by William Bazley in the *JSA* portrays Fynn in a very different light as the giver of shelter and protection from the ruthless uShaka.[55]

The rise of the Zulu paramountcy and uShaka's expansionist efforts are stated to be the direct causes of the *Mfecane* in much of the secondary literature.[56] However, other sources indicate that it was not uShaka but the Mthethwa paramountcy under uDingiswayo that caused pervasive upheavals of the communities in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.[57] This strongly suggests that ideological alteration of the tradition has skewed the modern understanding of this period in South African history. Thus, Stuart's parenthetical comment preserved in the *JSA* telling us that he was similarly aware of the problem still facing modern commentators is worth noting:

> Truth not defeated by error. The Zulu idea is truth. How comes it to be defeated
> by what is not truth? What defeats one may defeat the other, and thus the truth
> may be found.
>
> <div align="right">*JSA* (4:325)</div>

The depopulation of the interior territories as a result of uShaka's violent dominion was a neat justification for the occupation of the inhabited areas by the eastward moving European settlers.[58]

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[53] Fynn KCM 23463/15.29-30.

[54] Wylie (1995:417).

[55] *JSA* (1:55).

[56] Mitchell (2002:369); Murray (1981:52).

[57] *JSA* (4:326); Monteiro-Ferreira (2005:351).

[58] Mitchell (2002:370); Hamilton (1993:38-39).

The intensity with which the mass destruction and pathological violence attributed to uShaka was exaggerated has induced the perception that the Zulu paramountcy was an example of a non-normative polity in southern Africa. However this is a misguided perception as the paramountcy needed an influx of male youths to support the military system and to subordinate productive *imizi* in order to maintain economic stability.[59] Thus, it is shown that the mechanism of warfare, although undoubtedly instrumental in the rise of the Zulu paramountcy, was not solely responsible for its formation but rather in combination with the socio-ecological and socio-economic conditions discussed in the following section.

State Formation Theory

As a result of several droughts in the region there was an increase in competition for control of land suitable for grazing and agriculture. The three emergent paramountcies (the amaMthethwa, the amaNdwandwe, and the amaNgwane) reacted to this with increased pressure placed on their *amabutho* systems to secure their paramountcy's authority over desired territory.[60] The amaMthethwa, led by uDingiswayo, united the communities between the Black Mfolozi and the Mhlathuze rivers into the political system that uShaka would come to take control over and reform. As discussed earlier, uShaka's decision to hold back his forces during a confrontation between the amaMthethwa, under which he was a subordinate *inkosi*, and the amaNdwandwe allowed him to confront *inkosi* uZwide and defeat him. Thus, it is in this way that uShaka, the *inkosi* of a small *umuzi* was able to incorporate the surrounding communities and ultimately those of the amaNdwandwe also into his newly formed paramountcy built on the political foundations established by uDingiswayo. The ideology that accompanied this transition was successful at uniting a myriad of dialects and cultural systems under the name of the amaZulu and their ethnic identity. This ideology still exists in present-day South Africa as isiZulu is the dominant language of KwaZulu-Natal and

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[59] Wylie (2006:155).

[60] Lambert (1995:273); Eldredge (1992:1).

the majority of speakers also identify as Zulu despite it being specifically the name of the royal house.

The control of resources was the key factor in uShaka's centralised control over the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.[61] By offering cattle to communities that subordinated themselves into the paramountcy uShaka was able to ensure their loyalty.[62] Cattle were the sole property of the paramount *inkosi* and he was able to distribute them for his own agenda in order to sustain the *amakhanda* that ensured the presence of Zulu ethnic identity and promulgated Zulu ideology.[63] Thus the condition of social circumscription was fulfilled by stratified control of resources with the paramount *inkosi* retaining ultimate authority of its distribution.

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[61] Wylie (2006:231).

[62] *JSA* (2:110).

[63] *JSA* (2:169; 1:317, 319).

CHAPTER FOUR

LYKOURGOS AND THE SPARTAN ΠΟΛΙΣ

Lakonia and Messenia

Lakonia is in the mountainous central-southern territory of the Peloponnese peninsula, bordered by Arkadia to the north and a long, jagged coastline that stretches from the north-east to the southern spurs of the Taygetos mountain range.[1] The archaeological record shows that several significant settlements in Lakonia were abandoned or destroyed in the Late-Helladic III B period (*c.*1200 BCE). According to what can be gathered from the inconsistent and traces of an oral tradition, the region of Lakedaimon, like many other Mycenaean settlements, was later taken over by Dorian invaders from northern Greece (Hdt. 1.56). The evidence for the extensive depopulation of the area that followed indicates that either these invaders did not settle immediately or that a large-scale emigration occurred.[2] The acceptance by some scholars of the hypothesis that Lakonia was largely uninhabited in the period between the disappearance of the Mycenaean polity and the establishment of the Spartan πόλις offers little to the wider understanding of archaic Spartan history. Considering the socio-economic systems that rested heavily on the contributions of the Εἴλωτες that were ideologically enslaved by the invader-state, the debate is significantly hindered by uncertain aspects of archaic Spartan development.

Nevertheless, these invaders were later identified as the descendants of Herakles that founded the new Sparta in Lakonia which they had reclaimed. The aristocratic ideology of the Spartans hinged on the claim of their royal houses as descendants of Herakles.[3] To legitimise their claim on the territory further they adopted the Mycenaean name for the settlement. A site south-east of classical Sparta provides sufficient evidence of a

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[1] Refer to Map 4 (Appendix One).

[2] Snodgrass (1971:367); Desborough (1964:234).

[3] Cartledge (1980:98).

considerable Mycenaean settlement that was destroyed by fire.[4] It is thought to be the Sparta of Menelaos since there was no further habitation till the erection of a monument to the Homeric βασιλεύς (king) and Helen (Paus. 3.20.3). It is also argued that the genealogies which can be neatly traced back to the time of invasion are misleading fragments of propaganda meant to bridge the gap between the fall of Mycenaean Lakedaimon and the rise of a Dorian Sparta that claimed descent from the eponymous founders of their two royal houses, Agis and Eurypon. Tyrtaios give us interesting evidence for the distinction between the Dorian invaders and the Herakleidae.[5] It can be seen by ἅμα in the following fragment that the Dorians identified as a separate ethnic group:

> Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις ἄστυ δέδωκε τό δε,
>
> οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
>
> εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα

> Zeus gave this city to the Herakleidae,
>
> with whom coming from windy Erineos
>
> we arrived at the broad island of Pelopos

<div align="right">F2, 13-15. West</div>

A realistic calculation of the Spartan dyarchic genealogies shows the Herakleidean founders to be much later than the sources propose (*c*.930-900 BCE) and that the dark years which separated the disappearance of Mycenaean culture from the founders of a new Sparta were much longer than the Greeks themselves were aware of.[6] The Spartans knew of the

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[4] Desborough (1964:88).

[5] Huxley (1983:6-7).

[6] Prakken (1940:471).

Mycenaean civilisation within which they had established themselves but had no real grasp on the period or the process of this transition.[7]

Messenia on the western side of the Taygetos mountains presented a much desired prize for Sparta's expanding πόλις. The archaeological record shows that Messenia experienced the same destruction in the thirteenth century and exhibits similar evidence of proto-geometric pottery in scattered communities that slowly recovered from the event during the dark years that followed.[8] The following fragment of Tyrtaios provides an idea of the later Spartan conquest of Messenia that took two decades and the eventual total occupation of the fertile territory:

ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῇ δ᾽ ἐμάχοντ᾽ ἐννέα καὶ δέκ᾽ ἔτη

νωλεμέως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,

αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες.

εἰκοστῷ δ᾽ οἱμὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες

φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

They were fighting about it for nineteen years

unceasingly, always having a bold heart,

the spearmen fathers of our fathers.

In the twentieth year, leaving their fertile fields

they fled from the great mountains of Ithome.

F5, 4-8. West.

Unfortunately, the political propaganda that infiltrates the historiographical tradition makes the exact dating of Messenia's subjugation a point of debate among scholars in Spartan studies. Relevant to this study, however, is that in this period (ninth and eighth century) a

[7] Forrest (1968:26-27).

[8] Desborough (1964:224); Forrest (1968:36).

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large scale reformation of the Spartan constitution took place and the conflict with Messenia is closely tied to, or most probably the catalyst for, the intense militarisation of archaic Sparta. Thus the condition of warfare as the mechanism for state formation was met.[9]

Lykourgos the Lawgiver

The name of Lykourgos is found repeatedly in the extant historiographical tradition of Sparta's archaic development (Hdt. 1.65-66.1). The reputation and identity of classical Sparta were deeply embedded in the reforms that this mysterious figure instituted. A significant mythological aspect, however, was inextricably bound to the tradition of Lykourgos the lawgiver and this immediately illustrates that it will be difficult to discern the propaganda that masked gaps in historical knowledge.[10] The tenuous evidence for Lykourgos' existence is marginally discussed by Plutarch in his *Life of Lykourgos* (1.1) and the early origins of the Lykourgan system have been erroneously assumed by subsequent commentators and scholars.[11] The Lykourgan tradition, as it is known today, originated from a gradual dissemination of Spartan cultural knowledge through Athenian observations. There is no way of categorically verifying Lykourgos' existence in the extant literature or indeed of proving that his character arose from a mythological context. Yet, according to Plutarch and Xenophon he was directly responsible for a number of reforms that transformed Sparta, which had fallen into an apparent lawless and disordered state, into a highly militaristic and efficient oligarchy. The evidence for a significant reformation in Sparta echoes the similar political modifications that were happening concurrently in other Greek πόλεις. As with the formation of paramountcies in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region of KwaZulu-Natal, the movement away from earlier political organisations which were centred on cellular, autonomous, tribal-based communities ruled over by βασιλεῖς to larger paramount πόλις systems that, as in the unification of Attica by the mythologised Theseus, evolved into more

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[9] Cartledge (1980:102).

[10] Gray (2007:44).

[11] Lipka (2002:35); Forrest (1968:40).

democratic political systems.[12] Sparta, however, was successful in retaining their dyarchy due to the foundation of two vital institutions, the γερουσία and the ἀπέλλα. The dates of the foundation of these institutions, and indeed the dates of Lykourgos himself, have been comprehensively debated by numerous scholars both ancient and modern.[13]

The Myth of Lykourgos

The mysterious and semi-divine lawgiver of Sparta, Lykourgos, is a central figure in Spartan studies, and ancient writers have done little to minimise the legend of this influential character (Xen. *Lac*. 1.2). Being either an earlier figure adopted from the time of the Dorian immigration into Lakonia, or the amalgamation of various political identities which were attributed to one cult figure, there can be little doubt that Lykourgos was a foremost personality in Spartan oral culture.[14] The later cult of Lykourgos, although an appealing piece of evidence for the latter argument, is yet another layer of the Lykourgan tradition.[15] Collective memory is subject to alteration especially in times of political disorder when the traditions of the past and the authority of a society's elite class over an occupied region are in question. Inherited cultural knowledge, although unable to be transformed entirely, is still liable to ideological restructuring in order for the reality of the present to be fully reconcilable.[16] Thus, as is common with oral cultures, an earlier personality was appropriated as the figure-head for the ideological construction of the Lykourgan tradition.[17] The considerable role of later fourth-century authors in the development of the myth of Lykourgos has to be noted. Yet, their accounts could have only deviated marginally from the existing state of the tradition which would have still been heavily reliant on the archaic

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[12] Rhodes (2003:3); Starr (1965:270-271).

[13] Starr (1965:257).

[14] Knotterus & Berry (2002:2).

[15] Flower (2009:193).

[16] Kõin (2005:238).

[17] Ong (1982:69-70); Becker & Smelo (1931:357).

Spartan poets and transmitted oral histories.[18] However, the extant fragments of Tyrtaios do not specifically mention the name Lykourgos in connection to the reforms. Herodotos (1.65, 66) also leaves much uncertain about the exact identity of the persona.[19] The tradition was subject to constant development induced by the socio-political climate of the πόλις in the archaic and classical periods.[20] Since features of the tradition have been discarded and some have been added to give certain propaganda cultural legitimacy, the historiographical record must be assessed critically.

The Real Lykourgos

On closer inspection, much of what Xenophon and Plutarch attribute to Lykourgos in his biography is anachronistic and unsupported in earlier sources. Yet the pervasive mirage of Sparta and the Lykourgan tradition adopted from Plutarch in later literature suggests that there is a lacuna in the ancient and modern sources about the cultural significance of this figure.[21] Although the argument for the immutability of the Spartan tradition is compelling, the alteration of the tradition from the Athenian literary perspective should not be underestimated. Dating the reformation of Sparta out of which the Lykourgan tradition emerges is more difficult than one would expect. The majority of the sources Plutarch uses come from the second and third stages of the tradition's development and should be read with caution. Firstly, Plutarch's (*Lyc*. 1.1) statement of Lykourgos' involvement with Iphitos and the Olympic truce is supported by Aristotle, his followers, and in this statement by Pausanias:

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[18] Kõin (2005:239).

[19] Dickins (1912:8).

[20] Flower (2009:195).

[21] Africa (1979:351).

χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἴφιτος, γένος μὲν ὢν ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου, ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανήγυρίν τε Ὀλυμπικὴν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν κατεστήσατο.

After some time Iphitos, being a descendant from Oxylos, in the time of Lykourgos who wrote the laws of the Lakedaimonians, arranged the games at Olympia and also established the Olympic festival and truce again from the beginning.

<div align="right">Paus. 5.4.5. Spiro.</div>

However, the non-extant discus on which the names of Iphitos and Lykourgos were inscribed and which Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1.1) states was Aristotle's (F533. Ross) evidence for dating Lykourgos to 776 BCE cannot be taken as reliable or even authentic.[22] Indeed, since it does not exist in the archaeological record, the evidence of the discus must either be discounted in the dating of Lykourgos or the argument that places Lykourgos much later should be considered since the institution of the pentathlon took place only in 708 BCE at the eighteenth Olympiad.[23] Furthermore, the dissemination of the Greek alphabet as early as this is a questionable assumption.[24] Plutarch (*Lyc.* 1.2) then offers another alternative tradition which, in an effort to circumvent the dating problems of connecting Lykourgos with the Olympic truce as well as the succession of the Spartan βασιλεῖς, supposes that there were two figures by the name of Lykourgos whose reputations and deeds have been amalgamated into one historical identity. The contradictory tradition, to which Plutarch states Eratosthenes and Apollodoros belonged, can also be found in Xenophon (*Lac.* 10.8) who claims that Lykourgos lived many years earlier than the first Olympiad and dates him to the

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[22] Starr (1965:262).

[23] Newton (2009:28).

[24] Thomas (1992:67); Starr (1965:265). See also, Powell (2009).

time of the Herakleidae.[25] This hypothesis cannot be proved but does correspond with the theory that Lykourgos was an archaic Dorian figure that was appropriated into Spartan cultural ideology during a later political reformation. Yet, the primary argument becomes clear when the genealogy of the Spartan βασιλεῖς is examined. Plutarch's account (*Lyc.* 3.1-4) relates that Lykourgos was the uncle of the king Charilaos and served as πρόδικος (political guardian) for eight months (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1271b; Ephoros *apud* Strab. 10.19). However, Herodotos (1.65.4) states that Lykourgos was the πρόδικος of Labotas, his Agiad nephew. The number and variation of these contradictory accounts demonstrates that the Lykourgan tradition has been subjected to political modification not only from Attic authors but from within the Spartan oral tradition itself. Yet the strength of the evidence for Lykourgos, if not a Dorian figure from the dark years of Lakonia's history, for being the πρόδικος for Charilaos is far more prevalent. However, an even clearer image emerges of an archaic Lykourgos whose involvement in a drastic political upheaval that had far-reaching and ideologically forming effects on the Spartan oral tradition. The renowned name has been used by multiple figures for multiple reasons to legitimise later political propaganda and this has distorted and augmented the tradition greatly.

The Reforms of Lykourgos

The austere image of Sparta that evolved from the Lykourgan tradition is based on several military and social reforms which are credited to Lykourgos.[26] The dating of these reforms encounters difficulties when attempting to reconcile the tradition to the archaeological record and the dyarchic genealogies. However, the strongest evidence for a reformation in archaic Sparta comes from Tyrtaios' poem from the mid-seventh century, aptly entitled *Eunomia*, from which it is clear that Sparta was undergoing serious internal crises (Thuc. 1.18.1).[27] This unsettled period in early Sparta is also acutely confirmed in Plutarch's words:

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[25] Lipka (2002:187).

[26] Buckley (1996:70).

[27] Starr (1965:266-267).

ἀνομία καὶ ἀταξία κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον.

Anarchy and lack of discipline held Sparta for a long time.

<div align="right">Plut. Lyc. 2.3. Perrin.</div>

Tyrtaios' fragment echoes the Great Rhetra that later writers, most notably Plutarch (*Lyc*. 1.1), attribute to Lykourgos. The oracular pronouncement orders the establishment of three fundamental institutions in Sparta; the ἀπέλλα, the γέροντες, and the division of the Ὅμοιοι (The Equals) into two tribal groups; φυλάι and ὠβάι. These reforms are attributed to Lykourgos by Plutarch even though he admits there is nothing that can be known about his life. Earlier accounts do not credit him so strongly and our closest source, the extant fragments of Tyrtaios, does not seem to mention him at all.[28] Xenophon also credits the Spartan lawgiver with the establishment of the whole constitution which includes the institution of the γερουσία, the administering of land, the taboo against currency, the institution of communal meals, and the structuring of the ἀγωγή.[29]

According to Plutarch (*Lyc*. 5.6-8), Lykourgos is responsible for the preservation of the Spartan dyarchy as well as the institution of the γερουσία and the ἀπέλλα by means of an oracular pronouncement. The Great Rhetra represents a demotion of the dyarchy's political responsibly that was absorbed by these two political institutions.[30] The dyarchy is known to be an archaic system that developed from the Dorian settling of Lakonia which the Spartans would have been hard pressed to dissolve completely but may have needed divine sanction during this unsettled time alluded to by Tyrtaios (Xen. *Lac*. 8.5; Diod. 16.57.4). The formation of the γερουσία and the ἀπέλλα is attested by Herodotos (1.65.4-66.1) as he also attributes the Great Rhetra directly to Lykourgos. However, Herodotos (1.65.4) also states

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[28] Starr (1965:271).

[29] Winston (2012:109); Hamilton (1996:148).

[30] Lipka (2002:222-223).

that the Lakedaimonians themselves claim that Lykourgos introduced the changes from his observation of Cretan society (ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα). Thus it is clear that despite the lack of literary evidence for the existence of Lykourgos in early Spartan sources the lawgiver was a dominant feature in the oral tradition of Sparta that was largely accepted by later writers.[31] The mythologising of Lykourgos calls the reliability of Athenian accounts into question. Furthermore, the rider that comes in addition to the Rhetra was most certainly in response to the degeneration of the Lykourgan system some years after its establishment. Aristotle, who considered the Rhetra to be Lykourgan but the rider to be a later addition, is supported in this by Plutarch (*Lyc*. 6.4). This indicates an oral tradition that is not wholly present in the extant record.

The Spartan Πόλις[32]

Alkinoös of the royal house of Nausithoös in Homer's *Odyssey* (books 6-8) provides an example of later Greek understanding of archaic πόλεις and the political authority of their hegemons. Nausithoös is stated to have migrated the Phaiakians from Hypereia, the island of the Kyklopes, and settled them in Scheria where they were untroubled by neighbouring communities (*Od*. 6.4-8). Here we have an example of a Homeric ϝάναξ (paramount βασιλεύς) who had the means to relocate his people away from external conflict in the pursuit of a place that offers both security and abundant agricultural resources (*Od*. 7.112-132). The result is the image of an ideal πόλις that offered autonomy, self-sufficiency, and a paramount βασιλεύς with specific authority that legitimised his rule.[33] This included the allocation and distribution of land to his subordinate βασιλεῖς, the first choice of spoils acquired through campaign, the right to gather and direct the actions of the βασιλεῖς, and direct control of the manpower of the πόλις (*Od*. 8.40-43).[34] We are also reminded by the

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[31] Kõin (2005:243).

[32] Refer to Map 4 (Appendix One).

[33] Snodgrass (1971:387).

[34] Jeffery (1976:39).

misfortune of Telemachos that the position of the paramount βασιλεύς was not hereditary and could be claimed by any of the other βασιλεῖς in the community:

> ἀλλ᾿ ἦ τοι βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι
>
> πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,
>
> τῶν κέν τις τόδ᾿ ἔχῃσιν, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς:
>
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἴκοιο ἄναξ ἔσομ᾿ ἡμετέροιο
>
> καὶ δμώων, οὕς μοι ληίσσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

> But there are βασιλεῖς of the Achaeans and many
>
> others in Ithaka amid the seas, young and old,
>
> let one of them lead, since heavenly Odysseus has died;
>
> but I will be the lord of my house and the slaves,
>
> which heavenly Odysseus captured for me.

> Hom. *Od*. 1. 394-398. Murray.

This image of the archaic πόλις is strikingly different from the πόλεις of classical Greece, yet considering Sparta's avoidance of the perceived normative development of Attica this gives us a clearer idea of the initial conditions for the formation of Dorian Sparta with two joint paramount βασιλεῖς. The dyarchy lasted in its original, tribal system until the seventh century and continued, after their administrative duties had been absorbed by the γερουσία and the ephorate, as βασιλεῖς with purely militaristic functions.[35]

The ideology that emerged during the period of κακονομία (political discord) was intrinsically linked to the Spartan claim of autochthony that legitimised their authority over the territory for redistribution among the Ὅμοιοι. The establishment of the monument to Menelaos and Helen at the site of Homeric Sparta towards the end of the eighth century

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[35] Hansen (2009:402-403); Cartledge (1980:108); Jeffery (1976:40).

added a religious aspect to this ideology employed by the conquest-state of archaic Sparta.[36] From this position, the Spartan βασιλεῖς were able to maintain their claimed hereditary authority further through the strict three-tiered socio-political subjugation of Lakonia and Messenia which provided the πόλις with stable socio-economic control.

The capture of the sanctuary town Amyklai by Sparta was instrumental in allowing for the expansion of the Dorian immigrants' control into the southern coastal plains of Lakonia.[37] Being one of the few sites showing signs of habitation after the disappearance of the Mycenaean polity, the religious centre presented an obvious target for expansionist intentions (Paus. 3.19.6). This process of expansion produced the secondary-tier in Lakedaimonian social hierarchy known as the Περίοικοι. This subjugation of the south is not mentioned extensively in the tradition, except for the campaign against Helos and the possible origin and introduction of the tertiary-tier of the Spartan socio-political hierarchy (Plut. *Lyc.* 2.1). Thus put forward by Pausanias:

καὶ πρῶτοί τε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων δοῦλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἵλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν· τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθὲν ὕστερον, Δωριεῖς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν εἵλωτας, καθότι καὶ Ἕλληνας τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποτὲ καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος.

And they were the first to become the slaves of the Lakedaimonian state and they were the first to be called Εἵλωτες, just as they also were; and the serfs they acquired later, being Dorians of Messenia, were called and subjugated as Εἵλωτες, in the manner the whole Hellenic race was from those in Thessaly when it was called Hellas.

<div align="right">Paus. 3.20.6. Spiro.</div>

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[36] Cartledge (1992:55).

[37] Refer to Map 4 (Appendix One).

The three levels of the socio-political hierarchy (Ὅμοιοι, Περίοικοι, and Εἵλωτες) from which the Spartan economic subjugation of Lakonia and Messenia was rooted will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six. Herodotos (1.65.1) says that during the kingship of Leon and Hegesikles, Sparta was proving to be a dominant military power in the Peloponnese.[38]

Socio-Economic Conditions

After the collapse of the Mycenaean polity in the Peloponnese, the populous settlements of Lakonia and Messenia were largely abandoned. The archaeological evidence for our understanding of Messenia at the time of Sparta's invasion (*c*.700-500) has been collated by two surveys. The University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition and the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project have shown that the previous large scale depopulation and abandonment of settlements was followed by a pattern indicating the establishment of a number of new sites.[39] These settlements mark the beginning of the distribution of land found in the Lykourgan tradition where Ὅμοιοι were given κλῆροι (lots) as a mark of citizenship with a number of state-owned Εἵλωτες to work the land.[40]

The altar of Artemis Ortheia established at Sparta (*c*.700 BCE) is the first known monument of the thriving cult and signifies the success of Sparta's cultural and political authority.[41] Additionally, it indicates economic and social stability between the four ὠβάι (villages) that constituted the πόλις with the inclusion of the fifth, Amyklai.[42] Notably, the Ortheia cult also held significant socio-economic power over the Apollo-Hyakinthos cult at Amyklai. Accompanying this is the linguistic evidence of the wide distribution of the Lakonian Doric dialect. This strongly supports the hypothesis of the Dorian invasion found in the tradition that was then legitimised by the accepted transmitted descent from the

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[38] Huxley (1983:5-6).

[39] Alcock (2002:191)

[40] Figueira & Figueira (2009:312).

[41] Snodgrass (1971:421).

[42] Cartledge (1992:54).

Herakleidae.[43] In spite of the challenges identified in the analysis of oral traditions, this hypothesis is supported by linguistic evidence for a migration of Dorian speaking peoples into Lakonia.[44] This was accompanied by a strict socio-political hierarchy supported by invader-state ideology that preserved the elite status of the Ὅμοιοι.[45] It is evident that Service's theory of stratified political and cultural structures is more significant for understanding the development of archaic Sparta than the socio-ecological conditions in which this process occurred.

The Messenian Wars

The Agid and the Eurypontid βασιλεῖς, Archelaos and Charilaos respectively, were the first of the Spartan βασιλεῖς that are reported to have initiated a joint campaign to expand Spartan territory. They attacked and defeated Aigys on the Arkadian border (*c.*775-750).[46] The βασιλεῖς that followed continued this expansion and the Eurypontid Nikandros engaged in a campaign against Argive territory while the Agid Teleklos moved southward into Lakonia. His capture and incorporation of the sanctuary of Amyklai as the fifth ὠβά of Sparta resulted in a strong foothold for the progression south.[47] This began with the subjugation of the settlements of Pharis and Geronthrai, which became Περίοικοι.[48] The rapidly rising population of Lakedaimon meant that the acquisition of land for redistribution among the Ὅμοιοι and the Περίοικοι was essential for the survival of the πόλις.[49] The first invasion of Messenia came after this subjugation of southern Lakonia when Teleklos entered from the southern spur of Taygetos. After founding a number of Περίοικοι the campaign ended with the death of Teleklos at the hand of Messenians. His successor, Alkamenes, continued

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[43] Buckley (1996:65).

[44] Cartledge (1992:53).

[45] Becker & Smelo (1931:354).

[46] Jeffery (1976:114); although Roy (2009:209) argues that this account has been discredited due to its anachronisms.

[47] Cartledge (1992:51).

[48] Refer to Map 5 (Appendix One).

[49] Sealey (1976:66).

further southward into Lakonia and besieged and conquered Helos. After this, he attacked Messenia from the north of Taygetos and moved into Stenyklaros, the richly fertile plain of Messene where the Messenian βασιλεῖς had once resided. This first Messenian War (*c*.735-715), most likely reckoned from Teleklos' first southern invasion, was finally won by the Eurypontid Theopompos.[50] With this central hold on Messenia, Sparta divided and allocated the newly acquired land to Ὅμοιοι. The new class of ideologically subjugated Εἵλωτες comprised of the defeated Messenians were put to work on the land.[51] This redistribution of land placed stress on the Spartan socio-political hierarchy and resulted in dissent over the requirements for admittance into the class of Ὅμοιοι, which is the possible cause of the κακονομία alluded to by Tyrtaios and attested by Plutarch.[52]

The second Messenian War was the result of several large-scale revolts by the Messenian Εἵλωτες and is equally debated.[53] In the second half of the seventh century, Tyrtaios' poetry appears to have been the official voice of the πόλις during this conflict. Although an Athenian brought to Sparta by oracular pronouncement, the tone of his poetry which calls for bravery and patriotism suggests that the Spartan morale was flagging and the old resentments of citizenship were resurfacing. Aristotle attests this as a common result from conflict over territory:

ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν οἱ δ᾽εὐπορῶσιν (καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσηνιακὸν πόλεμον· δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠξίουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν).

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[50] Jeffery (1976:115).

[51] Becker & Smelo (1931:357).

[52] Kennell (2010:43).

[53] Odgen (2004:185).

Whenever some are very needy and others are prosperous (and indeed this happens in wars; and this came to pass in Lakedaimon during the Messenian war; and this is apparent from the poem of Tyrtaios called *Eunomia*; for some being oppressed because of the war think that the territory be redistributed).

<div align="right">Arist. Pol. 5.1306b-1307a. Ross.</div>

This corresponds neatly with the theory that Tyrtaios' recalling of the Great Rhetra was to solidify the political systems of the dyarchy, the γερουσία, and the ἀπέλλα with the addition of the rider which was an attempt to quell these resentments. Additionally, his elegies aimed to evoke the spirit in which Theopompos had won the first Messenian War (F5, 1-2. West). The Great Rhetra and its attribution to the figure of Lykourgos are assumed, from the tradition, to have originated from this convolution of political propaganda to legitimise and consolidate the Spartan control of Messenia by oracular pronouncement. Being either the work of an obscure historical figure or attributed to a larger cult persona, the divine sanction of the Great Rhetra, alongside its association with the name of Lykourgos, affixed it to a constitution that no archaic Spartan would have transgressed openly without severe social consequences.[54]

State Formation Theory

Greece comprises not only the peninsula but also the numerous islands that are scattered through the Aegean. The early Ionian and Achaean immigrants into this region found themselves in a geographically defined unit with the open sea to the south and west of Crete separating them from the outside world, the Balkan mountains to the north, and the plateau of Asia Minor to the east.[55] This region quickly became richly populated with a number of Greek colonies seeking limited arable land and safety from other hostile Greek πόλεις.[56] The

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[54] Jeffery (1976:118).

[55] Ehrenberg (1974:3).

[56] See Osborne (2007).

socio-political motivations for such widespread colonisation stems from the structure of the early Greek political unit which was localised and cellular. Limited arable land and the need for a πόλις to sustain growing populations resulted in extensive settlement and the wide dispersal of ancient Greek πόλεις.[57] The sea that connected the peninsula to the islands in the Aegean was also responsible for the easy distribution of Greek settlements as well as trade between themselves and abroad. However, as is found with many Greek communities and preserved in Tyrtaios' fragments (F2, 12-13; F11, 1-2), there was a deep-rooted sense of autochthony that existed in the ideology of the Dorian/Herakleidean invaders that occupied the Peloponnese in the void left by the fall of Mycenaean culture (Paus. 3.1.1).[58] This ideology was instrumental in the legitimisation of their occupation of the land and the treatment of subjugated communities.

During the early phases in the growth of the archaic Spartan πόλις, a number of settlements were caught up in the struggle between the dominant powers of Sparta, Tegea, and Mantinea. Grouping of settlements in the sixth and fifth century was in direct response to this increasing pressure.[59] Communities chose to align themselves with one of the growing powers and adopted the ethnic identity and ideology that came with such a choice. Thus, in the case of Sparta, these communities accepted subordinate roles as Περίοικοι in order to ensure their protection and socio-political stability.[60] With the later forceful subjugations being the most prevalent in historiography, these early, voluntary unions are often neglected in discussions of the formation of the early Spartan πόλις.[61] Communities on the borderlands of Lakonia and Arkadia would have undoubtedly aligned themselves with the most likely winner of the struggle between these two polities to ensure their safety. Thus, accepting a position as a Περίοικος and the political consequences it carried could not have been as

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[57] Ehrenberg (1974:5).

[58] Cartledge (1992:52).

[59] Nielsen (2002:302-304).

[60] Bernstein (1997:276-277).

[61] Cartledge (2002:84).

harsh or undesirable as presented in the later tradition since an increase in the number of settlements in these boundary regions is evident.[62]

This shifting of ethnic identity and the adoption of the invader-state's ideology is not an implausible result of the conflict between dominant πόλεις in a geographically finite region. As is seen with the communities in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region of South Africa, the power that offered the most advantages in subordination most easily attracted the intermediary communities. Thus, the condition of social circumscription was met with warfare as the mechanism by which archaic Sparta developed.

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[62] Roy (2009:210).

PHRATRIC AGE-GROUPS OF THE SPARTANS AND THE amaZULU

amaButho

The regimental institutions called *amabutho* (those gathered together) were clusters of youths who were bound into phratric groups based on age or through ritualised circumcision that signified their entrance into manhood.[1] This part-time militia was formed periodically at the discretion of the *inkosi* and whose responsibilities encompassed raiding, hunting, the gaining of territory, and later the acquisition of ivory for trade.[2] The *amabutho* would spend their time between periodic activations as normal members of their community with non-militaristic functions but they also provided an informal policing system. A man's allegiance to the ruling house was a distinct milestone in his life and he was rewarded with social recognition of his masculinity. He was declared ready for marriage, although marital restrictions were imposed to regulate the number of unmarried men, and he was to be ready at all times for service should his *inkosi* call upon his *ibutho*. This duty, it has been argued, was not developed to its full capacity until the stabilisation of the ivory trade that allowed *amakosi* much more economic stability to keep an *ibutho* in active service.[3]

The expansionist methods of uShaka were fundamentally connected to his use of the *amabutho* system. By fully securing his authority over the labour force of subordinated *imizi*, the paramount *inkosi* ensured the diffusion of Zulu ethnic ideology. The youths were exposed to significant ideological conditioning while progressing from boys herding cattle in phratric bands to *izindibi* (mat-bearers) accompanying the *impi*. The number of *amabutho* that uShaka raised and stationed at *amakhanda* during his reign is indicative of the

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[1] *JSA* (1:140); Wright (1978:25).

[2] *JSA* (1:64).

[3] *JSA* (4:310).

effectiveness of his manipulation of social and military conditioning.[4] The *amabutho* system was an essential means of preserving the paramountcy's authority and legitimacy.

Customs

The most culturally significant moment of a young Zulu boy's early life was his reaching of puberty.[5] The manhood ritual that followed involved seclusion from his community with other pubescent boys and, prior to uShaka, this phratric cluster bound through their shared circumcision ritual would have been his *ibutho*. Stuart's interlocutor, uNdukwana, although recounting a much later system, does provide us with a valuable perspective into the customs of the *amabutho*.[6] He tells us that he travelled to many *imizi* while serving as an *udibi*. This process which usually lasted for a year or two, involved voluntary labour of herding cattle and any other minor task required by the *ikhanda*.[7] We are also given an account of the summoning of the *izindibi* by the paramount *inkosi* at the *umKhosi* (First Fruits festival) and formed into an *ibutho* called uDloko which was then stationed at the *ikhanda* at kwaGqikazi.[8]

Youths, roughly at the age of fifteen, who had decided they were ready to enlist went to the *ikhanda* of his father. They would declare their intention publically by a practice known as *ukukleza*, which involved milking one of the paramount *inkosi*'s cows directly into his mouth and accompany the *ibutho* serving as an *udibi*.[9] He remained in this position until the *induna* of the *ikhanda* informed the *inkosi* that an adequate number of boys had assembled to become fashioned into an *ibutho*. This process included marching to the royal *ikhanda* by order of the paramount *inkosi* simultaneously with *izindibi* from other *amakhanda*. There, the *inkosi* would form them into *izigaba* (divisions), name them, and appoint an older warrior as

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[4] Refer to Map 3 (Appendix One).

[5] *JSA* (3:11); Ferguson (1918:217).

[6] *JSA* (4:328-329).

[7] Wright (2011:349).

[8] *JSA* (4:335-336).

[9] *JSA* (4:89; 1:33).

their *induna*. The *isigaba* of an *ibutho* referred to a group of youths that had performed the practice of *ukukleza* at the same *ikhanda* and were grouped into one phratric unit.[10] From here, they were either instructed to build their own *ikhanda* or be incorporated into an existing one.[11] The institutionalisation of the *amabutho* into the *amakhanda* system was initiated by uShaka and much can be learnt from its structure and methods of ideological conditioning. The amaMatebele exhibit a similar system which was brought by uMoselekatze when he fled from uShaka.[12]

After being formed into an *ibutho*, the youth was now a warrior and allowed to wear an *umqhele* (head-band) once he proved his bravery and loyalty to the *inkosi* in battle. The days of childhood were over and his life continued with rigorous training, communal living, and unrelenting discipline. However, those days of childhood were also dominated with ideological conditioning in preparation for military service. For example, James Stuart describes mock battles between neighbouring groups of boys over better grazing grounds. The lead-up to these encounters inspired the boys to train and develop simple stratagems amongst themselves. Those who stayed at home on the day of battle were ridiculed and derided.[13] Fighting proficiency was already presumed when a youth entered an *ibutho*, since proving his skill and courage later at *imigangela* (inter-*ikhanda* stick fighting competitions) was essential to maintain his reputation.

Reforms

The geographical and social expansion of the centralised paramountcies of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region brought with it far-reaching social and political changes that defined the nature of the communities which uShaka dominated. The most defining of which was the

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[10] *JSA* (3:315).

[11] *JSA* (4:85); Ferguson (1918:200-201).

[12] Ferguson (1918:201).

[13] In a lecture by Stuart on Zulu boyhood, he gives the example of '*umuqol'o gambetsheni o cob'izintwala zi ka nina*. Stay-at-home by the food grindstone, who catches his [mother's] fleas.' (tr. Stuart 1903:21).

institutionalisation of the *amabutho* age-grouping system. This system drew on previously embedded concepts of patriarchal allegiance by young men to achieve social recognition and to enter manhood as a warrior. Previously, the ritual around the circumcision of a young man to initiate him into an exclusive phratry was done in order to solidify the loyalty of a labour force that could be called to arms by their *inkosi*.

Boys of the same age were drawn together and bound through ritual into a periodically active regiment under the authority of their *inkosi* who could call on them for his own devices. These groups were temporary and they were only maintained and strengthened once they began to be used for the acquisition of wealth through intensified raiding and elephant hunting.[14] A paramount *inkosi* was then able to offer his *amabutho* more incentives to stay in this newly forming military class instead of marrying off and starting an *umuzi* of their own. The paramount *inkosi* was now able to maintain substantial control of a standing army that was bound to him through ancestral loyalty and ritual. This spurred a new era dominated by conquest and subjugation that was exacerbated by limited resources. The neighbouring communities that were caught up in the epicentre of these competing paramountcies and their desire for socio-economic stability were under constant pressure to subordinate themselves and undergo a complete adoption of ethnic ideology through the *amabutho* system. The Mthethwa paramountcy rose to power at the same time as this new social class of militarised *amabutho* began to develop.[15] The causal relationship of this clearly indicates a systematic reform of the traditional *amabutho* as a result of the expanding polities in the region. The ruling houses became irrevocably dependent on the *amabutho* system and the power it provided them.[16] Inevitably, the exponential growth of several paramountcies in such close proximity to each other led to harsher and more militaristically focused conflict.

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[14] Wright & Hamilton (1989:62-63)

[15] *JSA* (2:50).

[16] Wylie (2006:116).

With the rapid expansion of Zulu territory after uShaka's definitive victory over the amaNdwandwe, a stable paramountcy was formed with a distinctively reliable standing army that could be kept active for long periods of campaigning. Utilising the regimental qualities emerging from what was once merely a traditional age-grouping system, uShaka was able to manipulate the *amabutho* into a fully functioning military force.

The claim that uShaka was the one to abandon the traditional circumcision ritual is highly misleading and adds to the discussion on his exaggerated military reforms.[17] Prior to this supposed reformation, the *amabutho* were the product of circumcision rituals that bound young men together into phratric clusters. This meant that the induction into an *ibutho* was concurrent with a boy's entry into manhood. However, Bryant, a missionary stationed in KwaZulu-Natal in 1883, relates that the formation of *amabutho* persisted even after the abolition of circumcision among many of the southern African communities.[18] The abandonment of the practice is concurrent with the intensification of conflict between the paramountcies of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.[19] Thus, being able to quickly induct *izindibi* that would be more effectively exposed to military conditioning without being delayed by cultural observance was a decisive motivation for discontinuing the ritual practice.[20]

The *ibutho* had become a vital component in the authority of an *inkosi* but before the shift of *amabutho* from traditional age-groups to defined military units, they were localised and would dissolve back into their community once they had fulfilled their orders.[21] Bryant speaks of this transformation and explains that instead of an *ibutho* formed out of the boys in a community that were of similar age, they now drew their numbers from multiple communities under the same paramount *inkosi*.[22] Youths formed into *amabutho* that were distinct from their original clans devoted their loyalty to the paramount *inkosi* to whom they

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[17] *JSA* (4:38).

[18] Bryant (1967:494).

[19] Wright (1978:27).

[20] Morris (1994:48).

[21] *JSA* (4:86; 1:310).

[22] Bryant (1967:495).

were answerable and became the regimental units that is now identified with the term *amabutho*. The transition from traditional age-group to a distinct military class was now complete. The militarisation of the *amabutho*, which involved the mass coordination of youths from a number of different communities and often stationed at *amakhanda* that no longer held direct hereditary significance, was indeed a noteworthy reform of the earlier system.[23] However, the primary duty of these phratric clusters was not to campaign relentlessly but to retain social stability in an expanding paramountcy by enforcing and promulgating Zulu ethnic ideology.[24] The *amabutho* system was made stronger than it had ever needed to be before and became the primary, dominating facet of a young, unmarried man's life in the communities of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.

The role of uShaka in this intensification of the *amabutho* system cannot be fully measured by comparison with earlier conditions due to the lack of reliable source material.[25] However, the exceptional number of uShaka's *amabutho* can be estimated through comparison with what is known about *amabutho* raised prior to his reign and with those after his assassination.[26] The extent of the youths drawn into the *amabutho* system and the strength it possessed in these following years under the reign of uDingane was seen to have been greatly reduced from that of uShaka.[27] This indicates that there certainly was a reform of the previous system and uShaka's expansion of his paramountcy depended on following through with the intensification of the *amabutho* that was already in process.

Social and Military Significance

The heavy responsibility experienced by a young Zulu boy and the social pressure he was subjected to as a child cannot be underestimated when one considers the lifestyle that was to follow. His duty to the paramount *inkosi* came before all other familial or hereditary

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[23] Golan-Agnon (1990:105).

[24] Wylie (2006:133).

[25] *JSA* (2:21).

[26] Wylie (2006:389-390); Gump (1989:62-63).

[27] *JSA* (2:94); Carton & Morrell (2014:130).

allegiances. The moral code of the *amabutho* system ensured that a youth's function as a member of the paramountcy's warrior caste took precedence over his social responsibilities to his home *umuzi*.[28] It was through this military and social conditioning that the youth became a fully recognised man once a member of an *ibutho* and this identity came with numerous expectations. His life was dictated by his superiors and by the discipline, often severe, of his *inkosi*. Failure, especially in the case of uShaka, was not met with mere derision but possible execution.[29] If a man did not obey the summoning of his *ibutho* he risked more punishment from the members of his own *ibutho* than the *inkosi*.

The phratric ideology that surrounded the concept of coming to age and the ritual initiation into manhood was deeply embedded in the process of *ibutho* formation. This began with a ritualised exclusion from the youth's community with others of his age. The use of circumcision to mark this transition has been shown to have been abandoned as a cultural practice by the amaMthethwa before the reforms of uShaka, to whom it has often been falsely attributed.[30] Yet, the ideology of the significance of such a practice can still be seen in modern South Africa. At an event in honour of Heritage Day the current *inkosi* of the amaZulu, uZwelithini Zulu, reacted to a statement by *inKosi* Sigcau of the amaMpondo in which he was called an *inkwenkwe* (a man who is not traditionally circumcised). In response, *inKosi* Zwelithini referred to *inKosi* Sigcau as an *umfana* (boy).[31] This unmistakably reveals that what it meant for a youth to be formed into an *ibutho* and the social status he held legitimately as a man is still present in the current South African context.

Youths who distinguished themselves in battle and were noted to be brave warriors by their *izinduna* to the paramount *inkosi* were awarded with significant social reward.[32] Being permitted to wear an *isicoco* (head-ring) meant that the youth was now able to take a

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[28] Stuart (1903:13).

[29] *JSA* (2:247); Samuelson (1911:197).

[30] *JSA* (2:94).

[31] Hans (2015:2).

[32] *JSA* (3:147).

wife and it was a sign of their military experience.[33] This could only be granted by the paramount *inkosi* and by strictly regulating marriage in this way, uShaka was able to retain control of a considerable labour force that were solely devoted to the military system for a large portion of their lives. He was also able to strategically control the expansion rate of the *imizi* and their drain on the paramountcy's resources.[34]

Besides the military significance of the *amabutho*, these phratric age-groups played a vital role in the promulgation of Zulu ethnic identity through the colonising system of the *amakhanda*. Their continued presence among the subordinated *imizi* ensured that the isiZulu dialect and its ideology were actively integrated into the social system. In this way the *amabutho* assured the integration of the subordinate peoples of the paramountcy.

The childhood of a young Zulu male was dominated by his mother and time spent herding and guarding cattle in phratric bands.[35] The bonds formed in these years between the boys had long-lasting affects and, with the institutionalisation of the *amabutho*, became the essence of what held the newly emerging military class together. Outside of the settlement and out of sight from their mothers and the older men of the community, the younger boys learnt about hunting, fighting, and other aspects of an adult male's life once he grew too old to spend his days in the hills. The experiences that uShaka had while one of these boys however, according to the historical record was one of isolation and marginalisation since he was not fully accepted by his contemporaries on account of his illegitimacy.[36]

The colonial historian, James Stuart, in a lecture given about Zulu boyhood in 1903 at Durban High School, speaks about the military conditioning that a young Zulu boy would have engaged in while herding cattle with his peers. He mentions the most common pastime known as *ubedu* (challenge). This was a game where the challenger would dare others to

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[33] Morris (1994:51).

[34] Gump (1989:63).

[35] *JSA* (3:82).

[36] Carton & Morrell (2014:138).

steal food from him while he defended himself. Seemingly a puerile and simple game, yet the ideological concept of protecting one's own source of nutrition against those who would take it is a deeply intrinsic facet of what drove a community to form a paramountcy or to ally with one. Stuart asserts that these challenges were prompted by courage and did not spark feelings of animosity between the boys. However, the losers were undoubtedly teased for their failure and felt social pressure to become quicker and stronger in order that they might win the next *ubedu*. Consequently, the winner was lauded for his fighting skills and his courage. The boy was fuelled by the praise of his peers and developed the responsibility of maintaining his reputation as he moved into manhood. Notions of shame and praise did not fall away but became reinforced by the military and social systems of their community. These childhood games were preparing them for the life of a warrior and some of them were even more direct in preparing the boys for a military life.

Once an *udibi*, the youth was responsible for herding the cattle kept at the *ikhanda* and carried supplies for the mobilised *amabutho*.[37] They accompanied the *impi* on campaign and carried their assigned warrior's supplies and additional arms.[38] They did not, however, engage in any fighting until they were considered ready to be formed into an active *ibutho*. The *amabutho* of older men were the ones that engaged in battle as youths were not considered to have undergone adequate military conditioning until they could face an enemy without panicking and running away.[39] The inculcation of military ideology was a significant aspect of *izindibi* at *amakhanda*. They were exposed to what was expected from a member of the warrior caste by observing their training and accompanying them on campaign.

Alongside their tasks as *izindibi*, the youths would frequently engage in mock battles of stick fighting. This activity was deeply central to the training of these young men as future warriors. The activity was promoted by uShaka as a method of transforming the boys from herders into capable young warriors equipped with the basic tools for defence and close-

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[37] *JSA* (3:293).

[38] *JSA* (3:316).

[39] *JSA* (5:88)

quarter attack.[40] Although beginning as a game, as the boys grew older the practice took on the much more significant purpose of inuring them to receive hard strikes and defend themselves in a simulation of combat.[41] In this respect, the expectations placed on youths were clear and they were conditioned through ideological methods to ensure the success of the Zulu *impi*.

In the early establishment of the Zulu paramountcy, uShaka formed four *amabutho* from the ones he inherited from his father.[42] He stationed them at his capital, kwaBulawayo, which was built by the *uFasimba* (The Haze) *ibutho*. This *ibutho* was formed of youths that were considered to be the favourites of uShaka who marked them with cuts to distinguish them.[43] The senior *amabutho* were collectively called *izimPohlo* (The Bachelors), which consisted of unmarried warriors in two separate *amabutho* named *umGamule* and *uJubingqwana*. The fourth *ibutho* was the *amaWombe* (The Battlers), which were married men and veterans.[44] Ferguson confirms that the typical active Zulu regiment stationed at the *amakhanda* consisted of at least two classes; one of veterans and the other of younger warriors divided further into those who had proved themselves in battle and wore *izicoco*.[45] He also tells us that there were often children associated with each regiment that had not yet entered into their ranks, the *izindibi*.

The *amabutho* age-grouping system was a vital component of the paramountcy. The phratric bonds and military ideology that were fostered throughout childhood were in preparation for the responsibly and duties of an *ibutho*. A Zulu youth was habituated to physical training and martial skill. The direct control over the *amabutho* allowed uShaka to subordinate a considerable number of communities in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region and

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[40] *JSA* (4:294; 3:326).

[41] Carton & Morrell (2014:130).

[42] Wylie (2006:180).

[43] *JSA* (2:50).

[44] Sutherland & Canwell (2004:12).

[45] Ferguson (1918:199).

establish *amakhanda* to ensure his authority.[46] Thus, in the formation of the Zulu paramountcy, military ideology and the phratry were fundamental features of the developing Zulu military system.

Ἀγωγή

The ἀγωγή age-grouping system is derived from the verb ἄγειν meaning 'to lead' or 'to guide'. Although the essence of this term cannot be translated into English very effectively it is instilled with the similar concept of collection and grouping into phratric units as the *amabutho* system of the amaZulu. As a state-run tradition the primary objective of the ἀγωγή was to train ὁπλῖται (armed warriors) and to condition Spartan youths to obey.[47] This obedience ensured the effectiveness of the Spartan phalanx. The successful completion of the institution ensured the inclusion to the class of Ὅμοιος and the youth was awarded with full citizen rights and allowed to enter a συσσιτίον (barracks-like structure).[48] The ἀγωγή educational system enforced Spartan ideals with remarkable efficiency and ensured the continuation of Spartan military ideology. Exaggeration and manipulation of these ideological structures in the historiographical tradition must be treated with caution (Plut. *Lyc.* 18.1). The contest between Just Speech and Unjust Speech in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (961-1023) on the benefits of an Athenian or Spartan education expertly highlights the propagandist context from which later fourth-century sources were influenced.

Xenophon pays much attention to the experience of a Spartan child and the laws specifically designed to ensure the future strength of not only the Spartan military system but also the saliency of Spartan ideals within the upbringing of the youth. The 'Lykourgan' educational system established the authority of the πόλις over youths, whose responsibility it was to ensure their proper upbringing in accordance to Spartan ideals. He tells us that Lykourgos, in order for the people of the state to be of the best quality, made it a priority of the state to take the responsibility of raising children from their parents (Xen. *Lac.* 2.2; Plut.

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[46] Kuper (1993:479).

[47] Marrou (1956:19).

[48] Cartledge (2006:67).

15.8; 16.4). A newly-born child was brought to an assembly place by its father and presented to a council of tribal elders, who decided whether the child was healthy and fit enough to be raised as a Spartan or to be exposed. Exposure at the Apothetae, a rugged spot near Mount Taygetos, was seen as a better outcome for both the child and the state since it had been born unfit for the Spartan lifestyle.[49] A Ὅμοιος who was unable to fully represent and accomplish what Spartan ideology required of him would only damage and weaken the system by which he was expected to live. In this way the Spartan constitution ensured the continuation of healthy and physically capable Spartan youths within the class of Ὅμοιοι (Plut. *Lyc*. 16.2).

Customs

According to the comprehensive accounts of the ἀγωγή age-grouping system by Plutarch (2nd century CE) and Xenophon (4th century BCE) who record the practice as it was in their time, the success of Sparta was due to the establishment of this educational programme. At the age of seven the boys were put into what Plutarch (*Lyc*. 16.4) calls ἀγέλαι (herds) and while removed from their families they lived in a communal system. With the responsibility of the education and training of the youth being the prerogative of the πόλις, there was no means of escape from the Lykourgan education system. Spartan boys had no choice but to enter the ἀγωγή or suffer extreme consequences for their social standing. This practice was a significant point of criticism from the perspective of an Attic audience (Thuc. 2.39.1). Only by conforming to the expectations of his society and complete obedience to the παιδονόμος (official educator) was he able to graduate as a trained and socially accepted ὁπλίτης (Xen. *Lac*. 2.2; Plut. *Lyc*. 17.2).[50] Through the rigid hierarchical structures on which the efficiency of the ἀγωγή relied, the system imposed strict discipline and ensured the continuation of the Spartan military ideology required for later life.[51]

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[49] MacDowell (1986:53).

[50] Kennell (2013:383).

[51] Knotterus & Berry (2002:12).

This communal system of phratric clusters strengthened the ideal of Lykourgos for a proficient, unified Spartan military class with absolute loyalty to the state being the only path to honour. The system itself lasted from age seven to twenty and was divided into three stages.[52] The youths in the highest grade were called εἴρενες who acted as the seniors in all facets of the ἀγωγή (Plut. *Lyc*. 17.2). Their duties comprised of commanding the younger Spartans in training and fighting, and other aspects in the management of the συσσιτία to which they belonged. Plutarch (*Lyc*. 17 *Ages*. 1.1; *Cleom*. 11.2), writing at a time when the ἀγωγή had become an attraction for Roman tourists, tells us that the boys were tasked with acquiring supplies by any means, including theft; showing us that training was not confined to the gymnasium but was firmly linked with basic survival. This does reaffirmed Lykourgos' intention for an army that would be accustomed to the life of a Spartan warrior (Xen. *Lac*. 2.3).

The transition from παῖδες (boys) to ἡβῶντες (youths) was firmly linked to reaching puberty (Xen. *Lac*. 3.1).[53] This was an important part of the ἀγωγή as entrance into manhood came with a number of social and military expectations. The characteristics and qualities that were expected from an adult Ὅμοιος were fostered in this education system. According to the ancient sources, this was accomplished with harsh military conditioning and constant supervision by officials and by their peers (Xen. *Lac*. 2.10). Therefore, the inculcation of military ideology was imposed on the Spartan youths with great efficiency.

Reforms

Lykourgos is credited with the establishment of the ἀγωγή educational system in Sparta. This was accompanied by several reforms of Spartan society that was intended to encourage the perpetuation of military ideology that was fully integrated into a youth's development. By removing the child from the authority of his father and placing it under the direct control of the πόλις, Lykourgos allowed for the inculcation of Sparta's ideological

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[52] Marrou (1956:20).

[53] Billheimer (1947:101).

constructs that cultivated an efficient and loyal warrior caste. Additionally, the strict methods of military conditioning that he instituted through relentless chastisement and carefully constructed ways of inuring youths to the conditions of warfare played a major role in the military image of Sparta.

The ἀγωγή uniquely combined Sparta's ideological constructs into one institution.[54] Spartan ideals were employed to condition and train young Ὅμοιοι in order to prepare them to promote the ideologically weighted image that ensured Sparta's position as a powerful military force. The renowned educational programme is synonymous with the mention of the Spartan military system.

According to the tradition, Lykourgos introduced the ἀγωγή into Spartan society after his observation of a similar system in Crete during his self-exile from Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 4.1). Although there is no evidence in Xenophon's extant works that supports the claim, Polybius (6.45.1) states that he held this opinion.[55] In fact, Xenophon (*Lac.* 1.2) explicitly states that Lykourgos did not imitate other πόλεις when he instituted his laws. Yet the evidence for the parallels between the Spartan ἀγωγή and the Cretan manhood initiation practices has been well-discussed by modern scholarship.[56]

Social and Military Significance

As with the amaZulu, the military conditioning of Spartan youths focused primarily on the concept of phratric age-groups which would later form the basis for mutual loyalty and unquestioning adherence to Spartan ideology. Unlike other Greek πόλεις, young Spartan girls and boys were put together in basic exercise and training from an early age. According to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 14.2) girls were made accustomed to performing naked in the chorus just as the boys did. They were even encouraged to publicly mock the boys on their failures and to compose songs in which they praised those who had shown themselves to be excellent

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[54] Hodkinson (2003b:51).

[55] Lipka (2002:7).

[56] Hammond (1950:63). See also, Link (2009).

examples of young Spartan men. Through this practise of public rebukes and praises, the boys were instilled with the ambition to raise their reputation among the girls and the rivalry to be praised in front of their superiors and trainers cannot be underestimated.[57]

Children were nourished and encouraged to develop their bodies to suit the physiological ideals of a Spartan, not to shame themselves with tantrums, and not to be scared of the dark or being alone (Plut. *Lyc*. 16.3; 17.4). By raising generations from which all the undesirable and socially abhorrent behaviour has been filtered, the Spartan πόλις not only guaranteed the continuation of their principles but also prepared their youth with the foundations needed for the extreme social and military conditioning that they would grow up into.

Since the socio-political hierarchy of the Spartans relied heavily on the continued exclusivity of the Ὅμοιοι, the social significance of the ἀγωγή culminated in a youth's successful graduation and admittance into a συσσιτίον. By proving his acceptance of Spartan military conditioning he was able to join the elite class. He now embodied Spartan ideology and was an active participant in its promulgation. Once out of the ἀγωγή, the youth was still expected to partake in the social and military conditioning of his juniors thereby continuing the preservation and induction of Spartan ideology in the social sphere of the πόλις.

Besides the rigorous training and exercise that a Spartan boy grew accustomed to in the ἀγωγή, he also faced constant challenges to his obedience and physical aptitude.[58] Xenophon (*Lac*. 3.4) and Plutarch (*Lyc*. 16.6) tell us that boys were expected to walk barefoot at all times and with their heads cast down in submission, obeying every order without question. Lykourgos thought that a soldier who was accustomed to living on the bare minimum would be better suited to campaigns, that a soldier accustomed to walking with bare feet would not lag behind over rough ground, and that a soldier who obeyed without question would fight with more bravery and with more vigour than any other (Xen. *Lac*. 2.3).

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[57] David (1989:4).

[58] MacDowell (1986:35).

Young Spartan Ὅμοιοι knew no other way of life and the state manipulated their adaptable and resourceful nature with harsh consequences for failure. Boys in the ἀγωγή were accountable for any fault and were sometimes punished not for doing wrong but for being caught (Plut. 17.3).[59]

Being the only standing army in Greece, military skills and habituation to hardship was paramount in the upbringing of a young Spartan Ὅμοιος. Plutarch's (*Lyc*. 16.6-7) description of the boys' lifestyle gives us a later perspective into the fundamental nature of the ἀγωγή. With minimal literary education, the ἀγωγή was focused primarily on developing obedience and diligent devotion to military training. Bare minimum clothing was provided to them and their hair was kept short until they graduated and were then encouraged to grow it long (Xen. *Lac*. 11.3). They were conditioned to endure pain and subjected to an extremely harsh subsistence. Left to be completely self-sufficient, a Spartan youth's character was established in these years of relentless ideological social and military conditioning.[60] According to Xenophon (*Lac*. 11.7) the efficiency of the Lakedaimonian army and the military skill of the Ὅμοιοι were purely as a result of the 'Lykourgan' education system of the ἀγωγή. Conformity to the Spartan ideal of unity was exemplified by the name Ὅμοιος and a youth had to be worthy of it.[61]

Comparison

The separation of boys into divisions defined by age with a crucial phratric constituent is the primary congruency between the Spartans and the amaZulu this chapter aims to highlight. Phratry, derived from ancient Greek meaning 'brotherhood' or 'kinship', was achieved by grouping boys during the transition of puberty to train, live, and socialise together in communal units. This underlying nature of the age-grouping systems defined the quality of warriors that were produced and, in the case of these two extremely military societies, it was

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[59] Kiesling (2006:232).

[60] Humble (2006:229); Knotterus & Berry (2002:5).

[61] Knotterus & Berry (2002:16).

considered to be remarkably successful by some and threatening by others. The counter opinions that can be found in later sources reflect the ideological divisions and propagandist manipulation of perceptions that aimed to establish the Spartans and the amaZulu as non-normative to their contemporaries.

In the case of the military systems of other Greek πόλεις, the formation of part-time militia to defend territory was the common practice. However as was seen with the institutionalisation of the *amabutho* by uShaka, Sparta was exceptional in this respect due to the formation of a standing army that was sustained by the polity. By creating regiments of youths that were partially or completely isolated from civilian life, the Spartans and the amaZulu were able to exercise control over a military force whose loyalty was unquestionably ensured due to their training and conditioning. The expectations and discipline that accompanied these cultures' military and social systems formed warriors that epitomise the power that ideological conditioning of young minds is able to create.

The Spartan youths that attended the συσσιτία corresponds closely with the groups of *izindibi* that accompanied the Zulu *impi*. Furthermore, the divisions of ἀγέλαι and *izigaba* indicate elements of stratified hierarchies in both societies that were closely associated with age-grouping. The housing in barracks-like institutions at or around the age of puberty links the shift from boy to warrior in the same way with their concepts of manhood.[62] Reaching puberty was marked by significant ritual and custom which congruently resulted the youths having to live apart from their families. Additionally, the graduation of youths through specific age-classes before becoming full members of the warrior caste is another congruent feature of these two phratric age-grouping systems.

The Spartan συσσιτία and the Zulu *amakhanda* are remarkably similar. Each was an independently functional institution consisting of trained warriors habituated to a harsh, communal lifestyle with a singular purpose. The youths that attended these barracks-like structures were conditioned through enforced self-sufficiency and manual labour in service

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[62] *JSA* (3:146); Ferguson (1918:232).

of the older warriors. Admittance to these institutions, however, is a point of difference. For the amaZulu, the paramount *inkosi* was the sole authority to determine to which *ikhanda* an *ibutho* may inhabit according to his political needs. For the Spartans the συσσιτίον of a youth was determined by his paternal obligations but he could be rejected from the institution by an internal method of selection and approval (Plut. *Lyc*. 5-6).

The differences in the age-grouping systems, although they further elucidate the differences in the socio-ecological and socio-economic conditions of their respective societies' development, show that the military ideology of the Spartans and the amaZulu cannot be linked solely to the conditioning of their youth. In Sparta, only the sons of Ὅμοιοι were accepted into the ἀγωγή for training as Spartan warriors. Subjugated πόλεις formed light-armed troops or peltasts in the Lakedaimonian army that were never awarded the full honours of the Ὅμοιοι. On the other hand, uShaka not only accepted boys from other communities under his control but also, according to Ferguson, allowed captured boys to enter his *impi* and become fully recognised warriors of the Zulu paramountcy. We find a distinct separation in the Lakedaimonian army between the Ὅμοιοι and the Περίοικοι which was reinforced by social and political differences.[63] These differences were the result of the autonomy that was largely afforded to the Περίοικοι and the exclusive nature of the citizenship of the Ὅμοιοι. The Zulu *impi*, however, did not discriminate between its secondary-tier members and the success of the mass coordination the *amabutho* hinged on the lack of such strongly enforced ethnic divisions. As will be discussed in further in Chapter Six, uShaka was well known for his incorporation of subjugated youths and their induction into his *amakhanda* where they would be compelled to succumb to Zulu ideology.

Spartan boys were instructed in every detail as to how they should behave, dress, and speak.[64] These precepts were carefully constructed to encourage mastery of fear, strategic superiority, and resourcefulness over and above the typical capacity of warriors in other Greek πόλεις. The education and training of Zulu boys was restricted to that of

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[63] Bostaph (1994:16).

[64] Ferguson (1918:233).

physical strength and cohesive cooperation and movement in battle. Although effective, it did not result in the obtuse militaristic culture of the Spartans. In Sparta, all other typically Greek cultural pursuits were discouraged.

The most striking difference in the formative years of a youth in Sparta is that his primary caregiver and authority was the πόλις and not his parents. With the amaZulu, the familial structure of *imizi* was largely not interfered with since the military system of the amaZulu was highly dependent on the numerous communities from which the youths were drawn. The voluntary service as an *udibi* was encouraged by social conditioning but the paramount *inkosi* could not have risked enforcing it directly. That being stated, the allegiance of the youth to his *umuzi* was made notably inferior upon entering an *ibutho*. The authority of the paramount *inkosi* to whom he now belonged and loyalty to the *ikhanda* in which he now lived took primary importance. In Sparta, the πόλις took up the responsibility of raising and educating the Ὅμοιοι youths in order to maintain the exclusivity of Spartan citizenship. Training in the ἀγωγή was regulated and controlled by a state official known as the παιδονόμος with subordinate hierarchies present in the system. For a Zulu boy, on the other hand, his rearing and education was not the prerogative of the paramountcy, yet it was vital for its continuation.

CHAPTER SIX

SUBJUGATED PEOPLES OF THE SPARTANS AND THE amaZULU

The *amaLala*

A striking feature of the social systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu is the invader-state ideology that was employed in order to maintain social stability of their heterogeneous polities. Through the practice of political incorporation and exclusion in the emerging Zulu paramountcy, by the beginning of 1820, a three-tiered social hierarchy had formed.[1] At the primary level were the aristocratic members of lineages connected to the royal line and a number of groups that claimed a historical connection to the amaZulu and thus were dependent on the paramount *inkosi*'s authority. At a secondary level there were subordinated communities that had been subdued in the early phases of the paramountcy's formation, who are referred to as the *amaNtungwa*. According to several interlocutors in the *JSA*, this term has an aetiological connotation with the southward movement of tribes in the early settlement of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region.[2] These groups provided tribute to the *amakhanda* of the paramountcy in exchange for protection and access to resources.[3] They also formed a large contingent of the *amabutho* on which the military system of the amaZulu rested. Lastly, the tertiary level was reserved for a group of peripheral and stigmatised communities called the *amaLala*. This term was a derogatory name associated with blacksmiths because they were polluted by their profession. The process of creation was closely associated with the act of childbirth which carried this cultural stigmatism.[4] These blacksmiths suffered social degradation and worked in isolated settlements in forests.[5] This practice of social devaluation of original inhabitants is common with invader-state ideology.

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[1] Wright (1987:4-5).

[2] *JSA* (4:176; 3:134).

[3] *JSA* (1:63-64).

[4] Blakely (2006:100).

[5] *JSA* (4:3; 2:130); Canonici (1996:251); Kennedy (1991:51); Haaland (1985:57).

These subjugated peoples thought to be the descendants of the Khoi-San were held under the control of uShaka through the threat of force and the insulting term *amaLala* was given to them to restrict their socio-political liberties. They were excluded from the centralised rule of the region and their labour force was not used in the *amabutho* system.[6] They were, however, charged with menial tasks such as cattle-herding and stigmatised work such as iron-forging.[7] The social degradation that accompanied the engagement in such activities meant that they were considered as polluted and denied certain social benefits, reinforcing and effectively disseminating the ideology of the socio-political hierarchy within the paramountcy.

Subjugation and Treatment

The subjugation of the *amaLala* and their relegation to perform menial tasks in service of the paramountcy is a facet of South African history that has been largely neglected. The paramount *inkosi*, uShaka, is reported to have removed all ownership of land and cattle from his subjugated communities and provoked the harsh perception of his rule. Thus exaggerated statements and generalisations must be treated with caution lest they be intensified and sustained by misinterpretation.[8]

There is an indication that the *amaLala* were communities that were subjugated in the early expansion of the paramountcies in order to secure their presence along coastal regions.[9] This hypothesis is supported by the methods by which invader-state ideology manifested through subjugation and social degradation. Later communities that subordinated themselves to the Zulu paramountcy did so in order to avoid association with these inferior peoples.[10]

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[6] *JSA* (3:42).

[7] *JSA* (1:24). See also, Blakely (2006).

[8] Isaacs (1836:271-272).

[9] *JSA* (3:134).

[10] Lambert (1995:274).

The linguistic division between the amaZulu and the *amaLala* is commented on by the interlocutor uMcotoyi kaMnini.[11] The reported origins of the term refers to the dialect that these subjugated communities' spoke. The *amaLala* were said to speak with their tongue lying low in their mouths and thus further signifying their difference and inferiority to the dominant isiZulu dialect.[12] This linguistic division was instrumental in identifying those considered to be of subordinate social positions as well as ensuring the adoption of Zulu ethnic identity in order to avoid stigmatisation as *amaLala*.

Socio-Economic Significance

The allocation of menial labour, such as agricultural tasks and iron forging, to the *amaLala* is a critical factor in the consideration of their socio-economic position. The primary economic element of the Zulu paramountcy was the herds of cattle kept at the *amakhanda* and was strictly controlled by the paramount *inkosi*. Agriculture was also regulated by the paramountcy through access to the royal fields that surrounded an *ikhanda*. Therefore, the only evidence for the economic contribution of the *amaLala* was their practice of metallurgy. The act of forging iron in the Nguni cultural systems, as with many other societies in Africa, is associated with pollution of the body.[13] As the *amaLala* referred to the peoples that worked metal, a crucial economic element for any military system, the name is synonymous with being considered as inferior and unclean.[14]

The interlocutor uMqaikana kaYenge claims that metallurgy was done primarily by the amaCube who were called *amaLala* in order to stigmatise their profession and reinforce their position in the social political sphere of the paramountcy.[15] Such subordinating ideology ensured the continuation of the three-tiered social hierarchy. Tom Fynn provides a source for

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[11] *JSA* (3:57).

[12] *JSA* (2:55; 1:118).

[13] Smail (1969:32).

[14] *JSA* (1:318).

[15] *JSA* (4:14).

this economic structure among the amaCele in place when he recounts his uncle's travels. He says that here he witnessed the smelting of copper to create ornaments for uShaka.[16]

Military Significance

Due to the *amaLala* being characterised as smiths, the question of their involvement with the production of weapons for the *impi* must be considered. The Zulu paramountcy's military system was sustained by the tribute that surrounding *imizi* provided the *amakhanda*, but the distribution of weapons was administered by the paramount *inkosi*. The interlocutor, uNdukwana tells us that the *amaLala* manufactured a number of goods but only a small number of them produced weapons.[17] These groups are said to have held a higher social position and came periodically to the capital to deliver them to the paramount *inkosi*. Since it was uShaka's prerogative to provide the *impi* with arms, he would give the weapons to the *izinduna* who would then distribute them among the *amabutho*.[18]

There is no evidence for the use of *amaLala* in the military system of the amaZulu. The *amabutho* that comprised the *impi* were created from youths drawn from their communities and stationed at *amakhanda*. Therefore, there was no need for the paramount *inkosi* to summon warriors from subjugated communities. The steady influx of youths from the primary and secondary-tier peoples into the *amabutho* system ensured the military strength of the Zulu paramountcy.

The Εἵλωτες[19]

The invader-state ideology that the Spartan πόλις employed resulted in a congruent three-tiered socio-political hierarchy in order to maintain the stability its authority over Lakonia and

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[16] Fynn KCM 23463 File 15.21.

[17] *JSA* (4:296-297).

[18] *JSA* (4:297; 3:317; 1:41).

[19] Refer to Map 6 (Appendix One).

Messenia.[20] The primary level consisted of the elite Ὅμοιοι that held citizenship rights in the πόλις. At the secondary level were the neighbouring πόλεις that were subordinated during Sparta's early expansion or through later conquests. Collectively they were called the Περίοικοι and formed the majority of the Lakedaimonian army. Holding relative autonomy in their internal legislation, they were still subject to Sparta's influence over foreign policy and management of the territory which was granted to them by the paramount πόλις.[21] Lastly, the tertiary level of the Εἵλωτες was the economic backbone of the Spartan πόλις but suffered severe stigmatisation and ideological subjugation.

There were two distinct groups of Εἵλωτες that existed under the control of the Spartan πόλις; namely those Εἵλωτες that were subjugated during Sparta's southward domination of Lakonia and those Dorian inhabitants of Messenia that were enslaved as state-serfs to work the occupied land for the overlord Ὅμοιοι.[22] According to the tradition, the Εἵλωτες that were subjugated after Helos in Lakonia was conquered is the etymological origin of the term.[23] As Polybios (5.19.7) reports, this was the most extensive and most beautiful territory of the Lakedaimonians. An alternative etymological origin for the term comes from the verb αἱρεῖν meaning 'to seize' rather than from the subjugation of Helos which is not well supported.[24]

Strabo (8.5.4) tells us that in the early expansion of Sparta the Περίοικοι had equal rights and shared offices in the political sphere when they were first made subordinate πόλεις to Sparta. He goes on to state that the βασιλεύς Agis imposed a tribute and removed their political status, which all accepted with the exception of the people of Helos who where then forced into serfdom after the siege. The Ὅμοιοι then assigned to them certain settlements and individual public services (κατοικίας τινὰς αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξαντες καὶ λειτουργίας ἰδίας). In this account suggesting at the settlement formation of the tertiary-tier,

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[20] Luraghi (2009:270-271). See also, Hodkinson (2003a).

[21] Futter (2012:40).

[22] Luraghi (2003:110-111).

[23] Luraghi (2009:266); Ridley (1974:290).

[24] Barnes (2009:286); Buckley (1996:65).

the oversimplification of this process can be seen as well as the exaggeration of the perception of Sparta as overly militarised by Attic authors. Most of the archaeological evidence, however, for the organisation of settlement patterns comes from Messenia and the surveys which indicate that there was not a widespread dispersal of sites. This implies that the social division of the Εἵλωτες and the other tiers of the Lakedaimonian social hierarchy was not as clear cut as Attic commentators imply. The ancient sources provide few details about the aggregated arrangement of the Εἵλωτες. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly clear that previous assumptions about the nucleated arrangement of the Εἵλωτες, which is in keeping with a Spartan strategic view, find less support.[25]

Subjugation and Treatment

Towards the end of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, the expansion of Sparta's territory involved the complete domination of existing communities that had not previously aligned themselves willingly to the growing paramount πόλις. This included Helos in the advantageous position on the southern coast of Lakonia. Furthermore, Sparta saw the richly fertile land of Messenia as a much-needed asset due to the increasing need for land to distribute among the Ὅμοιοι as κλῆροι. The subjugation of Messenia was largely undisturbed, except for several localised rebellions and the siege of Mount Ithome, for the three hundred years following its occupation until its liberation by Epaminondas after the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE.[26] The settlement arrangement of Messenia exhibits Περίοικοι settlements found predominately at important coastal locations. The interior presents evidence for scattered sites of smaller settlements which were occupied by Εἵλωτες. The division of the land into κλῆροι, which were cultivated by the Εἵλωτες that may have once inhabited Messenia, was a significant component of Sparta's socio-economic production.[27] Furthermore, the serf status of the Εἵλωτες was distinct from the slaves of other Greek

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[25] Alcock (2002:196).

[26] *Ibid* (2002:189).

[27] Knotterus & Berry (2002:4).

πόλεις since they were not outsiders to the society they lived in and were integrated into Spartan society to some extent.[28]

The representation of Sparta's subjugation of the Εἵλωτες often draws from later examples of their treatment and from accounts by authors from the classical period and later (Ath. 14.657c-d). Thus it is necessary to recognise this aspect of Spartan studies and avoid taking such accounts at face value. The legends surrounding Aristomenes, the leader of the revolt of the Messenian Εἵλωτες, are the only substantial basis from which some impression of the Εἵλωτες can be drawn. Aristomenes is reported to have been the only leader belonging to the Εἵλωτες that rebelled against Sparta.[29] With the opportunity to recover an authentic perspective of these oppressed peoples being wholly unavailable to the modern scholar, it is important to gather as much from the available sources as possible.[30] However, this is still little comfort when one acknowledges that not one name of a Εἵλως is recorded from the classical period.[31]

The ancient sources show the Spartan treatment of the Εἵλωτες as obtusely severe and derogatory (Plut. *Lyc.* 28.4). The reliability of these sources cannot be supported with other evidence nor can they be assumed to be entirely valid for the Εἵλωτες of Messenia. They do, however, illustrate the nature of the social conditioning and the ideology that supported the social system of Sparta. In a remarkable effort to legitimise the inferiority of the Εἵλωτες and reinforce their identity as a conquered people, war was declared on them every year when the ephors assumed political office (Plut. Lyc. 28.4).[32] This image is in keeping with the ideology that was necessary to maintain the socio-political hierarchy, yet further investigation suggests that this mirage is not fully representative of the situation. The noteworthy outnumbering of Ὅμοιοι by Εἵλωτες is indicative of the reports for their severe treatment by the ancient sources in an attempt to make sense of the social stability that the

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[28] Luraghi (2009:275).

[29] Cartledge (2001:151).

[30] Talbert (1989:22).

[31] Ogden (2004:xiv).

[32] Bernstein (1997:280-281).

Spartan πόλις exhibited prior to the Messenian revolts. Yet, despite this one major revolt, the system was largely successful and the historiographical tradition is clouded by later anti-Spartan propaganda that attempts to establish Spartan society as non-normative.[33] Polarised social groups tend to exaggerate the divide between them by adopting converse social organisation and contradicting common characteristics.[34]

Plutarch (*Lyc*. 16.6) tells us of arbitrary punishment and humiliation as a frequent occurrence for the Lakonian Εἵλωτες. They were humiliated in the συσσιτία by being forced to become intoxicated and dance for the entertainment and education of the attending youths. This account not only reveals the stigmatisation of the Εἵλωτες, but also the reinforcement of Spartan social ideology. The κρυπτεία (secret service) that is reported to have been a rite of passage for Spartan youths graduating from the ἀγωγή is a highly uncertain practice but is an integral component in the historiographical tradition (Plut. *Lyc*. 27.1-4; Pl. *Leg*. 630d; Arist. F538).[35] The number of occurrences for such humiliating and brutal treatment of the Messenian Εἵλωτες is not as well attested in the record as is the nature of the treatment of the Lakonian Εἵλωτες.[36] Yet, it would be careless to infer from the lack of reports to the contrary, that the Spartans seem to have coexisted much more peacefully with the Messenian Εἵλωτες considering the number of rebellions.[37] This difference is an indication that the inhabitants of Helos in Lakonia, which had once been Περίοικοι, merited far harsher treatment and stigmatisation for their rejection of the original demand for tribute. These Lakonian Εἵλωτες are the most credible source for the tension and threat of danger that is found in the historical record which was manipulated after the Messenian revolts.[38]

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[33] Luraghi (2009:262).

[34] Figueira & Figueira (2009:313).

[35] Kennell (2013:387).

[36] Alcock (2002:189-190).

[37] Hornblower (2000:69); Talbert (1989:36-37).

[38] Becker & Smelo (1931:354).

Socio-Economic Significance

A site originally thought to be a Late Roman villa but now dated to the second half of the fifth century BCE, offers exceptional archaeological support for the proposed settlement patterns of the Εΐλωτες.[39] The destruction of the site, dated to the last half of the fifth century, corresponds directly to the revolt of the Εΐλωτες in *c*.460 BCE. This site is indicative of a social system whereby a Ὅμοιος or Περίοικος landlord was in command of a number of Εΐλωτες who tilled κλῆροι and served the πόλις as serfs.[40] Yet, as mentioned, there is an apparent difference in the settlement pattern of Messenian κλῆροι and the management of Messenian Εΐλωτες in comparison to the contributions and administration of Lakonian κλῆροι and the Εΐλωτες that farmed them.[41]

The primary economic contribution of the Εΐλωτες was agricultural production and management.[42] The interesting fragment by Tyrtaios says that the Εΐλωτες were required to provide the Ὅμοιοι with half of their harvests:

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,

δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς

ἥμισυ πάνθ’ ὅσσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

Just as asses weakened by their great burden,

carrying to their masters under baneful obligation

half of all the fruit which the field bears.

F6. West.

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[39] Hodkinson (2008:311-312).

[40] Alcock (2002:195-196).

[41] Hodkinson (2008:298).

[42] Hodkinson (1992:123-124).

If we are to accept this figure, it is most certainly a realistic demand of the Εἵλωτες of Messenia which provided the strongest contribution to the Spartan agricultural economy but was not accepted by Helos in Lakonia. Plutarch (*Lyc*. 24.3; 8.4) also references a fixed amount of tribute that was demanded of the Εἵλωτες but this is unreliable.[43] Tyrtaios is compelling evidence for a fixed tribute but the fragment was not composed to provide accurate details of the economic system and cannot be used to support Plutarch.[44]

The theory of sharecropping, proposed by Hodkinson (1992), is a significant attempt to understand the economic productivity of Sparta in Messenia (Xen. *Lac*. 6.5).[45] This theory proposes that the Ὅμοιοι and the Εἵλωτες relied on each other in a mutual socio-economic system. From the perspective of Athenian authors this system was subsequently misinterpreted through the exaggeration of features seen as inherently anti-democratic, and therefore anti-Athenian (Thuc. 5.23.3). It is important to avoid sweeping statements about this socio-economic relationship that are influenced by the 'parasitic' image of the πόλις found in ancient sources.[46] This system of sharecropping, however, resulted in maximum efficiency of the Εἵλωτες and allowed the Ὅμοιοι to supervise agricultural activity without effectively transgressing their social taboo against labour (Xen. *Lac*. 7.2).[47] Moreover, Xenophon (*Lac*. 1.4) tells us that the production of clothes, and we may assume a number of other domestic duties, was the duty of female Εἵλωτες so that Spartan women would be free to keep up with the rigorous physical exercise that was also expected of them.

Military Significance

There are number of accounts in ancient sources that attest the use of Εἵλωτες in the Lakedaimonian army (Hdt. 9.85.2; Xen. *Hell*. 7.1.12).[48] In the following quotation, Pausanias

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[43] Hodkinson (1992:125-126).

[44] *Ibid* (1992:130).

[45] Luraghi (2009:278).

[46] Hansen (2009:392).

[47] Alcock (2002:197).

[48] Talbert (1989:23-24).

tells us that Tyrtaios recovered Spartan morale after being routed by Aristomenes and replaced the ranks with Εἵλωτες:

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὡρμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, Τυρταῖός τε ἐλεγεῖα ᾄδων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἱλώτων.

When the Lakedaimonians were in despair after this blow and were eager to give up the war, Tyrtaios singing his elegy persuaded them and enrolled men from the Εἵλωτες into their ranks in place of the slain.

Paus. 4.16.6. Spiro.

This was not a singular event as the use of Εἵλωτες as light-armoured infantry at Thermopylae and Plataea is attested by Herodotos (8.25.1; 9.28.2; 9.29.1). The account by Herodotos is explained by the hypothesis that Εἵλωτες were under direct command by the Ὅμοιοι at Plataea and formed a significant portion of the army.[49] This supports the natural progression found in Thukydides (4.80.5) who states that Εἵλωτες were later used in the army as ὁπλῖται. Furthermore, Herodotos (9.10.1) says that seven Εἵλωτες were appointed to each Ὅμοιος. If accepted, this number is a significant indicator of the importance that Εἵλωτες played in the Lakedaimonian army as the Greek phalanx was eight men deep.[50] The neat image of a Ὅμοιος backed by seven Εἵλωτες is an attractive conclusion but brings more questions to the surface.

The acceptance that the Εἵλωτες were involved in the Lakedaimonian army to this extent has been hindered by the ever-present issue of understanding their attitude towards the Ὅμοιοι.[51] This has given rise to the debate over whether or not a people who were

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[49] Hunt (1997:135).

[50] *Ibid* (1997:129).

[51] Talbert (1989:27-28).

subjugated and perceived to be disenfranchised would have been allowed access to weapons and, if so, why had they not revolted against the Ὅμοιοι earlier is they enjoyed such military privileges as has been suggested above.[52] Therefore the threat of attack from Εἵλωτες could not have merited much concern for the Ὅμοιοι. Thus, the theory of a mutually beneficial coexistence finds support.

The Εἵλωτες far outnumbered the Lakedaimonians and forceful enrolment could not have been the only factor for their involvement in the Lakedaimonian army. There was a chance of receiving honour and freedom for their contribution. Thukydides (5.34.1) speaks of the Εἵλωτες that were freed for fighting with Brasidas. This is in sharp contrast to another anecdote about Εἵλωτες who were deceived with the promise of freedom but killed in secret. However, by comparing the two accounts the propaganda behind the story is revealed. Thukydides (4.80.3-4) says that the Εἵλωτες were ordered to elect those they thought to be the bravest in battle (ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γεγενῆσθαι σφίσιν ἄριστοι). However, Plutarch (*Lyc*. 28.3), stating Thukydides as his source, says that the Spartans were the ones who selected the group of Εἵλωτες to be honoured (τοὺς ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν). Such an obvious alternation of the tradition reaffirms the unreliability of the image of Sparta in ancient sources that aimed to highlight Sparta's brutality towards the Εἵλωτες.[53]

Comparison

This analysis and comparison of the subjugated peoples of the Spartans and the amaZulu reveals a congruent socio-political hierarchy that was fundamental for the development of the two societies. The parallel analysis of the tertiary-tier above has exposed the ideology of their subjugation and the ways in which this was enforced through their treatment. However, the conditions of the Spartan Εἵλωτες and the *amaLala* of the amaZulu demonstrate that the ambiguity of the source material and the dearth of archaeological data hinder any definitive

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[52] Cartledge (1991:380).

[53] Kennell (2010:78).

statements about either subjugated peoples that could be made. This lends itself to the following argument that uncertain features of the Spartan social system can be elucidated through a comparison of the congruent emic characteristics identified with the amaZulu.

As with the amaZulu, the Ὅμοιοι enforced their superiority over the Εἵλωτες with invader-state ideology that was encouraged through cultural stigmatisation and humiliation. Consequently, the stigmatisation with which these communities are characterised is the ideological keystone for their forced tribute and their alienation from the socio-political sphere of the πόλις. The Εἵλωτες formed a vital economic foundation maintained by the ideological superstructure that naturalised their position through stigmatisation and socio-political alienation. However, it is important to remember that the Εἵλωτες of Sparta held a higher social position than the common slave. The exploitation of these tertiary-tier people is in line with a Marxist historical analysis of their socio-economic significance.[54] Without the economic and agricultural contributions of the Εἵλωτες, the Spartan πόλις could never have maintained the military system in which the Ὅμοιοι were bound. A fundamental difference lies in the military significance of the tertiary-tier peoples. While the *amaLala* were excluded from the military system of the amaZulu, the historiographical record shows that the Εἵλωτες were progressively more central to the Spartan phalanx and were incorporated into the Lakedaimonian army from an early stage.

Furthermore, the theory that the communities of the amaZulu were nucleated rather than aggregated suggests a similar arrangement in the case of the Lakonian Εἵλωτες.[55] This is further supported by Hodkinson's theory of 'sharecropping' to explain the mutual coexistence and socio-economic relationship between the Εἵλωτες and the Ὅμοιοι. The convincing archaeological evidence for the Messenian Εἵλωτες suggests that a nucleated settlement structure was also used to organise the significantly larger tertiary-tier population under supervision by the Περίοικοι.[56]

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[54] Hitchcock (2008:15-16).

[55] Luraghi (2009:279).

[56] Hodkinson (2008:310).

The following discussion of secondary-tier people and leadership structures among the amaZulu will deepen the discussion. The analysis will examine the role *izinduna* played in the governance and supervision of subordinated communities in the Zulu paramountcy and aims to shed light on the social system employed by the Spartan πόλις through the Περίοικοι.

The *amaNtungwa*[57]

The *amaNtungwa* were a secondary-tier people in the Zulu socio-political hierarchy. The term was used collectively for a number of peoples that identified their origins with 'those having come down with the grain basket' that settled in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu.[58] Among Stuart's interlocutors reporting on uShaka's reign there is a definite uncertainty about who actually belonged to the *amaNtungwa* and the social status that these communities held.[59] However, they are said to have assimilated their dialect to associate themselves with the amaZulu and therefore were distinguished from the *amaLala*.[60] Through this process of integration and naturalising Zulu ethnic identity the subordinated *imizi* assimilated themselves into the paramountcy. A culturally significant term, *amaNtungwa*, is then used to legitimise their connection to the amaZulu and their social system. According to the interlocutor uMagidigidi kaNobebe, the *amaNtungwa* used to identify themselves as *abaNguni* before uShaka restricted this term to himself and the amaZulu.[61] Despite uncertainty in the historical record, the following analysis will focus on the role that *izinduna* played in the management and supervision of the subordinated communities in the Zulu paramountcy.

An *induna* was a highly respected 'overseer' of a number of *imizi* in his district under the authority of the paramount *inkosi* but still retained much of the local power he had before

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[57] See Wylie (2006:391-393) for a list of uShaka's known *izinduna*.

[58] *JSA* (3:105; 2:57).

[59] *JSA* (2:28, 254; 1:291).

[60] *JSA* (2:54-55).

[61] *JSA* (2:97).

subordination into the paramountcy.[62] The efficiency of the Zulu paramountcy was largely successful due to the nucleated control of the occupied regions and communities. The centralised rule of uShaka contained several levels of institutionalised leadership by the *izinduna*. There were two great *izinduna* that administered the affairs in kwaBulawayo and assisted by the twenty lower-status *izinduna* that formed the *umphakathi* (council) that advised uShaka. This institution can be compared to the ephorate in the Spartan poltical structure. Subordinated *imizi* were overseen by an appointed head *induna* assigned to an *ikhanda* with several lower-status *izinduna*.

The success of uShaka's socio-political hierarchy was the result of two noteworthy factors. Firstly, the foundations for this social system were already in place due to the patriarchal nucleated structures found in the tribe and chiefdom phases of the transition from egalitarian to state discussed in Chapter Two. The amaZulu established a notable amount of *imizi* while uSenzangakhona was *inkosi* but it was uShaka who instituted the *amakhanda* system.[63] Secondly, uShaka monopolised authority over the *amabutho* and assumed ultimate control of the *impi*. The paramount *inkosi* then used this large labour force to expand southwards into more fertile territory.[64] Establishing *amakhanda* he secured his military control and through regulating access to resources he maintained the social system of the paramountcy.

Integration

There are many lacunae in the historiographical record between the establishment and settlement of Nguni-speaking peoples in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region of KwaZulu-Natal and the rise of the paramountcy of uShaka in 1818 CE. However, from scarce documentary evidence and preserved oral traditions modern scholars have suggested that this region was

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[62] *JSA* (1:329-330).

[63] Wylie (2006:117).

[64] Wylie (2006:166).

occupied by a number of cellular communities with largely differing populations.[65] Some of these populations lived under autonomous, patriarchal rule while others were collections of *imizi* ruled by a dominant *inkosi* who enforced his power over his tributaries through physical force and manipulation. The fractious nature of these communities was often taken advantage of by ambitious *amakosi* either in the pursuit of power or in an effort to attain more resources.[66]

The uncentralised rule of these shifting communities indicates that institutions and systems through which an *inkosi* might exercise sustained control over an armed force of loyal men were not wholly present. Even in the case of the early paramountcies the dominant *inkosi* could not effectively mobilise men whose allegiance and loyalty belonged primarily to their own *inkosi* who were not yet subordinated as *izinduna*.[67] Paramountcies were formed through conquest, manipulation, or coercion of *imizi* and the incorporation of the territory as a tributary into the growing political system through a practice known as *ukukhonza* (to serve).[68] The power gained by the paramount *inkosi* authorised him to exert more control and attract neighbouring communities into the tributary system.[69] Communities could easily break away and *khonza* to another paramount *inkosi* who offered greater benefits for their tribute. Or, if an *inkosi* desired and if he had a sufficient number of *amabutho* to defend himself from raids, he could move into total autonomy and enjoy the same freedom he had within the paramountcy but without the economic drain of paying tribute.

The victory of uShaka over the amaNdwandwe was followed by the domination of the defeated amaMthethwa, who had once held authority over the amaZulu. The subordinated *amakosi* of the amaMthethwa were incorporated into the newly formed paramountcy as lower-level *izinduna*. Their royal bloodline lost its political significance and they began to

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[65] Lambert (1995:274); Wright & Hamilton (1989:57).

[66] *Ibid* (1989:59).

[67] *Ibid* (1989:58)

[68] Mahoney (2012:26).

[69] *JSA* (2:177-178).

identify themselves as amaZulu.[70] Thus, utter domination was followed by absolute integration and gave rise to such exaggerated generalisations that uShaka killed all but the children of these communities to supplement his own population.[71] Yet, one cannot ignore the indication of strong ideology at work here rather than wholesale brutality. The original population had not been completely wiped out, but had undergone compulsory ethnic re-identification. The paramount *inkosi* appointed *izinduna* of his own to oversee *imizi* that had been subordinated previously by uDingiswayo. Thus he ensured the loyalty of these peripheral groups to the Zulu paramountcy in a secondary socio-political status. Entrance into this secondary-tier involved the rejection of previous ethnic allegiances and the adoption of Zulu ideology. The communities retained much of their localised authority but male youths were removed at puberty and inducted into the paramountcy's *amabutho* system. This stable social system supported the military system with which uShaka exerted his centralised authority. Full integration of the secondary-tier is indicative of a harsher division and firmer ideological stigmatisation of the communities in the tertiary-tier, the *amaLala*.

Tom Fynn's fantastic account of the summoning of his uncle, who had been granted permission to settle and form an *ikhanda*-like settlement with the remnants of scattered coastal communities, to fight against the weakened amaNdwandwe is questionable but offers and indication of uShaka's expansionist motivations.[72] The amaNdwandwe inhabited a rocky and defensible territory which uShaka was able to conquer for redistribution among his own loyal *izinduna*. The remaining amaNdwandwe that appealed for peace and came to *khonza* were duly accepted into the secondary-tier of the paramountcy's socio-political hierarchy. An earlier example from the Mthethwa paramountcy's dealings with the amaNdwandwe related by Stuart's favoured interlocutor, uNdukwana, informs us that the formation of such colonising settlements was a common practice to secure territory or as

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[70] Morris (1994:64).

[71] Ferguson (1918:221).

[72] Fynn KCM 23463 File 15.27.

pre-emptive expansionist tactics.[73] He relates that his father, uMbengwana, was with a number of amaMthethwa that relocated to the coast in order for uDingiswayo to strengthen his presence in the region that was coming into increasing contact with the amaNdwandwe.[74] These settlements, after the death of uDingiswayo, gave their allegiance to uShaka and were allowed to remain under the governance of their *induna*, uMkhosi kaMgudhlana.[75] Furthermore, uShaka established an *ikhanda* in the upper Black Mfolozi region and gave it to one of uMkhosi's brothers to oversee.[76] This was a frequent tactic employed by uShaka in strategic areas along the borders of his paramountcy.[77]

Socio-Economic Significance

The function that cattle played in the economy of the amaZulu is of utmost importance in the evaluation of the socio-economic significance of the *izinduna*.[78] The subordination of neighbouring *imizi* not only gave uShaka access to territory but also rapidly increased the herd of cattle belonging to the paramountcy that were kept at *amakhanda*. Captured cattle, much like youths, were distributed among the existing *amakhanda* to support the prolonged service of the *amabutho*.[79] Yet, the paramount *inkosi* firmly retained the authority over the cattle to be redistributed to other *amakhanda*, sacrificed at communal gatherings, or awarded to warriors that had distinguished themselves in battle.[80] This exclusive right of the *inkosi*, called *ukusiza* (to assist), was a primary facet in his socio-economic control of the paramountcy and the maintenance of a strictly controlled socio-political hierarchy.

The cultural unity of the social system is most evident during funerals of members of the royal family. The paramount *inkosi* enforced public mourning at the capital and at the

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[73] *JSA* (4:277-278). See also *JSA* (3:81).

[74] Wright (2011:347).

[75] *JSA* (4:326-327, 360).

[76] *JSA* (4:360).

[77] Wright (2011:347-348).

[78] Bjerk (2006:9).

[79] *JSA* (5:89).

[80] Fynn (KCM 98/69/8 File 9.19-20); *JSA* (1:125); Kennedy (1991:51).

funeral of uShaka's mother, uNandi, execution was imposed on those who did not exhibit sufficient emotion.[81] Similarly with the Spartans, the Περίοικοι and Εἵλωτες were required to gather in Sparta and every household was required have one family member to undergo the mourning process (Hdt. 6.58; Xen. *Lac*. 15.9).[82] Thus socio-political ideology was further integrated and adopted by communities that accepted the paramountcy's ethnic identity.

Tom Fynn's account of his uncle's encounter with this social system while at the *umuzi* of uMagaye of the amaCele is most informative.[83] His report tells us that Henry Fynn arrived at the *indlu* (house) of uSengca who then reported his arrival to a lower-status *induna*, uSincila, who in turn informed uMagaye, the subordinate *inkosi* of the amaCele. Henry Fynn, wishing to meet with uShaka, was housed in uSincila's *indlu* while uMagaye was permitted to inform uShaka directly of his request. Thus the political strata of the communities in a subordinate position are clearly identifiable. An *umuzi* is governed by lesser *izinduna* that report to the subordinate *inkosi* who receives his instructions and authorisation from the paramount *inkosi*. As figures of authority in controlled territory, the *izinduna* were responsible for disseminating instructions from the paramount *inkosi*, although there were some that held more favour than others.[84] Nominal decisions made in consultation with other *izinduna* would hardly have been advantageous if against the will of the paramount *inkosi*.[85] Henry Fynn also tells us that the *izinduna* were entrusted with the management of their *ikhanda*'s cattle and the behaviour of warriors.[86] These *amakhanda* were not solely barracks-like institutions but formed civic centres that produced crops and managed cattle distribution.

Once more, James Stuart is a source from which the social significance of the *izinduna* can be more closely understood. His favoured interlocutor, uNdukwana, from which

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[81] *JSA* (4:292-293; 3:31).

[82] Ferguson (1918:233).

[83] Fynn (KCM 23463 File 15.20-21).

[84] *JSA* (2:270; 1:109).

[85] Fynn (KCM 98/69/8 File 9.19).

[86] Fynn (KCM 98/69/8 File 9.26).

a significant portion of our understanding of pre-colonial KwaZulu-Natal comes, was once described as Stuart's *induna*.[87] Accompanying Stuart during his business as a magistrate, uNdukwana fulfilled a similar function as the official *izinduna* that acted as intermediaries for the colonial Natal government.[88] The *izinduna* were an elite class that were distinguished with various insignia of beads, feathers, and brass ornaments.[89]

Military Significance

The military significance and authority held by the *izinduna* of an *ikhanda* cannot be underestimated. Ferguson states that the details of military activity were only known to uShaka himself and that he would only reveal it to an *induna* for strategic purposes.[90] Yet, considering the scale of the coordination required for the number of uShaka's *amakhanda*, this statement falls short of understanding the exact nature of the military significance of the *izinduna* and the advisory council they constituted. The *izinduna* acted as regional generals that managed and coordinated the *amabutho* stationed at their *amakhanda* to police and collect tribute from the surrounding *imizi*. They were also expected to be prepared for when the paramount *inkosi* summoned the *impi* together for mobilisation. The *izinduna* were also responsible for ensuring the behaviour of youths that had performed the *ukukleza* custom at their *ikhanda* and drew them out of the *imizi* and into the military system.[91] The lower-status *izinduna* were drawn from the leaders of the civic settlements from which the *ikhanda*'s *amabutho* were drawn.[92] While on campaign, a captured male youth was inducted into the military system as an *udibi* by the *induna* who claimed him after killing his father.[93]

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[87] *JSA* (1:246).

[88] Wright (2011:357).

[89] Wylie (2011:92).

[90] Ferguson (1918:228).

[91] *JSA* (2:182).

[92] Ferguson (1918:209).

[93] *JSA* (3:163).

The *amakhanda* were vital outposts that secured the paramountcy's control over occupied territory and the tribes known collectively as the *amaNtungwa*.[94] The few that were established among the amaNdwandwe indicate that uShaka's control over this region was not pervasive.[95] Their function was to provide an initial barrier and prevent direct access into the centre of the paramountcy over the Black Mfolozi.[96] The southern *amakhanda* were established with a far more political purpose. The much-desired control over the southern *imizi* came with a considerable amount of political risk since uShaka had to strengthen his control by establishing a number of *amakhanda* to ensure his military presence among them.[97] The suggestion that uShaka was directly responsible for the intensification of warfare has been shown to be the result of misinterpretation and persistent exaggeration. There is, however, a commonly held idea in the historical record that warfare before the rise of paramountcies in the region was far less focused on subjugation and more on reaffirming territorial boundaries without much loss of life.[98]

The Περίοικοι

The Περίοικοι (Those Dwelling Around) were the neighbouring communities and Messenian settlements that adopted Lakedaimonian ethnic identity and Spartan ideology as subordinate πόλεις.[99] There is no evidence to designate the boundaries that existed between the Spartan πόλις and her neighbouring settlements. However, as archaeological surveys show, the πόλις of Sparta itself was bordered by three known πόλεις. Sellesia, Pellana, and Geronthrai would have held a far more significant socio-political position being in the Eurotas valley.[100] These Περίοικοι were vital for the immediate protection of Sparta as they controlled access

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[94] Wylie (2011:73-74).

[95] Refer to Map 3 (Appendix One).

[96] Wylie (2006:238).

[97] *Ibid* (2006:177-178).

[98] *JSA* (3:128, 196).

[99] Shipley (2006:53).

[100] *Ibid* (2006:62).

into the central, xenophobic πόλις. These and the other Περίοικοι were also crucial for Sparta's economic productivity. Their advantageous arrangement along key coastal sites allowed Sparta access to the trade in the Mediterranean without transgressing their taboo against labour and money that Lykourgos is reported to have introduced (Plut. *Lyc*. 9.1; *Lys*. 17.1; Xen. *Lac*. 7.2-3).[101] Therefore, it can be stated that these secondary-tier communities were a vital economic asset of Sparta by providing the means for insulated, centralised control and access to external trade (Hdt. 8.1; 8.43). This trend for the coastal arrangement of Lakonian Περίοικοι is also found in Messenia.[102]

The passages in Herodotos (7.234.2; 7.235.4) give us an indication of the stratified social structure among those who referred to themselves as Lakedaimonians. He states that there were many πόλεις that identified themselves as Lakedaimonian and yet the Spartans identified themselves as a distinct unit from the Περίοικοι and were called the Ὅμοιοι. To avoid over-generalisation it must be made clear that there was also an economic and political stratification of the Ὅμοιοι.[103] They held elite status and citizenship within the Spartan πόλις, while the Περίοικοι held an inferior but still respected status. The validity of this account may be questioned since Herodotos is reporting a conversation between Xerxes and Demaratos. The classification of the Περίοικοι as πόλεις has raised some interesting discussions by modern scholarship.[104] Having assumed Lakedaimonian ethnic ideology they were subject to Sparta's authority and despite their distinct subordinate socio-political positions they were fully integrated into Sparta's military and social systems (Strab. 8.5.4; Thuc. 2.39.2).[105]

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[101] Ridley (1974:292).

[102] Shipley (2006:64).

[103] Ridley (1974:292).

[104] Hansen (2004:149).

[105] Mertens (2002:288).

Integration

Study of the Περίοικοι and their subordination in the Spartan social and military systems adds considerably to the current re-examination of the use and meaning of the term πόλις by ancient authors. The debate has been induced by the indistinct and irregular use of the term, which indicates the complexity of the concept of what a πόλις was. From its use in ancient sources it may represent a range of civic settlement structures primarily with an urbanised centre. With the Περίοικοι, it is also used to describe settlements of a subordinate position in a larger socio-political system.[106]

The 'dependent πόλις' proposed by Hansen (2004) describes a πόλις that retained much of its original authority but lost its αὐτονομία.[107] This term is not to be misunderstood with the modern English meaning of 'autonomy'. The classical Greek understanding of a πόλις was closer to the status of political authority that is held by the 'chiefdom' level of state formation theory discussed in Chapter Two and it is only with the centralised rule of a number of πόλεις that the 'state' level is discernible.[108] Such a classification of these settlements as πόλεις illustrates that complete independence was not always a criterion for a πόλις. Thus the socio-political system of Sparta, which has largely been seen as divergent from normative Athens, was not uncommon in archaic Greece. The Περίοικοι, as subordinate political units, retained their own rights to internal administration but the complete adoption of a Lakedaimonian ethnic identity and Spartan ideology was an immutable condition. The strength of Sparta's ideology and propaganda can be seen in the anachronistic report by Pausanias (3.2.5) that Aigys held the status of Περίοικος in the eighth century BCE.[109]

Certain aspects of the controversial process of integration that the Περίοικοι underwent into the Spartan social and military systems need elucidation. There is little

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[106] Shipley (2006:57).

[107] Hansen (2009:388).

[108] Mertens (2002:290-291).

[109] Roy (2009:207).

information about whether the formation of the Περίοικοι was a novel structure to the region or the manipulation of earlier systems. Sparta may have subjugated these communities and subordinated them as Περίοικοι or they may have conquered Lakonia in the archaic period already identifying themselves as Lakedaimonians. Scholars have also raised the question of whether the myth of invasion was constructed to undermine the autochthony of the original inhabitants.[110] Additionally, the resistance to the comparison between the Περίοικοι of Sparta and the δῆμοι (demes) of Athens is clearly the retention of the biased Attic perception by modern scholarship. This should be carefully reconsidered since a comparison of their process of integration into the Athenian socio-political system may be helpful.[111] They both exist at congruent levels in their respective social structures, yet the αὐτονομία boasted by the Athenian δῆμοι is not to be found among the Περίοικοι. Thus, their subordination calls into question some of the assumptions about the meaning of the term πόλις and the nature of the secondary-tier's political dependency.

The case of the Περίοικοι rejecting the authority of Sparta after her defeat in the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE is not unexpected considering the nature of the social structure in the archaic period. The origin of the secondary-tier in the Spartan social system was in such a context, where dominant πόλεις were in conflict over territory and resources. This time, however, Sparta was in decline. The sudden shift also indicates that there was existing discontent already present in their acceptance of the status of Περίοικοι.[112] Yet, the validity for such a claim in one extant source is problematic (Xen. *Hell*. 3.3.4-11). Nevertheless, the well attested examples of Περίοικοι rejecting Lakedaimonian ethnic identity at this time support the hypothesis that the subordination of the Περίοικοι in the archaic period was voluntary. The Triphylians who assumed Arkadian identity and the number of Messenian settlements that were released from Spartan control underwent a drastic shift in ideology.[113]

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[110] Shipley (2006:67).

[111] Mertens (2002:291).

[112] Roy (2009:208).

[113] *Ibid* (2009:208).

The culturally unified πόλεις and the centralised Spartan authority is well attested by the reception of embassies from outside of Lakonia by Περίοικοι and the use of one circulated calendar.[114] Thus the Attic perception of a disadvantageous subordination does not hold true for archaic Sparta considering the evidence presented. However, Sparta was renowned for its assertion of control in the political sphere of its subordinated πόλεις and establishing oligarchic governances (Thuc. 1.18.1). Consequently, those πόλεις were subject to a number of recorded examples of Sparta's demand for the exclusion of unfriendly individuals who threatened their political influence.[115] An instance of this can be seen in the fragment of a treaty with Tegea, dated to the fifth century, which required the exclusion of Messenians from the πόλις (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 5; *Quaest. Rom.* 52). Yet, one has to be aware of the extent to which Sparta was able to exercise this control without the risk of damaging the pro-Spartan contingents within the subordinate πόλις. A mutually beneficial relationship had to be the priority of any legislation that was proposed by the Spartan contingent to maintain power.[116] Consequently some πόλεις could have instituted some legislation that was divergent from the Spartan ideal.

Socio-Economic Significance

Appropriated Athenian perspectives have led most scholars to conclude that the Περίοικοι were bound into a disadvantageous socio-political system in subordination to the Spartan πόλις.[117] However, the socio-economic responsibility of the early Περίοικοι was certainly accompanied by certain privileges that made being a subordinated Lakedaimonian πόλις profitable.[118] This is especially clear when the taboo against labour and money is recognised as a fifth-century ideological construct to exaggerate the Spartan preference for war (Plut. *Lyc.* 24; Hdt. 2.167). The Περίοικοι identified ethnically as Lakedaimonians and although

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[114] Mertens (2002:287).

[115] Yates (2005:75-76).

[116] *Ibid* (2005:76).

[117] Mertens (2002:287).

[118] Bernstein (1997:284).

they were subordinates to the Ὅμοιοι they were not their subjects.[119] The αὐτονομία that was retained by the Περίοικοι could not have been manipulated too strongly without having a negative impact of the position of Sparta as the paramount πόλις. Therefore the Tegean treaty, discussed above, that demanded exclusion and exile was a successful method of socio-economic control by the hegemonic πόλις (Arist. F592. Rose).[120]

The tendency to over-exaggerate the divisions of their three-tiered hierarchy leads to accepting the Athenian perspective of Περίοικοι existing on much the same socio-economic level as the Εἵλωτες. By restricting political influence of the Περίοικοι in the central πόλις, unlike the political influence of the δῆμοι of Athens, Sparta was able to ensure a similar level of civil harmony. Unlike the πόλεις of Arkadia, there are no reports of wars between the Περίοικοι of Lakonia. Therefore the overarching ethnic identity as Lakedaimonian, despite their subordination to Sparta, held the Περίοικοι in a stable social system that is comparable to the δῆμοι of Athens which retained a significant amount of political power.[121] The evidence for mutual cult practices and interaction between the Lakedaimonians is also well supported in the ancient sources.

The locations of the Messenian Περίοικοι indicate that agricultural and pastoral engagements were their primary contribution to the economy. While also supplying armour to the army, the coastal Περίοικοι served as the only link to trade in the Mediterranean.[122] The Περίοικοι territories of the Tainaron and Malea promontories are found to have been the centres of production and economy.[123] Additionally, Περίοικοι had a share in the control and management of the Εἵλωτες.[124] This study suggests that the most salient socio-economic responsibility of secondary-tier communities was this management of the Εἵλωτες by the Messenian Περίοικοι who would have acted as intermediaries for the Ὅμοιοι in Lakonia. The

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[119] Shipley (2006:68).

[120] Kennell (2010:52); Yates (2005:76).

[121] Shipley (2006:70).

[122] *Ibid* (2006:69).

[123] Ridley (1974:286).

[124] MacDowell (1986:37-39).

ancient sources show that the Περίοικοι had access to a number of resources, engaged in cultivation, and pastoral agriculture with the labour force of the Εἵλωτες (Plut. *Lyc*. 8.3).[125]

The fact that the Περίοικοι identified themselves as Lakedaimonian legitimised Sparta's social system and was largely more successful than those of similar paramount πόλεις found in Argos and Athens. This was due to the status and position of πόλεις being retained by the subordinated secondary-tier Περίοικοι. The benefits of allying with and contributing to the Lakedaimonian army far outweighed the negative propaganda and stereotypes that followed the infamous military education of the Ὅμοιοι. As Pausanias (3.22.6) states, the Achaian population at Geronthrai was replaced with Περίοικοι by the Dorians expanding their control of Lakonia. Yet, this must be interpreted with consideration of the ideology that came with the adoption of Lakedaimonian ethnic identity. The expulsion of the Achaians makes for neater propaganda than their integration into the Spartan social and system and adoption of Lakedaimonian identity.[126] It is also clear that this is evidence for a hierarchy within the secondary-tier which indicates that some Περίοικοι were more valuable to the Spartan military and social systems than the others who had perhaps been forced into the fold by military threat.[127]

Military Significance

The discussion above of the relative autonomy of the Περίοικοι has shown that the military contribution of these subordinate πόλεις was cellular. They were responsible for training and managing their own contingents of what constituted the Lakedaimonian army as separate from the superior Ὅμοιοι.[128] However, the Περίοικοι were gradually incorporated into the phalanxes of the Ὅμοιοι more extensively.[129] In fact, by the end of the fifth century a large majority of the ὁπλῖται were Περίοικοι with some in commanding roles. This indicates that

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[125] Ridley (1974:288).

[126] Shipley (2006:67).

[127] Ridley (1974:291).

[128] Shipley (2006:57-58).

[129] Hawkins (2011:402-403).

there was a tradition of stratified involvement of the Περίοικοι in the Lakedaimonian army (Xen. *Hell*. 7.1.12).[130] The full extent of their involvement in the military coordination of the archaic Lakedaimonian army, however, cannot be so clearly shown.

According to Thukydides (5.77; 7.79) the Περίοικοι were only free to govern their domestic affairs but they were completely under the authority of Sparta when it came to control of the military system.[131] Thukydides (5.54.1) also relates an instance when the mobilised ὁπλῖται, and even their πόλεις, were unaware of their intended destination. In contrast to the Athenian democratic system, such behaviour would have been seen in a very negative light and affected the perception of the Spartans. This statement by an Athenian author is remarkably similar to the assertion by Ferguson discussed earlier about the military coordination of the *izinduna*. Similarly, the assumption that the Περίοικοι had little to do with strategic decisions in the Lakedaimonian army is a misjudgement.[132] The epigraphic record supports the argument for the significant contribution of the Περίοικοι in the military system of Sparta. The number of steles commemorating Περίοικοι who died in battle shows that the Spartans honoured the warriors from their subordinated πόλεις with the same standards as the Ὅμοιοι.[133] Therefore, their contribution to the military coordination of the Lakedaimonian army was also acknowledged.

Additionally, considering that the Ὅμοιοι did not engage in manual labour, the source of their weapons and armour has been a critical subject of debate.[134] The χειροτέχνες (craftsmen) that are referred to by Xenophon (*Lac*. 11.2) are considered to be those skilled Περίοικοι that were entrusted with this task since they were free to engage with trade and artisanry.[135] This assumption has been arrived at largely by elimination, since the tradition tells us that the Ὅμοιοι held such work as taboo and that the Εἵλωτες would not have been

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[130] Shipley (2006:70); Mertens (2002:288).

[131] Bernstein (1997:287).

[132] Humble (2006:222).

[133] Mertens (2002:288). See also, IG V,1 918, 921, 1124, 1125, 1320, 1591.

[134] Cartledge (2006:66); Ridley (1974:285).

[135] Ridley (1974:286).

entrusted with manufacturing the weapons of a ὁπλίτης. Although, as the above discussion on the Εἵλωτες showed, there are considerable reasons to doubt this assumption. It is not sound methodology to merely infer responsibilities to the Περίοικοι since they are the least understood tier of the Spartan socio-political hierarchy.[136]

Comparison

This analysis of the autonomous Περίοικοι and the *amaNtungwa* presided over by *izinduna* stationed at *amakhanda* reveals several prominent incongruencies in the management and process of integration of secondary-tier peoples of the Spartans and the amaZulu. The two secondary-tier peoples identified do not share the same socio-political position nor do they have the same role in their respective military systems. However, this parallel analysis has elucidated the extent to which these two paramount polities relied on the surrounding, subordinated communities for the success of their economy. In the case of the amaZulu, while the paramount *inkosi* retained direct control over cattle, the agricultural contribution of the *amaNtungwa* and the subordinated *imizi* was vital for the socio-economic productivity of the paramountcy. Similarly, the Περίοικοι were fundamental for Sparta's economic success. The management of the Messenian Εἵλωτες by the Περίοικοι, in the same way that the *izinduna* served as localised officials of the Zulu paramountcy, the centralised rule of the Spartan πόλις was ensured along with the promulgation of Spartan ideology. Thus the socio-political hierarchy that Carneiro outlines is found to be present in both the Spartans and the amaZulu.[137]

The military system of the Zulu paramountcy functioned effectively through their incorporation of subjugated youths into the *amakhanda* system alongside youths of the Zulu lineage. Yet the Spartans reserved access to their συσσιτία for those who held the political status of Ὅμοιοι.[138] This incongruency is paralleled in the military significance of the

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[136] Ridley (1974:292).

[137] Carneiro (1970:736).

[138] Ferguson (1918:232).

Περίοικοι and the *amaNtungwa*. While the Zulu military system was fundamentally reliant on the extensive *amakhanda* system in which members of the warrior caste were housed, the Spartan military system operated in a cellular manner with Περίοικοι contributing their own components to the Lakedaimonian army. However, this resembles the military system of the paramountcies prior to uShaka's reign when subordinated *amakosi* raised *amabutho* from their own communities and contributed to coordinated campaigns when summoned by the dominant *inkosi*. Through this extended comparison of the social systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu, the socio-political context in which the military system of archaic Sparta developed is described. Therefore, the features of the Spartan military system that will be analysed in the following chapter can be fully understood.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MILITARY SYSTEMS OF THE SPARTANS AND THE amaZULU

The amaZulu

A salient feature in the historiographical tradition of uShaka's authority over the subjugated communities of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region is his severe and oppressive rule. There are many early accounts where this feature is emphasised to the point of exaggeration. As can be seen by Fynn's emotive statement:

> [uShaka was] determined to continue his wars while any body of people could be found to stand in opposition to his force; fight or die was his maxim and certain was the death of anyone or body of men who retreated before his enemy.
>
> Fynn (KCM 98/69/1 File 2.9)

However, this must be understood by the modern scholar as the result of a deep-seated ideology that ensured absolute loyalty to uShaka in his position as paramount *inkosi*. The historiographical record has embellished this image with the colonial perspectives of the amaZulu. Therefore, it is vital that the primary accounts be consulted with caution since the prevalent perception of the amaZulu as a brutal warring nation cannot be entirely trusted. The shockwaves in the political climate of south-eastern Africa that followed the establishment of the Zulu paramountcy will be shown to be the result of several other factors. The appropriation of propaganda in the tradition and the vilification of uShaka' character and deeds have hindered study of the amaZulu.[1]

On campaign, militaristic ideology was ever present in the expectations placed upon the *amabutho*. The tradition informs us that uShaka required those who had shown cowardice in battle to be executed. This culling was meant to challenge the fear and

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[1] Hamilton (1992:58).

temptation to avoid conflict they would have experienced when advancing on an enemy.[2]

The warrior feared being shamed in front of his *ibutho* and of his possible death at the command of his *inkosi* more than the enemy. According to Ferguson's reading of the primary sources, there was also a rule that if a warrior returned from battle not in possession of his spear that he should be killed, which reminds one immediately of the similar saying of Spartan women found in Plutarch's *Moralia* (241.16) that a Spartan warrior should return with his shield or on it. Fynn reports the same practice of culling during an inspection of the *amabutho* and suggests at the burden this expectation had on the *izinduna* to identify weak links within their own *amabutho*.[3] This military conditioning that enforced devotion to the paramount *inkosi*'s agenda is comparable to the Athenian orator Lykourgos' remark on Sparta's exceptional kind of conditioning:

ὁ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος ἰσχυρὸς ὢν ἀναγκάσει τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν: τίς γὰρ ὁρῶν θανάτῳ ζημιούμενον τὸν προδότην ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκλείψει τὴν πατρίδα;

For if the fear of one's own citizens is strong, it will compel men to stand firm against the dangers from an enemy; for seeing someone punished with death who will abandon his country in danger?

Lycurg. *Leoc.* 130. Burtt.

The primary sources used by Ferguson relate many methods by which uShaka tested the courage and ensured the absolute loyalty of his *impi*.[4] Such accounts are congruent with the expectations from the expansionist methods of uShaka, yet they cannot be accepted fully

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[2] Ferguson (1918:223-225).

[3] Fynn (KCM 98/69/1 File 2.269-270).

[4] Isaacs (1836:270-271).

since loyalty to an oppressive paramount *inkosi* must have been accompanied by benefits that compensated for such brutal tests of courage.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the military conditioning that hinged on such ideology began from childhood before the youths were initiated into manhood and assignment to *amabutho*. When not stationed at their *ikhanda* they would have been effective promoters for the military conditioning of the younger members of their *umuzi*.[5] The methods of military conditioning in the following analysis will highlight the nature of the ideology that determined the military system through which the reinforcement of Zulu ethnic identity was maintained. The *amabutho*, as phratric clusters, were the principal institution through which the militaristic identity of the amaZulu was promulgated. Understanding the ideology that underpinned the military system of uShaka's paramountcy provides an informed perspective on the formative period of the archaic Spartan πόλις.

Honour and Shame as Tools for Military Conditioning

Instances of honour and shame being used as tools for social conditioning are a significant aspect of this analysis. Examples of glorification with honour and the socio-political consequences of shame are able to draw out the underlying precepts by which the ideological superstructure of the amaZulu conditioned the *amabutho*. The terminology with which the amaZulu honoured and shamed those individuals who deviated from normative behaviour can contextualise the nature of this ideology and lead into the following discussion on its features.

Firstly, as will be seen with the Greek terminology, the concept of courage and the path to honour is strictly associated with concepts of manhood and thus even more strongly connected to the phratric nature of the *amabutho*. The word *ubuqhawe* (manliness) is the isiZulu term that is most predominately translated as 'courage'. As war was the prerogative of men, a gendered lexicon is not unexpected. Bryant, the missionary, tells us that it was a

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[5] Ferguson (1918:205).

regular practice that Zulu youths were awarded *isithopho* (nicknames) that were derived from their honourable characteristics and sometimes also meant to perpetuate their shameful ones.[6] Such insults are a common feature of social and military conditioning among the amaZulu. They would more often be referred by this rather than by their birth name and it is also attested that uShaka himself awarded some *isithopho* to some of his favoured warriors. In a survey performed in the late twentieth century in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal by Koopman (1987), a number of these praise names were recorded that still followed traditional patterns and, interestingly, he notes that they were mostly insulting rather than praising.[7] These *isithopho* can be grouped into three distinct categories: *zokushela* (courting), *zokugiya* (war-dancing), and *zokulwa* (fighting).[8] The interlocutor uMtshapi kaNoradu, tells us that praises were highly significant when youths performed war-dances after they had gone to *kleza* at an *ikhanda*.[9] The youth would dance while being praised with his honourable deeds as a herder. Those who refused to dance were labelled as cowards and stigmatised throughout their training until they proved themselves in battle.

In *imigangela*, a significant method of military training encouraged by uShaka, the youths competed in order to publically demonstrate their *ubuqhawe*. The winner's superior fighting skills were rewarded with significant social prestige and he was referred to as the *inkunzi* (bull). The losers, however, were labelled with a number of insults such as *igwala* (coward), *ingwadi* (reject) which also carried a gendered undertone, *umakoti* (bride) being an idiomatic synonym.[10] These systems of competition enforced the pursuit of honour through martial bravery. Such honour brought with it the validation of the youth's progression into manhood while failure to meet the conditions of normative behaviour was reprimanded by swift social consequences. Derisive laughter was an important feature of this process as it created an immediate and recognisable distinction between acceptable and unacceptable

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[6] Bryant (1949:434).

[7] Koopman (1987:42).

[8] *Ibid* (1987:44).

[9] *JSA* (4:87-88).

[10] Carton & Morrell (2014:138).

behaviour while unifying those who produce it as the normative group.[11] For example, Fynn relates the custom of choral courtship between a male *ibutho* and the resident female *ibutho*.[12] The women gather at the upper end of the *ikhanda* with a post placed between them and the men at the entrance of the enclosure. The male youths dance out towards the post in turns and are accepted if a female youth dances out to meet him. If his dance is not reciprocated the females laugh at him.

In battle, those who showed themselves to be brave and loyal to the paramount *inkosi* were rewarded with significant social privilege and cattle; while those that surrendered to fear and shamed themselves in front of their own *ibutho* or its *induna* were immediately held accountable and faced possible execution.[13] It is attested that courage was recognised publically by the paramount *inkosi* and individuals were awarded with *izingxotha* (brass armbands) and *iminyzene* (necklaces made from interlocking beads) that were a physical representation of their bravery.[14]

Through the reinforcement of the notions of honour and shame that were very closely linked to the concepts of manhood and courage the military system was strengthened.[15] This courage drove the *impi* forward for the honour of their paramount *inkosi.* Additionally, it maintained the ideology that underlay Zulu ethnic identity during uShaka's reign and operated through the *amabutho* that promulgated the ideology of the Zulu paramountcy through the *amakhanda* system. The militaristic identity of the amaZulu stems from this fundamental aspect of the development of the Zulu polity. Uncovering these features of the military system can greatly benefit the study of the archaic πόλις through comparison of their congruent ideological tools for military conditioning.

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[11] *JSA* (3:326).

[12] Fynn (KCM 98/69/8 File 9.31).

[13] *JSA* (3:87; 2:61).

[14] Kennedy (1991:53); Smail (1969:32); Malcom (ed.) (1969:127).

[15] *JSA* (3:306).

Phratry and the *amaKhanda*

The phratric bonds that were created during the initiation into manhood and in a youth's formation into an *ibutho* were critical for the functionality of the *amakhanda* as military units. Ferguson tells us that during uShaka's control of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region, there was the most concentration of males at *amakhanda* and the strength of the *impi* was at its highest during this period.[16] Thus, his authority over this labour force was dependent on the phratric cohesion with which the *amakhanda* operated. The interlocutor uLunguza kaMpukane reports that if a warrior left the *ikhanda* and stayed at his own *imizi* for too long his *indlu* would be used by the other members as a place for their refuse.[17] This was done to prevent warriors from abandoning their duty and ensured that warriors placed the *ikhanda* above their domestic responsibly. For the *amakhanda*, disregarding the misconception that they were purely military institutions, were isolated civil establishments with their own agricultural and pastoral components.[18] The *amabutho*, alongside their military duties, had essential socio-economic responsibilities to the paramountcy within these institutions.

An *ikhanda*'s *amabutho* were divided into a group of older men who had experience of battle and a group of younger men recently initiated into manhood and assigned to the *ikhanda*. This distinction of experience was also indicated by the colour of their shields which was determined by the colour of the cattle provided by uShaka that were housed at their *ikhanda*.[19] Being sustained by the meat and milk provided by the cattle at their *ikhanda*, the nourishment and health of the members of the *amakhanda* was by direct authority and contribution of uShaka. A popular dish that was prepared with the harder cuts of meat being boiled with suet and blood at the *amakhanda* is perhaps similar to the 'black broth' of the Spartans.[20] The *amabutho* repaid the *inkosi*'s contribution to their sustenance with the complete loyalty and courage with which they fought his enemies. As a result of the lifestyle

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[16] Ferguson (1918:203).

[17] *JSA* (1:308).

[18] Wylie (2006:191).

[19] Fynn (KCM 98/69/8 File 9.20); *JSA* (2:243).

[20] Fynn (KCM 98/69/8 File 9.25); Ferguson (1918:214).

at the *ikhanda* there was a transference of ideology to the *imizi* from which these men came and went back to during their periods of military inactivity. The physical appearance and mental attitude of the warrior was held to high standards and had profound consequences for their identity in the Zulu paramountcy.[21]

Another significant theme in the tradition of uShaka's strict control over the *amabutho* is his severe restrictions on marriage unless granted by himself as paramount *inkosi*. These marital restrictions were enforced as a method of prolonging the period of active service in the *impi*. As a bachelor, an *ibutho* was free from social responsibilities to his *umuzi* and was able to devote the majority of his life to military campaign and occupancy of his *ikhanda*. However, there was some freedom afforded to them since they were allowed to engage in a practice called *ukuhlobonga* (to cheat) which was sexual intercourse with unmarried and nursing women.[22] Nevertheless they were forbidden from having children of their own until they were allowed to marry.[23] Old bachelors, however, were stigmatised for their inability to fight and their failure in the social sphere. The interlocutor uMtshapi kaNoradu speaks of the shaming of these unmarried men.[24]

The *amakhanda* system depended primarily on the cattle that were provided by the paramount *inkosi* for the *amabutho* to protect but it also levied the neighbouring *imizi* for *umqombothi* (sorghum beer).[25] It was brewed from the grain harvested from the fields of the paramount *inkosi* surrounding the *ikhanda* or from the grain taken as tribute from the neighbouring *imizi*. Thus the socio-economic position of the *amakhanda* was integrated into the communities in which they resided and policed.

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[21] Ferguson (1918:215).

[22] *JSA* (1:316).

[23] Ferguson (1918:206).

[24] *JSA* (4:87).

[25] Ferguson (1918:215).

Military Training in Music and Dance

The significance of dance in the military system of the amaZulu is attested by uMtshapi who tells us that it was a fundamental component of training and that the *amabutho* were highly competitive with one another.[26] This is not surprising since the competitive nature of the *giya* (war dance) custom was a significant aspect of gatherings where the physical and military prowess of the dancers was assessed by the paramount *inkosi*.[27] This primary method of military training at the *amakhanda* guaranteed success on campaign.[28] As Ferguson tells us, while *amabutho* were at their *amakhanda* they spent their time learning and practising these dances in preparation for campaigns against enemy settlements or subordinated communities to gather agricultural tribute.[29] These war dances were modelled on traditional hunting dances that were performed at festivals and civic gatherings. The ritualised dances that mimicked combat were accompanied by martial songs performed in chorus by the attending women. By practising coordinated movements in group formation, the *amabutho* were honing highly effective fighting techniques that would be performed in concert through muscle memory and physical conditioning. Thus, this method of training intensified the effect of their attack and induced the heightened militaristic perception of the amaZulu.

To a large extent the efficiency of uShaka's paramountcy was significantly validated by his centralisation of cultural festivals.[30] The *umKhosi* festival, recently revived in contemporary South Africa, was an annual gathering in December where the subordinated *imizi* would offer the paramount *inkosi* their first harvests.[31] The ceremony was a cultural symbol for the *inkosi*'s authority over the economic production of the subordinated *imizi* in his paramountcy.[32] The festival was performed first at the capital under the authority of the

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[26] *JSA* (4:89).

[27] *JSA* (2:168-169, 178; 1:181).

[28] *JSA* (4:344-345); Ferguson (1918:210).

[29] Mitchell (2002:373-374); Gluckmann (1938:27); Ferguson (1918:205).

[30] Wylie (2006:350).

[31] Gluckmann (1938:26).

[32] Lambert (1995:278).

paramount *inkosi*. Only then were other *imizi* allowed to hold their own local versions with his consent.[33] By accepting the paramount *inkosi*'s summons and attending the ceremony, the *izinduna* were participating in the subordination of their authority. It was also an occasion for ritualised competition of the *amabutho* in order for them to show the paramount *inkosi* their physical strength and stamina through a prolonged *giya* and *imigangela*.[34] The *amabutho* would assemble in front of the *inkosi* in a horse-shoe formation with individuals imitating solo combat.[35] The festival also included the sacrifice of a bull which the youths would attempt to kill with their bare hands and then consume as a symbolic rejuvenation of the *inkosi*'s strength.[36] This was seen as a reward for their continued service as part of the *impi*. The festival as a whole was chiefly devoted to the praise of the *amabutho* and dancing displays of their ability to defend the *inkosi* and the paramountcy.[37]

Weapons and Tactics

The military proficiency of the amaZulu is a dominant theme in the historiographical record and uShaka is credited with having played a significant part in this through his reforms. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, this exaggerated image of uShaka has led to the appropriation of an artificial image of the military system of the amaZulu. The first of these reforms is the discarding of the *isijula* for the *iklwa* as a primary weapon of the *amabutho*.[38] The tradition states that uShaka actually invented this short spear for close combat. However, as stated, it is known that the *iklwa* was in use before the time of uShaka.[39] However, the rush tactics employed by uShaka lent itself to the more frequent use of the *iklwa* so the perception may have been that this was the only weapon he allowed his

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[33] *JSA* (1:291).

[34] Carton & Morrell (2014:130).

[35] Ferguson (1918:217); Isaacs (1836:99-100).

[36] Raum (1967:149).

[37] Carton & Morrell (2014:131).

[38] *JSA* (2:247).

[39] Laband (1995:37).

amabutho to use.[40] Fynn's account of uShaka's demonstration of the effectiveness of the *iklwa* has been the source of the assumption that his invention initiated its widespread use.[41] With two opposing groups, one using only *izijula* and the other the *iklwa*, uShaka is reported to have made them attack each other to convince his *amabutho* of the efficiency of this tactic. Additionally, uShaka is reported to have realised the capacity of the *isihlangu* (large shield) to be used as more than merely a defensive tool. In an offensive manoeuvre whereby the attacker's shield was hooked behind the opponent's, he demonstrated that it could be used to expose the opponent's flank to a thrust of the *iklwa*.[42]

As a result of the growing conflict between the paramountcies in south-eastern Africa, the increased number of *amabutho* gathered from a number of communities over larger controlled areas meant that mass formations and coordinated tactics could be employed with greater efficiency. The most prevalent account in the tradition of uShaka's tactics is his use of the 'bull-horn' formation which has been incorrectly attributed to him.[43] This involved the independent movement of three units that were coordinated by their *izinduna*. Two 'horn' flanks, composed of the juvenile *amabutho*, would surround the enemy force while a central formation, composed of veteran *amabutho*, would rush forward. Once the enemy was engaged with and surrounded, an auxiliary formation of *amabutho* ensured their complete defeat.[44] Another more reliable instance where uShaka is credited with the invention of new strategy is found in the account by uMqaikana.[45] He speaks about an occasion when uShaka instructed his *izinduna* to arrange a manoeuvre that mimicked the breaking of waves. This was practiced and brought back to the *amakhanda* where the formation was performed and widely adopted.

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[40] Wylie (2006:217).

[41] Fynn (KCM 98/69/1 File 2.8-9).

[42] *JSA* (3:326).

[43] Wylie (2006:380).

[44] Ferguson (1918:224).

[45] *JSA* (4:27).

Considering uShaka's characterised preference for close combat that is found extensively in the accounts of his reign, the military conditioning required to compel his *amabutho* to rush the enemy instead of the customary stand-off with the throwing of spears was indeed severe.[46] The old method of projectile-based combat with the *amabutho* in a scattered formation is significantly less organised than the coordinated and strategic manoeuvres associated with uShaka.[47] Interestingly, the preserved oral tradition shows some examples where uShaka is criticised for some of his more aggressive tactics during campaigns.[48]

The Spartans

The image of Sparta as more of a military camp than a πόλις is found extensively in the historical tradition.[49] The Spartans were stigmatised by an irrational devotion to their military system. Yet, as seen with the amaZulu, this devotion was the result of deeply ingrained ideology that permeated many layers of the Spartan society. The following analysis of specific features of their military system aims to elucidate this ideological construct and its sources. A greater sense of the ideology that glorified the Lakedaimonian army can be realised through a closer interpretation of the words questionably attributed to Simonides inscribed on the epitaph at Thermopylae:

ὦ ξεῖν, ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε

κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

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[46] Ferguson (1918:223).

[47] *JSA* (2:50).

[48] Brown (1997:18).

[49] Buckley (1996:67).

Stranger, tell the Lakedaimonians that here

we lie obeying their words.

<div style="text-align:right">apud Hdt. 7.228.2. Godley.</div>

The echo of Tyrtaios is heard in ῥήμασι (uttered things) and the Great Rhetra to which a Spartan warrior was conditioned to abide by even if it meant death to obey. This is epitomised by πειθόμενοι (obeying) which embodies this absolute obedience embedded in every custom of the ἀγωγή educational system.[50] Interestingly, Thukydides (4.34.1) also shows us that the Athenians were equally subject to the same obtuse representations.[51]

The perception of the Spartans as highly skilled and efficient warriors that devoted their entire lives to military training is a systemic feature in the historiographical record.[52] This perception was perpetuated by fourth-century authors that embroidered the tradition with select anecdotes to suit their image of the πόλις.

ὅταν γὰρ ὁρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι: καὶ ὅπλα δὲ λαμπρύνεσθαι προαγορεύεται.

For whenever a goat is sacrificed when the enemy is watching, it is the custom that all those flute-players present play and that none of the Lakedaimonians are uncrowned; and it is also pronounced that their weapons should be polished.

<div style="text-align:right">Xen. Lac. 13.8. Gray.</div>

The image of Sparta that exists in modern scholarship is a secondary layer to the ideological constructs that have been inherited from antiquity. From what can be gathered about the

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[50] Cartledge (2006:229).

[51] Balot (2004:412).

[52] Marrou (1956:25).

archaic πόλις, ideological constructs were employed to ensure the continued strength of the military system and to preserve the elitism of the Ὅμοιοι in their socio-political hierarchy.[53] By re-examining the image that Sparta projected to encourage the exaggeration of her military system, the following analysis will uncover this ideology.[54]

The precepts by which the Spartans carried out their lives in the warrior caste of the πόλις come into the tradition, invariably, from Plutarch who adapts much of the *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians* attributed to Xenophon.[55] The strength and methods with which the πόλις maintained the Lakedaimonian identity were intended to preserve their socio-political stability. Thus, the invader-state ideology that has been indentified illustrates the nature of Sparta's ideological construct. The following analysis of the military systems of the Spartans will demonstrate the ways in which Sparta constructed ideological systems that preserved their militaristic image.

The Spartans are often understood as the dominant military power in Greece because of their pursuit of honour through martial bravery.[56] Yet, this is not only due to the militaristic development of archaic Sparta and the subjugation of Lakonia and Messenia but also to the image that the πόλις consciously crafted to sustain her authority over subordinate πόλεις. The Spartans were seen as being irrationally devoted to their constitution that called for utter loyalty in exchange for ultimate honour. According to Plutarch (*Ages*. 1.2) the epithet given to Sparta by Simonides was δαμασίμβροτον (man-subduing). The primary method in which Sparta ensured this will be shown to be the strict socio-political consequences for those who showed cowardice in battle. As Xenophon says:

ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης τοῖς κακοῖς ἀτιμίας ἐπικειμένης οὐδὲν θαυμάζω τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως ἀτίμου τε καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου.

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[53] Gray (2007:180); Becker & Smelo (1931:358).

[54] Harman (2009:371).

[55] Lipka (2002:8-9).

[56] González (2010:21-22); Runciman (1998:745).

I do not wonder with such dishonour being placed on cowards there that he puts

death before a life of dishonour and disgrace in this way.

Xen. *Lac*. 9.6. Gray.

However, this threat of shame that left the Spartans with no uncertainty about the weight of their duties was part of a much larger ideological superstructure and Sparta's constructed militaristic image. Thus, reports such as Herodotos' (7.208) where the Spartans at Thermopylae were seen oiling and beautifying their hair before their encounter with Xerxes' forces lends itself to such overarching assumptions about the character and depth of the military and social systems of the πόλις. The Lakedaimonian identity and military dominance hinged on the elite Ὅμοιοι and their brand of ideological conditioning. The following analysis will highlight these key ideological sources to form a clearer and un-augmented image of the archaic Spartans. The phratric institution of the συσσιτία was the primary means by which the militaristic identity of the Ὅμοιοι was promulgated. Therefore, it is necessary to strip the embellished impressions and exaggerated representations of Sparta in the historical tradition to fully understand her military system.

Honour and Shame as Tools for Military Conditioning

The analysis of honour and shame as tools for military conditioning within the archaic Spartan military system will allow for the precise interpretation of the ideological constructs of the πόλις. From Tyrtaios (F12. West), it can be understood that for Sparta and the Ὅμοιοι the highest path to honour was achieved through the glory that came with death in battle.[57] Yet Thukydides (4.40.1) tells us about when Lakedaimonian ὁπλῖται conceded and surprised not only the rest of Greece but also the Spartans themselves. This shows how powerfully

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[57] Luginbill (2002:410).

pervasive the ideological perception of the πόλις was.[58] Since public devotion to the πόλις and courage in battle was rewarded with honour, the complete social marginalisation of those individuals who exhibited non-normative behaviour is anticipated. Yet, the ideology that induced this perception comes to the modern scholar through unreliably subjective sources. Even Xenophon's following statement about the marginal members of Spartan society is coloured with a strong comparison to Athens:

ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ὁπόταν τις κακὸς γένηται, ἐπίκλησιν μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τἀγαθῷ καὶ κάθηται καὶ γυμνάζεται, ἐὰν βούληται: ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πᾶς μὲν ἄν τις αἰσχυνθείη τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παραλαβεῖν, πᾶς δ᾽ ἂν ἐν παλαίσματι συγγυμναστήν.

For in other city-states, whenever someone becomes a coward, the only consequence he has is to be called a coward, the coward goes to the same market as the brave man and sits with him and trains with him, if he wishes; but in Lakedaimon everyone would be ashamed to receive the coward as a mess-mate, and everyone would be ashamed to receive him as a sparring partner.

Xen. *Lac*. 9.4. Gray.

The labels given to individuals who exhibited cowardice or 'unmanly' behaviour offer a foundation from which to delineate the conditioning natures of honour and shame and their perception in Spartan society. Those who had shamed themselves in battle by showing fear in the face of danger were referred to as τρέσαντες which is often translated as 'tremblers' but, more accurately, means 'run-aways' from the verb τρέω (Plut. *Ages*. 30.2).[59] The first extant use of the word in Tyrtaios (F11,14. West) has been suggested as the possible source for the use of τρέσαντες being used in this context as it subsequently became the

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[58] Ducat (2006a:1).

[59] *Ibid* (2006a:7).

popularised technical term for cowards.[60] Some examples of τρέσαντες in the ancient sources can give us an idea of the pressures that underpinned military conditioning through honour and shame (Hdt. 9.71). The case of Aristodemos in Herodotus (7.231) tells us that he was rejected upon coming back to Sparta and mocked by being called the 'Fleeing Aristodemos'. However, his effort to redeem himself, as he supposedly did at the battle of Plataea, was not considered worthy of honour since he had recklessly rushed into battle trying to absolve his shame.[61] The following example of Pantites, however, who hanged himself rather than live with the shame of his survival at Thermopylae gives us an idea of the burden that came with being labelled as a τρέσας (Hdt. 7.232; Xen. *Lac*. 9.6).

These cowards suffered severe socio-political consequences and the consequent devotion with which the Spartans applied themselves to their military system stems from the avoidance of this (Plut. *Lyc*. 21.2). Epps (1933) argued that this ideology may have been in response to an ingrained fear of failure since it is a characteristic of such people to rely on an external system to protect their sense of honour.[62] And, as Plato (*Leg*. 7.791c) implies, courage and the honour that comes with it can only be achieved once one's innate cowardice and fear is conquered.[63] Yet, this theory undermines the extent and influence that ideological conditioning had within the ἀγωγή system that fostered this devotion to Sparta and her honour.

As with the amaZulu, the foundation on which the Spartan military system rested was a deeply ingrained ideology of honour and shame that conditioned the Ὅμοιοι to conform to normative behaviour in their phratric clusters.[64] These concepts were enforced through severe methods and, if we are to accept the historical tradition, dominated every aspect of a Spartan's life. From childhood, Plutarch (*Lyc*. 17.1) tells us that Spartan youths were subject to constant reprimand and conditioning while undergoing the ἀγωγή educational system.

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[60] Ducat (2006a:8-9).

[61] Murray (2009:93).

[62] Epps (1933:12-13).

[63] Sansone di Campobianco (2014:34).

[64] Runciman (1998:736).

Additionally, while attending the συσσιτία, youths were exposed to accepted forms of behaviour and social conditioning (Plut. *Lyc*. 12.4). These methods ensured that Spartan ideals were upheld and checked unrestrained generational alteration of their military and social systems.

The failure to exhibit the ἀνδρεία (courage) required to hold a phalanx formation resulted in being labelled as one of the τρέσαντες.[65] These marginalised individuals suffered relentless stigmatisation and extreme public humiliation. They were excluded from the status of Ὅμοιοι as well as holding an inferior social position to the youths of their community (Xen. *Lac*. 9.5). They were prohibited from attending public festivals and were supposedly beaten at random by anyone who encountered them in public (Xen. *Lac*. 9.5). Their family also was subject to disgrace and, along with their female relatives, they could not enter into marriage (Plut. *Lys*. 30.5). In order to induce public derisive laughter and further emphasise their non-normative behaviour, they were also expected to remain unwashed with one side of their face shaved to mark them out as marginal members of society (Plut. *Ages*. 30.3).

Derisive laughter was a crucial tool for military and social conditioning.[66] The temple to Gelos, the personification of laughter, at Sparta also gives us a piece of cultural evidence for the social function of laughter in Spartan society (Plut. *Lyc*. 25.2). Bachelors who had not married by a certain age were considered to have deviated from the social norm and were rejected in many aspects of the Spartan social system and existed as marginal citizens. The report by Plutarch (*Lyc*. 15.1-2) tells us of a festival in which bachelors had to parade themselves in front of the πόλις and sing derogatory poems about themselves. In this way the Spartans were subjected to constant pressure to conform to normative behaviour to avoid public shaming.

In the military sphere, the Spartan warrior was shaped by the conditioning he was exposed to in every aspect of his life, especially within the συσσιτία. The honour-conscious society of Sparta was driven by military conditioning employed through a constitutional code

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[65] Ducat (2006a:11).

[66] David (1989:2).

of honour and the threat of social exclusion through shame (Xen. *Lac*. 9.1). The explicit expectation of absolute loyalty and compliance to the πόλις was rooted in the 'Lykourgan' constitution. There was no room to question what was expected of a warrior and he was made ever aware of the legislation that required unconditional courage (Thuc. 1.84.3).[67] One is reminded of the βασιλεύς Demaratos' explanation of Spartan courage to the Persian king Xerxes:

ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσί: ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ. ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγῃ: ἀνώγει δὲ τώυτὸ αἰεί, οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι.

For they are free but not completely free; for law is their master, they are in awe of it much more than your men fear you. They do what it might command; and it always commands the same thing, not permitting them to flee from battle before a multitude of men, but remaining in their formation to conquer or be killed.

Hdt. 7.104.4. Godley.

Spartan courage was enforced through public shaming and the fear of humiliation encouraged the military conditioning for which Sparta is so renowned. These methods, although criticised by Athenians, were remarkably successful and one cannot deny that the courage that the Spartan exhibited in battle was convincing.[68] Attic authors portrayed the Athenian brand of courage as distinctly rational in contrast to the supposedly forced courage of the anti-democratic Spartans.[69] The idealised courage of the Spartans exacerbated their

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[67] Balot (2004: 416-417).

[68] *Ibid* (2004:417).

[69] *Ibid* (2004:409).

militaristic image and thereby encouraged the identity of the Lakedaimonians as a dominant military power under the leadership of the Ὅμοιοι.

Phratry and the Συσσιτία

The phratric nature of the Dorian συσσιτία was a vital component of the success of the Spartan military system. The inculcation of Spartan military and social ideology in these institutions is an aspect of Spartan society that is heavily clouded by the lack of reliable sources.[70] The institution was supported by the contributions of its members and they were held to strict standards.[71] According to the ancient sources, failure to contribute one's share resulted in the loss of political rights (Arist. *Pol*. 1271a 28; 1272a 16). The attendance of communal meals at the συσσιτία was also strongly enforced. An anecdote by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 12.3) is an example of Sparta's own ideological constructs meant to ensure normative behaviour being manipulated by later commentators. When the βασιλεύς Agis arrived back to Sparta from a campaign he wished to take his meal in his own home but he was fined by the ephors. Plutarch presents this as an example of Sparta's extreme devotion to their constitution.

The elitism with which the Ὅμοιοι sustained their superior status among the Lakedaimonians was fostered within the συσσιτία. Many Spartans lost their political status because they were unable to maintain their contribution. Aristotle (*Pol*. 1271a 27), at a time when Sparta was no longer a major power, criticises this aspect of the συσσιτία and strongly advocates that the πόλις should provide the means to sustain the warrior caste housed in these institutions.[72] Furthermore, youths still had to become admitted into a συσσιτίον before attaining full political rights despite having completed the ἀγωγή. Those that were rejected from the institution existed as marginal citizens and were excluded from Spartan society.[73] It

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[70] Rabinowitz (2009:122-123); David (1978:492).

[71] David (1978:486).

[72] *Ibid* (1978:494).

[73] Cartledge (2006:208).

can be seen through these practices that the elitism of the Ὅμοιοι is closely connected to the maintenance of military and social ideology.

Recent discussion on the military system of Sparta has included investigations into the communal nature of the συσσιτία and its place in the development of sympotic behaviour (Xen. *Lac*. 5.2).[74] However, the role that phratry in these institutions played in the ideological conditioning of the Ὅμοιοι is highly significant. Phratry encouraged communal identity and exclusivity which were fundamental for sustaining the socio-political hierarchy of Sparta and her Ὅμοιοι.

Military Training in Music and Dance

The military training of Spartan youths began at an early age when they were inducted into the ἀγωγή system. Dance was a significant method through which they were trained to fight together in formation and coordinate their movements and Homer's (*Od*. 8.262-265) description of dancing gives evidence for its cultural importance in the archaic period.[75] Plato (*Leg*. 7.796b) says that war dances were intended to prepare warriors for movements they would have to perform while engaging in combat. There was also a competitive element to this aspect of the military training of the Spartans (Xen. *Lac*. 4.2). In festivals, groups of older men would compete against youths in a display of their physical and martial abilities.[76]

The γυμνοπαιδία (Festival of the Naked Youths) was an extremely popular festival held in July in which the youths of Sparta exhibited their physical prowess for the attendants with a number of athletic and choral displays (Paus. 3.11.7-9). One of these was the well-known πυρρίχη (Pyrrhic dance). The rhythm that accompanied the πυρρίχη was provided by attending women who played flutes and men that kept time by clapping their hands.[77] In his description of the dance, Plato (*Leg*. 7.815a) gives us some precise movements of which the

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[74] Rabinowitz (2009:114).

[75] Knotterus & Berry (2002:24); Marrou (1956:21).

[76] Flower (2009:208).

[77] Ferguson (1918:231).

πυρρίχη consisted. Defensive movements simulated the avoidance of attacks and projectiles from an imagined opponent. In addition to this there were offensive movements that mimicked archery, the throwing of projectiles, and a number of close-quarter attacks. As a method of training for war the πυρρίχη was an essential practice for the Spartan warrior caste. Athenaios speaks of the importance of this dance for the military training of Spartan youths:

παρὰ μόνοις δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμένει προγύμνασμα οὖσα τοῦ πολέμου: ἐκμανθάνουσί τε πάντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν πυρριχίζειν.

Among the Lakedaimonians alone it continues being a prepatory exercise for war; everyone in Sparta from five years of age learns to dance the πυρρίχη thoroughly.

Ath. 14.631a. Kaibel.

The popularity of the γυμνοπαιδία was so exceptional that Sparta opened herself up to host visitors that came to observe the performances (Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.61; Plut. *Cim.* 10.5; *Ages.* 29). However, this is a clear example of Sparta's attempt to project a carefully constructed image of their military prowess to the rest of Greece. When news of the defeat of a Spartan expedition arrived during the festival, the women were instructed not to mourn or to show any public sign of their distress (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16). This conscious avoidance of behaviour that would weaken their reputation among the rest of Greece is indicative of the importance that Sparta placed on their ideological constructs (Xen. *Lac.* 12.5).

Weapons and Tactics

Localised warfare played a central role in the development of the archaic Spartan πόλις. The success of the Lakedaimonian army was largely attributed to the skill of the Ὅμοιοι in their role as leaders (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.19-22; 3.17-19). Xenophon (*Lac.* 11.8) is also highly

complementary of their skill in manoeuvring with ease and their ability to meet an enemy from any direction with little confusion. This aptitude for battle was the aim of all military training in the ἀγωγή and was both exceedingly admired and feared. A Ὅμοιος was conditioned to this style of warfare and was perceived to be far superior to other Greek warriors because of the 'Lykourgan' constitution.[78]

Beginning in the seventh century and lasting until the fourth, the traditional Homeric style of fighting was becoming less common against the pitched battle in which two phalanxes fought at close-quarters. The intensification of fighting meant that this shift was perceived to be considerably more violent and criticised.[79] Accompanying this evolution, the use of close-quarter weapons become predominant and holding on to the spear was favoured over throwing it and the Spartan military system flourished in this new era of warfare. The anecdote recorded by Plutarch (*Mor*. 241.18) tells of a mother's response to her son's complaint about the shortness of his sword. In true laconic style she answers by telling him to take another step closer (καὶ βῆμα πρόσθες).

The specific training of Spartan youths with weapons is not well documented. However, as discussed, the accounts tell about the practice of formations and manoeuvres through dance. The lack of reports compared to those advocating the use of dancing to prepare warriors for battle suggest that there were no structured training in the handling of weapons.[80] However, Xenophon (*Lac*. 11.7) praises Lykourgos and his educational system that fully prepares warriors to face battle. Therefore, weapons training must have formed part of the ἀγωγή.

Comparison

In Ferguson's comparison of the military systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu he makes the statement that the amaZulu warrior was driven by something other than the

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[78] Hawkins (2011:413).

[79] Runciman (1998:731).

[80] *Ibid* (1998:741).

possession of his land and cattle; that he fought for the glory of the paramount *inkosi* and, rather romantically, for the 'sheer love of fighting'.[81] This feature may be argued to be held by any society for whom war is the primary intention. Indeed, similar assumptions are made about the Spartan military system from biased accounts in the historiographical tradition. Yet, as this study shows, there are numerous other interrelated socio-political factors in their military systems that do not support such narrow assertions. It must be questioned if these modern perceptions of the unrelenting, conscious devotion that the Spartans and the amaZulu had towards their uncompromising military systems is compatible with what can be confidently hypothesised from a close study of the primary accounts.

On the one hand, the perception of uShaka's overt brutality and use of fear to ensure the loyalty of his subjects has been formed through the mythologised reception of his ideological methods. On the other, the Spartan πόλις actively constructed their military ideology to ensure their perception as the most efficient and intimidating military force in antiquity. The historiographical tradition has heavily exaggerated this militaristic image and obscured the modern understanding of archaic Sparta. Therefore using the previous emic analyses of the military systems of these two societies, the following comparisons can be made within an etic framework in order to uncover their differences. The incongruencies at the emic level are key tools to develop a fuller understanding of archaic Sparta.

Both the Spartans and the amaZulu enforced military and social conditioning through highly effective ideological methods of honour and shame. Those that did not exhibit normative behaviour were excluded from social privileges and suffered significant stigmatisation.[82] The Greek word ἀνδρεία, which literally refers to the qualities of manliness but is often translated as 'courage', embodies the process of overcoming the innate fears that one faces in battle in order to exhibit the courage that was required to maintain the phalanx and to avoid the powerful threat of shame. The corresponding isiZulu term, *ubuqhawe*, similarly carries with it undertones of the qualities expected from men in battle

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[81] Ferguson (1918:197).

[82] *Ibid* (1918:233).

and is also commonly translated as 'courage'. It is not surprising however, that the overcoming of fear which was thought to be the sole prerogative of men has a strong presence in the terminology used by both the Spartans and the amaZulu. Yet, I propose that this underlying cultural feature as the first congruency between these two societies that supports the comparison of their military system.

In the case of the Zulu *amakhanda* system, the principal source of sustenance was provided by the cattle that were distributed by the paramount *inkosi* while other provisions were levied from neighbouring *imizi*. In the case of the Spartan συσσιτία, each member of the συσσιτία was expected to contribute a certain portion of provisions to support his fellow warriors. This difference can be explained by the incongruencies indentified in their socio-political systems. While the subordinated, secondary-tier peoples of the Zulu paramountcy were considerably more integrated into uShaka's military system, the Περίοικοι of the Spartan πόλις were excluded from the elite warrior caste referred to as the Ὅμοιοι. Therefore, the ability of the paramount *inkosi* to provide cattle and ensure the loyalty of his heterogeneous warrior caste did not develop in Spartan society. The Ὅμοιοι belonged to exclusive συσσιτία and therefore would not have shared their restricted access to resources with the Περίοικοι. Furthermore, *amakhanda* were established as outposts throughout the territory of the Zulu paramountcy and ensured the stable presence of uShaka's military system among the subordinated *imizi*. This colonising function of the *amakhanda* is not present in the Spartan military system and this can explain several of the incongruencies in their maintenance.

The pervasive phratric element in the *amakhanda* and the συσσιτία that was fostered from childhood and ensured successful cooperation in battle is the second underlying congruency that this dissertation has identified. It played an important role in the development of the perception of these two societies as obtusely militaristic. The communal nature of the συσσιτία sustained the elitism that the Ὅμοιοι used to construct their military image and enforce their superiority over the secondary and tertiary levels of the Spartan socio-political hierarchy. The phratry that solidified the *amabutho* was sanctioned through

cultural observance and encouraged their superiority over the subordinated peoples of the Zulu paramountcy.

In both military systems the use of dance as a method of combat training that was accompanied by rhythmical music is the third congruency. The γυμνοπαιδία and *umKhosi* festivals are remarkably similar in their overall intention to be a military display of the strength of the societies' youths and their eagerness for battle.[83] The public performance of war dances, the *giya* and the πυρρίχη, at these festivals was of paramount importance to uphold the ideological constructs that ensured that the continued fear of their subjugated communities.[84]

The implementation of weapons for close-quarter fighting tactics is the fourth and final congruency between the Spartans and the amaZulu discussed in this chapter. The Dorian phalanx was unique in its diversion from the Homeric fighting style where spears were thrown at the enemy before one-on-one combat. The Spartans developed a military system that hinged on the discipline and military conditioning that was required for fighting in formation and the use of the spear and short sword at close-quarters against a multitude of opponents. Similarly, the amaZulu are renowned for their diversion from normative fighting customs where they would rush an enemy that was equipped for projectile combat.

The congruent features discussed above demonstrate the remarkable similarities of the Spartans and the amaZulu that Ferguson's groundbreaking article intended. They are the result of their early development and show the validity of this comparison. The observable similarities between the amaZulu and the Spartans are used to elucidate the ideological constructs that underpinned the development of the archaic Spartan πόλις. More significantly, however, the revealed differences have aided the fuller understanding of the Spartan military and social systems.

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[83] Ferguson (1918:231).

[84] *Ibid* (1918:231).

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation examines the congruent features of the Spartan and Zulu military and social systems. In an effort to expand and improve upon the initial comparison made by Ferguson (1918), I have engaged with modern scholarship and employed emic/etic comparative methodology to provide a thorough culturally sensitive analysis. The close reading of the available sources with a sophisticated awareness of their fallible and biased perspectives allows for valid hypotheses to be proposed about the conditions of archaic Sparta's formation. This is possible through the comparison with the formation of the Zulu paramountcy under uShaka kaSenzangakhona in nineteenth century KwaZulu-Natal and their identified congruencies.

The cultural personae of uShaka and Lykourgos are discussed in Chapters Three and Four. The historiographical tradition of Lykourgos the mythologised lawgiver of archaic Sparta has been greatly affected by the differing views and motivations of fourth-century Athenian commentators who augmented the militaristic ideological constructs of Sparta for their own political agendas. The analysis of uShaka, the stigmatised *inkosi* of the Zulu paramountcy, examines the more recent construction and mythologisation of a cultural persona who is also credited with extensive reforms of military and social systems.

Chapter Five of the study analyses the phratric age-groups of the Spartans and the amaZulu. The social and military significance of the educational institution of the ἀγωγή is extensively elucidated through comparison with the *amabutho* phratric age-grouping system. The ideological conditioning of youths through a process of martial training and initiation into the warrior caste is an integral feature of a militaristic society. I examine the conforming of youths to the ideological constructs of manhood and ethnic identity in the Zulu paramountcy's warrior caste. This understanding of the Zulu phratric cluster allows for an investigation into the inculcation of Spartan ideology in the 'Lykourgan' ἀγωγή.

The subjugated peoples of the Spartans and the amaZulu are discussed in Chapter Six. The three-tiered socio-political hierarchy (the Ὅμοιοι, the Περίοικοι, and the Εἵλωτες) that is present in the Spartan social system is congruent with the three-tiered hierarchical social system of the amaZulu (the amaZulu, the *amaNtungwa*, and the *amaLala*). As a result, the invader-state ideology by which the Spartan πόλις maintained authority over Lakonia and Messenia with this socio-political hierarchy can be analysed through the lens of the amaZulu.

Chapter Seven identifies and analyses the direct features in military systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu. The ideological methods of military conditioning that members of the warrior caste of the Spartans were subjected to after admittance into the συσσιτία were fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of the militaristic reputation that Sparta had carefully crafted. These ideological constructs ensured their position as a dominant military force in ancient Greece. Thus, what can be gathered from the historiographical tradition of Sparta is a secondary layer to the contemporary image of archaic Sparta that has undergone historical embellishment. The congruent features in the military system of the amaZulu can be used to open the uncertain aspects of archaic Sparta's military ideologies to further debate.

It is emphasised again that I do not argue that there was a connection between these two temporally and geographically isolated societies. This dissertation has attempted to reveal aspects of archaic Spartan society previously under-researched. I employ an emic/etic methodological approach coupled with a theoretical framework drawing from state formation theories. The differences found in the military and social systems of these two societies are also of utmost significance for this study to further explain the development of archaic Sparta. The identified and explicated socio-economic and socio-ecological factors that induced these differing developments may assist future scholars in the study of both the archaic Spartan πόλις and the Zulu paramountcy.

The Cultural Personae of uShaka and Lykourgos

The two figures that are at the centre of this analysis are crucial to the understanding of the invader-state ideology under which the Spartan πόλις and the Zulu paramountcy were founded. This dissertation shows that the lacunose historical accounts of Lykourgos and uShaka are firmly linked to the uncertainties about the early development of their respective societies. The extensive military and social reforms that are attributed to them are key to understanding the ideological constructs that induced the perception of their societies as non-normative in their militaristic development. Ferguson's (1918) article pioneered this line of inquiry but lacks this vital perspective. Additionally, the analysis of the invader-state ideologies present in their societies is not offered as a way to explain their congruencies.

The ideological subordination that uShaka employed during the social and geographical circumscription of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu peoples is responsible for his perception as a brutal and severe paramount *inkosi*. This exaggerated and prejudiced image that was manipulated by his successors was also used as an instrument by which colonial agendas were justified and the Zulu perspective undermined. Such appropriated propaganda has tainted many of the early accounts of his character and aspects of his reign. Thus, this study discredits the exaggerated representation of the amaZulu as a severely militaristic society resulting solely from the reforms of their founding paramount *inkosi*. My analysis of their military and social systems demonstrates that this perception was in fact largely induced by the ideology that was present in their arrangement of phratric age-groups, their methods of subordinating peripheral communities through the promulgation of Zulu ethnic identity, and the ideological conditioning of the *amakhanda* system in which the Zulu *impi* was housed and controlled.

According to the ancient tradition, the figure of Lykourgos is credited with the initial formation and institution of the Spartan constitution. The perception of the Spartans as a wholly militaristic society with an irrational devotion to their military system is a 'mirage' that was exacerbated by fourth-century Athenian authors attempting to discredit Sparta and her authority. I argue this by a close examination and critical reading of the ancient sources in

parallel to the congruencies in the propagandist trends found in the early historiographical tradition of the amaZulu. The Lykourgan tradition credits this mysterious figure with the institution military and social reforms that are comparable to those of uShaka. The cultural persona of Lykourgos was shaped by the ideology that accompanied the phratric arrangement of youths into age-groups in the ἀγωγή, the methods of maintaining the Lakedaimonian socio-political hierarchy and the authority of the paramount πόλις, and the exclusivity of the Ὅμοιοι in the συσσιτία.

The comparison between uShaka and Lykourgos shows that powerful cultural personae can to some extent shape the characterisation of a society. The militaristic societies of the Spartans and the amaZulu are historically bound to the names of Lykourgos and uShaka. In the same way that uShaka was credited with the consequences of a major political shift among the communities in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region, the mythologised figure of Lykourgos is a name to which the Spartans attributed a major constitutional reform in the seventh century during the first Messenian War. This was done to legitimise Spartan authority over the occupied regions and to lend historical credence to the promulgation of Lakedaimonian ethnic identity. Through the comparison of the mythologised Lykourgos and the vilified uShaka, I analyse the ideological constructs of the amaZulu to propose hypotheses about uncertainties in the development of archaic Sparta.

The Formation of the Zulu Paramountcy and the Spartan Πόλις

Recent scholarship in state formation theory has revealed the dominance of Eurocentric foci in the field. The trend to find a universal theoretical model in the field of state formation theory is a ground-breaking challenge. Through the analysis of socio-economic and socio-ecological factors, the emergence of the polity is understood more closely. This dissertation highlights the similarities and differences in the conditions that encouraged the militaristic development of the Spartans and the amaZulu. It shows that the creation of a universal state formation theory is fundamentally hindered by the variables in a polity's socio-ecological and

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socio-economic contexts. However, the heuristic process reveals much that is able to support hypotheses about archaic Spartan development.

The paramountcy of uShaka, which would later establish itself as the Zulu kingdom under the rule of uDingane, emerged out of the increasing conflicts between three dominant paramountcies in south-eastern Africa. The Mthethwa, the Ndwandwe, and the Ngwane paramountcies were undergoing intensifying competition for diminishing resources and desired territories. Climatic stress at the time caused by severely reduced precipitation levels was highly beneficial for uShaka's expansionist motivations. In the void left by the defeated amaMthethwa and the weakened amaNdwandwe, the newly formed paramountcy of the amaZulu was able to offer protection and stability in this fractious political climate. The polity was significantly successful at subjugating the neighbouring communities to the extent that the highly controversial *Mfecane* has marked the reign of uShaka considerably.

Similarly, in the void left by the fall of the Mycenaean polity, the πόλις of Sparta established itself near the site of the Homeric Sparta. The tradition informs us that the Spartan dyarchy alleged descent from the Herakleidae who reclaimed the land for their descendants. However, the archaeological record does not agree with the legend of the subsequent Dorian invasion into Lakonia as it is in the extant literature. The legend was augmented and constructed to claim direct responsibility for the destruction of a number of Mycenaean sites. The subsequently uninhabited period shows evidence of only a small number of active settlements before the Dorian migration into the region. The religious centre of Artemis Ortheia founded at Sparta is of utmost significance to explain the early authority of the newly founded πόλις. This allowed for the subordination of Lakonia into the Lakedaimonian ethnic identity and the later subjugation of Messenia.

Due to several dissimilarities outlined in Chapters Three and Four, the development of the Spartan πόλις and the Zulu paramountcy cannot be fully reconciled with the socio-ecological and socio-economic conditions of current state formation theory: social circumscription, resource scarcity, population pressures, and the mechanism of warfare. However, this dissertation has exposed sufficiently similar conditions to propose the

amaZulu as a comparative model with which to expand upon the study of the development of archaic Sparta. Both the Spartans, who conquered Messenia for its much-needed arable land for distribution among the Ὅμοιοι as κλῆροι, and the amaZulu, who dominated the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region during times of severe climatic stress and amassed a considerable number of cattle, show that the circumscription of limited resources was an important factor. Furthermore, the condition of warfare as the catalyst for state formation has also been met. The Messenian wars were a crucial factor in the militaristic development of the Spartan πόλις as was the conflict between the Zulu paramountcy and neighbouring polities that caused far-reaching consequences known as the *Mfecane*. Through the comparison of the socio-ecological and socio-economic contexts at the emergence of the Spartan πόλις and the Zulu paramountcy, I have found fault with modern state formation theory. Yet, I propose that the requirements of emic/etic comparative methodology have been met by significant congruencies in the methods of ideological inculcation in the social and military conditioning of phratric age-groups, the assimilative invader-state ideology that sustained a socio-political hierarchy, and the use of honour and shame to enforce normative social and military behaviour in the warrior caste.

The *amaButho* and the Ἀγωγή

It is of utmost importance to understand the customs and ideologies that formed the core of the Spartan warrior caste's devotion to the Lykourgan constitution. The social and military significance of the ἀγωγή is further understood in the comparison with the *amabutho* system of the amaZulu. The dismantling of the Spartan 'mirage' can only be fully achieved once the primary layer of Sparta's own ideological constructs is recognised within the historiographical tradition as distinct from the political agenda of Athenian commentators. Modern understanding of the ἀγωγή is contaminated by these skewed perceptions.

The *amabutho* of the Zulu paramountcy were a collection of phratric age-groups that protected and sustained Zulu ideology. Traditionally, after undergoing a circumcision ritual that initiated them into manhood, the male youths were then formed into an *ibutho* that

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depended closely on this phratric bond. The reforms of the *amabutho* system attributed to uShaka in the historiographical tradition are shown to be largely exaggerated. The intensification of warfare that resulted from the growing conflict between the early paramountcies of the region induced this evolution of their social and military systems. The discontinuing of the circumcision ritual was a consequence of this development towards establishing a stable army. A paramount *inkosi* was able to form *amabutho* more directly and had centralised control over a significantly larger territory from which to draw these youths. The *amabutho* were conditioned to be loyal to his authority over their familial allegiances. Thus, uShaka inherited this system and his expansionist methods proved to be highly successful in conquering the majority of the territory of two preceding paramountcies.

The ἀγωγή educational system of Sparta as it has been transmitted was exclusively reserved for the sons of the Ὅμοιοι and was an infamously rigorous training programme. Admittance into συσσιτία depended on the youths successfully graduating from this system. The phratric bonds that were encouraged by their separation into what Plutarch calls ἀγέλαι ensured their conformity to the military ideology that was embedded during their conditioning. The Spartan πόλις used the 'mirage' of their intense military skill to rightfully present the Ὅμοιοι as leaders of the Lakedaimonian army. With this pervading and enforced ideology, the Spartans were able to subordinate Lakonia and subjugate Messenia.

The analysis of the *amabutho* system under uShaka has revealed the similar methods of social and military conditioning that were used in the Spartan ἀγωγή. In this way, the underlying ideologies are identified as well as their relation to the militaristic 'mirage' of Sparta made clear. Although the ἀγωγή was more exclusive than the *amabutho* system, the ideological methods that sustained the military system of the Spartans and the amaZulu have been shown to be congruent. This dissertation argues, through the comparison of the ἀγωγή and the *amabutho*, that the phratric element of these age-groups is a core aspect to the militaristic nature of archaic Sparta and is responsible for much of the ideology for which Sparta was later known through the accounts of fourth-century Athenian authors. Furthermore, the central comparison of the military systems of the Spartans and the

amaZulu is fully supported by this analysis of Sparta's core militaristic ideology embedded into their youths' education and training.

The Subjugated Peoples of the Spartans and the amaZulu

Using comparative methodology to parallel the congruencies of these two societies, the socio-political structure with which the Spartans promulgated the ideology of their πόλις allows for the following exploration into archaic Sparta's development. The ideology that was established to legitimise uShaka's authority over the subjugated communities of the Zulu paramountcy encouraged conformity to Zulu ethnic identity. However, underneath this ideological facade of the Zulu paramountcy there was a marginal group, the *amaLala*, which was excluded from the socio-political sphere of the amaZulu but were fundamental for the economic stability of the polity. The early resistance to Sparta's authority and the subjugation of Messenia similarly produced a marginalised and stigmatised group, the Εἵλωτες, which provided a significantly large labour force under the control of the πόλις.

In Zulu society, the *izinduna* that governed the *amakhanda* were placed in a position of regional authority over the subordinated *imizi* within the paramountcy. The *amabutho* housed at the *ikhanda* were provided with cattle by their paramount *inkosi* and received tribute from the *imizi*. The enforcement of Zulu ethnic identity in these outposts encouraged the full integration and acceptance of the ideology of the Zulu paramountcy. For Sparta, the development of the religiously significant site quickly ensured the authority of the πόλις and sanctioned the subordination of neighbouring communities. The invader-state ideology that accompanied the adoption of Lakedaimonian ethnic identity is embedded in the socio-political structures that ensured Sparta's control. The Περίοικοι were subordinated πόλεις within Sparta's socio-political authority over Lakonia and Messenia. They held αὐτονομία and contributed significantly to the Lakedaimonian army but were excluded from Spartan citizenship and the Ὅμοιοι.

The socio-political structures with which the Spartan πόλις maintained control of Lakonia and Messenia is fully understood by comparison with the congruent three-tiered

hierarchy of the amaZulu. The *amaLala* and the Εἵλωτες constitute the tertiary-tier that were both subjugated with heavily enforced invader-state ideology and allocated menial labour. Out of the incongruencies in the secondary-tier peoples of the Spartans and the amaZulu, the comparison of the Περίοικοι with the *amakhanda* system of the Zulu paramountcy demonstrates their ideological function and socio-political significance. The invader-state ideology of the Spartan πόλις is exposed more clearly by being juxtaposed with the amaZulu. The resulting discussion has allowed for a glance into a silenced population that was the economic backbone of the Spartan πόλις. It has also exposed the nature of Sparta's invader-state ideology that subordinated the Περίοικοι. Such a perspective on the archaic πόλις has elucidated many aspects of her early development and rise to become the paramount πόλις of Lakonia and Messenia. Thereby, the following central comparison of key features of the Spartan military systems is contextualised and validated.

The Military Systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu

The value of the above comparison of specific aspects of the social systems of the Spartans and the amaZulu is based on the concrete methodological structure and theoretical framework of this dissertation. Thus, the following central comparison of the military systems of these two societies can reveal their congruent facets and explain the causes for their differences.

The efficiency of the Zulu *impi* hinged on the military ideology with which the warrior caste was conditioned. Operating from the *amakhanda* system, the phratric nature of the *amabutho* was the primary facet responsible for the military image of the polity. Thus, the subjugation of the territory was firmly secured by this pervading ideology. The strikingly congruent method of physical conditioning and military training in music and dance is used to interpret the impact and reputation that such militaristic societies had. The false military attributions to uShaka clearly highlight the ease with which the character and deeds of cultural personae are subject to propagandist augmentation.

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According to the tradition the constitution of Sparta demanded the absolute loyalty of the Ὅμοιοι to the πόλις through severe methods of social and military conditioning. The concepts of honour and the ever-present threat of shame induced the exaggerated representation of archaic Sparta. The isolated, barracks-like institutions known as the συσσιτία were instrumental in the process of conditioning within the Spartan military system. The close link between military skill and training in music and dance is identified as a parallel feature of the Spartans and the amaZulu. The Spartan 'mirage' was highly intensified by their supposed seamless coordination and physical example set in battle that this training regime encouraged. The Spartan tactics and methods of fighting were undoubtedly sufficiently capable of conquering Messenia but the ideology with which the πόλις encouraged the required loyalty and courage has been shown to have affected the tradition drastically.

Almost a century has passed since Ferguson's paper was published in *Harvard African Studies* in 1918. This dissertation has investigated a number of hypotheses about the πόλις of archaic Sparta and the Zulu paramountcy in the nineteenth century with a more critical and culturally sensitive reading of the sources. It has found that the detailed conclusions drawn from this study about archaic Sparta are justified and the necessary modernisation of Ferguson's comparative method attempts to correct his failures.

The image of Sparta as an overly militarised society that is transmitted by fourth-century Athenian authors was in reaction to heightened political tension and attempted to undermine of the validity of the Lykourgan tradition. Additionally, the methods of Sparta's ideological conditioning further convolute the reliability of what can be determined from these ancient sources. The συσσιτία was the core institution from which the 'mirage' of Sparta emanated and was promulgated. By comparison with the congruent features of the military system of the amaZulu, my dissertation has elucidated the ideological methods of archaic Sparta and allowed for a critical investigation unaffected by past prejudices and biased intentions into the nature of the militaristic polity. Much can be learnt about the development of archaic Sparta and the conditions necessary for the development of such a society. My

purpose was to expose the shortcomings in modern scholarship to propose hypotheses for the nature of the archaic Spartan constitution. With the support of the comparison of phratric age-groups, socio-political hierarchies, and aspects of the military system I present my findings and conclusions for the elucidation of archaic Spartan development.
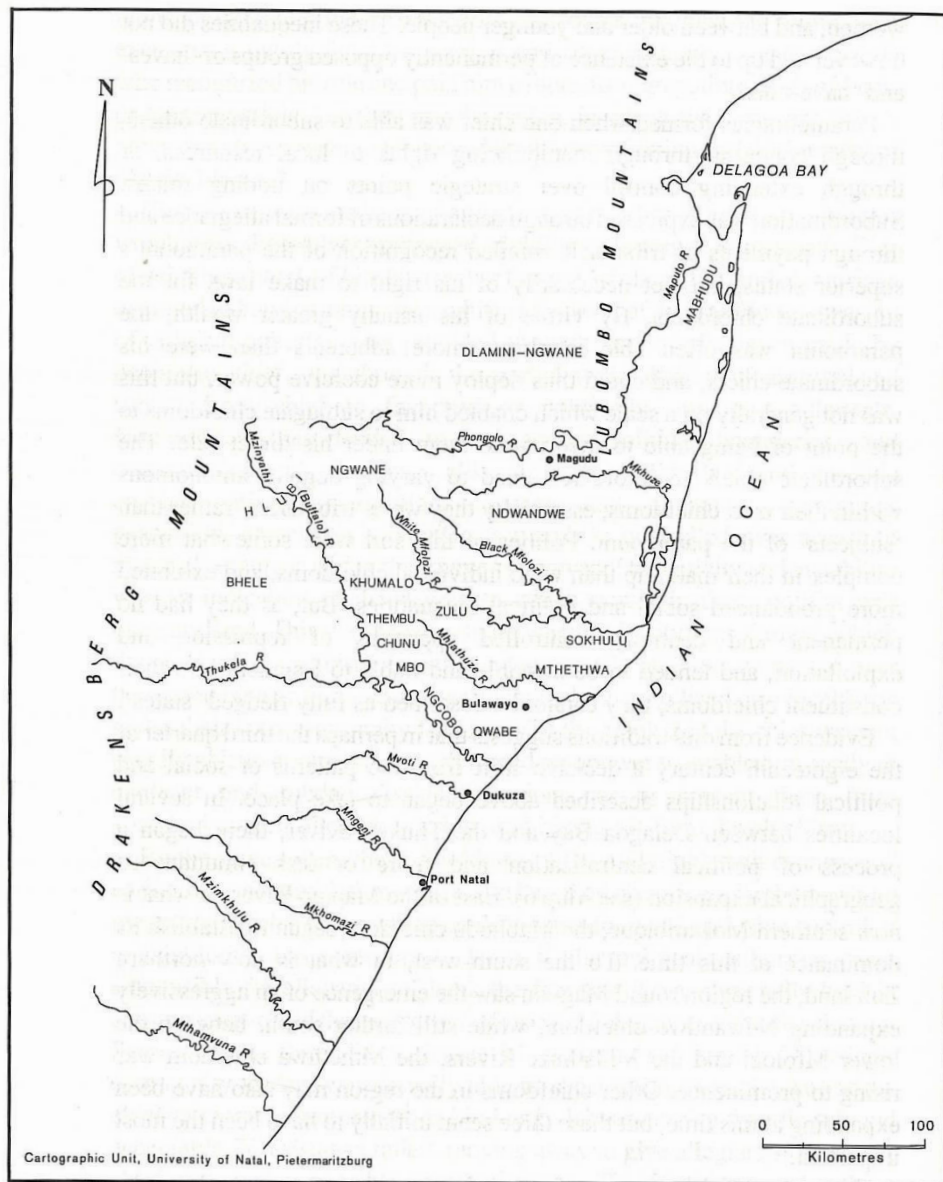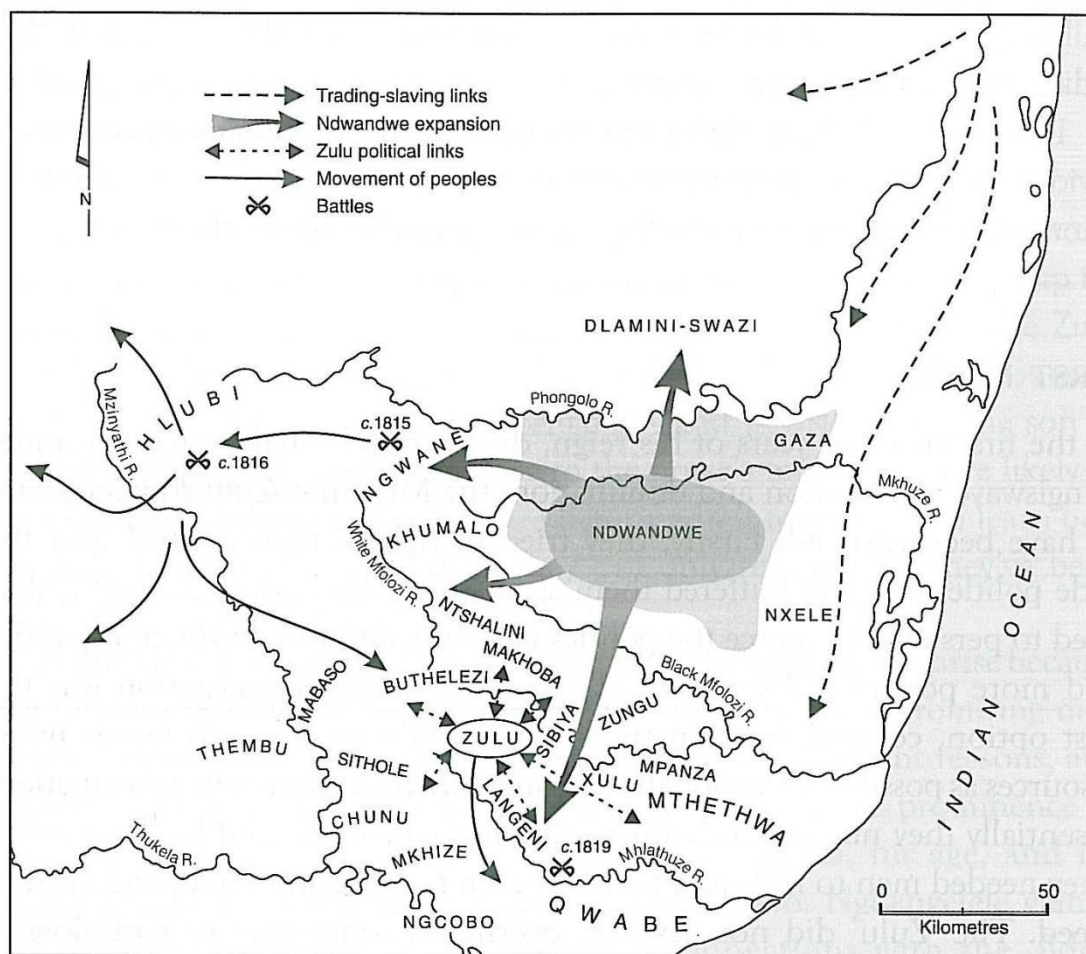
Map 1: Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region

Showing the position of the dominant paramountcies (amaMthethwa, amaNdwandwe, and amaNgwane) and ethnic groups before the formation of the Zulu paramountcy.

Wright & Hamilton (1989:60)

Map 2: The amaZulu and the amaNdwandwe (*c*.1810-1820)

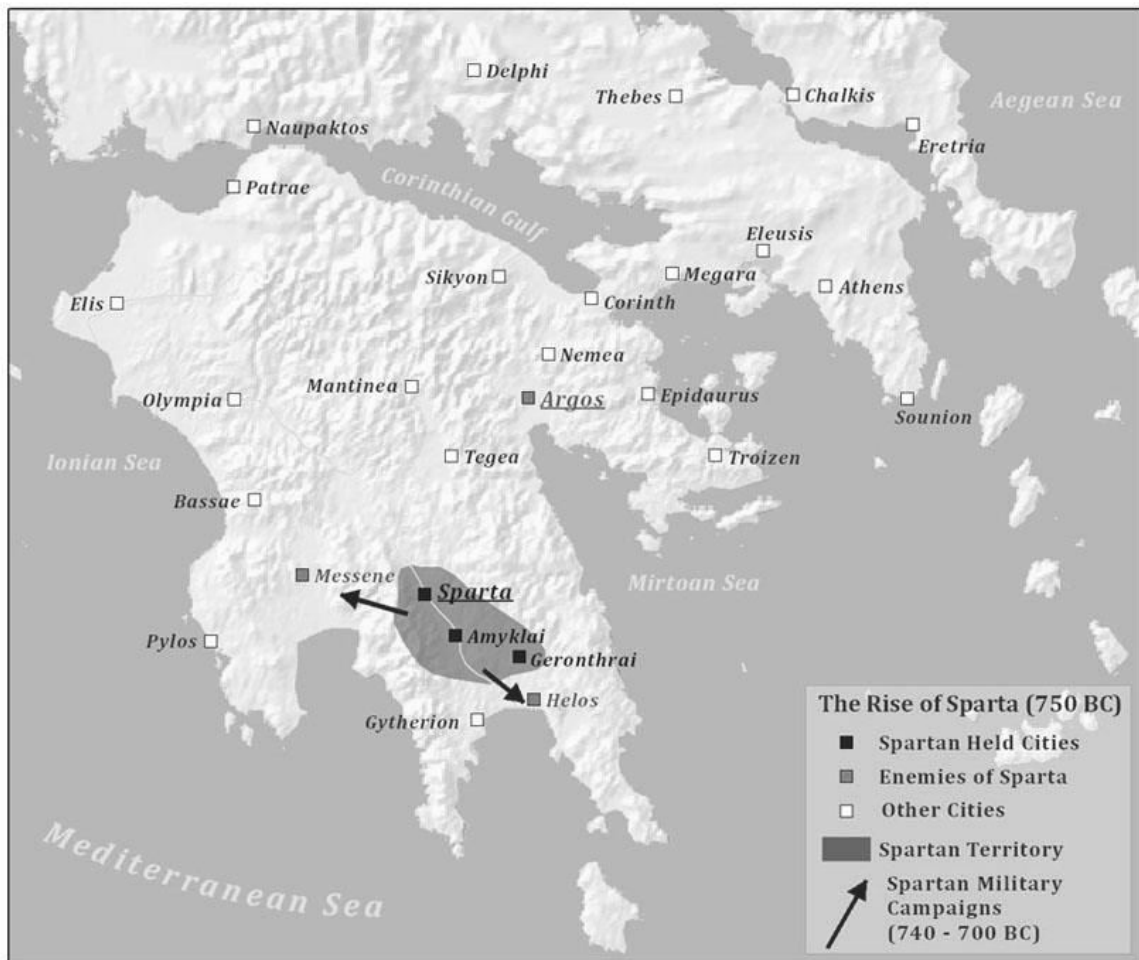Showing proximity and movements of the amaZulu, amaNdwandwe, and the amaMthethwa.

Wylie (2006:156)
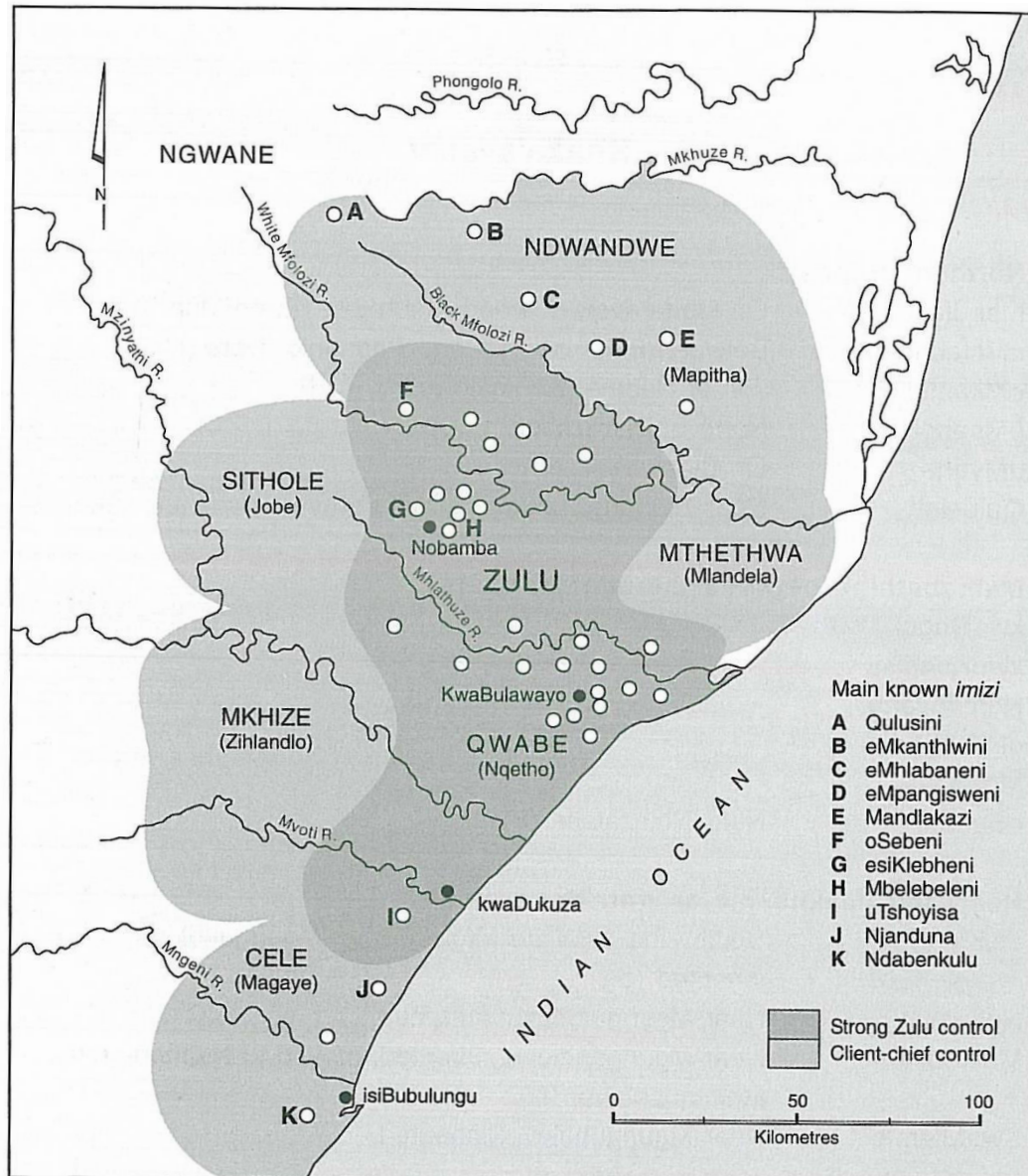
Map 3: Territory of the Zulu Paramountcy

Showing the controlled territory of the Zulu paramountcy and the location of the capital, kwaBulawayo.
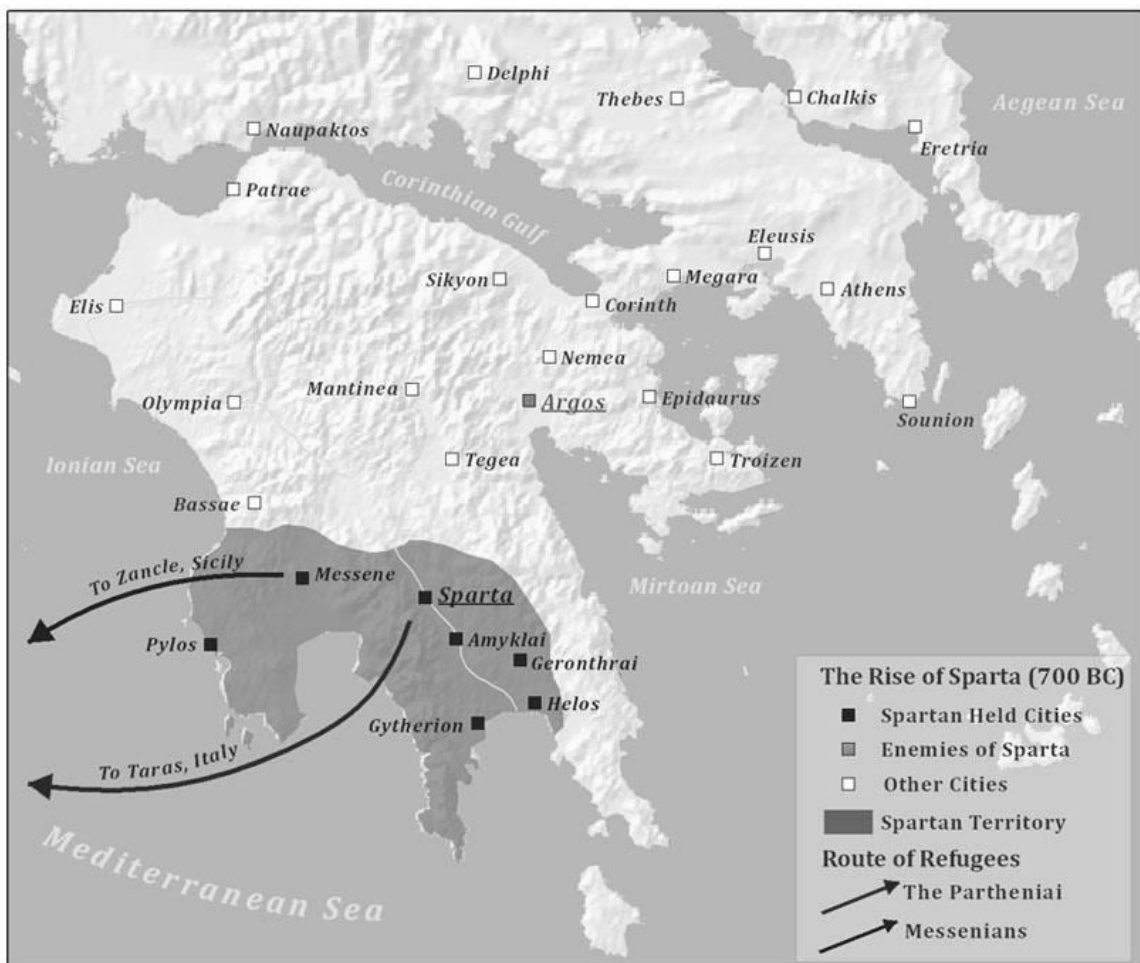
Wylie (2006:264)

Map 4: Archaic Sparta (750 BCE)

Showing the early territory of Sparta and the position of Helos and Messene.

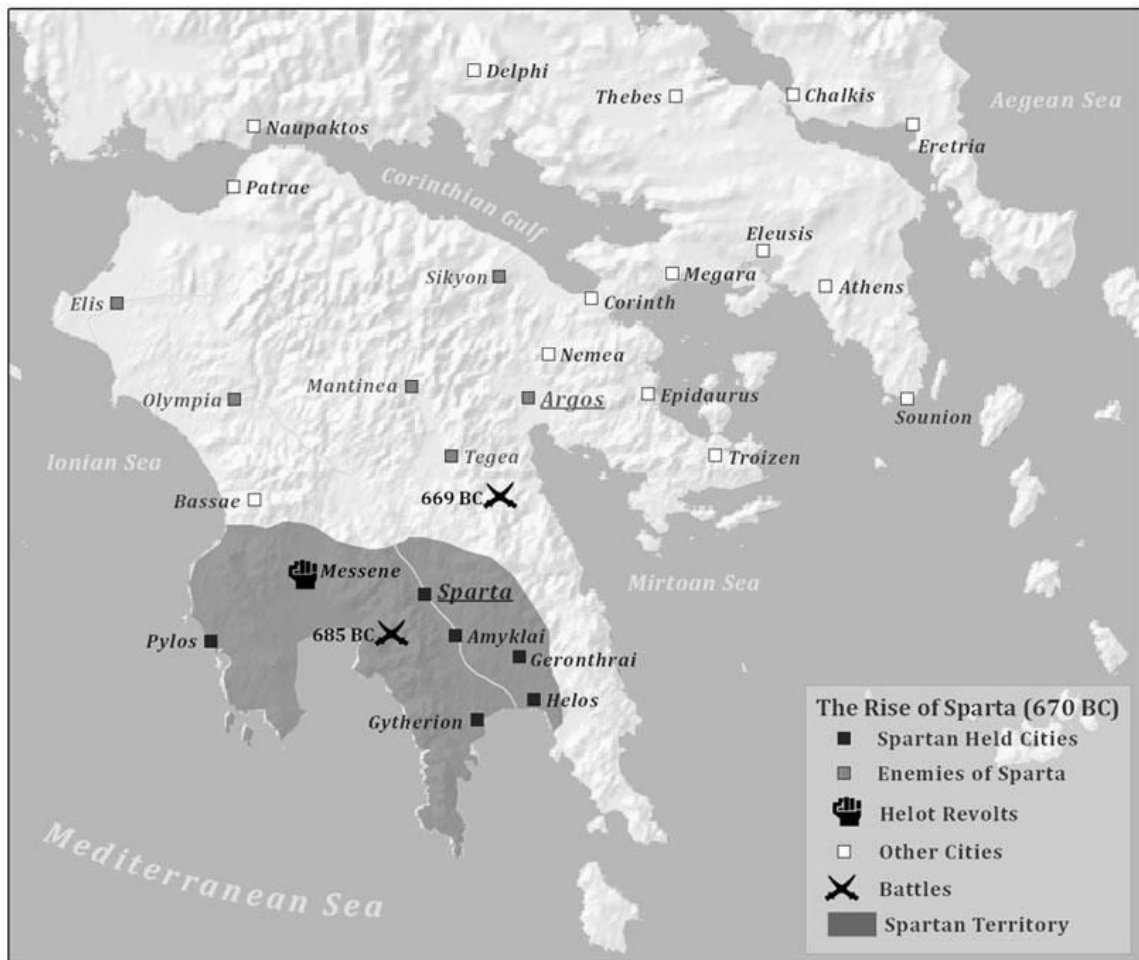Historical Atlas of the Mediterranean: The Rise of Sparta

http://explorethemed.com/Sparta.asp

<u>Map 5: Spartan Territory (700 BCE)</u>

Showing the territory of Sparta after the subjugation of Lakonia and Messenia.[1]

Historical Atlas of the Mediterranean: The Rise of Sparta

http://explorethemed.com/Sparta.asp

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[1] Please note that the reference to the movement of Messenians to Zancle in this period is incorrect. See Thukydides (6.4-5).

Map 6: The Revolt of the Messenian Εΐλωτες (670 BCE)

Showing the territory of Sparta at the time of the revolt of the Messenian Εΐλωτες.

Historical Atlas of the Mediterranean: The Rise of Sparta

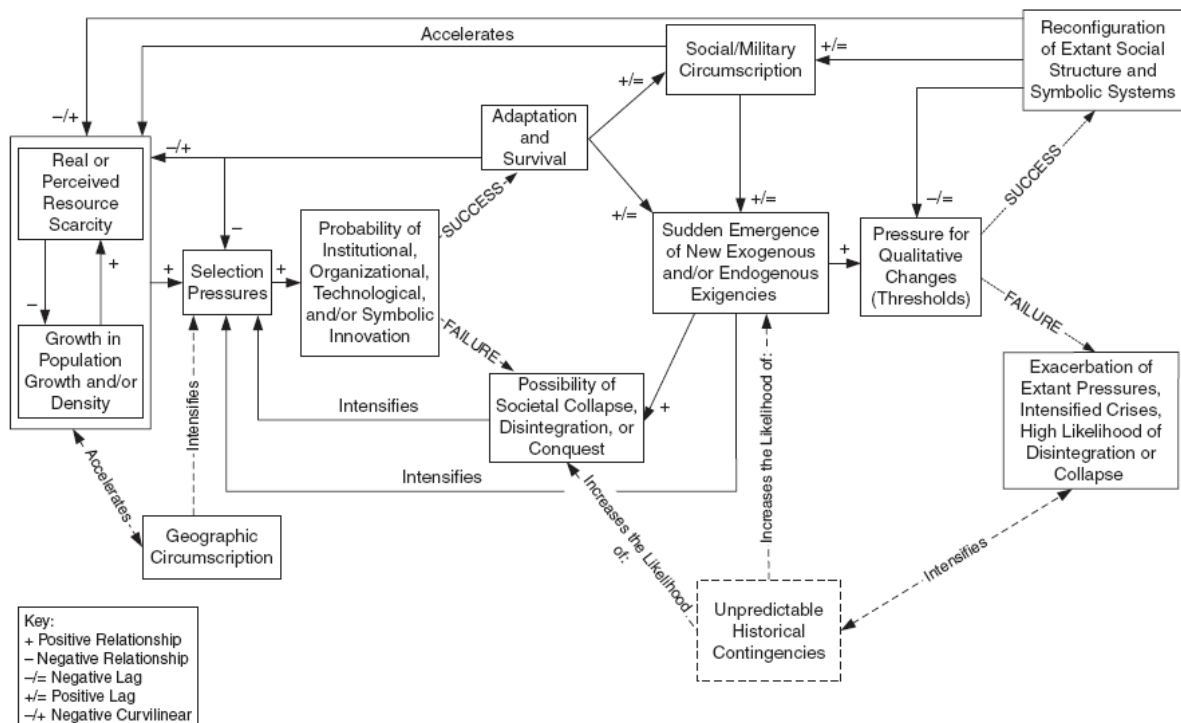http://explorethemed.com/Sparta.asp

Illustration 1: Integrated Model of Political Evolution

Developed from a gradualist theory to include the notion of thresholds.

Abrutyn & Lawrence (2010:431)

APPENDIX THREE
isiZULU GLOSSARY[2]

This dissertation has used commonly accepted orthographic conventions for the isiZulu language.[3] This includes the correct pluralisation of nouns, lower-case noun class prefixes, and the use of the non-vocative prefix '*u-*' before names. Specific isiZulu terminology has been italicised, while geographical names and the names of people have been left unaltered.

uBedu	a marital challenge between two individuals competing for a prize
kwaBulawayo	'place of the killing'; uShaka's capital of the Zulu paramountcy
iButho (*amaButho*)	sing.: age-group regiment or warrior
	pl.: regimental age-group
imBongi (*izimBongi*)	praise poet
isiBongo (*iziBongo*)	praise poem
isiCoco (*iziCoco*)	fibre head-ring that showed a man was ready for marriage. It was coated in gum and charcoal rubbed with beeswax
uDibi (*izinDibi*)	mat-bearer; a teenage boy not yet old enough to join an *ibutho*
inDlu (*izinDlu*)	house; hut
inDuna (*izinDuna*)	headman; overseer
isiGaba (*iziGaba*)	division of an *ibutho*
umGangela (*imiGangela*)	inter-*ikhanda* stick fighting competition
ukuGiya	to perform a war dance
iGwala (*amaQwala*)	'coward'
inGxotha (*izinGxotha*)	brass armband awarded for bravery
isiHlangu (*iziHlangu*)	large shield
ukuHlobonga	'to cheat'; non-penetrative or other means of sexual intercourse that does not result in pregnancy
isiJula (*iziJula*)	short-bladed throwing spear

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[2] My thanks to the postgraduate students in the isiZulu department of the University of KwaZulu-Natal for their advice and comments.

[3] See Chapter Two for the methodological argument for this decision.

iKhanda (*amaKhanda*)	barracks-like settlement
umKhosi (*imiKhosi*)	First Fruit festival
ukuKhonza	'to serve'; the act of declaring subordination to a paramount *inkosi*
ukuKleza	the act of drinking from directly from the udder of a cow; symbolic of a youth's declaration to enter an *ibutho*
iKlwa (*amaKlwa*)	broad-bladed stabbing spear
inKosi (*amaKosi*)	chief; king
inKunzi (*izinKunzi*)	'bull'; title awarded to the winner of an *umgangela*
iLala (*amaLala*)	tertiary-tier peoples of the Zulu socio-political hierarchy
zokuLwa	'fighting'
uMakoti (*oMakoti*)	bride; daughter-in-law
Mfecane	'The Scattering of People'; the name given to the mass migrations of many communities in south-eastern Africa
iMpi (*iziMpi*)	'war'; refers to the collective name for the Zulu army
iNtungwa (*amaNtungwa*)	collective name for the secondary-tier peoples of the Zulu socio-political hierarchy
umPhakathi (*amaPhakathi*)	a council; collectively, its members
ubuQhawe	manliness; courage
umQhele (*imiQhele*)	head-band; senior *amabutho* used otter skin and junior *amabutho* would use leopard skin
umQombothi	sorghum beer
zokuShela	'courting'
ukuSiza	'to assist'; the redistribution of cattle by the paramount *inkosi*
iThopho (*isiThopho*)	nicknames; praise names
umuZi (*imiZi*)	settlement; community
umuZi wesinthutha	spirit hut
isiZulu	the language of the amaZulu
umZulu (amaZulu)	a member of the Zulu ethnic group

APPENDIX FOUR
ANCIENT GREEK GLOSSARY[4]

This dissertation uses modern orthographic conventions for the ancient Greek language.[5] The names of people have been transliterated directly into the Roman alphabet.

ἀγέλη, ἡ (ἀγέλαι)	'herd'; age-group divisions of the ἀγωγή
ἀγωγή, ἡ	'leading away'; a system of public education of Spartan youth; derived from ἄγειν, meaning 'to lead'
ἀνδρεία, ἡ	courage; the qualities of manliness
ἀπέλλα, ἡ	public assembly
αὐτονομία, ἡ	self-governance
βασιλεύς, ὁ (βασιλεῖς)	king; chief
γερουσία, ἡ	council of elders
γυμνοπαιδία, ἡ	Festival of the Naked Youths
δῆμος, ὁ (δῆμοι)	'deme'; district of the Athenian πόλις
Εἵλως, ὁ (Εἵλωτες)	tertiary-tier peoples of the Spartan socio-political hierarchy; derived either from Ἕλος, a town in Lakonia, or αἱρεῖν, meaning 'to seize'
εἴρην, ὁ (εἴρενες)	a Lakedaimonian youth who had completed his twentieth year
ϝάναξ, ὁ	paramount βασιλεύς
ἥβα, ὁ (ἡβῶντες)	youth
κακονομία, ἡ	bad system of laws and government; political discord
κλῆρος, ὁ (κλῆροι)	a lot of land
κρυπτεία, ἡ	secret service; group charged will killing Εἵλωτες in order to graduate from the ἀγωγή
Ὅμοιος, ὁ (Ὅμοιοι)	'The Equals'; primary-tier peoples of the Spartan socio-political hierarchy
ὁπλίτης, ὁ (ὁπλῖται)	armed warrior
παιδονόμος, ὁ	official educator; supervisor of the ἀγωγή educational system
παῖς, ὁ (παῖδες)	boy; child

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[4] *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*. (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu)

[5] See Chapter Two for the methodological argument for this decision.

Περίοικος, ὁ (Περίοικοι)	'Those Dwelling Around'; secondary-tier peoples of the Spartan socio-political hierarchy
πόλις, ἡ (πόλεις)	city-state; community of citizens
πρόδικος, ὁ	political guardian to a young Spartan βασιλεύς
πυρρίχη, ἡ	Pyrrhic war dance
συσσιτίον, τό (συσσιτία)	barracks-like structure; mess-hall in which Ὅμοιοι dined
τρέσας, ὁ (τρέσαντες)	'run-aways'; those who had shown cowardice in battle
φυλή, ἡ (φυλαί)	a tribal division of the Spartan πόλις
χειροτέχνες, οἱ	craftsmen; artisans
ὠβά, ἡ (ὠβαί)	'village'; a local division of the Spartan πόλις

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