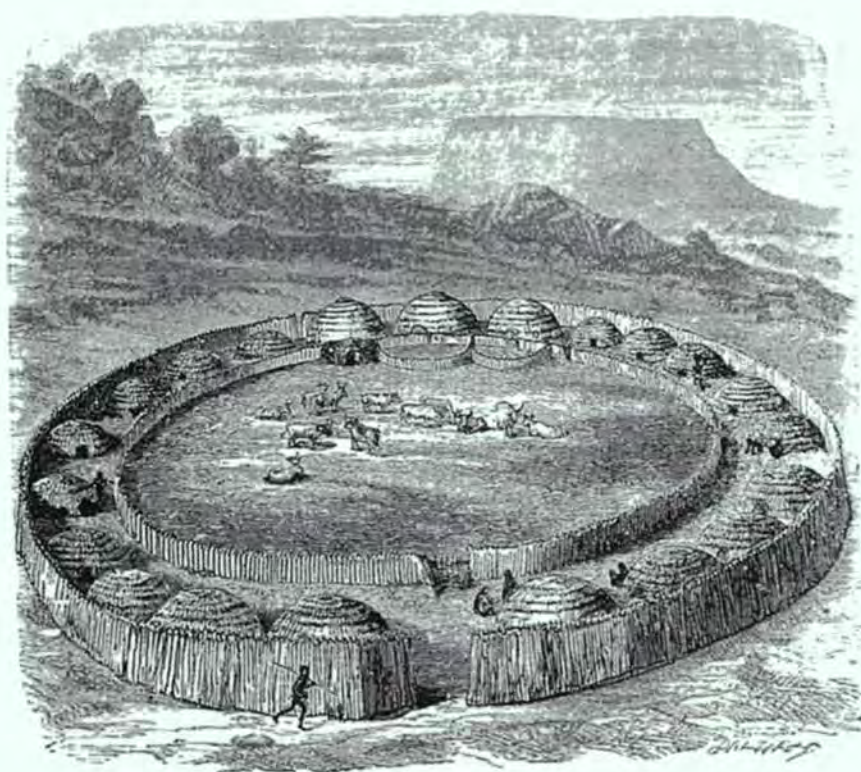


THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

VOLUME TWO



Editors

C. DE B. WEBB

J. B. WRIGHT

Killie Campbell Africana Library Manuscript Series



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JAMES STUART ARCHIVE
VOL. 2



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JAMES STUART ARCHIVE.
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**THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE**

**OF RECORDED ORAL EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE
HISTORY OF THE ZULU AND NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES**

VOLUME TWO

Edited and Translated
by
C. DE B. WEBB AND J. B. WRIGHT

**UNIVERSITY OF NATAL PRESS
PIETERMARITZBURG
AND
KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY
DURBAN
1979**

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ISBN 0 86980 189 9

The financial assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council towards the costs of this volume is hereby acknowledged. Any opinions expressed in the volume are not to be regarded as a reflection of the opinions of the Human Sciences Research Council.

Printed by
HAYNE & GIBSON LIMITED
NATAL
SOUTH AFRICA
1979

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the following institutions and persons for the support they have given in the preparation of this volume: the Human Sciences Research Council and the University of Cape Town's Harry Oppenheimer Institute for African Studies for financial assistance; the Killie Campbell Africana Library Advisory Committee for its continued backing of the James Stuart publication project; Miss J.E. Duggan and her staff at the Killie Campbell Library for helping to smooth our not always easy editorial path; Professor J.A. Benyon of the Department of Historical and Political Studies, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, whose support has helped sustain the project; Professor A.T. Cope of the Department of Bantu Languages, University of Natal, Durban, who has contributed materially to this volume, as he did to the first, by helping with problems of Zulu translation; Miss M.S. Bhengu, Mr A. Koopman, the late Mr H.C. Lugg, and Mr D. Mzolo, who also gave advice on Zulu language and custom; and Mrs B. Ivins, our secretarial assistant.

University of Cape Town

C. de B. Webb

University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

J.B. Wright

August, 1979

FRONTISPIECES

The four reproductions that follow are taken from File 62, notebook 65, pp. 8-11 of the Stuart Collection, and illustrate one of Stuart's methods of recording genealogical information given by his informants. The original page sizes have been reduced. For the editors' rendering of Stuart's notes see pp. 283-91 of the present volume.

Genealogical Tree: Tuli tribe - Per Mayiyane. 24/4/05

Neamurakamane

- Nkome
- Tutuli
- ngayama
- Zuba
- Mayiane
- Dambela
- Zakwe

(part of Mankwato, Mankwato, Mankwato)

[8]

Tshokane

- 1) Mpehla (part of Mankwato)
- 2) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 3) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 4) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

1) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

2) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

Sirija

- 1) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 2) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 3) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 4) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 5) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 6) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 7) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 8) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 9) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 10) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

Bandhwa

- 1) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 2) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 3) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 4) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 5) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 6) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 7) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 8) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 9) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
- 10) Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

Mabe
(has some but it's not known by the Mankwato of the name, some think it's the original name)

Tuli
Mankwato
Zuba (part of Mankwato)
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

Namurakamane
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

Tuli
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)
Mankwato (part of Mankwato)

² Malinyo (living)
² Kanyo (living)
² Kipoti (do)

² Bekine
Ezanyo
² Kuno
Mafogano
Mabambhi
Mahlake

² Nomaguzya ^{also Ngomane}
Fohla
Boyi
Zacile (also Njimbho)
Mzinyana
Mabhoan
Mkabiyake
Mfanyana

² Ndime
² Boya
Mzinyana

Mafingene (no issue)
Mabomvana (no issue)

² Cekwase
² Schlanu ka Mgabi
Masingana
+ others unknown to me.

Bovungana
(no issue killed off)
had 2 boys + 2 girls + 1 girl
all. to 1st issue

Hlekiwe
married
Zwonge ka Sondigane
+ was' elangeni

² Botshongweni
N'kukhu (living - chief just married)
(lives under chief's son Babana
of Botshombini)
lives with Mkhankhane

² Mlesakana
Magwaga
+ others

Mankaiyana
Sigijimi

Nyanga
M'chongwa } boys
M'kelaba } ad living at M'kotoni's
each has 1 or 2 ad

Mavukefile
(living with M'kotoni)
(has issue)

Maziyana (my informant)

² M'kotoyi
Sidiya (Chief son) - has wife + 2 other children
² Kwelela of M'goba's kind
+ other children.

Dude

Sibagzana (Chief son) has 2
Nombemba wife, but still
Celenibana living with me
Bwana
Joboka
M'fulatelwa
Vororo
M'botokhwa
M'botokhwa

M'kelo (M'kelo, Trick)
Maziyana
M'kelo
M'kelo
M'kelo
M'kelo
M'kelo
M'kelo
M'kelo

Ngazane
M'botokhwa
M'botokhwa
M'botokhwa
M'botokhwa
M'botokhwa

ndungeni
Jhadile (with 2 boys on main side. No Botshongweni)
M'botokhwa (with 2 boys on main side. No Botshongweni)
M'botokhwa (with 2 boys on main side. No Botshongweni)
M'botokhwa (with 2 boys on main side. No Botshongweni)

Maziyana (my informant's genealogical tree)

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PREFACE

This volume, the second in a projected five-part series, contains the statements of a further thirty-two of the nearly two hundred informants interviewed by James Stuart in Natal and Zululand during the last years of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. The statements are arranged in alphabetical order of informant from Mab to Maz, and are numbered from 40 to 71, continuing the sequence begun in volume 1.

In the introduction to the first volume we gave an outline of Stuart's career in the Natal colonial service, and briefly described his activities as a student of the history, customs, language and literature of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples. The rich legacy of his endeavours – the James Stuart Collection, housed in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban – is the source from which the material for this series derives.

Also set out in the introduction to the first volume is a statement of the editorial principles which informed our work. In preparing this volume we have adhered to those principles, adjusting our system in two respects only. Where ambiguities of meaning are discernible in the original Zulu, we have, more frequently than in volume 1, retained the relevant words and passages in the text, setting them in parentheses alongside our translation instead of relegating them to explanatory notes at the end of the testimony. Along with this, we have also modified the index, making it, we hope, a more efficient instrument by including names of persons as main entries and revising some of the subject-headings.

As in volume 1, we have retained Stuart's Zulu orthography in the text, but in the interests of a standardised system of reference have used modern orthography in our annotations and in the index. Thus where Stuart gives 'Fingo' or 'Fengu' we give 'Mfengu'; where he gives 'Tshaka' we give 'Shaka', etc.

PREFACE

Though the bulk of the evidence presented in this volume focuses on the workings of Zulu society in the time of Shaka, Dingane, Mpande and Cetshwayo, also included are several valuable statements reflecting the historical traditions of peoples on the periphery of the Zulu kingdom. Mabhonsa kaSidlayi gives an account of the Hlubi who lived, before 1848, in what is now north-western Natal; Mahaya kaNongqabana and Maziyana kaMahlabeni tell of the numerous chiefdoms that occupied the Thukela-Mzimkhulu region in the pre-Shakan period; and Mahungane and Nkomuza provide information about the Mabhudu Tsonga living to the south of Delagoa Bay.

An important informant whose evidence should have appeared in this volume, but unfortunately does not, is Matshwili kaMngoye. A grandson of Dingiswayo, he furnished Stuart with a long and detailed statement on the rise of the Mthethwa supremacy. This was published in 1924 in one of Stuart's readers, uBaxoxele, but the notes of the original interviews are missing from the Stuart Collection. The Killie Campbell Africana Library hopes in due course to publish a translation of Matshwili's statement along with other material which is preserved in Stuart's readers but does not survive in the files on which the James Stuart Archive is based.

Each such addition to the corpus of southern African historical source materials enlarges the possibility of a more perceptive and balanced interpretation of our past. The present volume will, we hope, make its own contribution to that improvement.

The Editors

NOTES ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES USED IN THE TEXT

Roman and Italic Type

As almost all the original Zulu appears in translation in this volume, Stuart's frequent shifts from one language to the other are indicated by the use of roman type for passages originally recorded in English, and italic type for passages originally recorded in Zulu.

Underlining

Stuart underlined for emphasis and, inconsistently, for other purposes. Underlining has been retained where it was used for emphasis in the original, and has also been used for book titles, names of newspapers, ships, farms, etc., which in the original may appear underlined, or in inverted commas, or without any identifying device.

Brackets

Inconsistent usages in Stuart's notes have been eliminated and the following standardised styles adopted to cover parentheses in the original as well as editorial intervention:

- 1 Round brackets (): parenthetical statements which are integrally part of the evidence supplied by informants;
- 2 Square brackets []: Stuart's comments on, or amplifications of, statements made by informants;
- 3 Angular brackets < >: statements or information inserted into the text by the editors;
- 4 Sublinear 'cup' brackets { } : editorial emendation of defective text.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

- isAngoma (izAngoma)*: diviner; one inspired or possessed by an ancestral spirit and employed to detect practitioners of witchcraft and to interpret mysterious occurrences.
- amaBele*: sorghum; millet; grain.
- ukuBhula*: to beat with sticks on the ground, as done by the assembly during divination by an *isangoma*; hence, to divine.
- ukuBonga*: to declaim praises, extol; to express gratitude.
- imBongi (izimBongi)*: praise-singer, specialist declaimer of praises.
- isiBongo (izibongo)*: 1. clan-name; 2. (pl. only) praises, praise-names.
- ukuButha (pass. ukuButhwa)*: to gather; to form young men or women into age-grades; to enrol young men into new military units; to muster fighting men for war.
- iButho (amaButho)*: 1. age-group of men or women; 'regiment'; 2. member or an age-group; warrior, soldier.
- iDlozi (amaDlozi)*: spirit of a dead person.
- inDuna (izinDuna)*: civil or military official; person appointed by the king or chief to a position of authority or command.
- ukuEshwama*: to perform the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony, in which, about a month before the *umkhosi* ceremony, the king or chief ritually tastes the new crops.
- ukuGiya*: to dance about performing war-antics; to dance a war-dance.
- isiGodlo (izigodlo)*: 1. king's or chief's private enclosure at upper end of his *umuzi*, where the huts of his household are situated; 2. women of the king's establishment; girls presented to the king as 'tribute' or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. *umNdlunkulu*.
- ukuHlobonga*: to practise external sexual intercourse.
- ukuHlonipha*: to show respect through practising certain formal avoidances in action or speech.
- ukuJuba (pass. ukuJutshwa)*: to give orders for an action to be performed, especially to give the order permitting age-grades to marry.
- iKhanda (amakhanda)*: major military centre; royal *umuzi* where military units are quartered.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

- iKhehla (amaKhehla)*: man who has put on the headdress; elderly man.
- iKholwa (amaKholwa)*: Christian; literally 'a believer'.
- ukuKhonza*: to give one's allegiance to, or subject oneself to, a king or chief; to pay formal respects to.
- umKhosi (imiKhosi)*: the annual 'first-fruits' ceremony held at the great place of the king or chief in the period December-January, a festival at which the king or chief is ritually strengthened, the ancestral spirits praised, and the allegiance of the people renewed.
- isiKhulu (izikhulu)*: man of high standing in the Zulu kingdom.
- ukuKleza*: to milk a cow straight into the mouth, as done for a period by youths newly enrolled in an age-grade; hence, to pass the boyhood stage, to qualify as a young warrior.
- inKosana (amaKhosana)*: heir to a chieftainship or house.
- inKosi (amaKhosi)*: king; paramount; chief.
- inKosikazi (amaKhosikazi)*: principal wife of a king, chief, or *umnumzana*; title applied by courtesy to any wife of a man of such position.
- ukuLobola*: to formalize a marriage by the conveyance of cattle or other property from the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.
- iLobolo* (sg. only): cattle or goods handed over in a marriage transaction by the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.
- iMpi (iziMpi)*: 1. military unit or force, army; 2. battle, engagement, war.
- iNceku (iziNceku)*: attendant in a king's or chief's household responsible for the performance of certain domestic duties.
- iNdlwankulu (iziNdlwankulu)*: 1. hut of king's or chief's principal wife; the group of huts attached to it; 2. the family attached to those huts.
- umNdlwankulu* (sg. only): girls of the royal establishment presented to the king as 'tribute' or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. *isigodlo*.
- ukuNgena* (pass. *ukuNgenwa*): to marry the widow of a deceased brother in order to produce children for his house.
- iNsizwa (iziNsizwa)*: youth approaching manhood; young man who has not yet put on the headdress.
- umNumzana (abaNumzana)*: head of an *umuzi* or household; family head.
- iNyanga (iziNyanga)*: doctor, medicine man, herbalist, diviner.
- iPhini (amaPhini)*: lower-ranking officer in an *ibutho*.
- ukuSisa*: to place livestock in the care of a dependent, who then has certain rights of usufruct.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMS

- ukuTekeza*: to speak in Swazi, Lala, or Bhaca fashion, in which 'tsh' is substituted for Zulu 'th', and 't' or 'dz' for 'z'.
- ukuThakatha*: to use supernatural forces for evil purposes.
- umThakathi* (*abaThakathi*): one who uses supernatural forces for evil purposes.
- isiThakazelo* (*iziThakazelo*): term of formal address or salutation specific to each clan.
- ukuThefula*: to speak in Qwabe fashion in which 'y' is substituted for Zulu 'l'.
- ukuThunga*: to sew on a headring.
- isiVivane* (*iziVivane*): accumulation of stones or other objects placed next to a path by travellers as 'good luck' tokens.
- umazi* (*imiZi*): 1. homestead, collection of huts under one headman;
2. the people belonging to a homestead.

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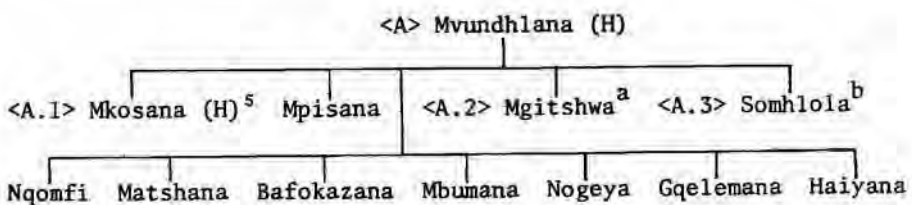
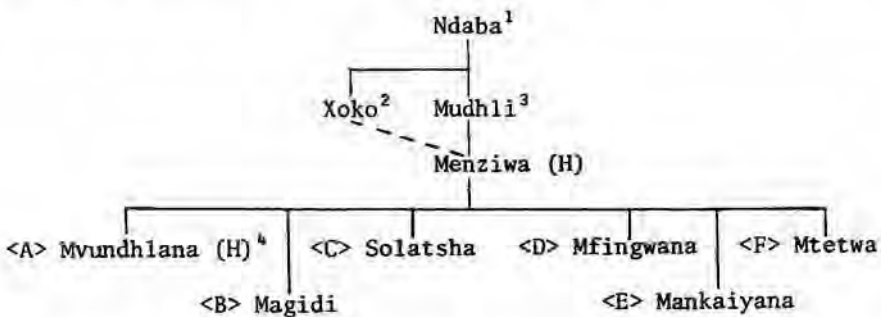
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MABELE KA MAGIDI

9.1.1894

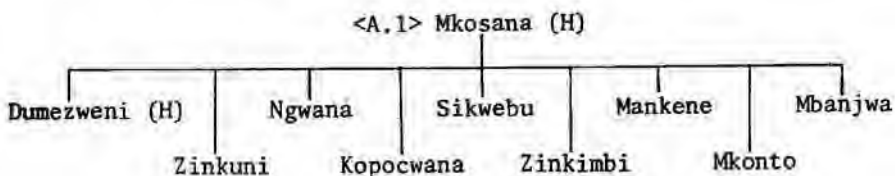
File 68, p. 7.

<The genealogical table given below is of the Biyela chiefly line and its collaterals. The insertion of the letter 'H' against certain of the names listed is not explained in the original: possibly it was intended to denote 'heir'. Certain relationships which in the original are indicated by cross-cutting descent lines are here indicated by the use of the symbols A, A.1, A.2, B, B.1, B.2, etc. - eds.>

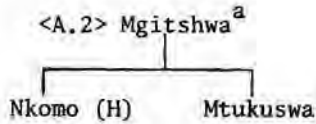


^aLeft-hand house.

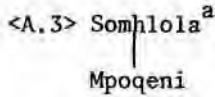
^bYounger brother (*umkawe*)⁶ of Mkosana.



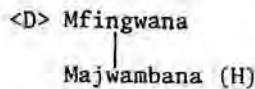
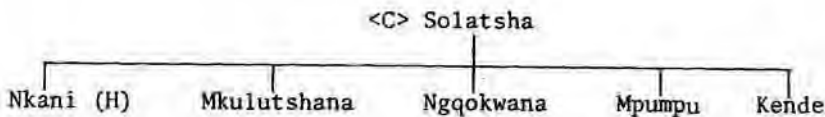
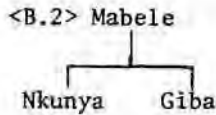
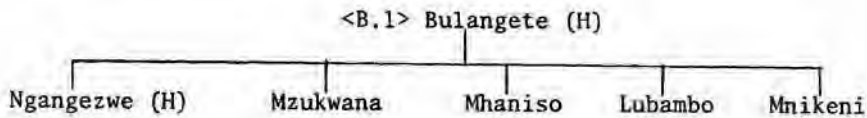
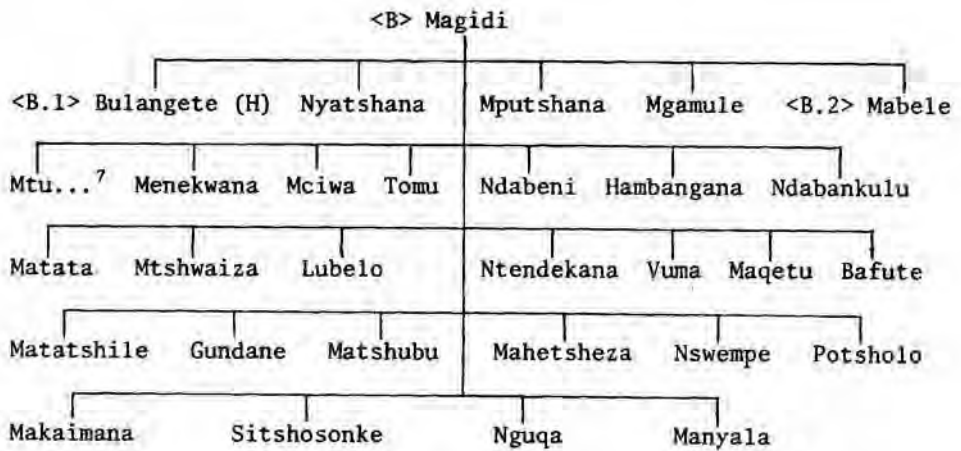
MABELE



^aLeft-hand house.



^aYounger brother (*umnawe*) of Mkosana.



MABELE

<E> Mankaiyana
|
Ntubana (H)

<F> Mtetwa
|
Magobongwana (H)

Notes

- ¹Ndaba was the putative great-grandfather of the first Zulu king, Shaka. For an account of the origins of the Biyela and their relations with the Zulu chiefly house see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39-40.
- ²Bryant, Olden Times, p. 40, gives Xoko, not Mudli, as Menziwa's father. Similar information was supplied to Stuart in 1904 by Luzipho kaNomageje (see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 356). The acquisition of this information may account for Stuart's insertion of a fine line (shown here as a hatched line) between the names 'Xoko' and 'Menziwa'.
- ³Mudli, who is reputed to have served as regent for the Zulu chief Senzangakhona, does not feature in Bryant's version of the Biyela chiefly line. According to Bryant, Mudli was the son of Nkwelo, who was a brother of Xoko (Menziwa's father) and of Jama (Senzangakhona's father). Thus Mudli, in Bryant's version, was Menziwa's cousin, not his father. See Olden Times, pp. 40-1.
- ⁴According to Dinya kaZokozwayo, Mvundlana was made *induna* of the iziNyosi age-grade by Dingane (Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 107).
- ⁵In the period before the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, Mkhosana lived west of Somkhele near Mahlabathini with a following of about 3 000 men. He was killed at Sandlwana while leading the umCijo or uKhandempemvu age-grade. His son Mgitshwa lived near the Ngoye hills with a following of about 1 000 men. See Fynney, Zulu Army and Headmen; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 40, 646.
- ⁶*Umnawo* was the term applied to that brother of the heir who was next in line of succession to him. See Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 252; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 418.
- ⁷Damage to the original has rendered this name indecipherable.

MABINDELA KA NTULINI

19.12.1910 - <evidence given 18.12.1900>

File 71, pp. 25-6.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 25 I yesterday morning early had a conversation with Mabindela, an official witness living in Klip River division in the vicinity of Spion Kop (Ntabamnyama).¹ Ndukwana was present.
- He belongs to the tribe of Sibamu, who lives with the greater portion of his, the Amangwe, tribe in Estcourt division. Mabindela is a very able and intelligent man aged about 40. He got Ndukwana to introduce him to me. His *isibongo* is Mazibuko. His father was Ntulini. Chief Sibamu's father was Manzezulu ka Putini ka Matshoba. [Vide p. 33.]² The Amangwe tribe came from near the Engcaka (a hill beyond Vryheid and near the Pongolo) with Putini (not Putili), for Matshoba was buried at or near the Engcaka. Putini left with the tribe many years ago, possibly in Tshaka's day,³ and when he died in Natal he was of a very advanced age. It is not known to what regiment, if any, he belonged. The tribe occupied at first land where Ladysmith now stands but, on the approach of Europeans, moved off to near the Drakensberg, Estcourt division.⁴ A large section of the people still lives in this division (Klip River). The tribe is quite apart from the Amangwane tribe. Gadeleni, a younger brother of Manzezulu, had a quarrel with Manzezulu, whereupon Manzezulu allowed him to go off to the Nqutu district, Zululand, where he was permitted to live under Chief Hlubi.⁵ The government allowed him a very large measure of autonomy; still he, though a member with his followers of Manzezulu's (Sibamu's) tribe, is subservient to Hlubi.
- 26

Mabindela was, he informed me, dressed in a tailor-made suit. He has other clothes at home made by his tailor, Riddell of Ladysmith. He says his reason for having his clothes specially made was because 'reach-me-downs' fitted so badly; they burst if too small at the waist when sitting down to drink beer, and had to be cut if too long in the leg. The blue serge coat and waistcoat he had on cost him £3 10s. He is not a Christian. He has now five wives, the sixth having died. They are not dressed like Christian natives, but in their ordinary dress. M. himself, as soon as he gets home - not a kraal however but a properly built European house - throws his tailor-made clothes aside and dons the *loin-cover*, and will not allow any of his children to wear European clothing.

He lost a son (son and heir), who not many weeks ago was run over

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by a cart carrying *mabele*? seed to his gardens. He, seeing how bad a case it was, and knowing that on account of the profuse bleeding no natives could be got to bury the corpse, ordered a properly made coffin, lined inside with calico and covered outside with some speckled cloth. In this the boy was buried lying at full length instead of being drawn up after the native manner; a proper grave moreover was dug to receive the coffin. He paid something like £3, I think, for the coffin. Many natives, M. says, are taking to burying their dead away from the kraal and at a single spot which thereby becomes a cemetery. Ordinary native custom required burial at the kraal itself.

M. was born at Dewdrop in Klip River division. He proposes to educate his children as they get older. He was a scout in the late fighting about Ladysmith, and attached to Buller's forces.⁶ He, knowing the country well, was selected to lead the forces. Boers destroyed his house and would have killed him.

There was a large native dance at his place last year before the war came on. These are the circumstances, briefly.

20.12.1900 - <evidence given 18.12.1900>

File 71, pp. 26-7.

Also present: Ndukwana

27 The military wanted to see a Zulu dance. Mr Rudolph⁷ proposed or agreed to its being held at Mabindela's. M. was told to arrange for one. He came to Mr Rudolph to say he thought his chief Sibamu and his representative in this division (Tomseni) should be informed and their permission got. Mr R. said that was a proper course to adopt, and that both Mabindela and Tomseni should go and seek the necessary permission from Sibamu. Permission was accordingly got in that way. The military subscribed £3 and £3 10s; with the former amount M. was told to buy goats, and with the latter *mabele*. He procured three goats and three and a half sacks of mealies. On the day appointed the dance was duly held at M.'s house. Sibamu attended it, though he arrived after it was nearly over, due to the river (Tugela) being impassable. The dance was a good one, natives being properly attired for it. M. received £3 for his trouble after it was all over.

Rather over a fortnight ago M. was suddenly sent for to meet Lord Roberts⁸ at Spion Kop. M. took another man with him; he could not understand what he was wanted for. It appeared he had been sent for by Major G.F. Tatham of Ladysmith who was in attendance on Roberts. He was wanted to show Lord R. where Potgieter's Drift was. Lord Roberts spoke to him, and had some words about his having tailor-made clothes and procuring coffins. He took Lord R. and part of his large escort on to said drift. Here horses of Lord R.'s trap got off and ran away as everyone had got out of the trap. After chasing the trap for some distance M. succeeded in securing the horses when many of the escort following came up and assisted. Lord R. thanked M. for what he had done. After inspecting the locality the party returned, and M. separated from them. 'But,' he says, 'after all this I got nothing but thanks. I may be given a medal but I am not certain

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of even that.' M. was favourably impressed with Lord R.

Notes

- ¹A prominent hill on the north bank of the Thukela between present-day Ladysmith and Bergville.
- ²Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 182. Stuart's reference is to evidence given by Tomseni, another of his informants.
- ³Phuthini and his people fled from the Zulu country to Natal in 1848 during the reign of Mpande.
- ⁴The Ngwe were settled by the Natal colonial authorities on the middle and upper reaches of the Njesuthi river in 1849.
- ⁵As a reward for services rendered to the British in the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, Hlubi, a Tlokwa chief whose original home was in the Orange Free State, was awarded land in the south-west of the former Zulu kingdom.
- ⁶General Sir Redvers Buller was commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa in the first stages of the Anglo-Afrikaner war of 1899-1902.
- ⁷G.M. Rudolph was resident magistrate at Klip River (Ladysmith) from 1881 to 1899.
- ⁸Lord Roberts was commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa from December 1899 to December 1900.

MABOLA

25.11.1898

File 74, pp. 12-13, 14, 18.

Also present: Zulu

- 12 Per Mabola, a man aged about 71-73 (Inyati regiment).¹ His father was a Zulu. He came with his father as a young child, so young as not to remember coming. He is therefore a Swazi in every way except by blood. He is married and has a kraal about 600 yards from the British Consulate,² where it has been for over four years to my certain knowledge. He is therefore in the heart of Swaziland and thoroughly well up in affairs.

In conversation, in the presence of Zulu,³ he spoke in the following terms. If a king's daughter married or was married to a man living out of the country, as for instance in Tongaland and Zululand, the *lobola* claimed amounted to as much as 100 head of cattle, and she might be married even though the bridegroom was not a king or prince. The ordinary people's *lobola* consisted of the payment of cattle, at first one or two head, then three. Afterwards this was raised to five, with an additional beast called the *lugege* (which is slaughtered for the girl at the consummation of the marriage). Later on 10 head were claimed.

In the old days Zwide of Zululand used to campaign in Swaziland and carry off many cattle, and he did this even though he had married his daughter Lazide to Somhlola, alias Sobuza, she being his chief wife and mother of Mswazi.⁴

In Jozana's part of the country, near the Ubombo and north of the Usutu river, even in Mbandeni's time, the people used to *lobola* with hoes and goats.⁵ Neck-rings, which were made of copper, used to be sent with a girl when she went to be married; this custom was fairly general in Swaziland. The neck-rings were not fixed as to number and did not represent *lobola* or be *lobola*, although they remained at the husband's. When taken for this purpose, the neck-rings, no matter how many, were known as the *ungano*.⁶ Mabola does not remember having seen or heard of neck-rings being *lobola'd* with; the same applies to beads.

Neck-rings used to be manufactured by Tibeko (deceased) and others about the country. Mabola does not know where the metal was obtained. There was a well-known man called Mrube (deceased) who manufactured items of copper, and weapons of iron. He lived not far from the old Zombode kraal near Bremersdorp.⁷ Mjele, son of Mrube, manufactures still, but only assegais.

Mabola cannot imagine where cattle came from originally. It is said in Swaziland that everything, including man and cattle, came

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from Mkulumgcadi, who however, Mabola adds, has never been seen by anyone. This Mkulumgcadi is the same as the Zulu Umvelingqangi.⁸

13 Beads, like *neck-rings*, are sent with a girl when she goes to marry. They are then known as *isembato*,⁹ and remain at the bridegroom's. In these days, since ravages by rinderpest, natives *lobola* with money.¹⁰ The king, as far as Mabola knows, has never given a general order about *lobola* as to fixing the amount, etc. There is no *umsindo* or public dance in Swaziland as in Zululand.¹¹ Girls proceed alone, i.e. in company with other girls, to the bridegroom's. The father directs them to go. They arrive unknown and *dance* and place the *isembato* beads before the man who is to become husband, although he may not have been *chosen by the girl* but was merely liked by the father of the girl.

In former days girls did not disobey their father's order; nowadays however they refuse, and if a girl should obey her father nowadays it is said, '*He prospers in her*' (because she listens to her father). Now they go to their lovers. Girls disobeyed their fathers in this mostly under Mbandeni. They said they had *qoma'd*, i.e. engaged themselves, and would not be *ngerwa'd*.¹² Mabola cannot account for the reason why girls refused to obey their fathers. He does not know if it was due to European influence, but fancies not. In the old days an engagement was not marked by the making of beer, and the man did not come into the open. Today, when a girl has accepted a man, she carries beer to him. Mswazi originated this. He proclaimed that people were not to go round stealthily at night seeking their lovers because there was a chance of their being taken for *abatakati* and thereupon meeting with an accident. They were, he said, to go in open daylight, so as to be seen by all.

When Mbandeni sent an *impi* composed of various regiments to fight in Sotshangana's, alias Manukuza's, country on the occasion of the dispute between the princes Mawewe and Mzila,¹³ he gave the Inyati regiment permission to take girls, that is, gave them girls to have sexual intercourse with so that when at the front they would know they had left girls with child who would bear them children. These girls were the men's own sweethearts, but Mswazi's order meant that no *lobola* was to be paid for them. After the regiment came back nothing was said as to *lobola* by the girls' fathers until after Mswazi's death. In the next king's reign, Ludonga,¹⁴ the girls' fathers came forward to claim *lobola*, which was then paid. It should be stated that even in Mswazi's lifetime some of the Inyati regiment who had taken the girls used to take cattle and place them at their father-in-law's as if *sisa'd*, whereas in reality they were for *lobola*, for they could not see how they could take other people's children without paying for them.

According to Mabola the *lobola* custom is essentially an *umtengo*, i.e. a purchase, and for this reason [but see also note on p. 96 by Zulu].¹⁵ the woman when she goes to her husband is separated from her home. When she dies she is buried at her husband's. Her *dhlozi*, it is true, keeps watch at her father's kraal as well as at her husband's. When a beast is killed it is invoked by the father, but the woman is buried according to the mode or fashion prevailing amongst her husband's people, for people are of different customs, i.e. in Swaziland people are buried in different ways according to their own family or tribal customs. One is buried with his or her face looking

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east, another looking west and so on. That a woman should have to conform in this way and at such a time to her husband's people's custom is in itself a proof that *lobola* is a purchase. The breaking of the family custom of the woman shows she no longer belongs to her father and so is like purchased property.

- 14 *Inzingcumu* or *izindondo* are small brass balls hung on string and worn only by women, especially *wives of the chief*.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

- 18 A man who *manufactures* battle axes is Nkomonye, at Mgudeni. *He is of the Mamba people*. He is not one of Maja's men. *Ingcumu* or *indondo* [usually in plural] are small brass balls with holes in them for inserting string. These are made in Swaziland and are ornaments.

Notes

- ¹The iNyathi (iNyatsi) was an age-group formed by the Swazi king Mswati.
- ²Presumably the consulate at Bremersdorp (Manzini), administrative capital of Swaziland under the 'protectorate' established by the South African Republic in 1895.
- ³Zulu was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁴Zwide was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century. Somhlolo (Sobhuza) was chief of the Dlamini-Ngwane, or Swazi, from c.1815 to c.1839. His son Mswati (Mswazi), usually regarded as the founder of the Swazi kingdom, ruled from c.1845 to 1865.
- ⁵Mbandeni (Mbandzeni) ruled the Swazi from 1874 to 1889.
- ⁶See also the evidence of Giba and Mnkonkoni in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 150.
- ⁷Zombode (Zombodze) was one of the Swazi royal *imizi*.
- ⁸The name of the first being in Zulu mythology.
- ⁹Literally, a covering.
- ¹⁰Rinderpest destroyed large numbers of cattle over much of southern Africa in the late 1890s. For an account of its effects see Van Onselen, 'Reactions to rinderpest in southern Africa', Journal of African History, 13 (1972).
- ¹¹I.e. at a wedding.
- ¹²*Ukungena* (pass. *ukungemwa*), literally, to enter, also means to take to wife the widow of a deceased male relative. In the present context *ngemwa'd* is used in the sense of a woman's being taken to wife when she is already engaged to marry another man.
- ¹³Soshangana(e) was founder of the Gasa kingdom on the Sabi river near the present border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. On his death in 1858 his sons Mawewe and Mzila disputed the succession, the former with the backing of the Swazi under Mswati (not Mbandzeni, as claimed by Mabola), the latter with the backing of the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 456-7; Bonner, 'The rise of Dlamini power', pp. 192 ff.
- ¹⁴Ludvonga (Ludonga) succeeded Mswati as king of the Swazi, but died in 1874 while still a minor.

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¹⁵The reference is to p. 96 of File 74.

MABONSA KA SIDHLAYI

27.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Paul Ngwenya, Zwayi, Ratsha, Dawule

- 1 Mabonsa ka Sidhlayi ka Mbombosana ka Ntimane of the *Kubeka* people. [As far as I can make out Mabonsa's age is about 80.] I am of the same age as the Tulwana (Zulu regiment).¹ I am sure of this. I never was *buta'd*. I was of the Msayapansi regiment, under Langalibalele.²

Siyepu ka Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu ka Bungane ka Nsele ka Mashiya ka Dhlomo ka Radebe ka Mtimkulu (*the first*) ka Musi ka Muhlanga ka Ndhlovu ka Mhuhu.³ I know Mhuhu is the last.

Siyepu is also called Sinepu and Siniki, for he was called after the long hair of goats.⁴ Langalibalele also had the name Mtetwa; this was the real name. It was given in consequence of Dingiswayo's visit to that tribe.⁵ Langalibalele was once *taken captive by cannibals* when Dhlomo his (Langalibalele's) brother died. After this capture Langalibalele was given the name.

- 2 We say Mtumkulu, not Mtimkulu [per Paul Ngwenya, but Mabonsa appears to me to say Mtimkulu every time, and I have so recorded].

The *isibongo* of our tribe is Hlubi. Hlubi must have been some person but I cannot connect up.

Our tribe *originated at the Lubombo mountains*,⁶ *at the large flat rocks on the summit*. The first to come south from the uBombo were the Basutos. There is a tradition to the effect that a footprint caused by the Basutos was left on the *rocks* at the uBombo whilst these *rocks* were still wet, and this footprint was always afterwards visible. The stone was hollowed out in the shape of a footprint.

When the Hlubis left the uBombo they were living on territory now occupied by the Momezulu people (Lubela and Mbikiza). They left behind them the Maseko people.⁷ There is a tradition to the effect that there was a *dancing competition* in the Momezulu territory, whereupon some wild beast *caused the reeds to stir* (this is probably the origin of (the name of) Muhlanga,⁸ our ancestor). The dance evidently was at the time when Muhlanga separated from the other portion of the tribe.

- 3 The dance must have occurred near a river where reeds were growing. The *ceremonial song* from which this tradition is derived was probably one of a regiment.

The Basutos speak of the Ngwenya people (i.e. Paul Ngwenya's *isibongo*) as Ngwena. The Ngwenyas were part of the Hlubi tribe. In the course of time their dialect changed to that of the Basuto.

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We are all closely associated with the Swazis.

The amaMpondo say that they *originated at the place of the Lubolowenja people*, which I take to mean the Zulus.⁹ I do not at all think they came from the Swazis.

I know the Kumalo people only as being the amaNtungwa.¹⁰ Matiwana ka Nomzaza of the Kumalo *pays taxes* at Estcourt under chief Mzakaza.¹¹ He is very old, older than Mabonsa. He talks all right. He cannot walk. When one of the Kumalos gave one food one originally said, 'E! *Mntungwa!*' Now of course many tribes are amaNtungwa. We Hlubis are not amaNtungwa, although, because we came from the north, the amaZotsha and amaLala talk of us as amaNtungwa. The amaZotsha are those who cut their faces. They are similar to amaLala. *The Madhlala people* (who live at the Mkomazi and about, in different parts) and the Dhlamini are also amaZotsha.¹²

Dingiswayo's coming to the Hlubi chief Bungane. He came to *ask about chieftainship*. 'When you overcame the nations, how did you do it?' Bungane received him kindly, and instructed him. Dingiswayo was accompanied by Tshaka (for Senzangakona was still reigning).¹³ Bungane *treated him with medicines* in various ways, and when he had finished he *gave him further instruction* when a buck made its appearance. He said, 'Go to that *inyamazane*.'¹⁴ He went and went and went, *until he began to fear it* and wonder what kind of buck it was. When he appeared to hesitate Bungane ordered that he was to be told to *approach it*. He then *approached it*. The buck remained standing. He hesitated, and eventually went up, took hold of the *inyamazane*, and *milked it*. He *milked it thoroughly!* He came back with the milk of this beast. Bungane then doctored him with this *milk*. He then let him go after he had finished, and he went off with Tshaka.

The *animal* was a *lioness*, that is, the one he was sent to. He merely milked the beast and *plucked out some of its hair*, which he also brought back. I have never heard of the cubs being brought away.

Dingiswayo was accompanied by Sisiyana of the people of Sirayo (father of Mehlokazulu).¹⁵ He was Dingiswayo's *mat-bearer* on the occasion of his coming to Bungane. He it was who told me Tshaka was present. Sisiyana died during the Zulu war. He was a very old man, say of Mgumanqa (age).¹⁶ He knew Bungane personally.

Paul Ngwenya says he has never heard of Tshaka's accompanying Dingiswayo to Bungane.

Bungane's principal kraal was Kwa Magoloza, at the Umzinyati near Newcastle where chief Nkabane now lives.¹⁷ Bungane would have doctored only at Magoloza.

There used to be many *lions* in that neighbourhood in years gone by. During Maranqa's time (*son of Bungane*; he was 'own brother' of Mtimkulu) - for he reigned too - some native found lion cubs in the veld and brought them home. The lioness followed the cubs for many miles and came to the kraal. She had extraordinary powers of tracing.

I think that Godongwana¹⁸ must have come to Kwa Magoloza kraal. This is on the southern side of the Umzinyati. The Hlubis blame themselves now for having educated Dingiswayo.

I, Mabonsa, was Langalibalele's *envoy* to Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo

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spoke of Langalibalele as 'father', and when he *distributed cattle* that (portion) given to Langalibalele was always given or issued first.

Dinuzulu and Siyepu do not know one another. There was intimacy only between Cetshwayo and Langalibalele.

The reason for Godongwana's going to Bungane must have been because he heard that he had *overcome other chiefs* and so thought he would *konza* there. Mabonsa supposes Godongwana of *oYengweni*¹⁹ stayed about a week, but thinks it may have been longer.

Langalibalele was given the name Mtetwa by his father Mtimkulu.

8 Bungane was a greater chief than Zwide and the Swazis.

Siyepu's mother was Mzamose ka Sobuza the Swazi king. She is dead. She died at Bishopstowe.²⁰

Sobuza said to Mtimkulu ka Bungane, 'I will *find you a female dog* (i.e. a girl), and you must *find a male dog for me*' (that is, proposing an alliance). Mzamose was *lobola'd* with 140 head of cattle. She was accompanied by 20 girls.

.... <Praises of Bungane and Nsele omitted - eds.>

28.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 10-19.

- 10 Nsele was buried at the Mzinyati. All our kings must have been buried together. The graves are near Alcock Spruit.²¹ There is a stream there called iBungane after Bungane. Our kings' graves are all on farms now. The site of the graves is called *emakosini*.²²
- 11 The kings were buried *in the mountains among the rocks*. Langalibalele was buried near Estcourt and close to Ntabamhlope.²³ We had hoped to bury him at *emakosini*, but owing to the probable delay in connection with getting leave to carry the body up etc. we were obliged to bury it where we did. Chief Nkabane lives where our kings were buried - Nkabane ka Ncwana ka Mtimkulu ka Bungane etc.
- When we tell a child (baby) to keep quiet we say, 'Keep quiet, *Zikode! Keep quiet, Zimende!*'²⁴

- The cause of our dispersal was as follows.²⁵ Mtimkulu was liked by the amaNgwane girls. *The amaNgwane plotted to kill him by using the girls against him*. They sent a *diviner of the Hlubi people* who had joined the amaNgwane. His name was Zulu ka Mafu ka Dwala ka Ntini (he *swore by the name of Mayezi*, i.e. a princess of their tribe) of the *clan-name Radebe*. The girl that liked Mtimkulu is not known. The girl, after sleeping with Mtimkulu, took his semen and took it to her king for the doctor to use to *treat him* with. In consequence of having been *enticed out*, Mtimkulu went into the gardens at a place called Ejiyaneni at the Ezimbutu hill. He then sent his boy attendants away, saying they must *surround the field* and beat away the birds. He remained alone. The girl was not with him. As it happened there were three *companies* of amaNgwane concealed in the garden. They *rose up*, went to the king, and killed him. In consequence of this the *nation met with disaster*. The whole tribe *scattered*. Some went to the Cape Colony, viz. Mehlomakulu ka Mpangazita ka Bungane; some went to Madadiyela.²⁶ A large section
- 12

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of the tribe went and *konza'd in the Zulu country*. The Iziyendane regiment was formed out of them. The death of Mtimkulu must have taken place in Tshaka's reign. Those who *konza'd* Tshaka returned on his killing his mother Nandi; they could not approve his killing his mother.

- 13 Makata was the *induna of the Iziyendane*. Zwayi ka Mbombo ka Makata ka Ndhlukazi of the *Tshabalala people*, Mndebele, Mananga, Ntambama, all Mtimkulu's sons went and *konza'd* Tshaka.

As soon as Mtimkulu was murdered the tribe dispersed, each prince carrying off his own section.

The Matiwane chief at this time was Matiwane ka Masumpa ka Gwabini.²⁷

Mtimkulu's principal kraal was oDidini.

A number of our tribe went off with the amaNgwane when they were chased by Dingana, for Dingana attacked the amaNgwane very soon after the dispersal of the amaHlubi.

The Hlubis formerly used not to fight, even with sticks. They got into this habit because they were feared by all the *peoples*. Zwide never attacked them. They did not use assegais.

- 14 A saying: *uBungane wenza nga ku ningi*, i.e. all things belong to Bungane. Even today, when the sky rains, people say this. Bungane ruled a great deal. There was a great earthquake during his reign. It was shortly after this earthquake that Bungane died.

When Langalibalele was caught by Europeans there was a total eclipse of the sun.²⁸

28.1.1909, evening.

- 15 Langalibalele was once caught by cannibals when a youth. Duba, the son of Mtimkulu, was born of a woman who was a cannibal. Knowing this, Duba induced the cannibals (relatives of his) to go and catch Langalibalele, as Duba wished to reign as chief. They were to catch and make away with him. The cannibals went, caught L., and took him to the east side of the Mzinyati. Two daughters of Mtimkulu begged a man, Gxiva, of their tribe (the Radebe) to go and recapture L. Gxiva went to where L. was, saw L., and found that his head had been shaved by the cannibals (a sure sign that he was about to be eaten). He (said) to him that he was to run away as, having been shaved, he was going to be eaten. He ran away, got to the Mzinyati and, finding it full, entered the river and swam across. He was a splendid swimmer. The cannibals followed, but finding the river full, turned back.

After crossing, L. went off towards his home. He met Mhlakaza of the *Tshabangu people*. Mhlakaza took L. off to a cave at the Empongo, up the *Ncuba* stream.²⁹ L. lived with all of his own age in the cave, also some men. The cannibals did not come to this place. L.'s mother was there too; her name was Ntambose ka Matshoba ka Mgabi ka Mafu, clan-name *Mazibuko*. L. grew up at the home of his mother's people among the *amaNgwe people*. (The chief now is Sibamu.)³⁰

- 16 I know of a woman, wife of Masece of the Hlubi tribe, who was once caught by cannibals. This happened during Duba's dispute over the succession. She had her left buttock cut off, but when the cannibals began to eat it one called out as a warning to the others, '*This one is bitter to the taste!*', whereupon she was allowed to go. I have seen this woman.

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Another woman, daughter of Sitole of the *Tshabalala* people, had the flesh and muscle above one of her knees cut and the kneecap got loose. They let her go. She limped away and lived for years afterwards, always lame. [Mabonsa and Paul Ngwenya knew this woman.]

Dingana chased the cannibals away from our part of the country. The great cannibal chief was Mahlapahlapa ka Mnjoli of the *Radebe* people.³¹ He lived near Glencoe junction and Dundee.

17 I was once sent to Basutoland by Langalibalele to ask for feathers. I there came across Mahlapahlapa himself, a big man but (with) thin legs. He denied having ever eaten any people. I spoke to him about the matter. I said I had heard that a woman was beaten in front until she swelled, and that this part was *presented* to the chief. 'Oh no,' he said, 'I never ate people. Only members of my tribe did so.' He had run off to live in Basutoland, as he had been chased from Natal. He had no chance in his new surroundings of being a cannibal. I heard that the heel is a very juicy piece.

There was no cannibalism in Bungane's day, nor Mtinkulu's, but when Mtinkulu was murdered the tribe became dispersed, and as a drought set in, people, having nothing to eat, began to live on one another.

Mahlapahlapa ka Mnjoli had a large tribe, all these being said to be cannibals.

18 We do not speak of ourselves as amaNtungwa, nor are we abeNguni.³² We *originated* by ourselves, and are known as amaHlubi. I heard from my father, from Macaleni (father of Paul Ngwenya), and from others of our having come from where Lubelo lived. Lubelo was of the Mgomezulu *isibongo* and belonged to Swaziland. The Basutos came away south first, then the Hlubis. (It is) not known if the Mgomezulu people were then on the place the Hlubis started from, or went to live there later.

Paul N. says that Musi is the chief who originally left the parent tribe, wherever it was. The Xaba people and the amaBongweni also (as one tribe) left the same place. These are all descendants of Radebe.

There is a tradition, says Paul N., to the effect that a beast was killed and the young claimants to the chiefship were called on to select the piece which would confer the highest rank. Xaba took a *hind leg*, Mbongweni took *the ribs*, and Musi took *the meat covering the ribs (insonyama)*. As the *insonyama* had been previously agreed on as that which would confer chiefship, Musi got the highest rank.³³ This is what caused the tribes to separate. The Xaba and Mbongweni peoples are part of the Hlubi tribe to this day and have no chief of their own.

19 Mabonsa: I am of the Hlatshwayo or Kubeka tribe, separate from the Hlubis.

There is a tradition that the Ngwenya people are never attacked by *crocodiles*. Paul N. says he has no hesitation in entering the water and crossing. The Radebe people too are not eaten by crocodiles.

We used to go in for circumcision. Paul N. says his father had been *circumcised*. We and the Basuto must have sprung from the same place, for our customs are very much alike.

Paul N. says the reason given him for the Hlubis coming down to where they went to in Newcastle division was *a shortage of food*.

MABONSA

There were no people in occupation in the country when we first went to occupy it, i.e. those near Newcastle.

29.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 20-9.

Also present: Paul Ngwenya, Zwayi, another

- 20 Paul N. says that about two years ago word came from the Cape Colony to this Government about the possibility of Siyepu going to join the rest of the tribe at Matatiela. There are 14 chiefs of our tribe in the Cape. The Natal Government replied that '*Siyepu is happily situated*'. After this, messengers came from the tribe heads at the Cape and asked Siyepu how he had come to say he was living happily. Siyepu denied ever having made such a statement. Siyepu has a farm of his own of about 1 000 acres where he now is. Part of his land is laid claim to by a neighbour, a European, a Mr Franklin. There are many European farmers in the immediate vicinity. Siyepu would like to move to the district now occupied by Nkabane in Newcastle division as it is extensive and (there are) few farms about.

Dispersal of the tribe.

- 21 Mtinkulu occupied the whole of Klip River county minus Msinga division, also practically the whole of the present Utrecht district. The amaNgwane were not a large tribe. They used to fight with Mkungela ka Pitsholo, a *leading man* of the amaHlubi tribe. Mkungela lived on the Ncomo;³⁴ he lived there with Ntanzi and Ntanzi's son Jozana. This shows that the amaNgwane were a very small tribe as compared with ours.

Matiwane's chief kraal is unknown to me.

Mtinkulu went out from oDidini kraal (his chief kraal) to *inspect one of his fields*. He went about five or six miles, when he was attacked by Matiwane's men in the garden, as already described. He was *inspecting the amabele in the autumn*.

The oDidini kraal was at the eZimbutu, three hills *which were closely similar and arranged like hearthstones*, not far below Newcastle and near the Mzinyati.

Mpangazita lived about where Newcastle is now.³⁵ The doctor, Zulu ka Mafu, who caused Matiwane to murder Mtinkulu, complained of Mtinkulu having been *stingy towards him with cattle* when he *treated him with medicines*. He was Mtinkulu's doctor.

- 22 After Mtinkulu's death, Maranqa looked after the people when they came back from where they had fled to. The greater number did not return.

As soon as the force sent by Matiwane had murdered Mtinkulu, they returned to their chief. They did not go on at once and attack oDidini kraal.

Mkungela was in charge of the Gumbi people. Matiwane's troops passed through the Gumbi people's country but were not seen or followed up. Mkungela's people were simply paralyzed like the rest of the tribe and did nothing. The whole tribe (Hlubi) collapsed like the breaking of a bottle to atoms.

Compare Dingiswayo's being *decoyed* by Zwide with Mtinkulu's being *decoyed* by Matiwane, but the Mtetwa tribe did not scatter.

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23 Yotwana of the Nkomo people was Langalibalele's *induna*. I do not know Mtinkulu's. Nkayitshana and Macaleni were also Langalibalele's *izinduna*.

The Swazi Didini kraal was called after the Hlubi kraal of that name.³⁶

Langalibalele's regiments³⁷

Msonganyati (Isiqamelo) - Langalibalele's own regiment, his age.
(Ndongaziyaduma)

Zintaka (amaRende)

Ntabayezwe

Msingapansi - my regiment, (says) Mabonsa.

Impumangingene *yamahlati*³⁸

Zitshelera

Imrotsho

Izinkonjane

Inguboyenkosi

amaNgwane - Langalibalele's last regiment

The Msonganyati was *butwa'd* by Maranqa. The Zintaka (amaRende) was Langalibalele's first regiment. The Imzimane or Umzimane comes next before the Msonganyati.

24 Langalibalele was born just after the coming of Godongwana. He was called Ngodongwana *wo Yengo*,³⁹ also Dingiswayo. The Msonganyati was the same age as Dingana's Ihlaba regiment. Langalibalele was this age. Langalibalele was born the very year that Dingiswayo went off to the Mtetwa again [see p. 54].⁴⁰ That is why he was named after Dingiswayo. He may have been named several years after Dingiswayo's departure.

29.1.1909, evening.

When Mtinkulu was murdered, Maranqa, who followed Mtinkulu in age, fled off to the Mhlongamvula mountain.⁴¹ He was with his following - a large one. There was fighting with Mate ka Ndaonde (not Ndwandwe) ka Langa, who was Maranqa's maternal uncle. Mate was defeated and took refuge on Mhlongamvula mountain. Maranqa went down the Igwa and when he got near the Mpama hill he went up to Kwa Tsetse.⁴² He then

25 returned to his father's country at the Mzinyati.

Mpangazita was driven out in the meantime by Matiwane to the *Sutu country*, the place of *Mtshwetshwe*, and caused to cross the Isangqu.⁴³ His own people carried him across, but it was only for a short time, as Mpangazita turned and came back to his father's district, to eMawuza hill near Ntabamhlope, Estcourt district. Mpangazita had fighting with Matiwane at Mawuza.⁴⁴ Matiwane was presently attacked by the Zulus, just as if they had come to interfere in the fighting going on. Matiwane was then chased by the Zulus via Basutoland; he was caused to cross the Isangqu, but the Zulus did not cross. The Europeans proceeded to attack Matiwane.⁴⁵ He took refuge in a large forest in Pondoland, near where Sir T. Shepstone's father was.⁴⁶ Matiwane eventually found his way to Dingane, who ordered him to be

26 killed. Dingana said, 'Here is the one with watery, weak eyes. Take him away.' They then dragged him off to a small cliff.

Matiwane's son Zikali made off to Swaziland. Zikali, when Dingana was killed, returned to Natal and lived near where Dundee stands.

MABONSA

This was reported to Langalibalele. Langalibalele refused to fight with Zikali, for two men were fighting, i.e. Matiwane and Mtinkulu, so he left him alone. Jozana ka Ntanzu ka Gelandhlovu of the *Madakani* people killed Zikali's *izinduna* before they could reach their chief, for they were following on behind. Zikali went on, crossed above where Ladysmith is, and on to the very source of the Tugela, where the waterfall is. Even at this day the tribe is living there. Zikali was succeeded by Ncwadi, and Ncwadi by Bambazi. Their national name is amaNgwane, their *isibongo* Zondo.⁴⁷ The amaNgwane people are not amaNtungwa as far as I know. Their tribal *isibongo* is Zondo.

- 27 *The stronghold of Rawane.* Rawane was a member of the Hlubi tribe. He lived at the northern extremity of the Hlubi district. Rawane was of the people of *Zwana ka Mbambo*. Rawane used to take refuge in his stronghold whenever an *impi* passed, say on its way after Mzilikazi.

- Matshiyi (sometimes referred to as Matshiya) once attempted to fight with Dhlambula. Matshiyi's leg was deformed in some way. 'Where do you come from?' said Dhlambula to someone. 'I come from Matshiyi's.' 'O!' said D., 'you come from that thing that walks like a cow.' Matshiyi resented the insult. He then took some reeds, sent the reeds to Dhlambula, and directed him to arm and be prepared. The reeds were a sign that he was to arm with assegais. The people were then turned into an *impi*. Matshiyi went off with his men to attack. *Matshiyi and Dhlambula faced each other.* They were at a distance from one another, for they used to throw assegais at one another. D. began by hurling an assegai at M. The assegai missed and stuck in the ground. He threw again, and the same thing happened. M. then threw at him. The first assegai entered the shield. He took another, flung it, and it stuck in the shield like the other. D.'s shield got too heavy for him. Here the forces came to closer quarters and fought. M.'s men caused the others to run. As they did so, D.'s shield got too heavy for him. He lagged behind. M.'s men caught him. They then sang a song of triumph and conducted him home. He was not killed but his cattle were seized. An order was issued that the oldest were to be picked out and given back to him, whilst the younger ones were appropriated by M. M. then asked him what he had meant by insulting him as he had done. He then allowed him to go off, for the killing of one another was unknown in those days. No more fighting occurred after this.

- 29 Matshiyi was chief son of Dhlomo ka Radebe. He was one of the Hlubi kings. This is the way they fought in olden days. Our people used to fight at a distance from one another. It was the Zulus that fought at close quarters.

The foregoing story shows the character of the warfare the people indulged in before Tshaka's day. It shows people were of a forgiving disposition. The Hlubi tribe never used to go off and attack neighbouring tribes.

The amaNgwane tribe lived on the northern side of the White Umfolozi, about the neighbourhood of Vryheid.

30.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 29-40.

Also present: Dawule

The Hlubi tribe do not cut their faces or fingers in any way like other tribes. They *pierce the ears with an awl*. This may be said to be characteristic of them. The name 'Hlubi' is one given by themselves. I do not know how the name originated, for there is no man of the name of Hlubi among the ancestors of the tribe. Sometimes women's names give rise to tribal names, but I do not see that can be the case in the present instance.

The great *isibongo* is Radebe; the *isitakazelo* is Nzimende.

30 Branches of the Radebe tribe: Gumbi (Mkungela's lot); Mdakane (*isibongo* of Ntanzu's people); Mazibuko (Mgagaiyana, his ancestor being Maqubela); Mazibuko (Mngane ka Msebe ka Mazibuko).

I cannot give the numerous branches that went off at the time of the great breaking up and dispersal of our tribe, which to my mind was like the breaking of a bottle into a thousand fragments. *Izwekufa* is the name we used in referring to the breaking up of our people.⁴⁸

Mpangazita [see 6 pp. back].

Ngalonkulu ran off to the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein; that is where the tribe still is.

Sondezi ran off *down the Igwa*, in the Transvaal. They now live close to the Mpama mountain, where Dingana followed up Mzilikazi.

Maranqa ran off to Swaziland, to *the place of his mother's people*. Mate fought him. He then came down the Igwa and came up the Namakazi river and then to the Ntabazwe; then he came down to where Newcastle is now.⁴⁹ Dingane was reigning at the time of his return.

31 Siyepu is also called Mandiza, a name given by the young men as a good-sounding name to *swear* by, and for girls to *swear* by.

When Mtimkulu was killed Langalibalele was already born. He could run about at that time. He and his elder brother Dhlomo ran off to Putini, *their maternal uncle*, and there took refuge. They stayed until Maranqa returned to the Mzinyati from his wanderings, whereupon Maranqa *fetched them back*. Langalibalele became Maranqa's *inceku*. Dhlomo was not liked. If, when out herding, Langalibalele happened to kill a rabbit that got up, Maranqa would praise him and say he would be the one to reign, swearing by his (Maranqa's) sister, Nomloyi ka Matshiyi, whilst he would say Dhlomo was unsuitable.

32 I am quite sure that our Msonganyati regiment (was of equivalent age) to the Ihlaba in Zululand. [The Ihlaba would have been recruited about 1837 and at the age of 18 or 19. This would make Langalibalele as about 91 now, or born about 1818. Hence, if (he had been) old enough to 'run about' when Mtimkulu was killed, such incident would have occurred about 1822 or 1823.] Langalibalele himself, when I visited him at Cape Town, told me he was of the Ihlaba regiment, and that when his father was killed he and his elder brother ran off to Putini, i.e. that he travelled on his own feet. He went with his mother Mntambose ka Matshoba of the Mazibuko people. She was Mtimkulu's chief wife.

Dingane killed Dhlomo at Mgungundhlovu. He also had Makata ka Ndhlukazi, the *induna* of the Iziyendane, killed for *insulting* him. Makata had referred to Dingane as the '*good-for-nothing that has not*

been circumcised'. The Iziyendane regiment, which was known as the *Iziyendane of Nandi*, was recruited in Tshaka's day, and Makata was the great *induna* of that regiment. They were called Iziyendane because none of them had the *headring* on, i.e. their hair lay back on their heads.⁵⁰ This regiment was composed of amaHlubi. Owing to this fact, Mtimkulu must have been killed early in Tshaka's reign, for the

33 Iziyendane *campaigned* with Tshaka *in the Mpondo country*. It was only after Mtimkulu's death that the Iziyendane were made into a regiment. People went off in a body and *konza'd* Nandi and became her regiment. [Nandi was killed in, I fancy, 1827.]⁵¹

My father Sidhlayi was never seen by me. He died a natural death when the Swazi king, Mswazi's father, Sobuza, was still living. He went and lived at the Pongolo at the Ngcaka after the dispersal of our tribe. I was born at the Ngcaka. My father came to *konza* the Hlubis during Mtimkulu's reign. I do not know the reason for his coming to *konza*.

Langalibalele was circumcised. As soon as he had done so he married a daughter of Msimanga, the mother of Mbayimbayi, then he took many other wives. He had I suppose about 30 wives.

My father lived at the Ngcaka before coming to *konza* Mtimkulu, and after the king's death he returned to the Ngcaka. On his death-

34 bed he directed that his children etc. should go back to *the daughter of Matshoba* (i.e. Langalibalele's mother). I do not know the name of my father's regiment. Yotwana was the big *induna* of the Mzimane regiment; the small *indunas* were Macaleni and Nkayitshana.

Dhlomo was recognized as the proper heir to the chieftainship as against Maranqa, who had already begun to collect around him a regiment. This regiment deserted and joined Dhlomo, becoming the Mzimane regiment. A conflict arose between Dhlomo and Maranqa in consequence of the dispute as to the succession, whereupon the Mzimane regiment succeeded in murdering Maranqa and cutting him up. In the meantime, Makata was with the Iziyendane *dawn-country*, i.e. at the Zulu king's. Messengers were sent to him to report what had happened to Dingana, but Makata sent back word that Dhlomo himself had better come and report the occurrence, because if he did so, as Makata supposed, he might be presented with a few head of cattle.

35 Dhlomo came down. Dingana is said to have examined Dhlomo carefully for two days, turning him round and round as he stood. On the third day he was ordered to be put to death for some reason. This greatly annoyed Makata, who used the epithet already referred to in regard to Dingana's being uncircumcised, whereupon D. had him put to death too. What D. objected to was that Dhlomo, who had put his 'father' Maranqa to death, should himself come and report that fact.

Afternoon, 30.1.1909.

I feel sure Godongwana came to Bungane (only, and not in) Mtimkulu's day. To put it in M.'s day would be, I think, to make it too late.

The old troops used to go in extended formation (*uq'w'u*), as if out hunting, when going to war, (and did) not *viva*, i.e. (go) in line of column (*amaviyo*).⁵² Old and young men were put together. Mtimkulu had only the Izitshelera regiment. The Mzimane regiment

36 had been recruited by Maranqa; it revolted in favour of Dhlomo, and

after Dhlomo's death the regiment went over to Langalibalele and took him off to be *circumcised*.

Langalibalele also had an Izitshelera regiment [see list some pp. back]. The Izitshelera of Mtimkulu was a different regiment. No Izitshelera (of Mtimkulu) or Imzimane are now living. In the Zulu regiment Iziyendane there were members of the Imzimane and Izitshelera regiments. On Nandi being murdered by Tshaka, many of the Iziyendane deserted from Tshaka and fled away through the Transvaal or Orange River Colony down along the Igwa so as to be beyond his (T.'s) reach. They feared they would be killed now Nandi, their patroness, had been murdered.

Bungane's kraals were: Kwa Magoloza (eNgolozini), south-east of Newcastle near the Mzinyati, (near) Alcock Spruit and Ingagane railway stations.

Mtimkulu's kraals were: Kwa Nobamba; oDidini (chief kraal), which was at the Ezimbutu hills, three small hills below Utrecht.

37 I do not know any regiment of Bungane's. As a matter of fact there was no recruiting of regiments in the early days. The men and boys of each kraal would go together and form a company; the same with each other kraal. There was no regular regiment in which persons recruited from the whole tribe were included.

I do not know the name of Nsele's kraal.

I heard of Godongwana's arrival in our tribe from members of the Mzimane regiment, who said that Godongwana had come to the tribe during Bungane's reign, not during Mtimkulu's. He went to Magoloza kraal, not to Didini.

Langalibalele was never a *mat-bearer* in Tshaka's day. His eldest half-brother Marele (*isokanqangi*)⁵³ never went to Tshaka as (a member of) the Iziyendane. I do not know what Hlubi regiment he belonged to.

Origin of the name Iziyendane. The Hlubis *plaited their hair into strands*; it then *hung* to their necks and, as they walked, the rolls or strings of hair moved or swayed gently to and fro (*ukuyenda*, as a man who is sleepy sways to and fro).

38 Mtimkulu was killed after only his sons Marele and Gilikidi had been *circumcised*. The rest were *circumcised* after his death.

We had a custom similar to the *umkosi* in our tribe but called *igagane*, held every year. But it was a very different affair. People used to go and beg permission of the king to eat *pumpkins*, on the ground that there was famine at (their) kraal. People would, as it was called, '*ask for the gourd*', *i.e.* *pumpkins*. The king would then give permission to one after another. Those who had plenty of food would wait till the *igagane* was called up. It was the *igagane* which afforded general information that all might partake of the new fruits as the king himself had partaken thereof.

In Zululand this custom of first-fruits was much more stringently observed than with our kings. We held the *igagane* at the same time that the Zulus had their *umkosi*.

39 It was Sisiyana who was Dingiswayo's *mat-bearer* on the occasion of his coming to the Hlubi tribe. I spoke to Sisiyana himself at Sirayo's Emfeni kraal in the Nqutu district, quite close to Rorkes Drift. I had my conversation shortly after the Mbuyazi-Cetshwayo

MABONSA

war of 1859.⁵⁴ Sisiyana said he was, at the time, an Mtetwa man. I believed from his circumstantial account that he had really accompanied Godongwana.

I have heard that Bungane had *intumbane* (disease) in his knee.⁵⁵ People never liked to speak of this as, if anyone had such disease, it was a certainty that he would die. Mtimkulu had no *intumbane*. The breaking up of the tribe was said to be due to the death of Bungane, and as *intumbane* was a complaint which he had, so people *hlonipa* it ever since. A king is never said to *gula*; he is said to *ukuba nomzimba*.⁵⁶

Zulu ka Mafu ka Ntini of the *Dwala* people was one of the Hlubi tribe. He lived near Jonono hill, Waschbank, and Mhlwaneni hill.⁵⁷

40 Makata remained on in command of the Iziyendane until he was killed by Dingane, notwithstanding that many of this regiment deserted when [in 1826?] Tshaka put his mother to death.

The death of Tshaka's mother. I hear she was killed because she was nursing a child in the *isigodhlo* when Tshaka entered. He asked whose child it was. She said hers, and (on her) being unable to give a proper reply he caused her to be put to death by having a rope tied round her neck then struck, she being strangled. She would not say the child was T.'s.

Among the Zulus one never said '*Baba*' to a man even though grey-headed. It was always '*Mnewetu*', for people did not marry.⁵⁸ Tshaka wished to have no children and not to marry.

Having no security, as their patroness had been killed, many Iziyendane deserted. After Makata was killed by Dingana, another batch of them deserted. I do not know who became Iziyendane *induna* after Makata.

29 & 30.1.1909 File 59, nbk. 29, sheet attached to front cover.

<In the lists that follow we have used the symbols A, A.1 etc. to indicate relationships which in the original are shown by arrowed lines and other devices. We have retained the original groupings of the names of the sons of Bhungane, Mthimkhulu, and Langalibalele - eds.>

Hlubi royal family⁵⁹

Matshiyi's son: Nsele

Nsele's sons: <A> Bungane	Mapanga
Sondezi	<C> Jozi
 Mpelerwana	

Bungane's sons: <A.1> Mtimkulu ^a	Zingelwayo
Maranqa ^a	Monakali
<A.2> Mpangazita	Ngalonkulu ^b
Manyaza	Mabona ^c
	Makanda ^d
	Makonza
	Sidhlayi ⁶⁰

MABONSA

^aMother was Ngiwe ka Ndawonde ka Langa (not Langa the father of Zwide).

^bAmaDhlakadhla were borne by a daughter of Ndumo, the mother of Ngalonkulu.⁶¹

^cThese two are immediately next to one another in age and belong to the amaDhladhla.

^dOwn brother of Mtimkulu. He was the inkosana encane, son of a co-wife of Ngiwe, the mother of Mtimkulu.⁶²

<A.1> Mtimkulu's sons:

Dhlomo ^a	Ntambama
Jijila	Luzipo
<A.1.1> Langalibalele	Marele ^c
Ncwane ^b	Magadhla
Gilikidi	Ludidi
Duba	Mhlambiso
Mananga	Mcagwe
Pakatwayo	
Mndebele	

^aChief son (died). Langalibalele follows him in age.⁶³

^bSijama or Mkwamide (girl).⁶⁴ I do not know where she married. She was the same age as my mother. She was of the Amapucula regiment. Mtimkulu recruited this regiment of girls. This regiment was followed in age by the amaGangafana (also Mtimkulu's).

^cThe isokanqangi.⁶⁵

<A.1.1> Langalibalele's sons:

1 Mbayimpayi	Sinikani	Malambule	Sambane
Siyepu ^a	Qwababane	Jakalazi	Msizi
2 Ncapayi	Ratsha	Mageba	Cetshwayo
3 uMuhaye	Zatshuke	Mlokotwa	Nkambayedwa
4 Fipa	Madikane	Nceke	Xegu
Manaba	Njayontakati	Ngobandwane	Mandhla
Mdungazwe	Masipula	Gojela	Nkovana
Ndongeni	Juqu	Dayimana	Mango
			Mosi

Mnambiti	Tshali ^b	Mhlahlo	Mtamo
Peni	Gayifoko ^b	Mgunundwane	Sigedhle
Dubuyana	Jenene	Nhloko	Mdwebu
Mazwi	Maragane	Jangeni	Ndiyane
Nsinginsingi	Ndomba	Mdutshulwa	Tshonapi
Mnukwa	Zitwana	Boyi	Ngazi
Mbulawa ^b	Galaza	Mkandu	Tayi
Mzabateki		Ngazana	Mtshodo

^aChief son. Nceke (see below) was his only brother.

^bBorn at Cape Town.

MABONSA

<A.2> Mpangazita's sons: <A.2.1> Sidinane^a Mehloimakulu^b

^aChief son.

^bThe *isokanqangi*.

<A.2.1> Sidinane's son: Zibi

 Mpelerwana's son: Madubedube

<C> Line of succession to Jozi: Jozi

|
Mlengi

|
Sibabo

|
heir is in Basutoland

31.1.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 41-8.

Also present: another

41 The amaBele lived on the south of us. Ndhlela ka Sompisi of the Ntuli tribe came from the amaBele people.⁶⁶ The Ntuli people were formerly cannibals. Qunta, father of Ndomba (*induna* at Mtshezi, Estcourt), was one of the principal men among the Bele people.⁶⁷ The amaBele people are spoken of as Qunta's. They lived about eLenge (Umsinga division). The Ntulis lived about the Lenge too (Job's Kop).⁶⁸

Another tribe near us, where we used to buy tobacco, were the Dhlamini under Mmiso (father of Kukulela). These are the same as the amaKuze. (Mnjoli of the *Radebe people* lived right under the Berg,) where the railway goes up to Harrismith. *The Miya people* lived in the stronghold of *Renqwa* under the Berg. The amaKumalo of *Mtezuka* and *Mzungeni* lived about *Zungeni* mountain and on further east. They also lived on the land subsequently built on by Sirayo ka Xongo. *The Radebe people* lived all about Ingogo, Majuba.⁶⁹

42 At oTaka (Wakkerstroom), Mate (father of Mandhlangampisi) lived. He was of the *Tshabalala people*. (Bungane)⁷⁰ got his chief wife from Mate's; (her) father was Ndawonde. The girl's name was Ngiwe, sister of Mate. He *lobola'd* her. Ngiwe bore Mtimkulu and Maranqa.

The Inhlongamvula is a mountain in the vicinity of the Mkondo river. Going from Newcastle, one crosses the Pongolo and, proceeding northeast, comes to the mountain just before reaching the Mkondo.

The Kumalo people used to be on good terms with the Hlubi people and visit them freely.

We never *cultivated tobacco*.⁷¹ We got it from eZungeni among the Kumalo (*Mtezuka*), and from the amaKuze (*Dhlamini*).

Our king used to send to the sea for sea water. Those that went for it (my maternal uncle, Maqulumba ka Sibenya ka Mvakali(?) of the *Tshabalala* tribe, used to be employed on the service) travelled close along the Tugela so as to avoid traversing occupied areas.

MABONSA

especially when returning with the king's water. This water was used for *strengthening the king* and was not fetched year by year for *igagane* purposes.

- 43 I do not know if our Ingagane river⁷² took its name from the *igagane* ceremony. The word *igagane* only came into vogue after Tshaka began to reign, for it was forbidden to hold the *umkosi* ceremony. It used to be *umkosi* among our tribe previously to Tshaka. We were prohibited from practising the custom as it was intended our tribe should become extinguished in order that Tshaka's nation should be augmented.

We used to marry into the amaNgwane tribe. Myazane, a girl of the amaNgwane tribe, married Maranga. She died at Dweba's district, i.e. near Draycott railway station.⁷³ Although we inter-married with Matiwane's people we were not on good terms with them.

- I know that Mzilikazi left Intumbane hill when he fled from Tshaka. I know this from our speaking of his people as '*those beggarly people from Ntumbane*'. This Ntumbane hill is low down the
44 Bivana and near Dumbé mountain.⁷⁴

The Matiwana people lived all about Hlobana and Vryheid [*vide* Gibson p. 43].⁷⁵ The Hlubis went as far as *the stronghold of Rawane*.

When we Hlubis came from the uBombo, we kept a northerly route. We passed the Swazi Makosini⁷⁶ travelling almost due west till we came to the eNgcuba stream and Newcastle district.

EPangweni, the name of one of Langalibalele's kraals, was very close to where Utrecht now stands. That is the kraal at which Langalibalele was *circumcised*.

Bungane was buried on this side of the Mzinyati. Nsele was buried at eMange, a small hill close to the Mzinyati, but on the north side of it and above the Ingcuba stream.

When we came to live in Newcastle division etc. the Kumalo people must have already been in occupation of their lands about Ntabankulu to Nhlazatshe etc.⁷⁷

I do not know where the amaNgwane originally sprang from.

- 45 Tshaka's forces are said to have once shut a number of people in a hole or cave until they all died and rotted there. Presently a green fly was seen - a sign as to what had happened. This took place somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dumbé or Mhlongamvula.

[When were Iziyendane formed? As soon as Hlubis were dispersed, did not some go at once to Tshaka and, becoming Iziyendane, proceed with T.'s forces to attack Matiwane? Who was Motsholi?

Read pp. 376-382, Theal, *History of S.A.*, 1795-1828 - a lot of information regarding Hlubi tribe. Mpangazita is said by Theal, p. 378, to have left Natal in 1821 in consequence of Matiwane's attack. Shepstone is therefore mistaken in saying 1812 is the year that disturbances began in the north.]⁷⁸

Mabonsa continues.

Mpangazita's mother's *clan-name* was Kesa. He was in his own hut, i.e. no others of those I have enumerated *followed him in age*.

I know Sigonyela's people as abaDhlongwe [Bathlokwa - Theal].⁷⁹ These lived about the sources of the Wilge river in Harrismith

district.

46 Mpangazita left Natal only after the death of Mtimkulu. I do not know of Motsholi's leaving the Hlubis and going to *konza* Mokotsho of the Bathlokua tribe, nor do I know anything of the necklace and cutting off of Motsholi's head as described by Theal [pp. 378, 379].⁸⁰

Mpangazita, to avenge Mtimkulu's death, clashed with the amaNgwane at Emawuza hill across the uMrulgwana (or uMrulugwane) river [Caledon]. Whilst fighting them there, the Zulu army appeared. This was during Dingana's reign. The amaNgwane were chased. Mpangazita died about this time.⁸¹

After Tshaka dispersed the amaNgwane they or a section of them went and lived near Mont aux Sources (waterfall). To this day some are there still. It was here that Dingana found and chased them off. Matiwane was still with them. They remained only a short time at the Tugela sources.⁸²

Mangena ka Binca ka Mvakali ka Mtshengu ka Wawawa ka Sidwabasilutuli <praise omitted - eds.> of the *Tshabalala* people (Mangena's *clan-name*). This was also Makata's *clan-name*, i.e. the *Iziyendane induna*. Mangena was of *Tshaka's Ndabenkulu regiment*. Mangena followed my mother in age.⁸³

I heard from my uncle Mangena that he, on Mtimkulu's death, went to Tshaka and there joined the Iziyendane regiment, and was present when Matiwane (amaNgwane chief) was attacked and dispersed by Tshaka. He took part in that attack. Mangena died some 20-25 years ago.
47 Sibabo ka Mlenge ka Jozi ka Nsele ka Matshiyi etc. was also of the Ndabenkulu regiment.

Mangena was a young boy when Mtimkulu was killed. He had not *been circumcised* when he went to Tshaka. He, in Langalibalele's reign, became (one of) the Mzimane regiment.

The *circumcising* took place just before or just after (one's) arriving at puberty. If a boy *was circumcised* whilst still young the wound healed more rapidly than when he had become older.

Matiwane lived about the White Mfolozi, i.e. Vryheid. Tshaka *attacked* him, possibly with the Iziyendane. Makata (already referred to) and Mdhleleni ka Ndhlela of the Hlubi were *izinduna* of the Iziyendane. I cannot say if it was Tshaka's friendship for the Hlubis that caused him to attack Matiwane, or if he attacked Matiwane with the Iziyendane (probably he did).

48 [To be read: 'Historic Sketch of the Tribes anciently inhabiting the Colony of Natal - as at present bounded - and Zululand', by Sir T. Shepstone, in Cape Colony Native Affairs Commission Proceedings, at end, 1881-1882, and in pamphlet 'Correspondence relating to granting to Natives in Natal of documentary tribal titles to land'. See also Shepstone's lecture, p. 155, i, Bird, Annals of Natal.]⁸⁴

1.2.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 48-56.

Also present: Dawule, Mageba ka Langalibalele

Mabonsa continues.

The Izintaka regiment for the most part were born after Mtimkulu's murder, but some were born before his murder. Those who, when they went to *konza* in the Zulu country, became members of the *Kokoti* regiment, became Izintaka when they returned among us to their own people, hence uKokoti is the equivalent of, Izintaka.

I know Mini, son of Maranqa, *disputed the chieftainship with Langalibalele* and then ran off to *konza* Sigonyela ka Msatshane. [Theal says Mokotsho and his - S.'s - mother was Ma Ntatisi.]⁸⁵ Mini contended that *his father had obtained the chieftainship for himself*, i.e. had found it, no one laying claim thereto. Langalibalele had gone off with his mother to Putini ka Matshoba of the Mazibuko. Putini's father came from the uZwana tribe.⁸⁶ One of the Zwana people was Rawane, of *the stronghold of Rawane* fame.

49 Kanda ka Nyoka was also of the Zwana tribe. He lived next to where Mzilikazi was. (Mpelana lived with Nyoka; *one followed the other in age*.) He was turned out by Dingana. They arrived among us very badly wounded.

Putini (or his father Matshoba) first settled at the Ngcaka, where the Pongolo rises. Putini was attacked by Mpande on the ground that *'Chiefs have long been dying, but he is not dead; it is he who kills chiefs'*. The order was given that the river was to be guarded to prevent the cattle getting away, and that care was to be taken not to injure Mtimkulu's people. But although Mpande had ordered the amaHlubi not to be attacked, he presently did so when the *amabele* were red. I remember the time well. Our cattle were all driven off over the Berg in the direction of Basutoland. They got as far as Harrismith. There messengers were sent to prevent them from going on to the Basutos on the ground that it was too cold for them and that they were to go down to the Mnambiti river (Ladysmith district). Just at the same time the Boers were defeated by Smith at Durban. They came to Ntabazwe
50 and there built a great *lager*. Hanise, their commandant, spoke to our people and advised us not to take the cattle down far on to the flats at Mnambiti, but to remain close under and along the Berg. This we did. They said they were coming back again to attend to the Zulus a little more, but never came.⁸⁷

We then built and ploughed a little, when Sir T. Shepstone came and directed us to go and live across the Mzimkulu where Ramncana afterwards went, and Stoffel Molife, but owing to Langalibalele's mother's illness we did not leave at once. We came down to Ladysmith and there had an interview with Nyoniyentaba (Bird), who had some men with him who wore small caps on the side of the head.⁸⁸ He advised us to go to the Mkomazi, but L. referred to his mother's illness. Presently the mother died. The fact was we were not acquainted with the country in question; moreover there were wild animals there. As it
51 turned out it was rich in crops. After this we continued to remain on where we have been ever since. We certainly ought to have gone to the Mkomazi when we had the chance.

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Evening, 1.2.1909. Mabonsa and Dawule present.

The amaNtungwas (are) the Kumalo people. The abaNguni are the lower tribes, e.g. Zulus, Qwabe, Mtetwa. The Hlubis are not amaNtungwa. We are not amaLala. We are called abeSutu by the lower races of Natal and Zululand.

The Zulus *pobola* in their speech, i.e. they *tefula*. We do not *pobola*, i.e. say 'po', 'na?' They *pobola* by saying often 'po', 'ke?', 'po', 'na?' etc.⁸⁹

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

Our language was substantially the same as that of Zululand.

We never *kept chickens*. A reason for this was because they would attract the enemy to our kraals at night-time, or very early, by crowing.

We are one with the Swazis as well as the Basutos.

52 We used to *dance the ingodwane* - our national custom. This was our *dance festival*, held when the *amabele* were two feet high.

We wore very long *loin-coverings* of black goatskin; the tails hung down to the middle of one's calves. We used to barter one black goat to Zulus for a cow in calf, for the goat had beautiful and plentiful hair.

In Bungane's day, and previously, there was no *putting on of head-rings*. I see this from the *old men* of that time who did not *put on the headring*. There was *putting on of headrings* in Mtimkulu's day.

We used to marry the amaZizi girls. Dweba ka Gwili was one of the amaZizi chiefs. Dweba lived where we are now living, i.e. round about Draycott railway station.

53 Mpangazita and Mtimkulu quarrelled and fought together. They *disputed* after Bungane's death. When Mtimkulu came from his Ludidini kraal, he found Mpangazita had made himself chief, whereas he was only of the *left-hand* side of the kraal. ODidini kraal was at the eZimbutu, close to the Ingcuba stream, north of the Buffalo. Mpangazita had assumed the chiefship at Magoloza. Mtimkulu contended that he was the heir to the kingship. They fought and threw assegais at one another. Mpangazita *left* and went to his own kraal where Newcastle now stands.

.... <Mtimkulu's praises omitted - eds.>

54 We are not connected with the Tongas as far as I know.

Siyepu was never *buta'd*, but an attempt was made, the regiment being called amaNgwane.

I was not present at Langalibalele's trial.⁹⁰ I was at the eGwa [Caledon] river.⁹¹ I went to the amaHlubi of Ngalonkulu ka Bungane. Mabudhle went to the eGwa too, (as) an old man. He roamed about.

Langalibalele was born some time after Dingiswayo had left our tribe.

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Tudhlazana ka Ndhlovu is still living. He is not as old as Langalibalele.

There are no people now living who were born in Bungane's day. All the old men were killed off in 1873 (Langalibalele rebellion).

55 Mtimkulu's *izinkawu*,⁹² i.e. white people. They were dressed like Scotch troops. The sun however scorched them. I do not know what became of them. There were three of them. No-one knows where they came from. They must have come from the Cape. They are said to have disappeared, going off to meet their own people. I heard of these *izinkawu of the chief* from members of the Mzimana regiment. They are not said to have had horses.

When horses eventually appeared their faeces were used to *treat children*, to prevent *fevers*, for horses were new to us. We captured three horses, with saddles on, after the Ncome fight with the Boers.⁹³

I know nothing about the *izinkawu* having had guns or horses. These men were not *amalawu*,⁹⁴ for they would not have been burnt by the sun. They wore short leathern skirts like the Scotch. There is nothing about kraals being built by them, nor are there any of their descendants.

56 Rev. Mr Allison came and built a reed hut in our district. He built a similar structure in Putini's district, then *among the Kubeke* (our tribe), then at Mahamba. He used to preach to the effect that all our ancestors would certainly rise from the dead. This caused commotion and *contention* in Swaziland. Later on he went to Sigonyela's. His name was uMneli.⁹⁵ [See pp. 58, 59.]

[Note. Owing to the fact that Bungane and Mtimkulu had practically no regimental system, one cannot calculate dates even approximately. Still, Langalibalele was born before Mtimkulu's death, and as he could walk when it occurred, and was born in 1818 or thereabouts, Mtimkulu's death must have taken place in or about 1820. See p. 24 for the approximate date of Langalibalele's birth.]

2.2.1909

File 59, nbk. 29, pp. 56-60.

Also present: Dawule

There used to be buffalo at Hlatikulu, and *eland* in days gone by; hence the name Umzinyati.⁹⁶

Isigodhlo. We had no such thing at the royal kraals. We only *paid tribute with the rib meat of cattle*. There were three or four rows of huts at the top ends of our royal kraals, and no *isigodhlo*. Langalibalele had no *isigodhlo*, nor had Mtimkulu, or Bungane, or Mpangazita, or Maranqa.

There are two Dhlomos amongst our kings, and two Mtimkulus. Siyepu will, when he *fathers children*, have one called Nsele. Siyepu's real name is Matshiyi - *the name of Matshiyi is raised again*.

57 We used to wear *ubedu* (*Lubedu*) round the neck. In Zululand it was called *umaka* and *ingzota*. The *old men* in my young days used to *make an oath*, '*Lubedu of Bungane!*' The *ubedu* was made of *itusi* (copper).⁹⁷

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We used to *work iron*. Diba and Lutshaba used to be smiths. There were many others. Diba lived at Utrecht. Utrecht is on his very kraal site. Three *hoes* (were the equivalent of) a beast; one (was the equivalent of) a goat.

We built our cattle kraals either of *sods* and stones alternately, or of *sods* alone where there were no stones.

Only the *kraal head and chief wife* were buried within the kraal. Men of the kraal, other wives, and children were buried outside.

Izivivane. I saw one *up the Loteni river*, which enters the Mkomazi.⁹⁸ Sitapuka lives there now, near where Stoffel lives. We had none in our country (Hlubi) for there were no stones.

We had no beacons. Hills were used as beacons.

58 We used to wear a soft skin over the privates, pulled under the leg and fixed at the back, just as the Basutos do. Mtinkulu discontinued this practice and followed that of the Zulus. He wore a *covering of leather tassles*.

Our women used to wear *leather skirts*, some made of goatskin, but they came a good deal lower down than (those worn by) Zulu women used to do.

After Allison preached of people rising again from the dead, we found that no one did so. We could not understand how that could be. He said a white cloud would appear. He said many things. He caused Swaziland to come to grief, for he said Sobuza would rise again. He could not tolerate anyone laughing at him, for he said he was speaking seriously. In consequence of his preaching a *conflict* arose in Swaziland, viz. (involving) Malambule, Sidubelo, whilst Mswazi was still a *youth*. This led to all Sobuza's sons *becoming scattered*.⁹⁹

59 Mswazi's people came and attacked Malambule ka Sobuza at Allison's mission station at Mahamba. They slashed about with their assegais in the school (or church). One Nogobo of the Madonsela tribe jumped through a window and was severely cut about the face and body by the glass. Allison clambered up the pole of the house and started praying to God whilst the stabbing was going on below. Orders had been given by Mswazi that he was not to be killed. Malambule had heard of the Swazis being after him, so he fled to the Pongolo and came to Zululand. He *konza'd* Mpande and built near the Bivana (i.e. Paulpietersburg) at Dumbe.

There were no elephants about the Umzinyati, only buffaloes and eland.

Evening, 2.2.1909.

60 Langalibalele. He was born at the Mzinyati at Didini, at the Zimbutu hills. His mother was Mtambose ka Matshoba. She died at Mhlwaneni, near the Drakensberg and above the railway line to Harri-smith. He, L., remained at Didini until his father was murdered. He then was taken off by his mother to Putini ka Matshoba, *clan-name Mazibuko*. He lived at Putini's principal kraal known as Kwa Nkomokazi. He stayed till he got to be a small boy. When Maranqa returned to the Hlubi territory he sent for and fetched both Langalibalele and his elder brother Dhlomo. Maranqa lived at Mtinkulu's Nobamba kraal (for he *followed Mtinkulu in age*). Langalibalele and Dhlomo went there. They stayed there some time, until talk arose. The amaHlubi

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then called on Maranqa to give the management of the tribe over to Dhlomo, who was the right heir. This Maranqa refused to do. They insisted, on the ground that Dhlomo had grown up, and that the tribe had belonged not to him but to his elder brother Mtinkulu, who had left issue. He refused. Sobuza, king of Swaziland, asked Maranqa when he was going to give over the management to Dhlomo. Then actual quarrelling arose between him and his 'father' Maranqa. They fought against one another. I had not ... <continued below - eds.>

2.2.1909

File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 1-13.

Also present: Dawule

- 1 ... been born at this time. Maranqa was put to death. Makata, *induna* of the Iziyendane, advised Dhlomo to come and report what he had done himself. [See further back for what he did and how Makata came to be killed by Dingana.] Langalibalele was now left. He was still a boy. Dhlomo was put to death prior to the arrival of the Boers. After the death of Maranqa and Dhlomo the country was very unsettled. L. went to live *in the mountains* at the Mpongo stream which enters the Ncuba, just above Utrecht. He stayed here some time with some people. He was living at (the place of) Matshwatshwa ka Sibekebula, *of the people of Mnculwana*. L. was now *captured* by the *cannibals of Mahlapahlapa's people*. He was a very short time there. The *cannibals* had been instigated by Duba ka Mtinkulu, whose mother came from the
- 2 *cannibals at Mahlapahlapa's place*. Duba was disputing the succession with L. Two girls now begged Gxiva ka Sango *of the place of Matshiyi* (chief of the Hlubi) to go and rescue the boy. The girls were daughters of Mtinkulu and lived with Duba. Duba lived *at the place of Nkonjwase* (name of his mother), at eZilanjeni (name of the kraal) on the Mzinyati. Gxiva lived near Mahlapahlapa. Duba also lived near Mahlapahlapa, for his mother came from there. Duba, wishing to dispute the succession, got together support from Mahlapahlapa, and proceeded to where L. was and caught him. Gxiva then went off stealthily to bring L. away. L. was at Mahlapahlapa's kraal. Gxiva then took L. off and conducted him to the Mzinyati. On getting to the river they found it full. L. was put into the water. Being a good swimmer, he got over all right, Gxiva remaining where he was.
- 3 In the meantime those at the eZimbutu were on the lookout for him, viz. Mhlakaza. The *cannibals rushed after him* but found the river full. They then lamented that their 'beast' had got away. 'We were going to eat it.'

L. then passed Didini site and the Zimbutu, passed Utrecht site, and up the Ncuba stream, until he got to Matshwatshwa's kraal. There he stayed at Esixotsheni, a very stony hillside. L.'s mother found him here. They all stayed there some time. Presently stragglers arrived from the *cannibals* etc., whereupon L. *built* a kraal at the Mpongo, *where there was red soil*. Various *orphans* came and joined him. He then went off and *was circumcised*. He *was circumcised there at the Mpongo, in the country of the red soil, at the place of Matshwatshwa*. He then came back to his kraal and *took wives*. The name of this kraal was ePangweni. He then *ruled*. He married four

- 4 women, viz. the mother of Mbayimbayi, the mother of Mhaye, the

mother of the girl Sifukuqa; and the mother of Manaba. After this a number of girls from Mandhlangampisi ka Mate of the Tshabalala people then came to marry L. He expanded the kraal until it got big.

When the kraal was big, Siwela of Putini's place arrived. Siwela had come to conquer the country. He had been fighting with his father Putini who then lived at the Ngcaka, i.e. towards the sources of the Pongolo. Siwela claimed the territory. L. said the land belonged to Mtinkulu. He, (Siwela), said he had called on his father to make him chief of his father's tribe, but as Putini had refused to do so he had come to L. A fight occurred. He came to surround the kraal at night. They attempted to do so, but on being observed they ran away again. L. wished to attack Siwela but he was opposed by his mother on the ground that (Siwela) was her nephew.¹⁰⁰ Siwela's and L.'s kraals were close to and opposite one another. L.'s impi went and attacked the other at Siwela's kraal but was repulsed. L. then questioned his (mother) as to the meaning of this. Did she mean that Siwela should take over Mtinkulu's country? Mtambose agreed that he did wrongly. L. thereupon gathered more forces together. Only the Incuba was between them. A conflict occurred, resulting in defeat of Siwela's impi. It ran off to the Njonjonono, a forest on the Incuba, on the upper reaches. The sun set. It got dark. Rain came. Siwela got into a hole. Owing to the rain, L.'s men decided to leave the search until tomorrow. Notwithstanding the rain Siwela got out and ran off to Mate. He travelled at night, over the Ngcaka, and got to Mate. He there entered a hut.

This affair was reported by L. to the Zulus. Ten men were then sent by the Zulus. They went behind Siwela's back and got to Mandhlangampisi. They came to his assembly and left it one by one so as not to attract attention. As they did so they all went into the hut in which Siwela was living. Five of them or so got in and engaged Siwela in conversation. Presently one heard, 'Seize him!' They then beat him to pieces and killed him. These were Zulus who did this. Siwela's cattle were taken off and went to the Zulu country to Dingana.

After this we lived in peace. The next event was that Mini ka Maranqa then disputed with L. He claimed the heirship on the ground that his father Maranqa had taken the chieftainship for himself. Mini was defeated and then ran off to Sigonyela's people. Mini's affair occurred before the coming of the Boers. L. took captive the chief wife of Mini, Mangiwazi ka Sibenya of the Tshabalala people. The woman remained with L. some time, whereupon he had her sent after Mini in Sigonyela's (country). Mini now made a proposal to Sigonyela. S. had mounted men with him. They came as an impi to our district on horseback. They attacked the people living in the bush country, the Ngwekazi people of Langalibalele's tribe, on the north side of the Mzinyati. They had guns. They killed everyone in the bush country. They drove off the cattle. They were not pursued; we were afraid of the guns. The horses got very tired, so that they all might have been killed off had L. been prepared.

Things were quite quiet after this. We held dancing festivals and lived peaceably at the Incuba.

L. afterwards built close to where Utrecht now stands. He removed his kraal from Matshwatshwa's and called the new kraal by the same name, ePangweni. When the Blood river (eNcome) battle occurred, L.

was living at this new kraal site. I saw three horses on the north side of the Mzinyati which had evidently escaped from the Income. They all had saddles on. We could do nothing with them, and left them.

We were broken up by Mpande. He wanted cattle kept by L. We had a very large grey bull. Mpande began by attacking Putini, who was still at the Ngcaka. The order was that L.'s cattle were not to be seized, only those of Putini, the *little old man* as he was styled. 'He has been on top for a long time; it was he who killed the chiefs.' The Zulus failed to get Putini's cattle, for they were taken over the Drakensberg and went to Ntabazwe (Harrismith district). We kept watch over our *amabele*. A month passed, and when in the next month the *amabele* were red Mpande sent his *impi* against us.¹⁰¹ It came, and closed in. It came through Sihayo's district, Nqutu. It went up the south side of the Mzinyati. It was in the charge of Dangazela ka Tshunyayezwayo. This man was subsequently killed by Mpande for having mishandled this very *impi*.

What happened was this. The *impi* came and bivouacked on the south side of the Mzinyati. A certain two men of our tribe, Mangobe and Mganukiso, were driving goats, having come from chief Jobe of the *Sitole* people at Lenge. They got to a precipice, and some way below heard the Zulus calling to one another in the dark. They grasped the position at once, and made straight off to our kraals, giving the alarm everywhere. Fires were lit in every direction; the whole country was ablaze. I was ordered to drive the cattle, together with some old men. We got away before dawn, and rushed the cattle up northwards. The Zulus were too late. There was a certain amount of fighting. I remember this affair well, for I was a boy who had reached the age of puberty. The Zulus got quite tired out, and many of them were killed by our people. Only two of our people were wounded, and none killed. A few of our cattle were seized, including L.'s oxen that had no horns (*izitulu*), 100 of them.

After this L. and his people went off. We (for I was present) went to Harrismith where we met the Boers who had been recently turned out of Natal. They advised us as already related in the preceding pages. On our way I saw a lion get hold of a fine white beast of ours. We could do nothing but let him have it.

We came down and built homesteads up the Mnanbiti river. The Boers told us that they wanted to go and 'do a little more' in Zululand. We ploughed and built. Sir. T. Shepstone then came. He gave us the Mkomazi country (as already described). We started to go, but L.'s mother got ill, and we decided to halt where we (Siyepu's people) at present are to give her a chance of getting well. We were then ordered to prevent the Bushmen from seizing cattle. J.W. Shepstone went on expeditions against the Bushmen and brought about peace.¹⁰²

Putini came into Natal at the same time as L. He was allowed to live at the Injisuti river.¹⁰³ L. was advised of this for Putini was his maternal uncle. They also looked after the Bushmen. The Bushmen came down principally where we were guarding.

Bushmen. I was present when Captain Allison (Gwebu) went after these in consequence of Mr Papa's cattle having been seized. This expedition was subsequent to what J.W. Shepstone did. We went a very

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long way. We nearly missed finding the Bushmen. Lots were drawn as to who should go after the *Bushmen* in the valley below. Tickets were put into a hat. I drew a ticket which said I was to remain on top. I remained with Gwebu and many others. On the following day we again attacked. A number of women and children were killed. One woman was shot through the lower part of the leg by Mbombo. This woman was brought back by Gwebu, but she deserted from him. A girl, Nozinyoni, however, stayed years at Gwebu's. During this attack one woman pulled up her clothing and exposed herself to show she was a woman. The native slapped her and brought her out. He refrained from stabbing her. Some male *Bushmen* were killed. They used their bows and arrows on Mbombo, who took up a position close to them behind a stone. He managed to shoot a number before they escaped. The Bushmen never gave further trouble after this.¹⁰⁴

3.2.1909, morning.

File 59, nbk. 30, pp. 13-16.

Mabonsa continues.

An *old man of the Hlubi*, the father of Mhlangana, Songodo by name, gave Langalibalele this name, not his father. This may have been due to the sun shining (drought). Paul Ngwenya said it was a drought that gave rise to (the name) Langalibalele.¹⁰⁵

I visited L. at the Cape. Bishop Colenso wrote for me, Mkinindane, Mkoiko, and Swayimana - four of us - to go to L. We did so. We found him at Cape Town, having come back from Robben Island. We heard he was *troubled* by Malambule, his chief son. Malambule used to cook the meat in such a way that it was too hard for him, and used to poke his father in the face with his finger. Malambule came back to Natal with Sopollo, the English interpreter. Sopollo belonged to the Cape, a tall man. When Malambule returned he had killed for him a beast by Ntambama, son of Mtimkulu, at Bishopstowe. I was surprised at this because Malambule was unworthy of this on account of fighting with his father. Malambule went and lived at the source of the Mzinyati, at the Ingogo. He afterwards *quietened down* and went to Frankfort in the Transvaal and lived on the Wilge (Nyamakazi) river.¹⁰⁶ He went off on his own account. He told his father he would not live with him under any circumstances. He is dead now.

.... <Praises of Langalibalele omitted - eds.>

15 Bushmen. J.W. Shepstone went after them. He went with his police, Mahlanya ka Maboyi, and some others. They went up the Kahlamba at the sources of the Mtshezi river.¹⁰⁷ Shepstone went out because the Bushmen killed a wife of Qinelana who had *built with Mavukasapela of the Radebe people*. Qinelana was of the *Tshabalala people*. The woman was *pregnant*. The Bushmen were an *impi*.¹⁰⁸

16 The Bushmen used to eat horses as well as cattle. Dumisa ka Mvenya, father of Ramcana, was *cared for* by Bushmen until he became a *chief*. The Bushmen used to kill elephants, eat them, and leave the horns. These horns Dumisa used to pick up and collect, and barter to the Boers. Dumisa was in league with the Bushmen who, when they had killed an elephant, would remain there and eat it till they finished it. Then they would go off and kill another big wild beast (buffalo

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or *eland*) and there halt till that beast was finished.¹⁰⁹

Cannibals. I never heard of the cannibal Ndava.

Zibi ka Sidinane ka Mpangazita lives at Matatiela.¹¹⁰ He is older than I am.

[Mabonsa leaves by the 8.40 this morning for Draycott station (Winterton branch). I asked him to request Siyepu to get me further men familiar with the old history of the tribe, if possible two men from Zibi ka Sidinane ka Mpangazita ka Bungane now living at Matatiela. Maybe Zibi himself would come. I said I did not want written accounts, unless the person speaking could not possibly come to me. There are, Mabonsa says, young men with Zibi who can read and write well; they are clerks in public offices.]

Notes

¹Formed in early 1850s; age-group born in early 1830s.

²Langalibalele was chief of a section of the Hlubi people. For biographical information see Dictionary of S.A. Biography, vol. 2; Guest, Langalibalele; Herd, The Bent Pine.

³The names given are those of the chiefly line of the Hlubi main house. Cf. the genealogies given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 157, and Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, opp. p. 402.

⁴*Isiyephu* is the Zulu for long, waving hair, or a hairy person or beast. *Isinikina* or *isinikiniki* is the word for a man or animal with a hairy face.

⁵Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century.

⁶The Lubombo mountains extend from the north of present-day Zululand northwards along the Swaziland-Mozambique border and beyond.

⁷The Mngomezulu people lived in the Ngwavuma region of northern Zululand. Lubelo and Mbikiza were chiefs of the Mngomezulu main house; they died c.1860 and 1918 respectively. (See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 338, 344.) The Maseko people lived in the valley of the uSuthu river (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 311).

⁸*Umhlanga* means reed, or a reedy place.

⁹*Lubololwenja* literally means dog's penis. Cf. the name of similar meaning, Lufenulwenja, as originally applied to the Zulu: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 104, 174, 202; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 13, 221, 369-70.

¹⁰For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

¹¹Mzakaza was chief of the Mabaso people in the Estcourt area.

¹²On the Lala peoples see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 232-5, and History, passim; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index. On the Dlamini see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 313 ff, 363 ff, and History, pp. 38-47; Marks, op. cit. On the Madlala see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 523, and History, p. 60.

¹³Senzangakhona kaJama was chief of the Zulu in the early nineteenth

- century and father of Shaka. For other accounts of Dingiswayo's visit to the Hlubi see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 87; Fynn, 'History of Godongwana', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 61-2; and Matshwili kaMngoye's evidence as reproduced by Stuart in Baxoxele, pp. 17-18. We have been unable to trace Stuart's original notes of his interviews with Matshwili.
- ¹⁴The word *inyamazane* normally means buck, but can also mean animal in a general sense. Stuart seems initially to have understood the word as used by Mabhonsa to mean buck, but Mabhonsa subsequently makes clear that he is talking about a lioness.
- ¹⁵Mehlokazulu kaSihayo of the Qungebe people played a prominent part in the politics of Zululand in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was killed in the disturbances of 1906. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 219-24.
- ¹⁶*Ibutho* formed c.1819; age-group born in late 1790s.
- ¹⁷The Mzinyathi river is marked on maps as the Buffalo. Nkabane was chief of the Hlubi living in the Newcastle and Dundee areas.
- ¹⁸Another name of Dingiswayo.
- ¹⁹OYengweni was one of Dingiswayo's principal *imizi*.
- ²⁰Sobhuza, or Somhlolo, died c.1839. Bishopstowe, just outside Pietermaritzburg, was the site of Bishop J.W. Colenso's Ekukhanyeni mission.
- ²¹Alcockspruit is the name of a stream in the Newcastle area of northern Natal. A railway station of the same name is situated on the line between Newcastle and Glencoe.
- ²²Literally, 'at the place of the kings'.
- ²³Ntabamhlophe is the name of a prominent mountain in the Natal midlands west of Estcourt. Langalibalele's grave is on the farm Eland's Park in the upper Bushman's river valley (Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 69).
- ²⁴Mabhonsa subsequently gives 'Nzimende' as the formal address-term, or *isithakazelo*, of the Hadebe section of the Hlubi.
- ²⁵In the original, Stuart has made a series of brief marginal jottings against the ensuing paragraph. These we have omitted as they are more fully developed in the passages that follow.
- ²⁶For Mehlomakhulu's career see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 153-5. Madadiyela is present-day Matatiele village in East Griqualand.
- ²⁷Matiwane was chief of the amaNgwane people who, in the early nineteenth century, lived in what is now north-west Natal. For accounts of his career see Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane; Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 16.
- ²⁸The reference is to the capture of Langalibalele by colonial forces after his flight from Natal during the disturbances of late 1873. Parts of Natal experienced an eclipse of the sun in April 1874 (Guest, Langalibalele, p. 29).
- ²⁹Mabhonsa later identifies the Mpongo as a stream near present-day Utrecht in northern Natal, and the Ncuba or Ngcuba as a stream at the sources of the Phongolo.
- ³⁰The main section of the Ngwe people crossed into Natal from the Zulu country with Langalibalele and his section of the Hlubi in 1848, and were settled by the colonial government in the foothills of the Drakensberg in the present-day Estcourt district. (See Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 82, 93-4, 99-100.) Chief Sibhamu died in 1923 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 182).

- ³¹According to Bryant, a cannibal named Mahlaphahlapha, who lived on the Sundays river, was chief of the Ntuli section of the Bhele people. See Olden Times, pp. 58, 347, and History, p. 37. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 299.
- ³²For discussion of the terms Ntungwa and Nguni see the references as for note 10 above.
- ³³For the ritual importance of the *insomyama* see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 267; Krige, Social System, p. 56; Berglund, Zulu Thought-Patterns, pp. 217-19, 238.
- ³⁴Presumably the Ncome or Blood river.
- ³⁵M pangazitha kaBhungane led a section of the Hlubi in the wars of the Difaqane, and was killed in battle near the Caledon river c.1825. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 150-3.
- ³⁶The Swazi Didini or Ludzidzini *umuzi*, situated to the south-east of present-day Mbabane, was the residence of the Queen Mother in the reign of the king Mswati (Matsebula, History of Swaziland, p. 14). An *umuzi* of the same name seems to have existed during the reign of Mswati's father, Somhlolo; see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 364, list of 'kraals' given by John Gama.
- ³⁷In the original of the list that follows, the significance of the names in parentheses is not explained. Presumably they represent alternative regimental names. Literally *isiqamelo* (*isicamelo*, *umqamelo*, *umcamelo*) means headrest. At Dingane's Mgungundlovu *ikhanda*, the term was used to denote those sections of the men's quarters immediately adjacent to the *isigodlo*. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 309, 311, 340.
- ³⁸Literally, 'of the forests'.
- ³⁹See note 19 above.
- ⁴⁰If Langalibalele was of the same age as the iHlaba, he would have been born c.1817; see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645; and Stuart's estimate on p. 19 below. According to the accepted sources on the history of the Mthethwa, Dingiswayo's visit to the Hlubi had in fact taken place many years before this date. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 148; Fynn, 'History of Godongwana', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 61-2.
- ⁴¹Mabhonsa later identifies the Mhlongamvula as a mountain near the Mkondo river, i.e. in the present-day south-eastern Transvaal.
- ⁴²The iGwa is the Vaal river. Mabhonsa later identifies the Mpama as a hill in the country where, in Dingane's time, the Zulu made an attack on Mzilikazi's Ndebele people. This would place it somewhere in the southern or western Transvaal. Historians disagree as to the dates of the Zulu attacks on the Ndebele: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', pp. 26, 33, 38; Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom, pp. 85-91; 128-9.
- ⁴³Or Orange river.
- ⁴⁴Mabhonsa subsequently locates Mawuza hill as being near the Caledon river. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 141, 153, records that Mpangazitha was killed by Matiwane's followers in a battle near the Caledon c.1825. See also Ellenberger, History of the Basuto, pp. 154-5.
- ⁴⁵I.e. in mid-1828.
- ⁴⁶Theophilus Shepstone was first Diplomatic Agent and then Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. His father, a Wesleyan lay preacher-turned-missionary, was working among the

- Gcaleka at Butterworth at the time of Matiwane's defeat in 1828, among the Bomvana on the present-day Transkei coast in 1829, and among the Mpondo at Buntingville in 1830. See Dictionary of S.A. Biography, vol. 1, p. 714.
- ⁴⁷ For other accounts of Zikhali's wanderings see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 145-6; Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane, chs. 7-13.
- ⁴⁸ *Izwekufa*, literally 'country of death', refers to a state of desolation and ruin.
- ⁴⁹ The Namakazi (Sotho: Namahadi; Afrikaans: Wilge) river flows through the north-eastern Orange Free State and enters the Vaal near present-day Frankfort. Mabhonsa later identifies the Ntabazwe hill as being in the present-day Harrismith district.
- ⁵⁰ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 712, gives *isiyendane* (pl. *iziyendane*) as 'hair dressed so as to hang in long twisted strings'. In Olden Times, p. 644, he writes of the Zulu kingdom, 'Besides military barracks, there were numerous royal cattle-kraals on every side, and entirely in charge of parties of iziyendane (i.e. aboriginal Natal Natives, who wore their hair in a mop of plaited strings)....'
- ⁵¹ For accounts of the death of Nandi in July or August 1827 see Fynn, Diary, pp. 132 ff; Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 108 ff; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Nandi.
- ⁵² *Oqhwu* (pl. *oqhwiwu*) means a line or rank; *ukuviva* means to group together in a small company or *iviyo* (pl. *amaviyo*).
- ⁵³ 'Eldest son, and daughter, of a man (whether heir or not)': Bryant, Dictionary, p. 595.
- ⁵⁴ The war fought between the followers of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi over the succession to the Zulu kingship took place in 1856.
- ⁵⁵ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 661, gives *intumbane* as 'boil, commonly growing on Natives about the knee'.
- ⁵⁶ *Ukugula* is the word normally used in Zulu to mean 'to be ill'; *ukuba nomsimba* is a euphemism meaning 'to have an affliction of the body'.
- ⁵⁷ Zulu kaMafu kaDwala kaNtini has previously been identified by Mabhonsa as the doctor who lured Mthimkhulu to his death at the hands of the Ngwane (see p. 13 above). Wasbank is a village on the railway line between Ladysmith and Glencoe, the Jonono a hill near Elandslaagte station.
- ⁵⁸ *Baba* means 'my father', *Mnewethu* 'my elder brother'.
- ⁵⁹ The lists of names that follow appear in the original on one of two loose sheets attached to the front cover of notebook 29 in File 59. As the lists reflect information gathered by Stuart from Mabhonsa on 29.1.1909 and 30.1.1909, this point is the most convenient for fitting them into the latter's sequence of statements. The second of the loose sheets contains a list of Hlubi chiefs sent to Stuart by Paul Ngwenya: we reproduce it in Appendix 1.
- ⁶⁰ Father of the informant Mabhonsa?
- ⁶¹ This note appears in the original against a bracket the placing of which seems to suggest that the note refers to Ngalonkulu, Mabona, and Makanda.
- ⁶² *Inkosana encane* means the junior prince or heir. It is difficult to understand Stuart's identification of Makhonza as 'own brother of Mtimkulu' when he goes on to refer to him as son of a co-wife (*inhlanzi*) of Mthimkulu's mother.

- ⁶³ It is not made completely clear in the original whether it was Dlomo who followed Langalibalele in age, or vice-versa, but Mabhonsa has previously referred to Dlomo as Langalibalele's elder brother. Bryant's genealogy of the Hlubi chiefly line also suggests that Dlomo was the elder (Olden Times, p. 157).
- ⁶⁴ The import of this note seems to be that Ncwane was a daughter of Mthimkhulu.
- ⁶⁵ I.e. the first-born.
- ⁶⁶ Ndlela achieved distinction as a warrior under Shaka, and subsequently rose to become one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 59; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *izinduna*.
- ⁶⁷ For further information on Qunta see Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 37.
- ⁶⁸ Ilenge is a prominent mountain in northern Natal west of present-day Pomeroy.
- ⁶⁹ The 'Berg' is the Drakensberg. Zungeni or Zungwini mountain is near present-day Vryheid. Sihayo kaXongo of the Qungebe people lived in the Nquthu area in the period before the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 130-1.
- ⁷⁰ The original has Mtimkulu.
- ⁷¹ *Ugwayi* in the original.
- ⁷² In the Newcastle district.
- ⁷³ Dweba is later identified by Mabhonsa as a Zizi chief. Draycott railway station is on the line between Estcourt and Bergville.
- ⁷⁴ The Bivana river rises north of present-day Utrecht and flows into the Phongolo north of Louwsburg. The Dumbe is a mountain near Paulpietersburg.
- ⁷⁵ The reference is to J.Y. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus, Pietermaritzburg, 1903.
- ⁷⁶ Literally, 'the place of the kings', i.e. the Swazi royal burial grounds, one of which is at Dlangeni near Mbabane, while another is at Mbilaneni in the south of the kingdom. See Marwick, The Swazi, pp. 3, 74, 221; Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 6, 27; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 141.
- ⁷⁷ Ntabankulu is a mountain at the sources of the Black Mfolozi south-east of Vryheid. Nhlazatshe is a mountain on the north bank of the White Mfolozi west of present-day Mahlabathini.
- ⁷⁸ The references are to one of the early editions of Theal's History of South Africa since 1795, vol. 1, and T. Shepstone, 'The early history of the Zulu-Kafir race of south-eastern Africa', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 155.
- ⁷⁹ Sigonyela (Sotho: Sekonyela) was chief of the Tlokwa people from the early 1820s to the early 1850s.
- ⁸⁰ For further information on this incident see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 150-1.
- ⁸¹ Mpangazitha died in battle c.1825, i.e. during the reign of Shaka, not of Dingane. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 141, 153; also note 44 above.
- ⁸² Mont aux Sources is a peak in the Drakensberg where the borders of present-day Lesotho, Natal, and the Orange Free State meet. The waterfall referred to is the fall of the Thukela over the Drakensberg escarpment near its source at Mont aux Sources. According to Bryant, it was Shaka, and not Dingane, who attacked the Ngwane when they were living in this area (Olden Times, p. 139).

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- ⁸³The notes reproduced in this paragraph occur in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 46 of notebook 29 of File 59. Mangena was brother of the informant Mabhonsa's mother.
- ⁸⁴See Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G.4-'83, Report and Proceedings of Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, part 2, pp. 415 ff; Natal Colony sessional paper no. 13, 1863, 'Correspondence re Granting Natives Documentary Titles to Land', and sessional paper no. 13, 1864, 'Correspondence re Issue of Documentary Titles to Land to Natives'; T. Shepstone, as in note 7^o above.
- ⁸⁵The reference is to Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, vol. 1.
- ⁸⁶Bryant gives Phuthini as 'an adopted subject' of the Ngwe people who became their chief, and his father Mashoba as belonging to the Ngxanga people (Olden Times, pp. 181, 182). According to Bryant, there were close links between the Ngwe and Zwane peoples. On the Mazibuko people see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 184; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 291.
- ⁸⁷In this passage Mabhonsa is confusing two different events involving two different Smiths. Captain T.C. Smith commanded the detachment of British troops which, in May 1842, occupied Port Natal and clashed with the commandos of the Republic of Natalia. Sir Harry Smith, Cape Governor and High Commissioner, commanded the British force which, in August 1848 at Boomplaats, defeated a party of Afrikaners who were resisting the imposition of British authority over the Orange River Sovereignty. It is no doubt this latter event that Mabhonsa remembered, as the flight of the Hlubi from the Zulu country took place at the end of July or beginning of August 1848 (see Wright, Bushman Raiders, p. 82). Hanise was probably Hans de Lange.
- ⁸⁸It seems likely that Shepstone's visit to northern Natal as here referred to was one which he made in April 1849 to supervise the establishment of African reserves under the Drakensberg. John Bird (Nyoniyentaba: literally, 'bird of the mountain') was magistrate at Klip River at the time. The men in caps would have been members either of the Cape Mounted Rifles or of the recently formed Natal Native Police. (See Wright, Bushman Raiders, chs. 4 & 5; Bird, 'Natal: 1846-51', Natalia, vol. 1, pp. 16-19.) Ramcana is later identified by Mabhonsa as son of Dumisa kaMvenya (for whom see note 109 below).
- ⁸⁹'-ke' is an enclitic, 'na' an interrogative adverb, and 'pho' a conjunctive frequently used in Zulu speech.
- ⁹⁰The trial of Langalibalele, which was held in Pietermaritzburg early in 1874, followed from the resistance of the Hlubi to measures taken against them by the Natal government the previous year. For an account of this affair see Colenso, Langalibalele and the Amahlubi Tribe, and Defence of Langalibalele; Guest, Langalibalele; Herd, The Bent Pine.
- ⁹¹The iGwa is the Vaal river, not the Caledon.
- ⁹²*Inkawu* (pl. *izinkawu*) means monkey, or albino.
- ⁹³In December 1838 at the Ncome or Blood river.
- ⁹⁴*Ilawu* (pl. *amalawu*) means a light-skinned person, as a descendant of the Khoi ('Hottentot') peoples.
- ⁹⁵James Allison (Mneli) was a Wesleyan catechist and missionary who worked among Sekonyela's Tlokwa in the late 1830s and early 1840s.

and among Mswati's Swazi in 1845-6 (Dictionary of S.A. Biography, vol. 1, pp. 11-12).

⁹⁶*Inyathi* is the Zulu for buffalo.

⁹⁷*Ubhedu* is a brass or copper neckring; *umnaka* a metal neckring, or necklace of metal beads; *ingwotha* a brass armband. *Ithusi* is the Zulu for copper or brass.

⁹⁸An *izivivane* (pl. *izivivane*) was a pile of stones, grass and other objects which accumulated at particular points along the wayside where travellers deposited them as good-luck tokens to ensure safe and successful journeys. The Lotheni rises in the Drakensberg south of Giant's Castle and flows into the Mkhomazi west of present-day Impendle village.

⁹⁹Malambule and Sidubelo were sons of the Swazi king Sobhuza, and brothers of his successor Mswati. For the disturbances that followed Mswati's accession to the kingship c.1845 see Matsebula, History of Swaziland, pp. 16-17; Bonner, 'The Rise, Consolidation, and Disintegration of Dlamini Power', pp. 86 ff.

¹⁰⁰Langalibalele's mother Mntambose was sister of the Ngwe chief Phuthini, and therefore aunt of Siwela.

¹⁰¹This attack probably took place in May 1848. See Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 78, 80, 82.

¹⁰²For the settlement of the Hlubi under the Drakensberg as a buffer against Bushman raids on white farmers see Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 82, 93-4, 99-101. For John Shepstone's expeditions against the Bushmen see chs. 4 & 5 of the same work.

¹⁰³The Njesuthi or Little Thukela rises in the Drakensberg north of Giant's Castle and flows into the Thukela west of present-day Colenso. Phuthini's Ngwe people were settled on its middle and upper reaches.

¹⁰⁴Captain Albert Allison was Border Agent at Oliviershoek in 1869 when the events referred to in this paragraph took place. 'Mr Papa' was William Popham, a farmer on the upper Mooi river. For an account of Allison's expedition see Wright, Bushman Raiders, pp. 170-6.

¹⁰⁵The literal meaning of Langalibalele is 'the sun is hot'.

¹⁰⁶The village of Frankfort is situated on the Wilge river in the north-eastern Orange Free State some distance south of the Transvaal border.

¹⁰⁷UKhahlamba is the Zulu name for the Drakensberg, and Mtshezi the name for the Bushman's river.

¹⁰⁸The incidents described in this paragraph took place in December 1850: see Wright, Bushman Raiders, p. 103.

¹⁰⁹For further information on Dumisa see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 531.

¹¹⁰Zibi was chief of the section of the Hlubi which had established itself near Matatiele village in present-day East Griqualand.

MACEBO, DYER D.

<2.11.1898>

File 74, pp. 10-11, 67-8.

10 Discussion with Dyer D. Macebo, of Umvoti mission station,¹ at the British consulate, Swaziland,² this 2nd day of November. Dyer is 28 years of age. He speaks English well. His father is of the Tulwane regiment³ (about 65) but is a Christian.

Dyer is of opinion that the word *lobola* has not the sense of 'purchase' about it but of 'gift'. He says in 1869 or 1870 Sir T. Shepstone proclaimed that all marriageable girls in Natal were to be married off at once in accordance with the then existing custom, and that from that time forth succeeding girls were to be paid *lobola* for at the rate of 10 head a piece.⁴ Under the new Native Code⁵ cattle are paid over (*they leave the place where the herd gathers*) at the spot where and on the day when the marriage takes place. They must be complete. If only nine are forthcoming, marriage cannot take place, even though both parties be willing. In the old days marriage took place before even one beast was paid. Prior to the Native Code referred to, marriage took place although the full number of cattle had not been handed over. This was found to cause litigation at a later date, hence the revised regulations. Dyer considers that European legislation has tended to define or crystallize what was indefinite or in a state of flux, or rather it has conveyed a quite false impression of the custom.

11 I pointed out that *beads* were the first form of *lobola* in Tongaland. They were an article of value, and a definite quantity seems to have *lobola'd* a girl. Zulus also *lobola'd* with beads, also *neck-rings* and *metal armlets*, before they took to cattle, so whatever was meant in the former kinds of *lobola* should be taken to apply to the last form - cattle. I added that beads, *neck-rings* etc. were things of beauty, and not useful except for ornament. Cattle however were not only valuable but useful. The transition from the aesthetic to the utilitarian ethical view is interesting and deserving of most careful enquiry. Again I said Europeans give the bride a plain gold ring (wedding ring). The sentiments of all men are very much alike in matters so personal as that of marriage. The sentiment which prompts the giving of what is known as *lobola* may be exactly the same as that which applies to the wedding ring. The one is given to the father, the other to his daughter. Both, although articles of value, are tokens or pledges.

Dyer prefers to regard *lobola* as a token or an evidence or a pledge, not as a final transaction between bridegroom and father-in-law, as if there is a complete severance between them, as between

buyer and seller when the article to be purchased has changed hands. *Lobola*, if it must have something of the sense of purchase about it, may be regarded then as a debt which can never be satisfied or discharged by the son-in-law. In the old days, as D. observes, the *lobola* claim in respect to one particular girl used to go on perhaps from generation to generation; this showed that it was not like ordinary business transactions. I must say I am very much in favour of regarding *lobola* not as in any way implying a purchase, however it may have come to get that meaning in recent years (thanks to European legislation), but merely as a pledge and a recognition by the bridegroom of his being a member of his wife's family or house, as a strengthening of that tie which should exist between a father-in-law and his daughter's husband. Dyer says his father knows a good deal about this custom and can support with fact.

[No doubt the main reason for fixing the *lobola* at 10 head was to create a uniform standard by which claims for *lobola* could be judged. This would greatly facilitate the administration of justice, and save time and therefore expense. But is *lobola* a business transaction and therefore cognizable by courts of justice? Is it a pure case of buying and selling? Should it not be an unwritten social law? No doubt under the old plan it was extremely difficult to get at the truth, and often only the evidence of the old and decrepit could be of any value.]

67 Per Dyer D. Macebo of Groutville, Umvoti. 2.11.1898.

Dyer tells me of the following case of which he has personal knowledge. About five years ago several of the chief Mqawe's⁶ wives who had wished to become Christians wished to join the church. This occurred at the mission station at Inanda.⁷ As Groutville was of the same diocese as Inanda mission station, the matter was taken up by Groutville natives. A meeting was held. They came to the conclusion that it was unjust to prevent the women (two or three, but Dyer does not know exactly) joining their church, which is American Congregational. At Sunday school in church, attended by men of Groutville, the subject was brought up. The teacher (Rev. H.D. Goodenough) gave as his opinion or ruling that the women could not be permitted to join, as they wished to do, as wives under polygamy. They must first leave their husband (be divorced) or they could not be admitted. Were the husband himself to become a Christian with all his wives, he could not be admitted (baptised) unless he separated from all his wives except one, whom he should then marry under Christian rites. The natives exclaimed that the women, on leaving their husband, would lead immoral lives, as they would then have no one to depend upon. Men at Groutville did not push the matter further, as it was one belonging to another place although of the same diocese.

Dyer says he understands that chief Teteleku,⁸ near Pietermaritzburg, has lately become a Christian and been baptized, having thrown over all his 23 wives except one. [Follow this up. He saw this in the Witness during 1898.]

68 Dyer does not agree with Mqayikana⁹ that all or pretty well all *kolwas* (monogamists) are in the habit of practising the *hlobonga* custom; he would only say that some do.

At Groutville, he says, native *kolwas* have been known to relapse or lapse into polygamy. Some were ejected or driven off mission

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lands but others, having title to land, could not be interfered with.

Notes

¹The American Board mission station at Groutville near the mouth of the umVothi river.

²Presumably the consulate at Bremersdorp (Manzini), the administrative centre of Swaziland under the 'protectorate' established by the South African Republic in 1895.

³Formed in the early 1850s of men born in the early 1830s.

⁴On the steps taken by the Natal government in the late 1860s to amend certain African marriage practices see Welsh, Roots of Segregation, pp. 78 ff.

⁵Presumably the Natal Code of Native Law enacted in 1891.

⁶Chief of the Qadi in the Ndwedwe division.

⁷A station of the American Board mission situated north-west of Durban.

⁸Teteleku kaNobanda, chief of the Mpumuza section of the Zondi (Nadi) people, was another of Stuart's informants.

⁹Mqayikana's evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.

MADHLEBE KA NJINJANA

<Stuart appears to have used an amanuensis for recording the information given below. The handwriting is not recognisably his, nor is the style of note-taking. The passages recorded in Zulu in the original are followed by English translations, which are also in a hand different from Stuart's. As these translations are not completely reliable we give here our own rendering of the original - eds.>

13.5.1905

File 35, item 17, pp. 5, 7, 19.

- 5 *We Kumalo people had our origins at the Ngome, our country.¹ Our great chief was Mzilikazi ka Mashobana; the minor one was Bhija.² Mzilikazi was the son of Mashobana, but I do not know the father of Mashobana.³*

It is said that we Ntungwa people came down by means of a grain basket.⁴ We separated from the Abesutu. We Kumalo spoke the 'Hofe' language.⁵

I grew up in the Zulu country at Bulawayo.⁶ I knew Tshaka's mother.

<The list of regiments that follows was recorded in the original in the English version only - eds.>

Zwide's regiments under chief *induna* Noju

- 1 uDhlovunga
- 2 Iziboya
- 3 Isishwitshi
- 4 Amapela
- 5 Amankayiya

- 7 *Nandi was the mother of Tshaka. I knew her. She died when I was a young child.⁷ She was the daughter of Bhebhe, a girl of the Langeni people.⁸*

.... <Praises of Nandi omitted - eds.>

When Nandi died I was present. She died a natural death; she was not killed by Tshaka.

- 19 *Madhlebe ka Njinjana ka Bhabhadu ka Nongqwaqa ka Kulu ka Mabaso ka Bayini ka Ndabezita.*

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To say that the *Amantungwa* came down by means of a grain basket means that they came from the *Abesutu*. Our language used to be called the 'Hofe' language.

The *Amahlubi* originated from our *Kumalo* nation.

My father *Jinjana* was killed by *Tshaka*. He took him from his *umuzi*, named *Kabingwe*, which was built beyond the *Bulawayo umuzi*. He separated him and *Mashongwe* of the *Qwabe* people, and sent him to *Entonteleni*. He killed him there at *Entonteleni*.

He took out *Mashongwe's* eyes there at his *Kabingwe umuzi*, and then killed him.⁹

Notes

¹Ngome mountain is twenty-five kilometres west of present-day Nongoma.

²Bheje?

³For Bryant's version of the *Khumalo* chiefly genealogy, and his account of early *Khumalo* history, see *Olden Times*, pp. 418 ff.

⁴The assertion that the *Ntungwa* peoples 'came down' (either from the north or from across the *Drakensberg*) with or by means of or because of a grain basket is a frequently repeated, but inadequately explained, tradition. For discussion of the term *Ntungwa* see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the *Nguni*', in Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa*, pp. 120-32; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.

⁵On the expression '*ofe*' or '*hofe*' see also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 176.

⁶*Shaka's* principal *umuzi*.

⁷*Nandi* died in August 1827.

⁸There is much confusion about *Nandi's* ancestry. While acknowledging this, Bryant gives *Bhebhe* of the *Langeni* people as *Nandi's* father, and her mother as *Mfunda* of the *Qwabe* people: see *Olden Times*, pp. 48, 125-6. See also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 11, 12.

⁹On this incident see also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 7.

MADIKANE KA MLOMOWETOLE

8.7.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Ndukwana

1 My chief is Mqawe. I live at eNanda; (my kraal name is) eMatata.¹ I have built square huts. I am a *kolwa*. I am a teacher of the Bible. I was never *butwa'd*. I was born at the same time as Cetshwayo and Tshonkweni; therefore I am of the Tulwana, also, better still, izimVukuzane or Pepelenqoleni or Amapela.²

My father Mlomowetole was of the Ntontela regiment³ or Amehlakamboni (a name afterwards given by Tshaka as an *isitakazelo* or name given after something good or worthy done in war).⁴

My father was not known in the Zulu country. He *konza'd* Tshaka. My father was of the Maqadini people. He went voluntarily to *konza*. He was living in Nkandhla, on the Nsuze river; he used the Gcongco hill.⁵ My father was under Dube, grandfather of Mqawe, when the *konzaing* to Tshaka took place.

Dube ka Silwana ka Njila ka Ngodoma ka Dingila are the names of former Amaqadi chiefs,⁶ but we *separated* from the Nyuswa tribe. [See Bird's *Annals* under 'Tribes'.]⁷ Dube's son was Dabeka, and Dabeka's son was Mqawe - still living, same age as myself. Mqawe's son and heir is Mandhlakayise. He has been to and returned from America to learn. He went with my son who still remains. Mandhlakayise stayed in America about seven years.

My father lived at Ntontela kraal.

Tshaka was born at Esiklebeni.⁸ He was not born *illegitimately*. My father told me this. He was *driven out* from Esiklebeni.

3 Tshaka was conceived by Nandi before Senzangakona had been *circumcised*. When it was seen that N. had *become pregnant* the order was given that S. should be *circumcised*. He was *circumcised*. N. came to *marry* Senzangakona from the Langeni people. She was the sister of Makedama the chief, Makedama ka Mbengi. Mbengi was Nandi's father. Nxazonke was Mbengi's father. [No. Mhlongo was Mbengi's father.]⁹

Nandi did not *have a marriage ceremony*.¹⁰ The Langeni came to *ask* for cattle from the Zulus. It was then arranged that Nandi should be given. She was put in the *isigodhlo*. This happened after Jama's death. Mnkabayi was reigning then.¹¹ The *isigodhlo* in question, into which Nandi was put, was Jama's. Tshaka was as a child *concealed* by Mnkabayi. *Senzangakona's circumcision wounds had healed up in the*
4 *river*. Mnkabayi went to see her brother Senzangakona and told him that the *illegitimate child* that she had had been brought forth. S.

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was told that it was a boy. S. said, 'How can a person my (age) be said to have a son?' M. said, 'When I saw it was a boy I gave him poison.' S. said, 'My sister, you did well.' M. said to Nandi at Esiklebeni that she was to run away to the Langeni people and hide the child. N. tied up her belongings and returned to the Langeni. Tshaka grew up there.

5 Nandi afterwards returned to the Zulu country with Tshaka, who could then walk. S. heard of the arrival before M. had reported the fact. M. got frightened and told N. to run away with T. T. then grew up; (it was) known that he was S.'s child and the one which had caused him, S., to be circumcised. T. grew up among the Langeni.

Two men left the Zulus and went to konza T. among the Langeni, Silwane ka Ndhlovu and Nomleti. Makedama made war with an impi. He attacked with T. and the other two men, and succeeded in winning. T. also killed people. Makedama then lungisa'd the warriors who had stabbed.¹² He left T. alone; he did not lungisa him. T. questioned (him, saying,) 'Is not the impi I stabbed yours?'¹³ M. replied, 'You do not belong to us.' T. became angry and left his uncle. At this time Nandi had married among the Qwabe people. T. then ran off to the Mtetwa. He was with Silwane and Nomleti. He went to the place of the induna Ngomane. Ngomane questioned the men T. was with and they told him. Ngomane then reported him to Dingiswayo.¹⁴

6 The Siklebeni kraal was an ikanda of Jama; it was not built for the first time by S. S. had the kraals Nobamba, Siklebe and Ntontela. There may have been other kraals but the tribe was small.

My father heard all this from Makobosi ka Ndhlovu, also from Hlati of the eMgazini people. My father lived with Hlati, (a man) belonging to (one of) S.'s regiments.

The regiments of Godongwana¹⁵ assembled, and whilst (they were) so collected S. arrived. He had konza'd there. T. giya'd. When he returned to the circle of men Dingiswayo said, 'Do you know who that is?' S. said, 'No'. D. replied, 'He is your son. He came from the direction of the Langeni. Why did you drive him from home?' He was conversing with Sensangakona, not censuring him. S. then returned home.

7 D. then called Tshaka and said, 'How is it you don't present your father with a beast, seeing he has come here?' S. returned, where-upon T. met with the persons of high rank and the izinyanga of the Zulu. He agreed with them on all matters, both good and bad. He then killed a small, black cow for his father.

8 That night T. got on top of the hut in which S. was asleep. In doing this he was gaining ascendancy over his father, according to the ways of the black people. He was following the customs of his own people, not the Mtetwa's. Tshaka washed etc. Next day S. found himself unwell. This was reported to Godongwana. G. then directed he was to be escorted home before getting worse as he was at a kraal strange to himself. S. left and got back home. He heard that he would not recover. He then issued an order in the Zulu country. He proclaimed, 'Let this matter that we were talking about not be discussed' (viz. appointing Sigujana);¹⁶ 'let it be avoided, because T. is at Mtetwa where we are ruled.'

S. then died. T. went up from the Mtetwa country and killed Sigujana. D. escaped and went to the Qwabe country where he hid.¹⁷ After this T. became king and reigned in the way we are already

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familiar with.

15.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 8-11.

Also present: Ndukwana

9 Senzangakona's mother was Mtaniya. After Jama's death Mtaniya was *ngerwa'd*¹⁸ by Vubukulwayo, Jama's son. Vubukulwayo was killed by Mkabayi, Jama's daughter. Vubukulwayo and Mtaniya plotted together so that the child of their marriage should become king, and not Senzangakona. They accordingly sent some beer to them by a *girl*, which had already been poisoned. This beer however was not partaken of, as both Mkabayi and Senzangakona had had their suspicions aroused as to the aforesaid design. As soon as the girl arrived, Mkabayi expressed her thanks to Mtaniya and Vubukulwayo, and then sent the girl to go and fetch some water at the spring. In her absence Mkabayi took out a small quantity of the beer, threw it away, and put back in the *pot* a similar quantity of her own beer. This artifice changed the appearance of the beer. When the girl returned she was 10 advised by (Mkabayi)¹⁹ not to drink as the beer belonged to *chiefs*, and if she did she would fail to get a husband. The girl therefore left the beer alone. She was told to take it to Mtaniya, to say, '*Even the cream-coloured drink is sweet,*'²⁰ and give her the *potful* as a present from Mkabayi. As a matter of fact almost the whole of the beer was what Mtaniya had originally sent. Both Mtaniya and Vubukulwayo partook of the beer and died.

Aba kwa Ntontontswana, or *aba kwa Lufenuwenja*, i.e. the Zulu people.²¹ Tshaka caused two things to die out, (a) the *name* Lufenuwenja, (b) *circumcision*.

11 The *mtshopi* custom is our great custom (alias *noyazi*).²²
The *mgonqo* custom - *the umgonqo is held*, i.e. the calling together and congregating of girls because of a certain girl having *reached the age of puberty*.
Circumcision (law).
The transfer of lobolo (law).

16.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 11-14.

Also present: Ndukwana

Ibele le ndhlela li ya puta,²³ i.e. a thing perpetually disturbed does not bear fruit. Always meddling with the native question will never lead to its solution.

Dingana's regiments were very fond of him. He gave them plenty of meat, food etc. (Ndukwana) So common was meat that people used to *rub themselves clean* with it.²⁴

Customs:

Mtshopi

Mgonqo - singing about adultery etc. only, *singing lewd songs*.

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The throwing away of young plants, i.e. in a river - took the place of mtshopi in Natal.

- 12 Tshaka marked the Fasimba regiment on both sides. He caused incisions to be cut in the skin all up each side. The classes of girls too had distinguishing marks.

.... <Praises of Nandi omitted - eds.>

Tshaka once sent out a heifer with two men to different parts of Zululand. Their instructions were to ask people in the usual way for snuff, and the first person who gave the snuff without having denied having any was to be given the beast.²⁵ Many persons were approached. At last a woman, on being asked, took out a snuff box and, in knocking out the snuff, said, 'But there isn't much, I'm afraid.' She was thereupon given the heifer.

- 13 Tshaka once offered a large-sized calf to anyone who could lift it on to his shoulders. Manqondo (father of Qetuka) ka Mazwana succeeded in doing this, and thereupon became the owner of it. This was done at Gibixegu.²⁶

Isifazane - Godongwana's first regiment.²⁷

Godongwana got his idea of *enrolling* regiments from the Europeans at Cape Town. Before then no regiments were ever *enrolled*.

When Godongwana first left home in flight he went to a district near Ntunjambili²⁸ - Natal side (of the Tsekela) - where he was obliged to do menial work. He lived in the Ngcolosi district (Hlangabeza's tribe).²⁹ He had to *thresh upoko millet*. This service dissatisfied him and he went off, presumably to the Amaxoza and so on to Cape Town. He returned on a horse etc.³⁰

- 14 The Anawombe regiment was Senzangakona's first one; it was *enrolled* to copy Godongwana.

.... <Praises of Godongwana omitted - eds.>

17.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 14-18.

Also present: Ndukwana?

I am sure Godongwana's first regiment was the Isifazane. He set the example to all the surrounding tribes as regards regiments. There is no doubt that G. learnt the idea of recruiting regiments from the English. My father Mlomowetole, who is my informant, was quite sure on this point. My father was of the Ntontela regiment [i.e. of the age-grade of Nongila, Jantshi's father].³¹ My father died in or about 1888. Our tribe is the Amaqadi, and the Amaqadi separated from the Nyuswa people.

- 15 'O i yenga ngani, yati "ngqwaba, ngqwaba!", ye muka.' This was a song sung by Godongwana on his return. It means, 'How will you manage to deceive it (him)? It goes "ngqwaba, ngqwaba"' (i.e. 'flap, flap' - the wings - for on being stabbed he 'flew' away), 'and went away.'³²

The old way of procuring fighting men was to recruit according to the kraal or neighbourhood, throwing all boys etc. with their fathers. *They threw assegais at one another; they regarded one*

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another from a distance. People were ransomed with cattle. They fought in dispersed formation.

Zwide's daughter Nompetu married Sobuza (of Swaziland) and gave birth to Mswazi and Mzamose, wife of Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu.³³ Langalibalele's son by her was Siyepu (living).

The putting on of headdress by men used always to go on. Jobe³⁴ for instance would have worn a headdress.

16 The Zulus came to Mahlabatini³⁵ from above or further north. I heard this said. They parted from the Qwabe, Amacumu, and Amawutshe (Amabaca) and went to live at Mahlabatini.

The Amaqadi tribe separated from the Nyuswa. Dingila ka Ngcobo was the one who first separated from the Nyuswa tribe. (It is, named the Amaqadi because when the wife who shall bear the chief is chosen, a second, junior, wife is chosen who will bear a younger brother of the chief, and in the event of there being no chief heir, the heir of this house will inherit.³⁶ Dingila himself was an iqadi. They parted from the Ngcobo long before Tshaka's day, say in the times of Punga and Mageba.³⁷

17 Tshaka was not illegitimate. Nandi had come to Senzangakona to marry by becoming one of his isigodhlo, and it was whilst she was living there that she had intercourse with S. and, becoming pregnant, bore Tshaka. Now Mnkabayi, S.'s sister, heard of this and reported the fact to S. S. exclaimed, 'It seems ridiculous that I who am still so young and have not been circumcised should be said to have a child.' Mnkabayi at once replied, 'Oh, seeing the child was a boy I have already put it to death by giving it poison.' This satisfied S. Mnkabayi at once communicated with Nandi, directing her to go home with the child. This she did, and returned at a later time with Tshaka to show Mnkabayi. Some person or another reported the arrival to S. who at once took steps in the matter. Nandi, however, thanks to Mnkabayi, succeeded in escaping, got back to the Langeni, and then went to marry among the Qwabe.

18 Mnkabayi afterwards caused the man who had made the report to S. to be put to death.

Tshaka therefore was to a large extent a legitimate son of S., although born before Nandi had actually become Senzangakona's wife and therefore before he had lobola'd her.

[Query: Did S. ever marry Nandi, lobola her and make her his wife? This seems doubtful.]

Tshaka was born at Esiklebeni.

[But then if Nandi was not married to S. how came she to have Nomcoba by him? - 24.10.1904.]³⁸

30.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 18-19.

Hlonipa, courtesy, respect - grievances. (Small men are placed over their former superiors. They act with disrespect towards their former 'fathers'. We fathers are worse off because of this. They do not show us respect for they think themselves chiefs. We make all equals, so respect dies out. They say to us, 'What are they now?')

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The old ways are gone. Let us be raised up.'

- 19 The girls are not *lobola*^{7d} with proper numbers. They are called merely *commoners*, and this because the so-called chiefs consider themselves *chiefs*.

Zimema ka Sigodo was *ineeku to Cetshwayo*, responsible for bringing him food. (He was) an *induna* of a regiment. Magwendu is under the authority of Sisimana ka Nhlanguana, a *menial* of my 'father' (Mpande), who had food (meat) thrown on the ground and would eat it up from there, or have *ububende*³⁹ thrown down and lap it up. Now he stands above Magwendu. Sukani has his own kraals and is chief, but has only a small patch of land.

Mkungo has land of his own. Mtonga has been given a large plot of ground.⁴⁰

26.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 14-20.

- 14 Madikane arrives, 26.5.1905. Madikane ka Mlomowetole ka Bobo ka Ndhululisa ka Mpinda. I am of the Cele tribe and this tribe sprang from the Mtetwa. My grandfather was born in the amaQadini tribe.

The amaQadi tribe *parted from the Nyuswa*. The amaQadi descend from Ngcobo (the Nyuswa appeared later). It was Dingila, the son of Ngcobo, who left. He fathered Ngotoma who fathered Njila who bore Bebe who bore Dube who bore Dabeka who bore Mqawe (living). Ngcobo was the son of Buyiswayo ka Bamula ka Ludiwo ka Fuze.⁴¹

Dingila is the one who *parted from the Nyuswa*. He withdrew with the *inqadi* section of the house. The amaQadi people say 'Ngcobo' only; we do not say 'Nyuswa'.

- 15 Nyuswa was Ngcobo's son. The amaQadi appeared before the Nyuswa people; the Nyuswa appeared later.

I was born in the amaQadi tribe. When praises are being said, people say, 'Ngcobo of the Mvoti', i.e. the Natal river of that name.

Tshaka's great warrior was Ndengezi ka Kuzwayo of the Mdhlalose. Tshaka said, *'The warrior who drives away Zwide's army will be given so many cattle that when a stick is placed across their backs it will not fall to the ground as they move off.'* Ndengezi defeated Zwide's army. He drove it off by attacking it with the shout, 'U ya babaza!'⁴² Zwide's army had fought with and defeated others of Tshaka's forces. Ndengezi attacked it at Ntonteleni, shouting, 'U ya babaza!' The

- 16 amaWombe, his age-grade, followed. Zwide's army fled.

Tshaka's army returned and Ndengezi was given cattle by Tshaka, but not as many as Tshaka had promised when exhorting his army. So Ndengezi came and said that a hundred cattle were too few. Tshaka said, 'Could I ever give you enough, Ndengezi?' Ndengezi answered, 'I ask for Zwide's cattle according to the king's word.' Then Tshaka became angry and said, 'I do not want to kill you. Go and die in the wilderness!' Ndengezi obeyed, and even today it is not known where he died. It is thought that he went to Mzilikazi's.⁴³ He left his children and his people behind, and went off.⁴⁴

- 17 He was called Ndengezi-matshumi. His brother Nkayishana was killed by Mpande.

When he threw himself against Zwide's army he cried, 'U ya babaza!', meaning Tshaka. He charged the enemy and was followed by his

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whole section, which was of Tshaka's age-grade. He carried his shield high. He shouted out, 'U ya babaza!', referring to Tshaka, meaning that Tshaka was surprized at the daring of those who fought against his forces. No sooner did he do this, followed by those mentioned, than Zwide's army turned and fled. In his praises his heroism was extolled by means of reference to those words of his: 'Dhlungwana'⁴⁵ who has no friend expresses his surprize'.

18 Ndengezi is not the actual name of this man (longer form Ndengezi-matshumi). I do not know his real name. He came to be called Ndengezi because of his being obliged to comply with the custom, after killing people, of getting a *potsherd* (*udengezi*), putting in *medicine*, and *sucking it from the fingertips*. He would have only one *potsherd* even though many people had been killed. 'Umdaka o nga zu ngoma' was another of his *praises* - 'the mud that never dries', for he was always going out to fight.

Tshaka took Magaye's Njanduma regiment, not merely the name. He did the same with regard to Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe, taking his Inguqa.⁴⁶

19 Many customs or practices were 'taken' by Tshaka from Zwide whom he defeated. The salutation 'Bayete'⁴⁷ may have come from him. The *royal ceremonial song*⁴⁸ came from Zwide ka Langa, who in his turn had taken it from Sobuza ka Ndungunya.

The *umkosi* was observed with the performance of the *royal ceremonial song*, which had a stamping of feet quite different from the other songs of the *umkosi*, and when this was sung it would be the end of the *umkosi* - not to be sung again till the same occasion next year.

'He bewitched him.

Everyone hates him!

Everyone hates him!

Acknowledge, acknowledge him as the only *chief*.'⁴⁹

There were five great tribes in the early days, viz. under Sobuza (Swaziland), Zwide, Mtetwa, Qwabe and Ngcobo (under Mapoloba).

20 The royal salutation of 'Bayede!' possibly came from Zwide and by him from the Swazis.

Nyambose is the name of a hill in the Mtetwa district, first built on by the Mtetwa people, and that is how they come to derive their name as abakwaNyambose.⁵⁰

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File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 20-24.

Madikane continues. [This man has given me information before: see preceding notebooks.]

I am the same age as the Tulwana regiment. I was born when Dingana began his reign, at the time when Dingana first gave the order permitting girls to marry, after Tshaka had refused to allow them to do so.

.... <Tale of the chameleon and lizard omitted - eds.>

22 One very old thing amongst us are the *heaps of stones known as izivivane*. When a man is walking along he picks up a stone, spits on

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it, and throws it on the heap. He does it so that he will find good fortune ahead; he does it so that he will be well received. And one who is going to make a request from a relative will take a stone, spit on it, and throw it on the isivivane. This was the custom in the whole country, among all us black people.

23 Similarly, as regards circumcision among us black people, all of us used to be circumcised. Even today some peoples still practise circumcision - the Amampondo, the Amazoza, and the Abesutu. Among them it is a serious matter if a man has not been circumcised. Even if he speaks the truth, his words will be rejected; it will be said that he has not been circumcised. And when a matter is being discussed where the taking of oaths is necessary (as when a case is being heard), he will not be given a chance to speak. It will be said that his words are unclean; it would cause offence if he were allowed to take an oath and speak. But if he did, his words would be rejected. When Tshaka began his rule he put an end to this. He also put an end to circumcision among us Zulu, saying that it deprived the men of virility and fierceness. So it died out.

24 In the days when circumcision existed, people would speak with moderation and calmness; they would speak with humility. Things change; the ways of people are not the same in all times. When Tshaka was king people went according to his ways. When Dingane came to rule they followed his ways. When Mpande began his reign, again they followed different ways. In the time of Mpande we in Natal had good fortune. The English came, and times were easy, and there was happiness. There returned the times such as had existed when circumcision was practised. We lived a long time in happiness.

We black people began to complain about the way we were governed when Gebusa ka Somsewu entered office. He was succeeded by Mismolo, and times were better.⁵¹ But now there is a restlessness in the hearts of all the people. What is now clear is that we shall be done harm, we shall die, we shall be done harm by the government. There is now much commotion. There are now policemen in the land who go round looking for crime that formerly was not there. In former times it was the chiefs who were the policemen, <continued below - eds.>

27.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 1-7.

1 ... it was the black chiefs who looked after matters for the government.

I have never heard the expression *So ku mpondo za mtini*⁵² used, only *So ku ukwanyisa kwe mtini* and *So ku mpondo za nkomo*.⁵³ Although I at first admitted knowing the expression *Mpondo za mtini*, *Ukwanyisa kwe mtini* was what was running in my head. As a matter of fact, on reconsideration, I have never heard the expression used by anyone. I know nothing of (the word) *upondo* being associated with the word *mtini*.⁵⁴ I do not know how the expression *Ukwanyisa kwe mtini* originated, from amaNtungwa, abeNguni, or amaLala.⁵⁵ These expressions came into vogue principally in Tshaka's day, for the army used to close in on the enemy at this time of day so that daylight would soon come and they would not kill one another.

Tshaka called those in Zululand who *tekeza'd* amaLala, whilst those

2 of Natal he spoke of as iNyakeni, i.e. those who also *tekeza'd*.⁵⁶ He used to insult us and frighten us by saying that we did not have the cunning to invent things out of nothing, like lawyers. He said that we Lala could not do it. He said that we were Lala because our tongues lay (lala) flat in our mouths, and we did not speak in the Ntungwa fashion.

He spoke of them as iNyakeni because they had dirty habits and did not distinguish between what was good and what was bad. A person of the iNyakeni did not pay respect to chiefs, nor did he wash or keep himself neat.

The iNyakeni were composed of the Ngcolosi, the amaKabeleni, the Nxamalala of Lugaju's place at Mangangeni, the Mapumulo, the Hlongwa of Dibinyeka (chief), i.e. those from the Nadi, the Kuze, the Nhlangwini, and many others further south.⁵⁷

3 These names Lala and Nyakeni may have been and probably were in existence long before Tshaka's day, but it was in his day that they came to be widely known, i.e. when all these people were incorporated in the Zulu empire.

The Cele, Tuli, Makanya and Nsomi were not of the Nyakeni people but they came from Zululand to live in the Nyakeni country. The Cele came from the Mtetwa; the Makanya and Nsomi came from the Qwabe. The amaNsomi are not abaNguni; they are amaLala. The Cele are also amaLala on account of their dialect.

I was born at the Nsuze in the Nkandhla district, and crossed into Natal as a lad (herding calves) just before 1839 when Mpande came into Natal. Since then I have lived on the coast.

4 *Inganekwana* means something unimportant, of no import.⁵⁸ It is so called because the matter or story or circumstances related have passed and cannot be associated with any particular place or persons. *Inganekwane* is so called because the substance of the story cannot be attributed to any particular persons as being the actors in the story mentioned. *Izinganekwana* are the stories of past generations. When Tshaka's name dies out the stories of his reign will become *inganekwana*. Most of these stories relate to girls, when going to marry, meeting with beasts. These stories do not refer much to men.

5 The word *inswelaboya* came from Pakade ka Macingwane of the Cunu.⁵⁹ This was because he was an old man. At the time of the war between Dingane and Mpande he got many of Dingane's cattle and crossed into the bush country of the Mpofana (Mooi) river.⁶⁰ He lived in the wilderness far off from the Europeans. He was continually killing people. When the English came, this indiscriminate killing was put a stop to. Pakade then came up with the plan of blaming it on *izinswelaboya*. When there was beer P. used to give orders (if he wanted to kill anyone) (for people) to go to a beer drink and on the way back catch this person and kill him. 'Kill him and hide him in an unfrequented place. When this is reported to me I shall say, "He has been killed by *izinswelaboya*."' So the word became more common. The killings continued, and deaths of this kind were attributed to *izinswelaboya*. This is the origin of the word.

Pakade crossed into Natal in 1838 or 1839 at the time of 'the breaking of the rope'.⁶¹ Pakade's people are known to me; my

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mother's brother is there.

I know of two cases of *izinwelaboya*. One is that of Ngwababane's son in Pakade's district. It seems that Ngwababane was seated with his child in the afternoon about four. Seeing his goats going towards a bush, and as it was getting late, he sent the lad to drive the goats back. The boy ran off to the bush, but as the goats continued to enter the bush and no-one seemed to be driving them back, the father went to see what the matter was. When he got there he found his son missing. He searched for him in every way and afterwards got others to help, all without success. The search was continued the following day, and the next, far and wide. On the fourth day, the lad being still missing, *cleansing medicines* were eaten because people concluded the boy must be dead. On that day a young man left a kraal some 20 miles away from where the boy was missed; he left with some dogs, going out hunting. He went into a bush near his home. The dogs pushed ahead, hearing some rustling, and eventually came upon the body of a boy, which turned out to be that of the boy who had been lost. He had been rubbed with fat over the chest and stomach in the form of a large circle. The boy was only able to answer that he was the son of Ngwababane on being asked if he was the one being looked for. The *izinwelaboya* would have been caught had not they been frightened by the dogs. The boy was conveyed home; no sooner did he get there than he expired.

The other case is of a boy who was caught *on the edge of a field, chasing off birds* with two others. Finding him missing, his companions shouted but he did not answer. It so happened that the *company of men etc. who were accompanying Sir T. Shepstone* were passing by at the time.⁶² They came to the bush in which the gardens were, and found the boy in the bush. His penis had been sucked, as also his nostrils, and *his ears had been spat into. The men took him out of danger, and he was treated with medicines, and given a purgative, and his penis, which had been swollen, returned to normal size. He recovered.*

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File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 8-17.

Also present: Qalizwe?

The story of the talking rook and the talking dog. Mangena was out herding his cattle when a rook came and sat in a tree and called to him. He could not see any person calling. The rook said, 'You herd those cattle but you will not enjoy the use of them.' Mangena heard, and this time he saw the rook. He became alarmed; he left the cattle and went home. He sent a messenger to report the matter to Mawa ka Jama. They then made a plan to cross over into Natal. But he did not enjoy the use of those cattle. They were taken to Natal but the English returned them all to the Zulu country. When Mawa came with those cattle she stayed at an umuzi built at Verulam. Then a messenger from the great place came to Pietermaritzburg, a messenger came from Mponde to ask for the return of the cattle which had been carried off by Mawa and Mangena. Kofiyana, the induna in Natal, was then at the Mngeni, where he had his home. A messenger from the government in Pietermaritzburg went to tell him that he should seize

the cattle and give them to the men from the Zulu country. Kofiyana then summoned his people (we were all his people), and they seized
 10 the cattle. It is with those cattle that we had established ourselves, we of the white man's country.⁶³

Mangena was a son of Nokupata of the amaNkwanyaneni. He was an inoeku of Tshaka. Under Dingana he was induna of Ntonteleni, induna of the place of Mawa ka Jama.

In that time of disorder there also appeared a dog. It happened that in the afternoon, when the women were returning from cultivating, a woman poured some fat into a spoon, which she put down in the doorway of her hut. She then went to call another woman to come and help her do her hair. When she came there she cried, 'Weu! I have forgotten the fat; I left it on the ground; the dog will have eaten it!' The dog replied, 'No, here is the fat. You thought the dog had eaten it.' That was all the dog said. It caused great astonishment. This happened at the place of the people of Mqalana
 11 (who was induna at Ntonteleni, although he did not cross over into Natal with Mawa). That is the end of the story about the dog. This happened at the same time that the rook spoke to Mangena. It is said that the dog really spoke.

Mqalana was a son of Bulongwe of the Dhlamini in the Zulu country. It is not known why this strange event occurred. Its meaning is not known.

Doctors were probably called to ward off evil and give the people courage, for when an omen appears it means that something will go wrong in the home and people will die.

In certain places it is commonly said that rooks talk.

.... <Notes on evil omens omitted - eds.>

14 *Ukwehla ngesilulu.*⁶⁴ This expression is a comparatively recent one; it came into vogue when I was a youth. The grain basket belongs to the Mabasa, the amaMbata, the amaNtshali, Ndaba, Kumalo, Radeba (of the Hlubi), the amaNgwane (Matiwana's people), Dhlamini (ama-Swazi), Tembu, Nxumalo (Ndwandwe) etc.

The word *isilulu* is used to indicate rolling, i.e. towards the south, for all peoples came from the north.

People from the north came and settled in these parts. At a later period others followed from the north and, finding others of similar customs and tongue already in occupation, on also settling down to occupy the upper parts - chiefly where the sources of the rivers of Zululand and adjoining countries are - they spoke of themselves
 15 as *having come down with the grain basket*, meaning that as compared with other inhabitants they were not aboriginals or ancient occupants but had come from the north. And yet as a matter of fact all at some time or another came from the north.

They say, '*We rolled by means of a grain basket*', meaning that they rolled from the north to the south where the country is wide, and there settled, just as a grain basket rolled down a hill eventually rolls onto the flats below and its contents empty themselves there.

The term '*Mnguni*' originated among the Zulu and Qwabe; they call one another '*Mnguni*'. The Cunu also say '*Mnguni!*' The older maCunu used to make an oath thus, '*Mnguni ka Luboko!*', when swearing by

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Macingwane,⁶⁵ who was son of Luboko.

I have [heard] the amaLala peoples speak of the Mtetwa as the Tongas from down-country⁶⁶ as if they were a section of the Tongas.

.... <Notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>

- 17 Madikane says: *When a sheep is slaughtered its muzzle is held to prevent it from making a noise. If it cries, the people's place of living will be destroyed, and the nation will be scattered. Our people were injured because of them on the return from Mzilikazi's place;⁶⁷ sheep had cried when being slaughtered.*

.... <Further notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>

29.5.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 19-22.

Also present: Mkotana

- 19 <Note on proverb omitted - eds.>

'The one who installs a chief does not rule with him.' I was your mat-bearer before you rose in rank; now you are chief there are others about you. With these I am on bad terms owing to jealousy, and they quarrel with me, so I who was your only follower, who assisted you, am no longer in favour.

- 20 Nomleti ka Madinane: *'All the nations say, "Bring him on!" - his praises.*⁶⁸ I do not know his real name. This man left the Zulu tribe and *konza'd* Tshaka when [he was among] the Langeni. When T. became king he, at the *umkosi* ceremony, gathered all his cattle from all his *amakanda*. The calves remained at home; they were kept separated by the herds. After dancing the *umkosi*, all went off to wash. Nomleti returned home alone from the stream, *putting on airs and imagining he was like Tshaka*; he thought a great deal of himself. He cut through the middle of Tshaka's cattle, although no one was supposed to do so. Tshaka saw him passing through them on his way back, and cried out, *'Who is that insolent fellow walking among my cattle?'* *'It is Nomleti, Nkosi.'* *'Take him and kill him!'* And indeed he was put to death, even though he had been with Tshaka in his time of destitution and had gone with him to the Mtetwa.

This was an instance of *'The one who installs a chief does not rule with him'*. During the *umkosi* ceremony no one used to be killed - this was an exception. T. must have known that this was Nomleti; he could have seen him by the colour of his shield.

- 21 Mkotana has never heard this story; he says, *'I am a child.'*

Madikane also knows of the case of Nocola, the mat-bearer of Pakade before he became chief. A girl who had married Mqawe, chief of the amaQadi, fell sick, and the diviners were put on to finding out who had caused her illness. They put the blame on Nocola. Pakade gave orders that they must be watched for to prevent their going to ekuNengeleni, the name of the kraal where the girl was, so [that they should] see him first. He was at ekuVukeni. They failed to

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prevent their going to ekuNengeleni and reporting to Mamcoboza, Gabangaye's mother.⁶⁹ Mamcoboza sent to Pakade to report the result of the *divining*. P. was much concerned because of Nocola's having been smelt out, and it was to prevent anything of this kind that he caused the people to be laid in wait for. He did not want to injure Nocola, for when he *had been in need* he used to be accompanied by him. Nocola was then *driven away* by Gabangaye and his mother for having caused the girl's illness. She had already been *lobola'd* at this time by Mqawe (I was Mqawe's representative in arranging his marriage). It seems her sickness arose by a *dormouse* jumping about her whilst (she was) asleep at night. She was well covered and yet the animal came again. This strange occurrence was said to be caused by Nocola, and was the immediate cause of the illness referred to.

Pakade cried and said, 'Indeed, the one who installs a chief does not rule with him.'

Mbopa's is another case in which the installer does not rule with the chief, for he got Tshaka's assegais and gave them to Dingana, and so assisted Dingana to become king.⁷⁰

'The whites ought to have been people who do not die, because they are so skilled at making things' - we natives say this. Also: 'Only death overcomes them.'

27.6.1905

File 62, nbk. 74, pp. 8-13.

8 Madikane arrives, 27.6.1905. [Called in connection with the Central News Agency boys.]

Magudwini of the *emaSomini* people is an authority, still living. He lives up the *Mahloti* river. If he was an *impakati*⁷¹ he must know something worth hearing.

9 After Tshaka had overcome Zwide, Nxaba ka Mbekane with Lubedu ka Masondo came to Tshaka to *pay tribute*, as T. had conquered all the country.⁷² Nxaba came with 10 girls of his father's kraal. They arrived at Gibixegu (Bulawayo - (called) Gibixegu because Zwide had been killed).⁷³ They found Tshaka *dancing*. They were given a place to sleep in and told to come back next day. Tshaka was an *expert performer*, able to *dance and sing*. Tshaka composed a song about Lubedu which was to be danced to next day.

'Etshe, Lubedu of the place of Masondo!

Now at last we see you!'

Lubedu laughed. Tshaka said, 'So the small, fat toad is laughing at me!' (for Lubedu was short). 'Take him away,' said T., whereupon he was killed, for laughing at the king, and yet he was only laughing because he approved what the king did.

Nxaba was *alarmed* on seeing this, but controlled his feelings.

10 T. took the girls Nxaba had brought and gave Nxaba 100 head of cattle. When Nxaba returned home one of the girls he had brought became ill. T. said the girl was to be taken back. All of them after this did this, and all went back, none of them returning. When the last girl got ill and returned to Nxaba, he at once did up his things and fled to the north. He was not killed by Tshaka. He seems to me to have belonged to the Kumalo or Ndwandwe tribe - not certain. He went off to Mzila's (ka Sotshangana ka Zikode).⁷⁴ Zwangendaba is the name of

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one of Tshaka's regiments; latterly people were called after it.⁷⁵ Nxaba is the proper name, though some use Nqaba.

The Zulus, when they went after Mzilikazi, came upon a great plain which they called uDedangendhlale.

The Zulus, Cunus, and Qwabes speak of one another as abaNguni, especially the Qwabes.

- 11 I think Mzilikazi was the first to go off north, before Nxaba. Mzilikazi was an *inceku at esiklebeni*, responsible for milking. He was Tshaka's *inceku*.

Zwide's great kraal was eMgazini, where Tshaka defeated him. There was also uMgazana; uPunga was another, then Pungana another, (also) iZulu and iZuywana. [Notice the diminutive forms.]

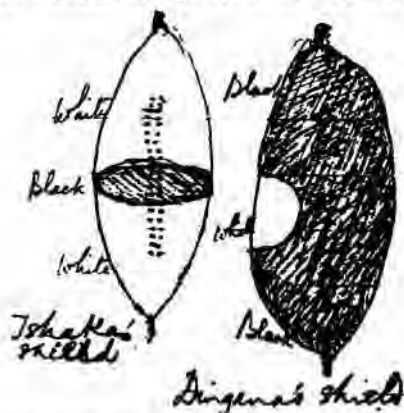
I have heard of Hlangabeza (of Tshaka's day) but know nothing of him.⁷⁶

Macingwane ran off from Zululand. The Bacas ran off with him, under Ncapayi ka Madikana. Matiwane ka Masumpa of the Ngwane people also ran off.⁷⁷

Tshaka wanted the enemy to be stabbed as if they were cattle, i.e. at close quarters, whilst holding the assegai.

Tshaka was about medium height, dark but not black.

12



Tshaka's shield - my father told me this. He used to see Tshaka *giyaing*. Dingana's shield is the one used when he went to fight Mzilikazi, after which the Boers were drawn into the country.

The best cattle, the handsomest, with the best hides, came from *Jobe's country* in the Nkandhla district near the Mzinyati,⁷⁸ and that is where Tshaka's shield used to come from.

My father was of the Intontela regiment. This kraal was *down the Mlalazi river*. Formerly it was on the Emtongani.⁷⁹ It came down to the Mlalazi because the land was better.

The regiment that followed next in age after my father's was the Dibinhlangu (Izimphlo).

Ntontela was Senzangakona's kraal. My father was of the Mbonambi regiment, not the Intontela, though all at the Intontela kraal were called Intontela.

- 13 The emaMbateni were the first tribe attacked by Tshaka, then the emaNtshalini, the emaCubeni, and the emaLangeni (chief Tayi) (section, of the Ngcobo.

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28.6.1905

File 62, nbk. 74, pp. 13-14.

My father fought against Zwide and Sikunyana.⁸⁰ He had a wound in the middle of the forehead, high, just at the edge of the hair. He got this in the Pondo campaign, the second one, when the Pondos were conquered.⁸¹ They came to T. at Dukuza to pay tribute.

Mdhlaka was in charge of the Pondo impi, also that to Sotshangana.⁸² The Zulus went on the campaign against Sotshangana in an angry mood, as (they had not been) allowed to rest, and passed by their homes. This impi Tshaka divided in two at the Mkomazi, at Dududu (a hill near the sea and the Mpambanyoni).⁸³ One body was sent past Pietermaritzburg and Pasiwe, passed through the Cunu country, and made for the amaNkamane hill (in Jobe's country, Msinga division) to join the other body sent up the coast.⁸⁴ I fancy the two bodies met across the Pongolo, north of it.

Bravery - the stabbing of others - was highly rewarded by Tshaka. He made them presents of cattle.

14 Dingiswayo sent Tshaka out with a body of troops to attack the amaMbata people whilst he went to war against the amaNtshali. Tshaka not only defeated the amaMbata but pursued them, killed them off and returned with their cattle etc. Dingiswayo, who had expected T. to return sooner and had been waiting for him, reproved him for his drastic measures, it being against Dingiswayo's policy to exterminate any tribe.

11.7.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 17-18.

Also present: Mayinga, Mkotana

17 Madikane: I went to see Magudwini on Wednesday last week.
18 Magudwini's regiment was Intenjane, one of Tshaka's regiments. 'The dun-coloured cattle (Izintenjane) that bellowed at Ngoye' - praise of this section of the Ndabenkulu regiment. He said Tshaka was dark in colour. The man is sometimes incoherent in his speech. He said he attacked by Tshaka's order Macingwane, and then Malusi, then Tshaka was attacked by Zwide. Then Tshaka attacked Tayi of the amaLangeni section of the Ngcobo people, then Pakatwayo, then conquered Zwide. That is all that Magudwini seemed to know.

The Mkandhlu and the Intontela vied with one another. The two fought against Zwide; the former ran away. Again, among the amaMpondo, the Mkandhlu ran away. This time the regiment, when it got home, was one day collected into a circle, with the whole Zulu army round it. The Intontela now entered with their assegais only and proceeded to kill the Mkandhlu all off.

12.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 18-19.

19 Madikane continues what Magudwini (who must be over 100 years old) told him: He belongs to the amaNsomi of the place of Nkuna, their chief. He says that they originated among the Qwabe, i.e. the amaNsomi. (AmaNsomi are birds with red wings that fly about in large flocks in forests.)⁸⁵ They originally lived near Entumeni and

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the Tukela, with some in Natal south of the Tukela just above the Makanya.⁸⁶

During his reign Tshaka held frequent dancing competitions, and would kill those who wilfully danced out of time with the others. T., hearing him, would get angry and put him to death.

14.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 10-11.

10 Per Madikane ka Mlomowetole, of the Ntontela regiment.

The origin of the uDhlambedhlu name (of regiment) arose in this way. Dingana distributed cattle to them when at their *temporary quarters*,⁸⁷ according to their *companies*. He asked afterwards if the cattle, which were numerous, had sufficed. Those present, who had driven them off to the troops, said no, that several *companies* had got none. He thereupon said, 'This is not the Mgamule regiment; it is the Dhlambedhlu,' because the *cattle* disappeared without sufficing. 'I attempted,' he (Dingana) said, 'to estimate correctly, but their numbers exceeded my expectations; they *dhlamba'd* me.' Hence the name Dhlambedhlu, as indicating the great number of the men of the regiment.⁸⁸

Mpande, when he *began his reign*, was determined to recruit a regiment as large as Dingana's Dhlambedhlu, but although the Isangqu, Tulwana etc. were very large, nothing ever equalled the Dhlambedhlu.

Magudwini, of Nyuswa's tribe (chief Deliweyo deceased - tribe now in charge of Gobosi(?), Deliweyo's brother).⁸⁹ This man is very old - of the Ndabenkulu regiment. (His *section* there is the Intenjane.)

Notes

¹Mqawe kaDabeka became chief of the Qadi people in Natal after Mpande's revolt against Dingane in 1839 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 495), and was still ruling the Qadi in the Inanda district, north-west of present-day Durban, in the early 1900s. On p. 1 of nbk. 77, File 62, under date 27.7.1905, Stuart records information on Madikane obtained from Norman Nembula in the following words: 'Madikane is Mqawe's *insila* (*impotulo*) and under old native law would have been killed off long ago.' *Insila* means body-servant, close attendant; *impotulo* (*imphothuli*?) means hair-shaver.

²The Thulwana *ibutho*, to which the Zulu king Cetshwayo belonged, was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646, lists the amaPhela *ibutho* as being several years senior to the Thulwana. Neither he nor Samuelson (see list of 'regiments' in Long, Long Ago, pp. 235-7) mentions the names izimVukuzane and Pepelenqoleni.

³Formed c.1816 of men born in the 1780s and 1790s.

⁴*Isithakazelo* is a term of polite or formal address.

⁵The Nkandla is the area at the sources of the Nsuze river, which flows into the Thukela north-east of present-day Kranskop. The

- Gcongco is a ridge near the upper Mhlathuze river.
- ⁶Cf. the list given by Bryant in Olden Times, opp. p. 482.
- ⁷The reference is to Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 150-1.
- ⁸Madikane later describes the isiKlebhe (loc. esiKlebheni) as an *umuzi* built by Jama, father of Senzangakhona and grandfather of Shaka. On this *umuzi* see also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 46, 642, 643; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 112-13, 123; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *imizi*.
- ⁹Cf. the Langeni chiefly genealogy given by Bryant in Olden Times, p. 126. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Langeni and Nandi.
- ¹⁰The original has 'Nandi did not *tshada*'.
- ¹¹Mnkabayi was sister of Senzangakhona. For information on the regency that followed the death of their father Jama see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 41; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 178, 179, 188-9, 199.
- ¹²The meaning of *lungisa* in this context is not clear. The word can mean any of the following: to 'put in order...arrange, adjust; correct, rectify; improve; chastise; repair...reckon up with' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 368). Madikane may be using it to mean 'reward'.
- ¹³The sense of this is probably, 'Is not the *impi* in which I fought yours?'
- ¹⁴Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century. Ngomane kaMqomboli of the emDletsheni people held a position of authority under Dingiswayo. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 64; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Shaka.
- ¹⁵Another name of Dingiswayo.
- ¹⁶Sigujana kaSenzangakhona briefly succeeded his father as chief of the Zulu before he was killed by Shaka. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 120.
- ¹⁷The reference is probably to Shaka's brother Dingane, who is said to have sojourned in the Qwabe country in his early manhood. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 122.
- ¹⁸*Ukungena* (passive: *ukungenwa*), literally to enter, means here to take to wife the widow of a deceased male relative.
- ¹⁹The original has Mtaniya.
- ²⁰The original reads, *Ku m nandi no ko ponjwana*, which (in modern orthography) should presumably read, *Kumandi nokumponjwana*.
- ²¹*Untontontwana* is the diminutive form of *untontonto*, a species of tree. *Ulufulwenja* literally means dog's penis. On the application of this name to the Zulu people see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 13, 221, 369-70; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 104, 174, 202.
- ²²The *unshophi* (*mtshopi*) was a set of rituals followed to exorcise the evil influences which were regarded as carrying epidemics of disease. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 662-4; Krige, Social System, pp. 71-2; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 98, 100.
- ²³Literally, the corn on the roadside fails. See the explanation in Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs, pp. 202-3.
- ²⁴It is not made clear in the original which of the statements in this paragraph were made by Ndukwana.
- ²⁵It was Zulu etiquette for travellers, when asked for snuff by others encountered on the road, at first to deny being in possession of any.

- ²⁶Gibixhegu was one of Shaka's *imizi*. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 586; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 247.
- ²⁷This statement appears in the original in the top margin of the page.
- ²⁸A mountain near present-day Kranskop village.
- ²⁹Hlangabeza was chief of the Ngcolosi people living in the Kranskop district at the time of the interview here recorded. On the Ngcolosi see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 507-10; History, pp. 55-6.
- ³⁰For variant versions of Dingiswayo's exile see Fynn, 'History of Godongwana', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 61-2; Shepstone, 'Early history of the Zulu-Kafir race', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 160-3; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 87-94.
- ³¹Jantshi kaNongila was another of Stuart's informants. His statements have been reproduced in Stuart Archive, vol. 1.
- ³²See also Stuart, Baxoxele, pp. 20-1; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 97.
- ³³Zwide kalanga was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century. Sobhuza (Somhlolo) kaNdvungunye was king of the Swazi from c.1815 to c.1839. He was succeeded by his son Mswati (Mswazi). Langalibalele was chief of the Hlubi who fled from the Zulu country to Natal in 1848.
- ³⁴Presumably either Jobe kaKhayi, chief of the Mthethwa in the late eighteenth century and father of Dingiswayo, or Jobe kaMaphitha, chief of the Sithole in the time of Shaka and Dingane.
- ³⁵Present-day Mahlabathini is situated on the ridge between the White and Black Mfolozis.
- ³⁶If a chief's great wife failed to produce an heir, the succession would pass to the son of her principal *iqadi* or *inqadi* (pl. *ama-nqadi*), i.e. her 'supporting' wife. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 417-18.
- ³⁷Phunga and Mageba were ancestral figures in the Zulu chiefly house.
- ³⁸Traditions disagree as to Nomcoba's paternity. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 49, 53; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 11, 189.
- ³⁹A choice dish made of blood and chopped-up meat.
- ⁴⁰The reference is presumably to the sons of Mpande who fled from the Zulu kingdom in the aftermath of Cetshwayo's victory over his brother Mbuyazi in 1856.
- ⁴¹On the relationship between the Ngcobo, Nyuswa and Qadi peoples see also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 480 ff; and History, pp. 64-73.
- ⁴²'He is surprised!'
- ⁴³Mzilikazi kaMashobane was head of a section of the Khumalo people in Shaka's time, and founder of the Ndebele kingdom.
- ⁴⁴For a similar story about Ndengezi see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 107.
- ⁴⁵A praise-name for Shaka.
- ⁴⁶Magaye kaDibandlela (?) was chief of the Cele; Zihlandlo kaGcwabe was chief of the Mkhize (Mbo). See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 406, 544; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index entries for Cele and Mkhize.
- ⁴⁷'*Bayede!*' was a salutation reserved for the Zulu king.
- ⁴⁸*Ingoma* in the original.
- ⁴⁹The original reads
'Wa m Loyisa!
O bavi ba ya m zonda!
O bavi ba ya m zonda!
Vuma! Vuma ingoma!

- (i.e. acknowledge, acknowledge him as the only *inkosi*)'.
- ⁵⁰The Mthethwa *isithakazelo* or term of polite address is Nyambose.
- ⁵¹Gebuza was Henrique Shepstone, who was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, 1884-93. Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone, who was first Diplomatic Agent and then Secretary for Native Affairs, 1845-1876. Mismolo was F.R. Moor, Minister of Native Affairs in Natal, 1893-7 and 1899-1903, and Prime Minister of the colony, 1906-10.
- ⁵²Literally, 'It is now the horns of the otter', i.e. it is now the time when the horns of the otter are visible, or early morning.
- ⁵³Literally, 'It is now the suckling of the otter', and 'It is now the horns of the beast' respectively. Both expressions mean 'It is now early morning'.
- ⁵⁴'Horn' and 'otter' respectively.
- ⁵⁵For discussion of the terms Ntungwa, Nguni, and Lala see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 3 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
- ⁵⁶See also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 118. We have been unable to determine the derivation of the word iNyakeni. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 462, gives *inyakeni* as spoon-bag. Stuart, *Baxoxele*, p. 24, lists the Nyakeni as one of Dingiswayo's *amabutho*.
- ⁵⁷For information on Lugaju kaMatomela of the Nxamalala see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 522.
- ⁵⁸*Inganekwane* (pl. *izinganekwane*) means a fable, folk tale, or nursery tale.
- ⁵⁹*Inswelaboya* (pl. *izinswelaboya*), literally one lacking hair, means one who murders to obtain human flesh for medicines. For information on Phakade, chief of a section of the Chunu, see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 271-3; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index under Chunu.
- ⁶⁰The Mpopana or Mool river rises in the foothills of the Drakensberg near Giant's Castle and flows into the Thukela east of present-day Tugela Ferry. Phakade's adherents established themselves near the confluence of the two rivers.
- ⁶¹'*Ngo ku dabuka kwe goda*' in the original, an expression used to refer to the split that took place in the Zulu nation when Mpande and his following fled into the Republic of Natalia in 1839.
- ⁶²It is impossible to specify to which of Shepstone's journeys this refers, but he is known to have travelled through Phakade's country in April 1848. See S.A. Archival Records, Natal no. 2, pp. 298-300.
- ⁶³Mawa, daughter of Jama and sister of Senzangakhona, fled to Natal with a large following in 1843. For further information on her see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 42-4; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 100, 200. Khofiyana appears to have been a refugee from Shaka who took service with British traders at Port Natal, and was subsequently able to attract a number of adherents (Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 496, 554, 561). Verulam is the name of a village on the Natal north coast. The implication of this passage seems to be that Mawa's followers used the cattle which they had brought from the Zulu kingdom to set themselves up in Natal, and that these cattle were subsequently taken by Khofiyana on the orders of the Natal Government and given up to Mpande's envoy.
- ⁶⁴Literally, 'the descent by means of, or on account of, a grain basket'. For discussion on the meaning of this expression see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 14; *Zulu People*, pp. 20-2; *Dictionary*,

- p.365; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 175; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467.
- ⁶⁵ Chief of the Chunu in the early nineteenth century. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 264-71; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Chunu.
- ⁶⁶ *Umsansi wa s' ebuTonga* in the original. On the relationship between the Mthethwa and Tsonga see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 108, 232-3, 280; History, pp. 127, 134; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, pp. 134-7.
- ⁶⁷ Presumably a reference to one of Dingane's campaigns against Mzilikazi's Ndebele, most probably that of 1837.
- ⁶⁸ For Nomlethi see p. 48 above.
- ⁶⁹ Gabangaye was son and heir of Phakade (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 263, 273).
- ⁷⁰ Mbopha kaSithayi, Shaka's chief personal attendant, was one of the king's assassins.
- ⁷¹ The precise meaning attributed to this word varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counsellors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 643, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinDuna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati"'.
⁷² Nxaba kaMbhekane was chief of the Msane people. He fled from Shaka in the early 1820s into the territory north of the Limpopo. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 278-9, 460-1, 471-2; Omer-Cooper, Zulu Aftermath, pp. 57-8, 64-5, 121-2.
- ⁷³ Gibixhegu literally means 'get rid of the old man'. For other versions of the derivation of the name see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 586; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 247.
- ⁷⁴ Mzila was son and successor of Soshangane, founder of the Gasa kingdom in central Mozambique. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 330-1, 456-7.
- ⁷⁵ Neither Bryant nor Samuelson lists the Zwangendaba as one of Shaka's regiments. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 438, 439, gives it as one of Mzilikazi's regiments and also as one of his *imizi*. He suggests that the name may have derived from Zwangendaba kaHlatshwayo, chief of a section of the Mfekane or Ncwangeni people, who fled from Shaka c.1820. See Olden Times, pp. 162, 278, 458-9.
- ⁷⁶ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 179, 180, 626-7, gives a Hlangabeza as chief of the Ntshali people in Shaka's time, as does Dinya kaZoko-zwayo in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 95.
- ⁷⁷ Macingwane kaJama was chief of the Chunu. For the history of the Bhaca, Chunu, and Ngwane in Shaka's time see Bryant, Olden Times, chs. 16, 32, 38; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

- ⁷⁸ Jobe kaMaphitha was chief of the Sithole people. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 251, 259; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Sithole. The Mzinyathi river is marked on maps as the Buffalo.
- ⁷⁹ The 'kraal' referred to is presumably the Ntontela *ikhanda*. The Mlalazi rises near present-day Eshowe; the Mthonjaneni is a ridge to the north of present-day Melmoth.
- ⁸⁰ Sikhunyana kaZwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, made an unsuccessful attack on Shaka's kingdom in 1826. An account of the Zulu campaign has been left by H.F. Fynn, who accompanied Shaka's army. See his Diary, pp. 122-8; and also Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 60 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 588-94.
- ⁸¹ In 1828.
- ⁸² Mdlaka kaNcidi was Shaka's chief military commander. Bryant gives him as belonging to the emGazini people; one of Stuart's informants gives him as belonging to the Khanyile. The campaign against Soshangane took place in 1828, immediately after the campaign against the Mpondo. See Bryant, Olden Times, chs. 43, 62, 63; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 28.
- ⁸³ The Mphambanyoni river flows into the sea south of the Mkhomazi near present-day Scottburgh.
- ⁸⁴ The Chunu lived north of the Thukela near its confluence with the Mzinyathi (see map of clan distribution in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 698). The uPhasiwe or Karkloof range of hills is to the north-west of Pietermaritzburg; the amaNkamane hills are north-west of Pomeroy.
- ⁸⁵ The *isomi* (pl. *amasomi*) is the red-winged starling.
- ⁸⁶ Ntumeni hill is west of present-day Eshowe. The Makhanya people lived on the south bank of the lower Thukela (see map of clan distribution in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 698).
- ⁸⁷ The original has *izinhlonhla*.
- ⁸⁸ Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 242, writes, '...the name Udhlambedhlu is composed of Dhla, "to eat or feed on," Imbedhlu, "a pestering and harassing nature, impatience," and may be meant to imply that the regiment would be always pestering and harassing others'.
- ⁸⁹ For Deliweyo's position in the Nyuswa chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 481, genealogy opp. p. 482. Gobosi was chief of the Nyuswa in the Mapumulo district.

MAGEZA KA KWEFUNGA

18.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 46, pp. 16-20.

Also present: Magongo

- 16 Per Mageza and Magongo, who arrive today. [See further on for their fathers etc.]

The Cele came from the Mtetwa. The Cele chiefs are [compare with page 3]:¹

- 1 Mshweshwe
- 2 Magidigidi
- 3 Magaye
- 4 Dibandhlela
- 5 Mkokeleli
- 6 Langa
- 7 Sodi
- 8 Nqumela
- 9 Maganga
- 10 Lugogo
- 11 Cele - his *clan-name* was Ndosi
- 12 Mlomo Mtetwa²
- 13 Nyambose

(We say), 'Here is Cele ka Mlomo!', when we perform a show dance, when a girl has the wedding ceremony celebrated for her in our tribe and many have gathered together. Cele was a person, no doubt of this. Ndosi is very probably an *isibongo* of the man Cele.³

- 17 The Cele tribe *originated at the Mfolozi*, between the Black and the White, where Cetshwayo was caught.⁴

Mkokeleli was the one who came across into Natal. He had a temper. He saw that his *umuzi* was great. When he got into Natal he was *always fighting*. Langa was buried between the two Mfolozi rivers. The Celes at that time were very numerous. Cele himself was buried between the Mfolozis.

I do not know where the Mtetwa originally came from. I (Mageza) have heard Tongas say, 'We all belong to the Mtetwa tribe and originally sprang from it.' The Mtetwa sprang up originally in the lands they at present occupy. The Tongas came from them, not they from the Tongas. There is no tradition as far as I know of the Mtetwa having come where they are from somewhere else.⁵

- 18 When Mkokeleli left the Mtetwa for the south of the Tukela, a number of Celes were left behind. These also left the Mtetwa and

MAGEZA ka KWEFUNGA

went northwards to Tongaland. There they remained until Magaye's day, when they left to join him in Natal, having in the meantime been so much affected by their residence in Tongaland as to speak the Tonga dialect as if they were Tongas.⁶

There is no tradition of the Mtetwa having come from the north or anywhere but where they now are.

The Mzila (Ngungunyana) people originally came from the Mtetwa of Nyambose⁷ - so says Magongo, who has spoken to men from there.

19 The reason why Mkoceleli left the Mtetwa was because his *following*⁸ had grown. He felt he had become an independent chief, *to be saluted with respect*. There was no quarrel with the Mtetwa. The tribe had however been independent for a long time before, as shown by the chief. What the hot-tempered Mkoceleli wanted was a more complete independence, and not to be in any way amenable to the stronger parent tribe. He crossed the Tukela because the Qwabe had *occupied* the territory between the Mhlatuze and Tukela.

.... <Praises of Mkoceleli omitted - eds.>

Mkoceleli was *dark brown in colour*; he was not short. The name of his principal kraal was uTshokovu; (it was, at the Mvoti (north) near Stanger.⁹ His grave is there.

20 When Mkoceleli came across the Tukela he found the amaNdhlovu tribe, the amaNgati, amaNganga, amaMbili, amaTshange, amaNxamalala, amaNhloko, amaSomi, amaNdelu, amaHlongwa, and others. When he (M.) came all these tribes *konza'd* him. He fought with these tribes. In those days there was no fighting as we understand it nowadays. If one man was killed there would be a cessation of hostilities. The commonest plan was to surrender.

The Cele arrived south of the Tukela before the Makanya and amaGwabalanda (from the Qwabe tribe) did.¹⁰

The Tuli tribe lived *at the Bluff*.¹¹ They *konza'd* to the Cele. Mnini *grew up among us*.¹² The Tulis were in occupation of the lands about the Bluff when Mkoceleli arrived in Natal. Mkoceleli took to wife a girl of the Tuli tribe. Her name was Masivuba (her father being Sivuba). Mnini, when she died, came to *call for her inhloko beast*,¹³ so she must be a daughter of Mnini's own ancestor Sivuba, a chief of the Tuli tribe. Masivuba was Dibandhlela's mother.

19.2.1905, morning.

File 61, nbk. 46, pp. 20-1.

Also present: Magongo

21 Per Mageza ka Kwefunga ka Zwana ka Mkoceleli and Magongo ka Mxakaza ka Jubela ka Mkoceleli, Mkoceleli in each case being the chief of the tribe [see genealogical tree some pages back]. The former is equal to the Tuluwana in age, the latter to that of the Ngobamakosi.¹⁴ They live under Tshonkweni¹⁵ and have been sent by him at my request. They seem to be reliable informants.

We are called amaLala; we are so called because we say '*Kutite*' and not '*Kutile*'.¹⁶

MAGEZA ka KWEFUNGA

'AmaCwabe' instead of 'amaQwabe' - Mageza so speaks.¹⁷

.... <Lala vocabulary omitted - eds.>

<19.2.1905>

File 61, nbk. 52, pp. 7-20.

7 Also present: Magongo

We do not *tefula* like the Mtetwa people.¹⁸

Existing Cele sections:

Pondoland - Zibula ka Magidigidi

Across the Mzimkulu - Mtshwetshwe ka Magidigidi

This side of the Mzimkulu - Mabojana ka Jojo ka Cabangwayo ka Dibandhlela

Up the Mzimkulu - Bekameva ka Cabatshe ka Mande ka Dibandhlela

At the Mpambanyoni - Tshonkweni ka Mntungwana ka Magaye ka Dibandhlela

At the Mlazi - Ndunge ka Cabatshe ka Mande etc.

- 8 These are the several independent sections of our tribe. Many members of the tribe are scattered about other tribes, viz. the Izinkumbi, iZembe, Ensimbini, Dumisa, emaDungeni, Kwa Ndelu, amaGwabalanda, Tolane, Kwa Tomukane (*ibastela*),¹⁹ Somjoyise (*ibastela*), Sintwangu (*in the Zulu country* under Cetshwayo). There are also members at Ingele (near Harding), among Mhini's Tuli tribe, and other places.

We were laughed at by the Zulus because of our dialect. 'You can hear he's a Lala.' The Mtetwa would therefore have changed their language for fear of ridicule and because of their closer contact with the amaNtungwa,²⁰ viz. the Zulu and Qwabe. The Qwabe *tefula*.

19.2.1905, evening.

.... <Praises of Dibandhlela and Magaye omitted - eds.>

- 12 Magaye was *light in colour*, and tall. He had *put on the headring*. Tshaka was older than Magaye, (who) was killed by Dingana. He was very handsome. Dingana killed him after Nqeto's revolt.²¹ Nqeto deserted, came to Magaye, and invited him to go with him to the Amampondo and be *given protection* by Faku. M. then *collected his people, told them what Nqeto had said*, and asked them to go with him and Nqeto. The tribe refused on the ground that they were not members of the Qwabe tribe. Nqeto first sent messengers to Magaye.
- 13 When he actually decided to go he came to Magaye in person. Nqeto revolted when the Balule *impi* was returning from the north.²² Nqeto found Magaye unprepared to go off with him. Nqeto thereupon *attacked the Cele* in the absence of the men on the Balule *campaign* and ate up their cattle. The Zulu *army* followed Nqeto and came up to him at Ezimbokodweni²³ stream where a fight occurred. Nqeto's forces were not defeated. The Zulus were defeated, came back, and crossed the Mngeni into Magaye's territory, to Ensikinsiki, a plain near the Mhlali.²⁴ Runners were sent from here to Magaye summoning him. He was called to come and pick out cattle of his

seized by Nqeto. He came accompanied by his girls. They then put him to death on the ground that he wanted to go off with Nqeto. The girls ran away. Magaye's dogs remained in charge of his corpse. This occurred at Nsikinsiki. The dogs ate him. Magaye's *people*, who had taken refuge in the forests because of Dingane's *attack*, came out and called on the girls to show them where Magaye had been killed. When they got there they found nothing but bones. They were then satisfied that he had been killed.

Messengers from D. now arrived. D. said, '*It was not my order that Magaye should be killed. I do not want Magaye's tribe to become scattered. Magaye has been killed by wrong-doers. Magaye's son is to be sought out and instated as chief. The amaCele are to assemble and discuss my proposal.*' The Cele tribe thereupon appointed Mkonto, he being well on in years. So he took over the government of the tribe. D. said Mkonto ka Magaye was to *put on the headring*. He did so. When he was an *elderly man* and had *taken two wives*, he was called by Dingana, who ordered him to call together his tribe and go and build an *umuzi* for Dingana. Mkonto *called his people together*. The tribe accompanied Mkonto to Dingana carrying *axes*. They *cut timber for the umuzi* and built it under Sotobe's²⁵ superintendence. (I forget the name of it.) On the day this kraal - across the Tukela - was being finished (*the top of the fence was being trimmed*), an *alarm* was sounded to the effect that '*A lion is killing off the cattle of the king*. Let the *impi* go forth to kill it, and the Celes must join it with their axes, which they are to use in destroying the animal.' The *impi* went out, and went to where the lion was. After going a little way they found themselves suddenly surrounded on all sides, back and front, by Zulu forces, who thereupon proceeded to stab them to death. It was said that the *lion* was in a hollow and visible. The Cele were massacred on this occasion. Mkonto of course was among them and also came by his death. The Zulu regiments had orders not to *stab* members of the Njanduna kraal. Upon this the whole tribe became scattered, many *being given refuge by the izinduna of the Zulu country*, viz. Kokela ka Mncumbata who gave refuge to Mntungwana; Sondoda ka Mbelekwana who gave refuge to Magidigidi and others; Mpangazita ka Mncumbata who gave refuge to Kwefunga, Mdumadwa ka Dibandhlela, Mbopa of the emaSabaleni; Nombanga ka Ngedhli. Sintwangu was a prominent Cele man; he became the principal Cele chief in Zululand. He always remained in Zululand.

A section of the Celes built at the drift of the Mngeni near Durban and on the south side. When they subsequently left the Mngeni they went to Pondoland. When they returned from Pondoland they went to live at the Mpambanyoni.²⁶ When they got there Magidigidi came back to them. Magidigidi crossed into Natal after Mpande's fight with Dingana at Maqongqo.²⁷ Magidigidi was installed as chief even though he had no *headring*. He then *ruled* and became *chief of the amaCele*.

Mande was a son of Dibandhlela and older than Magaye. When he (*the eldest son*) came of age he heard that his father's heir was still quite young and was living among the Qwabe people, where he had been hidden. Mande got angry on hearing this. Dibandhlela, hearing of this, spoke to his son Mziboneli, asking him to espouse Magaye's cause by *taking his side* against Mande. Mziboneli collected forces and went off to fight Mande. Four battles occurred. On the

fifth occasion Mande's forces were got the better of. When this occurred Magaye came out of his hiding place. He then built a kraal at the Mhlali and called it eMhlazi. After a little, a rumour got about to the effect that an Mntungwa was descending from the north and that he wore as a penis-cover the shell of the fruit of the itongwane tree, such as are used for snuffboxes. Dibandhlela thereupon called up the whole of his tribe. He said this Mntungwa was not to have assegais thrown at him, for this man adopted terrible tactics in war, viz. he killed off not only the males but the females among his enemies and impaled them on posts, including children. This Mntungwa was Tshaka. He said he did not want to fight with T. Dibandhlela then *disbanded his army and it went home*. D. said those girls who had been prohibited by him from marrying were to marry, i.e. those who had been set apart for Magaye on his being nominated as chief. Dibandhlela now died. There was no fighting, only mourning.

After a time messengers from Tshaka arrived carrying *brass beads strung on strings*. These were all given to Magaye. Magaye gave praises to them. The reason for the beads being sent was to ascertain if Magaye wanted T. to attack him. Magaye then presented them with a beast. They then passed on to Mande, Magaye's enemy. Mande, however, refused to have anything to do with the beads. He said, 'Never will I come under the protection of an Mntungwa who wears the shell of the itongwane fruit as a penis-cover.' The Zulu messengers thereupon went away forthwith, hearing their king slandered in this fashion.

T. then sent a force against Mande. Fighting occurred for two days. Mande was defeated. Mande then left and went to the Ndwandwe country, for he escaped from being captured. After getting to the Ndwandwe he returned. He said, 'I shall not take refuge with aliens while a child of my father is ruling.' He came to Magaye. Magaye built him a kraal at the Mhlali. EMfeni was the name of the kraal. Cattle were thereupon presented by Magaye to Mande. Mande stayed there two months. At the end of that time Magaye suddenly heard that Mande's kraal was on fire. Magaye then sent a force to ascertain why this kraal had been burnt. The men arrived to find the whole place burnt to cinders and Mande dead, having been killed by Tshaka's impi. Magaye then went to Tshaka to inquire why Mande was killed off in this way. T. said, 'I, Magaye, know nothing of this matter. Today is the first I heard of it.' T. called up those who had made the attack on Mande's kraal. They were in their turn attacked on the ground that they were bandits who had come to steal cattle on their own account²⁸

20.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 52, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Magongo

(The names of) Mkokeleli's imizi that separated off can be given, but not those of Langa, showing that Mkokeleli must be the one who brought the Cele south of the Tukela. Mageza is in no doubt that this is the man who came south. Magongo agrees. They do not, however, (know) what Mtetwa king was reigning at the time, Dingiswayo, Jobe, or Kayi etc.

MAGEZA ka KWEFUNGA

We do not know Langa's kraal. Yes, it must be eMbutweni, for Maquza ka Gawushana [my informant] comes from there.²⁹ Emkungweni is another of Langa's kraals. Mageza says: I do not know the kraals except for the fact that people are said to belong to them. I do not therefore know the main kraal. The eMbutweni section is so ancient that we, says Magongo, intermarry with them, as they have, on account of their antiquity, *become distinct from us*.³⁰ There are very few descendants of Emkungweni living. This does not apply to the Embutweni (people), who have a river of their own in Tshonkwani's tribe, Maquza being the oldest.

Mkokeleli's kraals: uTshokovu (the great kraal), oNikela, emaSwazini, eNgwazini (where I, Mageza, spring from), emaNakeni, emaCadini, Kwa Tshange.

22 Dibandhlela's kraals: oNikela, emaSwazini etc. The kraal Dibandhlela *left* with from Mkokeleli is oNikela. Others of Dibandhlela's kraals: Endungunyeni, ekuLomeni, enHlulweni, ekuBubeni, emKanzini, oLwasini, eNgcausheni, eNyenyenzi, ekuMinzeni, and others.

Magaye *left* with the Mdhlazi (kraal) from Dibandhlela. His other kraals were Esokeni, ukuMangala, uNjanduna, Rodi, eHlatini, uDaba (Mntungwana's kraal), Emdhlela, and others. Emdhlazi is Magaye's main kraal.

Nyenyenzi was not Dibandhlela's main kraal. ONikela was, for it was from oNikela that Magaye *left* and *built* Mdhlazi, Magaye's great kraal.³¹ Emdhlazi was built *on a ridge* across the Tongati, between the Tongati and the Mhlali, this side of Nsikinsiki, i.e. the plain [Compensation flats?]. Emdhlazi kraal had two gates, and as big as Tshaka's kraals, for Magaye copied Tshaka.

We do not know anything at all (not even *praises*) concerning Langa, Sodi, Nqumela or those before him. Our fathers began with Mkokeleli and laid the greatest stress on Magaye with whom they lived.

23 My father Kwefunga, says Mageza, was of the Mdhlazi regiment. Mine, says Magongo, was of the Njanduna regiment. Others of Magaye's regiments were the Sokamlilo, Rodi, Njanduna and uDaba.

We Cele people are said to have *originated at the White and Black Mfolozis, from the reeds*. Whether that meant the reeds found at the river sides in hollows etc. I know not, says, Magongo, but we are spoken of as having originated with the Mtetwas at the spot named. There is absolutely no rumour as to our having descended from the north or indeed come from anywhere.

We no longer visit those in Zululand. We live under Tshonkwani, at the Mpambanyoni river, also the amaHlongwa river - between the two.

Mageza was born at the Mhlali. He was herding when Piti (Piet Retief) was killed by Dingana at Mgungundhlovu. Magongo was born at the Mpambanyoni.

24 Mkwebi ka Dibandhlela went to the Ndwandwe tribe with Mande [see previous pages]. The Ndwandwe were attacked by the Zulu and defeated, whereupon Mkwebi and a large section of followers refused to come back to his old tribal lands because afraid of being put to death by Tshaka. He thereupon parted with Mande and went north as far as Mzilikazi, whom he *konza'd*. He there became Mzilikazi's *war doctor*. He had gone off (with) the drugs etc. belonging to Mande. As often as Mzilikazi's *impi* returned successful from a campaign, Mzilikazi

MAGEZA ka KWEFUNGA

would make him a present of cattle. Mkwebi's cattle were, however, seized by the Boers, whereupon he set forth to Emmguni, where he died. Emmguni is the Xosa territory near Port Elizabeth.

Later on Sidinane, son of Mkwebi, came to Mntungwana. He heard there were amaCele in the south, so he came along looking about for them. He was mounted with some followers. Previously to this, Mkwebi sent three horses by messengers to Natal to ascertain if Mande had an heir. Those horses were for the heir as a present. The horses however did not reach their destination; only the messengers did. Sidinane came to Pondoland and asked Mcikela (Mqikela)³² where the Celes were. M. said, 'Yes, I have a daughter of Magidigidi here.' S. thereby found a clue as to where his tribesmen were. S. then went on to Magidigidi, Mqikela giving him two messengers. Magidigidi killed a beast for him and gave him men to take him on to Xabashe where his own people were.³³ X. gathered his people to listen to S.'s remarks. S. spoke, saying, 'I am the son of Mkwebi who followed Mande in age.' X. then called up a dancing festival, and S. was danced for. S. was on a visit only. He returned to his people in the country of the Nguni. He was quite grey, says Mageza. Magongo saw him; this was before 1873 (Langalibalele's war).

<The following notes appear on a loose sheet of paper annexed to the back cover of nbk. 52, File 61 - eds.>

20.2.1905. Magongo.

*I swear by the chief who was eaten by dogs.*³⁴

I swear by the chief who was eaten by dogs.

*I swear by the chief when he is at Mvuleni.*³⁵

I swear by the chief of Mpetsheya (the name of the place where he was killed).

[Mpetsheya, Dinya says, was a member of the Cele tribe of the Tshange section. The place got named after him.]³⁶

Uvelemizini was the name of Magaye's dog which guarded him. We killed the dog. It remained with him, and that is how the bones were found. There were a number of other dogs.

The Cele separated from the Mtetwa very long before Mkokeleli, but M. was the first to cross the Tukela.

Notes

¹The reference is to page 3 of notebook 46, File 61, where Stuart has recorded a Cele chiefly genealogy given by Maquza kaGawushane on 3.2.1905, and a list of Cele chiefs given by Mvakwendlu Siveshe on 13.2.1905. Maquza's evidence is given in full in the present volume; Siveshe's list, together with information subsequently given by another informant, Dinya, on 18.4.1905, appears in Appendix 2. Cf. also the Cele genealogy recorded by Bryant in Olden Times, p. 544.

²The positioning of this name in the original seems to suggest that Stuart wished to record Mtetwa as a brother of Mlomo and a son of Nyambose. The names are given in order of ascent, not descent.

³Bryant, Olden Times, p. 544, gives Ndosì as a figure in the Cele

chiefly line.

- ⁴If this statement refers to the capture of Cetshwayo at the end of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, Mageza was misinformed, for the king was captured in the Ngome forest north of the Black Mfolozi.
- ⁵On the relationship between the Mthethwa and Tsonga peoples see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 108, 232-3, 280, History, pp. 127, 134; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, pp. 134-7.
- ⁶For Cele relationships with the Mthethwa and Tsonga peoples see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 538, History, pp. 84-5, 127, 134.
- ⁷Mzila was son and heir of Soshangane, founder of the Gasa kingdom in what is today south-central Mozambique. Soshangane had originally lived at Tshaneni mountain near the southern end of the Lubombo range in northern Zululand. Ngungunyana was son and heir of Mzila, whom he succeeded c.1884. See Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 43, History, pp. 9, 12.
- ⁸*Umuzi wa kasabo* in the original.
- ⁹A town on the Natal north coast.
- ¹⁰On the expansion of the Qwabe into the territories south of the Thukela see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 187, 499, 537-8, 545. Cf. Bryant's History, p. 133.
- ¹¹Part of present-day Durban.
- ¹²For a brief biographical sketch of the Thuli chief Mmini see Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 13-14. See also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 503 ff, History, pp. 90-2.
- ¹³The original has *biza inhloko yake*. The meaning of the phrase is obscure. Literally *inhloko* means head. When referring to cattle it may mean a beast from which others have been bred.
- ¹⁴The Thulwana age-group was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s. The Ngobamakhosi was formed c.1873 of youths born in the early 1850s.
- ¹⁵Another of Stuart's informants, who was chief of the Cele in the Alexandra division on the Natal south coast.
- ¹⁶For discussion of the Lala and their speech forms see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 233-5; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ¹⁷This statement occurs in the original as a note in the top margin of the page.
- ¹⁸This statement occurs in the original as a note in the top margin of the page.
- ¹⁹I.e. 'bastard', or person of mixed descent.
- ²⁰For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ²¹Nqetho was a Qwabe chief who led a secession from the Zulu kingdom soon after Dingane's accession in 1828. For further information see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 390 ff, History, pp. 133 ff; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Qwabe.
- ²²The reference is to the ill-fated Zulu campaign against Soshangane in 1828. UBhalule is the Olifant's river.
- ²³I.e. Umbogintwini, south of Durban.
- ²⁴A river which flows into the sea north of Durban.
- ²⁵Sothobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiyi people held high office under Shaka and Dingane. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 389, 495, 521, 546, 616 ff; Bryant, History, pp. 46, 78; Stuart Archive, vol. 1,

pp. 192-3.

²⁶A stream which flows into the sea near present-day Scottburgh on the Natal south coast.

²⁷In 1840.

²⁸For further information on Magaye and Mande see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 538-41, History, pp. 85-6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Cele.

²⁹Maquza's evidence appears in the present volume.

³⁰The original has *pendulwa'd*, from the verb *ukuphendula*, to alter or change.

³¹For another account of segmentation among the Cele see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 119-20.

³²Son of Faku and chief of the Mpondo 1867-87.

³³Xabashe (Cabatshe) has already been identified as father of Bhekameva, who was chief of the section of Cele in the Ixopo district.

³⁴I.e. Magaye.

³⁵The original reads '*Ng'i fung' iyosi i ke mvuleni*', which literally means, 'I swear by the chief when he is in the rain', or alternatively, '... when he is at Mvuleni'.

³⁶This passage occurs in the original as an interlinear insertion. Dinya was another of Stuart's informants.

MAGEZA KA MKONTSHWANA

<Typescript copies of Mageza's evidence are to be found in Files 12 and 25 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

21.2.1909

File 9, item 9, pp. 1-3.

1 Mageza ka Mkontshwana. Chief: Mjadu ka Sigananda.¹ Mjadu follows *Ndabaningi in age*.² He is an *old man*, of the Ndhluyengwe regiment. He lives at Ntingwe, Eliase's store. I grew up in the vicinity of the Mome.³ I came there from Kwamagwaza,⁴ where I was born. I came before I could *herd cattle*. I am of the Mavalana regiment. I was born about 1888, the year of Ceza.⁵

Cetshwayo once took refuge at Mome, after the Ulundi *battle*.⁶ On arriving he took refuge in a fine set of caves on the immediate right of the waterfall. When nothing was on, no danger, he would go and stay at the *old site* of Sigananda's Ehlweni kraal. From that point to the cave the distance is about a mile, and for three quarters of that distance there was a kind of causeway or enclosed path, made with branches and leaves, high enough for one to walk if slightly bending the neck. One still finds marks of axes in the trees, indicating where this path was. One thing about the path was that it purposely did not lead to the caves; it led to a direction almost opposite to them. It led to the river above the falls where it suddenly stopped, giving the appearance that the person travelling that way intended going right on to the forests beyond, whereas there was a secret path, carefully concealed, leading to the left, back to the right of the waterfall (looking at it from the mouth of the Mome valley) and then to the caves.

2 The caves are large and roomy, a number of them. I have visited same. *Rock rabbits* stay there now. There is an *aura* about the place, because of its having been the king's hiding place. The *izindwira* are said to have lived below the fall, where some small *temporary shelters* were the year before last. The caves have no name. The enclosed pathway is known as *ifuku*.⁷ The reason it was put up was to obviate the king being waylaid. As a matter of fact he might have been waylaid above (at the) Ehlweni site.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

There are wild pigs in the Nkandhla near Mome. They go about in twos and threes.

The Mome valley is occupied by natives as before. The old grass

was burnt and then they built. Mpiyondeni lives where Bambata's *impi* halted.⁸ The kraal Captain Stuart's⁹ party pitched tents at is Mpiyondeni's - now re-constructed. There are leopards in the forest - not many. They are at Manzipambana. There are caves at Manzipambana, but they were never used for anything.

3 There are said to be ghosts at the Mome valley now; they are short, like dwarfs, and cause tears to flow freely, and one cannot walk, just as if one's feet sink as into soft sand by the seashore. Nomaqavela saw the ghosts; he was with Samu at the time. The time was about 7 p.m. They ran away and did not even sleep at their homes that night. There were several ghosts seated on either side of the path, just at the little neck (above Bambata's camp where the artillery came to). These ghosts were singing, but in an inarticulate way, as if their tongues were cut out. Other people declare having seen ghosts in Mome, and even the footprints. Formerly no ghosts were in this valley. I frequently went through at night, after *courting*, but saw nothing. Now I would not go in alone.

Imikovu belonged to *abatakati*.¹⁰ *Abatakati* bring on ghosts. We have not been able to find out who has brought on these particular ones. We expect to find the author of these ghosts.

Nhlomeni ka Sikinizolo about four months ago got lost for three weeks. Two days after this period he was discovered in the bush just behind where Captain Stuart's camp was. He was seated and had had *incisions cut in the skin* all over the body. He could give no account as to how this had come about, although doctors attended to him and cured him. He can speak now. We attribute his experiences to the *imikovu*.

Notes

¹Sigananda, chief of the Cube in the Nkandla division, was a prominent figure in the disturbances of 1906. He died in July of that year.

²Ndabaningi was another son of Siganda.

³A gorge in the Nkandla forest.

⁴An Anglican mission station ten kilometres south-west of present-day Melmoth.

⁵The Mavalana age-group was formed in 1906 of men born in the 1880s. Ceza, a hill some thirty kilometres south-west of present-day Non-goma, was the scene of an engagement between British troops and the forces of Dinuzulu in 1888.

⁶The reference is to Cetshwayo's flight to the Nkandla forest after his defeat by Zibhebhu in 1883.

⁷Literally a tangled mass of grass.

⁸Bambatha kaMancinza, chief of the Zondi people living in the Mpanza valley north-west of Greytown, was an active rebel leader during the disturbances of 1906.

⁹Stuart was an officer in the Natal colonial forces during the disturbances of 1906.

¹⁰The *umkhovu* (pl. *imikhovu*) is the familiar used by an *umthakathi*.

MAGIDI KA NGOMANE

7.5.1903

File 60, nbk. 21, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Ndhlovu, Ndukwana?

- 1 Magidi ka Ngomane.¹ Father died when I was two or three years old. I knew him. Ngomane ka Mqomboli ka Caya² ka Sitole ka Nkomo ka Gumede ka Kuzwayo. I don't know when Mqomboli died. He died in Dingiswayo's reign.

I am of the Mtetwa tribe, and of the Ndhlonhlo regiment.³ I crossed over with Mawa in Mpande's reign.⁴ My father was dead then. He died when the Boers fought Dingana.

I don't know Ngomane's regiment.

I never returned to Zululand (to live, but) visited in Zululand many times.

- 2 Dingiswayo called Ngomane, who lived at Yengweni,⁵ and said, 'Ngomane, son of Mqomboli, look after this child of the chief for me.' Ngomane agreed to do so. Tshaka built at Kwa Ngqogqa in the Mtetwa country. Tshaka had come with his mother Nandi and sister Nomcoba, also Ngqengelele, father of Mnyamana. He came with him from Zululand. T. came, being a youth.⁶

A song: *'It went ngqwaba ngqwaba,
Go away, go away with it (i.e. assegai),
Go away!'*⁷

Dingiswayo ka Jobe ka Kali ka Xaba ka Madanga.⁸

The name of a regiment was Mnyeyana 'of Somaduka who drank whey with thorns.'

- 3 Girls were married off by command⁹ in Dingiswayo's day.

(I have) three brothers living: Mudwa (well-informed) of the iHlaba (age-group) who lives at Nseleni; Mayeke, (who lives) near the sea across the Mhlatuze and across the Nseleni; and Mgimbaza, who follows Mudwa in age and lives near Mudwa. These three are Ngomane's sons. My mother was of the iCenyane class.¹⁰

- 4 Caya's grave is between the two Mfolozis, in the fork. When Dingiswayo asked Ngomane, then induna of Yengweni kraal, to look after Tshaka, Mqomboli was already dead. Our isibongo is Caya. These people lived in the fork of the two Mfolozis. We however belong to the

MAGIDI

Mtetwa people.

The people I hear of who *originated* at the Mhlatuze are the Dube.

I heard my people *went down* the Black Mfolozi, i.e. the Caya. The Mtetwa *originated up-country beneath the Drakensberg*. We came and settled at Magudu.¹¹

I know the following Dube chiefs: Kutshwayo, father of Nzwakele (who was) father of Habane.¹² The Dube people lived south of the Mhlatuze.

The Sokulu of Nqoboka ka Langa: this is another very old tribe living nearer the sea than the Mtetwa, and north of the Mhlatuze.

5 The Sokulu people are still living there.

Tshaka had a heading. He *put it on* among the Mtetwa - he was *authorized to do so* by Dingiswayo.¹³

I know that Senzangakona came to Dingiswayo with Nkomo of the Mbata people, father of Diyikana. [Mtshayankomo confirms this about Nkomo having accompanied Senzangakona - 10.1.1922.] *A dance was held in their honour. Tshaka danced and recited praises. Senzangakona was present. A beast was slaughtered for him. Senzangakona returned home after having received a present of cattle from Dingiswayo. Nkomo remained behind. When Senzangakona had reached home D. gave Nkomo cattle. He went off with them, but whilst going off was attacked by a party previously sent to lie in wait, and was put*
6 *to death. Nkomo was killed because he did not hold a dance for Dingiswayo or make him a present of cattle.*

Senzangakona *konza'd* to Dingiswayo and brought a *present of cattle*. D. visited the Amambata, but because they did not give a dance in his honour and *give him a present of cattle* he caused Nkomo to be killed. Nkomo and Senzangakona visited Dingiswayo together.

Dingiswayo directed Ngomane to *bring up* Tshaka, the *child of a chief*. Ngomane proceeded to do so. Ngomane went to the Zulus with Tshaka, together with those with whom Tshaka had come from the Zulus. He did not take *soldiers*. Tshaka arrived *in the Zulu country* whilst
7 Senzangakona was still living. Senzangakona was *overcome by fear* and died, and Tshaka *disputed the succession* with Sigujana. The people accepted Tshaka as soon as he arrived, so he was able to contend successfully against Sigujana.¹⁴ Tshaka at this time had no wives.

Emnguni or ebuNguni, i.e. the Pondos, Xosa, Basutos, is a general term.¹⁵

Tshaka, it is said, had a son Zibizendhlela, but he *died in the country of the Nguni*, i.e. among the Pondos etc. in the Cape colony. I do not know where Zibizendhlela was born. Dingana killed Nzwakele on account of Zibizendhlela.¹⁶ It is certain he was a son of Tshaka by a sweetheart. Didiza ka Lupahla is said to have *gone away with Zibizendhlela*. Zulu ka Nogandaya died at the Mkomazi.¹⁷ (He) went
8 off with Zibizendhlela. We say Zibizendhlela is with the Europeans. Zulu ka Nogandaya *escaped with cattle*. He was afraid of being accused of having *concealed* Zibizendhlela. He *escaped* in Dingana's time. Nzwakele was killed by Dingana for having *concealed* Zibizendhlela.¹⁸

MAGIDI

'*The white man's country of Febana*', i.e. Farewell.¹⁹

'(A man) cannot serve two masters', as was said by Mudhli²⁰ to Dingiswayo when directed to protect Tshaka as against Senzangakona.

Nandi was killed by Tshaka himself as she *concealed a girl's pregnancy*. The girl was *cut open*.

8.2.1904

File 9, item 45, p. 1.

1 My father was Ngomane ka Mqomboli ka Cala (Caya) ka Sitole ka Ntulizankomo.

My father's sons were:

Ngubane - of the Dhlangezwa regiment. Married Mpande's sister Noziqungu (*a daughter of Senzangakona; she followed Mpande in age*). Dead; killed by Dingana for no particular reason. He was *the eldest son* but not *the chief*.

Mapoloba - of the Inyosi regiment; was an *induna* of the Inyosi regiment. He was killed at the Ncome²¹ by the Boers. I have no clear recollection of him.

Nkulukudhleni - of the Dhlambedhlu regiment; *induna* in this regiment. Wounded at the Ncome, came home and died. I saw him. *He was of our place*. He was the principal son.

Dedema - father of Nqangi. Of the Ihlaba regiment. Dead. I knew him.

Kanzana - killed at the Ncome. Ihlaba regiment.

There were many other sons. I have given only the chief ones.

Sincwanguya, *eldest daughter* in Nkulukudhleni's house, was of *Dingana's iBeje kraal, of his isigodhlo*. She married Nongquya (and was) *lobola'd* with 20 head of cattle, (which were) paid to Mpande. These cattle were paid to Dedema, my brother.

Notes

¹Magidi was chief of the emDletsheni or Caya people in the Lower Tugela division. His father Ngomane had had charge of a district in Jobe's Mthethwa chiefdom, and had later held high office under both Dingiswayo and Shaka. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 64, 116, 120, 203, 595, 611, 613; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Shaka.

²Bryant, Olden Times, p. 116, gives Ngomane's grandfather as Qaba.

³Bryant, Olden Times, p. 116, claims that the emDletsheni people were related to 'the Mlotsha-Kumalo group of Ntungwa-Nguni' rather than to the Mthethwa. The indlondlo age-grade was formed c.1857 of youths born c.1837.

⁴Mawa, sister of Senzangakhona, fled from the Zulu country to Natal in 1843.

⁵One of Dingiswayo's *imizi*.

⁶On Ngomane's affording Shaka protection see also Bryant, Olden Times, p. 64; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 180. Ngqengelele ka-Mvulana of the Buthelezi people seems to have held high office under Shaka (see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *izinDuna*), but is not mentioned by any other source as having accompanied him.

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to the Mthethwa country. Mnyamana was one of Cetshwayo's principal *izinduna*.

⁷The original reads: *Kwati ngqwaba ngqwaba*
Ye muka ye muka nayo (i.e. assegai)
Ye muka.

On this song see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 97; Stuart, Baxoxele, p. 21.

⁸Cf. the Mthethwa chiefly genealogy given by Bryant in Olden Times, p. 85.

⁹The original has *jutshwa'd*.

¹⁰The iChenyane was an age-grade of young women formed c.1823 by Shaka.

¹¹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 83, gives the Mthethwa as having come from the littoral below the Lubombo mountains in the south of present-day Mozambique. Magudu is a prominent hill between the Mkhuze and Phongolo rivers.

¹²Cf. the line of Dube chiefs given by Bryant in Olden Times, p. 108.

¹³The original has, 'He *tunga'd* at Mtetwa - was *tunga'd* by Dingi-swayo'.

¹⁴Sigujana was another of Senzangakhona's sons. On the succession dispute see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 120, where the implication is that Sigujana had succeeded Senzangakhona to the Zulu chiefship before it was usurped by Shaka; and also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 182, 196, 199.

¹⁵For discussion of the term Nguni, from which the locatives eMnguni and ebuNguni are derived, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 3, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

¹⁶On Dingane's killing of Nzwakele of the Dube people see also Bryant, Olden Times, p. 107.

¹⁷Zulu kaNogandaya was a renowned warrior under Shaka. For further information on him see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 101-2.

¹⁸On Zibizendlela see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 176.

¹⁹Francis Farewell (Zulu name: Febana) was leader of the party of British traders which landed at Port Natal in 1824.

²⁰Mudli kaNkwelo acted as co-regent in the Zulu chiefdom during the minority of Senzangakhona. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 45-6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Zulu Royal House: men.

²¹Or Blood river.

MAGIDIGIDI KA NOBEBE

5.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 70, pp. 11-12.

Also present: Dayi, Norman Nembula?

- 11 Magidigidi, alias Simeon Nobebe, arrives with Dayi from Amanzimtoti.

Magidigidi says he belongs to the amaCunu tribe. He was a policeman at Greytown and knew father. He crossed over with Mpande into Natal in 1839, being then a mat-bearer. He was present as a mat-bearer for the izimPohlo at the battle of Maqongqo (not far from Vryheid, far up the two Umfolozis).¹ He is the same age as Mpande's Dhlambedhlu regiment [say 82 years of age - born c.1823], which was *followed in age* by the Izingulube [Dinya's age].² This would make him about 80. He has no headring.

John Shepstone once had under consideration the question of his leaving his chief Pakade to become a Christian convert.³ Shepstone decided against him, ordering him to compensate Pakade.

He says Qwabe is associated with Nozidiya, not Zulu, and Nozidiya may be a woman.⁴ Nkosenkulu is one of the Zulu kings.⁵

Magidigidi was born at Nobamba and there grew up.⁶

- 12 [Norman Nembula also arrived this evening from Newcastle and Dundee district. He saw Ndimande (aet. 91 or so) at Alcocks' Spruit, Malinga (aet. 49) at Alcocks' Spruit, Almana Dhlamini (aet. 91) at Lenge, Umsinga division, and -- <sic> Zulu of Edendale, all good informants and prepared to come down. Almana has 70 children.]

6.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 70, pp. 12-20.

Also present: Norman Nembula

Magidigidi speaks. Magidigidi ka Nobebe ka Minza ka Notusi ka Gasela ka Bulisa ka Madani ka Ndawonde ka Sibene ka Naia ka Ngcenge.

I am of the amaCunu tribe. Ndawonde is my *isibongo*, the Ndawonde being a section of the Cunu tribe. I was (of the age of) Dingana's iNsewane (age-grade) which became the uDhlambedhlu under Mpande, but I was not *butwa'd* under Mpande. Pakade *buta'd* me. I was of the uMngwempisi under Pakade.

The Cunu chiefs are Silwane ka Gabangaye ka Pakade ka Macingwane ka Luboko ka Dibandhlela ka Nyanda ka Jama ka Ndaba ka M-cunu ka Malandela.⁷ M. is sure as far as Nyanda. Jama is the son of Ndaba;

MAGIDIGIDI

so is Mcunu (the son) of Malandela; but he is not sure if Nyanda is Jama's son, or Ndaba Mcunu's. Jama is also said to be Yeyeza's son [see next page].

13 Zulu, Qwabe and Mcunu were the sons of Malandela.

Kanyile ka Ngwana.⁸ Mcunu is the one who took the chieftainship of Kanyile. Their father slaughtered a beast, and set aside a leg and the meat covering the ribs. He called his sons. Kanyile, who was the elder, took the leg. Mcunu took the rib meat (*insonyama*). So it was he who then became chief, and continued so.⁹ The Kanyile people have no chief now; they are mixed up with the Cunu tribe. The Kanyile people are well established both in the Zulu and Cunu tribes. Kanyile was an ancestor of Bovungana ka Mavela.

6.5.1905, evening.

Jama ka Yeyeza of the Mngeni. Mngeni is an *isitakazelo*.

14 Zulu crossed over, Cunu remained behind, and Qwabe went off down the Mhlatusze. Zulu crossed over to the White Mfolozi. The Zulus lived between the Mhlatusze and the White Mfolozi. At the great Itala Zulu territory ended, extending from Mahlabatini. Macingwane built at the little Itala.¹⁰

Zulu and Mcunu are the sons of one and the same person. The amaCunus are amaNtungwa just as the Zulus are; so also are the Qwabes, but as they lived down-country near the Mtetwa they *tefula'd*.¹¹

The spot from which Zulu, Mcunu and Qwabe separated or split up was at the Ndhlovane [see map of Zulu kings' graves], a stream which enters the Mzinhlanga, and this enters the Mfolozi. The Zulu graves are near the Mzinhlanga stream. The Ndhlovane passes by the Isikume hill and enters the Mfolozi.¹²

15 I do not know where the *donga* of Tatiyana is.

The separation actually took place at the Mhlatusze, upstream in the neighbourhood of the Itala. Zulu went and settled first at the Ndhlovane. Cunu remained at the Itala, up the Mhlatusze. The Ndhlovane may not enter the Mzinhlanga. Ndhlela ka Sompisi afterwards lived at the Ndhlovane.¹³

The Cunus were neighbours with the Zulus and amaCube - the iron-smiths. Near us too were the abaMbo, on the Nsuzze and extending to the Qudeni. The Kanyile people are part of the Cunus.

The Zulus, Cunus and Qwabes are *abarwebi*, i.e. hawkers, hawkers of medicines.¹⁴ They also sold medicine made from the *indungulu* plant for fevers. It is carried in winter. In summer it is used to ward off lightning. There is also a superstition in regard to it that if anyone goes across his garden with it in his possession his crop fails.

16 The *abarwebi* are people from up-country, for instance the amaHlubi tribe.

The Tshangala people of Sibata lived at the base of the Itala mountain. They caused rain to come, and were killed off by Dingana for having done so. Dingana asked them to make rain but not to allow thunder. They consented, but thunder and lightning came, killing off both people and the king's cattle, and this was the reason why D. put them to death. These people were *abarwebi*. The Hlubis cannot make rain.

The Zolweni people [see what Stephen Mini¹⁵ says], who lived at a hill at Kwa Gasa also could bring on rain.¹⁶ Godongwana was their

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chief. Godongwana's son was Mdingi.

We Cunus, like the Qwabe and the Zulu, are freely spoken of as abeSutu.

- 17 The amaCube are amaNtungwa like us. Their chiefs are Mvakela ka Dhlaba, Siganda ka Zokufa ka Mvakela ka Dhlaba.¹⁷ They also make brass beads, hoes, and assegais, and also work brass.¹⁸

- Tshaka and Macingwane. Tshaka attacked the Ndwonde people, who were a section of the Cunu. This people fought with the Cube and captured Mvakela, the Cube chief. Tshaka became angry because of the amaCube being defeated, for they were those who worked his *itusi*. Tshaka then brought the Mqumana regiment to crush the Ndwonde, and killed this people off. Upon this Macingwane fled. Tshaka pursued Macingwane, who fled in the direction of Nsikeni in Pondoland, where he died from a wandering existence (from destitution). Macingwane fled with his *induna* Mbeti of the Majola people of the place of Ngqulunga (a person). After Macingwane was lost sight of by the tribe the latter returned to Zululand. Macingwane was followed up by Tshaka's *impi* as far as Nsikeni, and it was there that M., Mbeti (his *induna*), and Masogobile (his wife, his favourite, but not the principal wife, the mother of Pakade) went astray. No one knows where M. died or what became of him.
- 18

The Cunus returned to the Zulu country, to Mahlabatini, saying they would not *konza* amaLala¹⁹ but preferred to *konza* Zulus. Tshaka then proclaimed that anyone killing any of Macingwane's late followers would be severely dealt with.

- After a while word came to say that Macingwane had been seen and was still living. The Cunus then started off after their chief. T. directed that they were not to be interfered with, and were to be allowed to go to their own chief. He said to them they could return if they could not find their chief. They, however, could not find M.
- 19 They heard that he had been eaten by cannibals at Nsikeni.²⁰ This hill is across the Mzimkulu and Ingwagwane, near Kokstadt.

Macingwane left Zululand at the same time as Ncapayi ka Madikane of the amaBaca and Matiwane ka Masumpa of the amaNgwane.

The Cunus now returned a second time to Zululand and *konza'd* Tshaka. Later on under Pakade they established themselves separately. This took place when Mpande crossed into Natal, separating from Dingana. Many other tribes became independent when Mpande fled into Natal. They seized that opportunity for doing so.

Dingiswayo never fought with the amaCunu. Tshaka as a boy never came to the Cunu country.

- 20 Mbelebele was an *ikanda* of Tshaka, with the men of which he harassed all the nations. When Zwide left the Zulu country he was pursued by the Mbelebele regiment.

.... <Praises of Macingwane omitted - eds.>

<6.5.1905>

File 62, nbk. 71, p. 3.

Also present: Norman Nembula?

- 3 I knew Pakade well. Gabangaye and Mbonjana ka Pakade were killed

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at Sandhswana. They were part of the Natal forces. Pakade died somewhere about 1882. He was of the Inkwenkwezi regiment (Macingwane's), the same age as the amaWombe in Zululand.

7.5.1905, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 71, pp. 3-13.

Also present: Norman Nembula

Macingwane's main kraals were Engonyameni, eLangeni, eNkanini, eNkomba, eNkaulweni, eMdakeni, eMbangwini, Ebatweni.

His regiments: Ingagu, abaTwa, Izinkwenkwezi, uMungu, amaTshanga. The oldest of these was the Ingagu, the youngest the amaTshanga. All are here given in their right order. The Ingagu and abaTwa had kraals of their own. The Izinkwenkwezi were stationed at Ngonyameni. uMungu was at Langeni, and the amaTshanga were also at Ngonyameni.

4 Pakade's kraals, in addition to Macingwane's given above, were eMxweleni, eMxwelaneni, ekuLingeleni, ekuNengeleni, ekuVukeni.

Pakade's regiments²¹

Izipunzi^a
Isicanulo
Isangole
uMngwempisi^b
iMbungulu
uMatinikwana
abeSutu
iNyandezulu
abaTwa^c
Isixwazi
Izimpisi
iMvukuzane
uKongolo^d

^aOf Pakade's own age

^bMy regiment, called after a beast killed at the Mhlangana river which enters the Tukela. (It had been) eating goats. It was brought to the chief as unknown. Some came forward and said its name was *umngwempisi*. We ate it, i.e. my regiment, whereupon we were called after it. I partook of it.

^cNamed after Macingwane's regiment.

^di. e. these were *amaboza of Pakade*, just as the Ingcobinga were *amaboza of Tshaka* - called by Dingana Izinyosi - and Insewane were *amaboza of Dingane* - called by Mpande uDhlambedhlu - and Umciso were *amaboza of Mpande* - afterwards called by Cetshwayo Kandempemvu.²²

I do not know what Silwane called the uKongolo, for he succeeded Pakade, as Gabangaye, as previously stated, was killed prior to Pakade's death at Isandhlwana. Silwane has *buta'd* the uDhlamanzi amongst other regiments. His great kraal is Esitozeni (i.e. he overshadows others), Esinyameni (*of Gabangaye*), eziNtandaneni (*his main umazi, built by Silwane himself*). I cannot speak clearly as to the rest as I no longer live in the tribe but at Amanzimtoti.

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The kraal Pakade was born in eLangeni. I do not know that which Macingwane was born in. My impression is that Macingwane was born in eNgonyameni, for *when a chief begins his reign he rules from the place of his father*²³ - this is the custom.

My regiment, the uMngwempisi, was at first the uMkweyandhlovu, but this gave way to the former.

Pakade was very tall and extremely stout. He had a headring.

Macingwane is supposed to have been eaten by *cannibals*, as his body, that of his *induna* and *that of his wife* were not recovered. He died in the neighbourhood of Nsikeneni. He was not eaten by cannibals at Lenge (Job's Kop). [See Bryant's story.]²⁴

7.5.1905, afternoon. Magidigidi alone.

I did not leave the Cunu tribe till after 1881 (First Boer War).

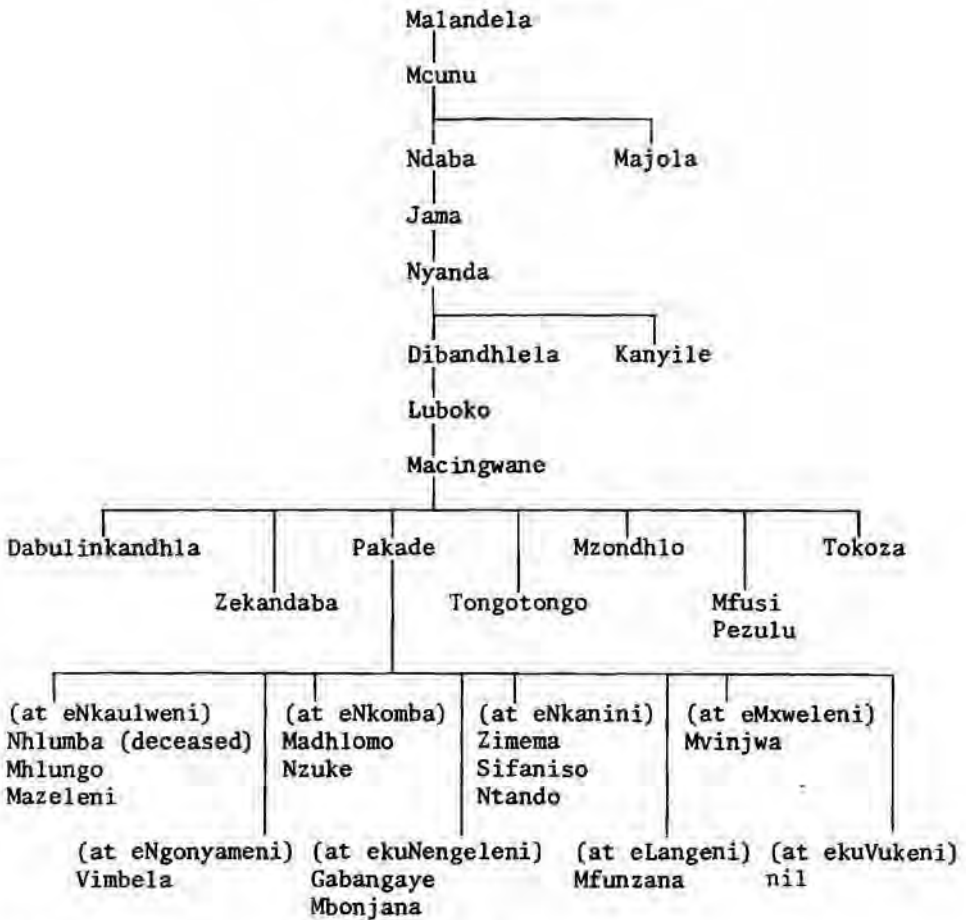
6 The Cunu tribe do not cut the little finger. They *pierce the ears*, wear *headrings*, and resemble the Zulus in every way. When, later on, Zulus *ran away*, they took refuge *among the Cunu*. There are very many who joined the tribe in this way during Mpande's and Cetshwayo's reigns.

Zimema (of Nkanini) had a dispute with Silwane, (the present chief, of ekuNengeleni). The former fled and built at Mbumbane, *near the country of the amaMpondo*. His adherents were not allowed to follow him because Silwane remonstrated. John Shepstone prevented these people from following Zimema. Z. is now dead.

Pakade imposed a punishment on Zekandaba [see further on], so he left and *konza'd* Ngoza, Sir T. Shepstone's *induna*, Ngoza ka Ludaba ka Mbuli of the Majozi (I believe a section of the amaCunu tribe).²⁵ Ngoza then lived at Mkambatini.²⁶ Ngoza was given land at the Lenge, viz. that occupied by Matshana ka Mondisa ka Jobe ka Mapita of the Tembu. Matshana was shot at by John Shepstone. He had killed a man of his own tribe. This man's wife reported the death, so the authorities decided to see the spot where the man was killed. This however was only a plot by which to capture Matshana. [See next page
8 but one.]²⁷ M. came up. J. Shepstone fired at him but struck a native alongside. M. made off, changed his *loin-cover* for another, and separated from the main body. He made off to Job's Kop (eLenge), and from there into Zululand, driving cattle with him. Matshana is still living in Zululand.²⁸ The man killed by Matshana was Sidhlatiya. Matshana's tribe is the Sitole, i.e. an offshoot of the Tembu tribe. The Tembus proper were under Ngoza ka Tshana.

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Cunu genealogical tree²⁹



Gabangaye's issue: Silwane (at eziTozeni)

- 8 Tongotongo's son left the Cunu tribe and built with Nozitshina, a Swazi, *induna* of Misjana.³⁰ I do not know why the son left. Tongotongo died *there in the Cunu country* at the Ntshokane river, which enters the Mpofana (Mooi) river.³¹ I do not know Tongotongo's issue, nor that of Mzondhlo. Tokoza also joined Ngoza, Somsewu's³² *induna*. Dabulinkandhla went to live at the Mtwalume, at the place of Maraule of the Mbo people;³³ he may be dead now.

- 9 The above sons of Macingwane left the tribe on account of a *dispute* between Dabulinkandhla and Pakade. The other *dispute* was that between Zimema and Silwane. Dabulinkandhla contended that Pakade was not the *chief* because he was of the *umsizi hut*, i.e. when the *chief* has been engaged in the rituals of chieftainship, when he has been strengthened by the *isinyanga*, he goes and sleeps there. The king is strengthened at sunset, and washes at sunrise. This is done so as to give the *chief* an imposing aura, so that he should be regarded with awe. The practice is observed at the new moon, or when the moon is

in the last quarter, and may be every month. After the *chief* has been *strengthened* in this way he will not *lie with one of his own women*; he will *lie with a daughter of a man of importance* in that district. She will not be a girl from another tribe, but of the tribe to which the chief belongs. This girl is known as the *umsizi*. When *it rains*, the chief will leave *the cattle enclosure* where he has been *rubbed with medicines until he is black*, and go to this girl's hut. This
10 girl is known as *umsizi* because when the chief goes to her he has *umsizi* on him.³⁴ Pakade and Mpande ka Senzangakona were both of the *umsizi connection*.³⁵

The chief is *doctored* by his own *izinyanga*, not by strangers. They are the chief's own medical men, who are sometimes sent by him to treat any special case that he desires should receive the best attention.

The great occasion is to *strengthen the chief* when he first becomes *chief*. On later occasions the custom, though observed, is not nearly so important. The chief, on this important first occasion, goes but once to this girl, and there *purifies himself*, i.e. removes all trace of medicines. If she becomes pregnant, well and good; if not, then she will never bear a child, for he will not again have connection with her. Now there is a curious fact with regard to this *umsizi* custom, and that is that if a woman does become pregnant she invariably bears a boy. That at any rate is my experience. I know of
11 no case where a girl was born. If the girl were to bear a female child this child would not be killed *because the chief has been strengthened through the mother*.³⁶

Norman Nembula now present.

Mfusi and Pezulu were killed by their father Macingwane because he was afraid of their ousting him from the chieftainship.

Pakade *threw an assegai* at Zekandaba when he was *replying during the hearing of a case*. He *replied* before the men did. This so incensed Pakade that he took an assegai and hurled it at him. Z. ran off. P. thereupon went in among Z.'s cattle, which were at Ngonyameni, for Z. belonged to this kraal, and stabbed all those to death which belonged to Z. Z. after this left and, as above stated, *konza'd Ngoza*. Pakade did not succeed in stabbing Z. Every effort was made after this to keep Z. in the tribe, but he refused and went off. Pakade, seeing this, seized the *girl* he had been paying *lobola* for on Zekandaba's behalf. P. gave Mzondhlo this woman, a daughter of Seyana.

12 Norman N. said an *umsizi* child is never *made chief*, but it seems that such child always *lives*, and is brought forward when the principal house has no heirs. Nembula says it seems to be usual for the *umsizi* girl to bear a boy.

Mpande was allowed to live because of his being of the *umsizi*, and (therefore one who) would not *contend for the chieftainship*.

Pakade's mother's name was Nbakajwayele; her 'married' name was Manyewe. She lived to a great age, to within a month of Pakade's death (in 1882, says Norman). As Pakade was about the age of the *amaNombe* (Tshaka's and Dingana's), so he might have been born in 1788 and so have been 93 or 94 at the time of his death. His mother died a month or two before him, so she must have been about 115-120

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years of age! I knew her well, says M. Her *isibongo* was Kimba, of the *Lamano* people, of the *Cunu*.

Macingwane's *induna* was Mbeti of the *Majola* people. I do not know who Luboko's *induna* was.

Pakade's *induna* was Swana ka Mabarane of the *Hlela* people, of the *Cunu*.

The sections (*izifunda*) of the *Cunu*: *Majola* alias *Ngqulunga*, *Kimba*, *Hlela*, *Ndawonde*, *Congco*, *Kanyile*, *Manyoni*, *Lembede*, *aba kwa Malembe*, *aba kwa Nene* (not *Kunene* - the *amaNgwane* have such a section), *amaMpembeni* alias *Dhlahla*, *Sibiya* (really a section of the *Zulu* tribe but now part of the *Cunu* tribe).

Tilonko ka *Ngunezi* ka *Singele* ka *Zihlandhlo* ka *Gwabe* ka *Kabazele* ka *Nomavovo* ka *Gubela* ka *Mkize* (?) ka *Gcaba* of the *Embo* tribe.³⁷ The *Embo* people are *amaLala*. They lived near the *amaCunu*.

8.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 71, pp. 13-21.

13 Magidigidi alone.

I was born at *Nobamba umuzi* while *Tshaka* was still ruling. We had been given refuge in the *Zulu* country as our nation had been broken up. After a time *Nobamba* removed and was rebuilt on the other side of the valley: it was in a low-lying, waterless tract of country. The *Mqeku umuzi* remained behind. That is, when *Nobamba* (was rebuilt) on a new site, the remaining site still continued to be

14 occupied by a kraal then known as the *Mqeku*.³⁸ When I became almost old enough to look after cattle the nation split and we crossed over with *Mpande* with our chief *Pakade*. We came and lived at the *Tongati* in temporary shelters constructed of branches.

Mpande now went off to fight against *Dingana*. He met him at *Maqongqo*. These hills are simply knolls, not prominent, in a stretch of open country, and are without stones. These hills are near *Ntabankulu* and *Myati*, and close to the *Black Umfolozi* at its upper part, on the right bank facing the sea. The hills are insignificant as such. I was a *mat-bearer* in this fight. We were not yet carrying our own shields. I carried there for *Mdungunya* ka *Matula* of the *Izimpohlo*. Those *Izimpohlo* on *Mpande's* side were called *iziBawu*. At first *Mpande's* forces were defeated, being badly cut up by *Dingana's* *Dhlambedhlu*. The *iziBawu* came forward and then routed the *Dhlambedhlu*. The *iziBawu* were composed of various lots of *iziMpohlo*, not the whole

15 of particular sections. Among the *Izimpohlo* were the following sections:³⁹ the *Fojisa*, *Ngqobolondo*, *Imfolozi*, *Dibinhlangu* and *Gibabanye*. The *Tshoyisa* was merely a section⁴⁰ of the *umuzi*, not a section of a regiment of men. This section was at *Mgungundhlovu*. The *iziMpohlo* had no kraal of their own; they were part of the *Mgungundhlovu umuzi* and were there stationed.

Ujibingwangi (*ingqwangi* is simply the local species of black locust) - *Tshaka* gave them this name when he was first butaing them, in their youth. Their other name was *iziNyosi*; it was given them by *Dingana*. The name *Ingcobinga* was also *Tshaka's* name for the same regiment. The *Ingcobinga* is the real name of the regiment, 'that which flings aside the black locust which gives a good taste'.

All the *Izimpohlo* were in *Mgungundhlovu*. It was they whom *Dingana*

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used to carry out his orders. 'Let the Izimpohlo come up!', would often be shouted. They were the ones who frequently put people to death, such as were so ordered to be dealt with.

16 The name Izimpohlo came from Dingana. The Izimpohlo were *butwa'd* by Tshaka but under separate names.⁴¹

I knew the kraal Mgungundhlovu well. It was close by, say four or five miles off Nobamba. I frequently carried sleeping-mats there, and gourd for water. I used to carry these things and then return home. I carried for Mdungunya, who belonged to the Fojisa section of the izimpohlo. The *izinduna* of the Fojisa were Mfetshe ka Mutiwe-nsangu of the Kubisa people (he tefula'd in his speech) (and, Sondo-nda. The Dibinhlangu was the main section⁴² of the izimpohlo; the *induna* was Dilikana. This regiment was on the left side of the kraal looking towards the gate.

The two kraals at the top of Mgungundhlovu to which no-one, not even Ndhlela, ever went, were called eNgome and eBeje. There the *umdhlwinkulu* girls went about naked. They did not cover themselves but simply walked about as they were.

'*Idhle ngezitwazi*' means to have an awe-inspiring reputation, as Dingana's kraals Ingome and iBeje.⁴³

17 There were two gates at Mgungundhlovu, so that whilst cattle entered by one, regiments might be entering by the other. At the bottom were *euphorbia* trees. It was at these that the Boers outspanned when they came to see Dingana. (The place where, these *euphorbias* (grew) was known as Kwa Nkosinkulu. I cannot think why this place was so named, whether it was a spot where a man of that name had ruled, or lived, or rested. I do not know if there was a Zulu chief of this name.

There was a kraal fence built round Mgungundhlovu with numerous small openings in it here and there through which people passed.

When the Boers were received with a ceremonial dance prior to being killed, they left their weapons at the *euphorbias*, that is, at the gate of the kraal.

8.5.1905, evening. Magidigidi continues.

18 My father was killed on the Balule campaign.⁴⁴ He was simply of the 'uNobamba regiment'; he was one of the 'white' regiments, for he had put on the headring and had wives and children. The unmarried (regiments), were called the 'black'. The men stationed at Nobamba, Mbelebele, Siklebe, Nzimazana etc. were called 'Nobamba' etc., i.e. after the name of the kraal, not after their regimental name.

The Ihlaba was stationed at Nobamba. Even though this regiment was there it would be called 'Nobamba', or better, the Ihlaba of Nobamba.

Mnkabayi used to rule at Nobamba. Mmama was also there,⁴⁵ Mnkabayi had charge of the people of a district⁴⁶ and used to stay there, viz. at ebaQulusini.⁴⁷ I have frequently seen Mnkabayi. Dingana never came to stay at Nobamba but contented himself by staying at Mgungundhlovu. Dingana occasionally visited Nobamba but never to stay.

Njunju wo hlanga was a name for Dingana.⁴⁸

When Mgungundhlovu was burnt by the Boers, Dingana went to Mqekwini, built it to a large size, and there ruled. Whilst this kraal was being built, the Mbelebele and Imvokwe (not Imvoko) regi-

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19 ments left to attack the Swazi. He organized an *ihlambo* because he had been fighting with the Boers.⁴⁹ This was before Mpande crossed over into Natal but only shortly before. I saw the Mbelebele and Imvokwe (which follows the Dhlambedhlu in age) leave for Swaziland. The Mbelebele and Imvokwe were under the command of Klwana ka Ngqengelele.⁵⁰ I have never seen Ngqengelele. I have seen Klwana; he was dark brown in colour, and of medium height. His real father was Koboyela, not Ngqengelele. He was however always spoken of as if he were the son of the latter.

The Imvokwe was an ordinary regiment of Dingana's, and followed the Dhlambedhlu in age. (Magidigidi says Dingana, not Dingane: he says amalala use the latter expression, 'We Ntungwa', he says, 'speak with our tongues in a low position.')

20 up of different sections: the Gibabanye, Dibinhlangu, Fojisa, Imifoloji, Ngqobolondo. The Tshoyisa was one of Tshaka's (Dhlungwana's) regiments.⁵¹

Dingana's regiments

Izinyosi - formerly Ingcobinga under Tshaka; or Izingobondo (its *isitakazelo*).

Dhlambedhlu - alias Imgamule (its *isitakezelo*).

Imvokwe (or Imvoko: Ntungwa pronunciation) - alias 'the one which speaks in vain to a defiant person' (its *isitakazelo*).

Imkulutshane - the great one, or Indhlavini, so called when fighting with the Boers at Taleni. They alone defeated the Boers. They were called after the bullets. (Izigulutshane - Ndabakadengizibona.)⁵²

Ihlaba - alias uNomaraye (its *isitakazelo*).

Kokoti - 'to whose bite there is no antidote' (its *isitakezelo*). Mpande called this uNdabakawombe.

Insewane - under Mpande it became the Dhlambedhlu, Ingwegwe and Imdhlenevu being its *izitakazelo*.

Umenanelo (means) an additional name, a name to praise with.⁵³

Mnkabayi was tall and light in colour. She appeared older than Mmama (who was) dark brown in colour. Dingana was dark brown; Tshaka light, and Mpande black in colour. Dingana was of medium height, whilst Tshaka was slight and rather tall.

Tshaka's shield was once seized by Sirayi ka Senzangakona, T.'s brother. T. called for it, but Sirayi turned the inner side to T, so that he could not see the single white patch which always distinguished T.'s shield. S. refused to give it up, so T. said to him,

21 'Go! Die in the wilderness.' Sirayi then became a madman. This incident re the shield happened when Zwide was attacking the Zulus.⁵⁴ T. wanted to fight but his men would not allow him to do so.

9.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 71, pp. 21-4.

Also present: Dayi

I distinctly remember the Imvokwe and Imikulutshane regiments being *butwa'd*, also those following. I also have some slight

recollection of the Dhlambedhlu being *buta'd*. The Imikulutshane and Izigulutshane were all *buta'd* together, the latter being simply cut off from the former. I do not know what the reason for this was. The Izigulutshane were not an independent and distinct regiment. They were merely distributed among the kraals Nobamba, Siklebe, Mbelebele and Mgungundhlovu. They were of the same age as the great *Imikulutshane*.

22 Egumeni and Egumaneni are names of Mbopa's own kraals.⁵⁵ I saw Mbopa. He was dark. (Another of his names was) Tubelisa. He was tall, say six feet, and stout. He lived on the south side of the Insuze river *below the Kombe, a forest which grows on the Qudeni mountain* in the Nkandhla district. He was killed by Dingana; I do not know why.

Tshaka, it was said, was stabbed the first time as well by Mbopa, and yet it was openly stated that Sikwayo of the *Qwabe* people had done so, and forests were *encircled by men* in the hope of catching him.⁵⁶ Dingana caused M. to be put to death. As he said, '*This person has great daring. I too might be stabbed by him, for he stabbed a chief who had shown him great favour.*' Mbopa only was killed, not his whole house. I fancy he was killed *when the Imikulutshane were butwa'd* - about that year. He was killed at his kraal eGumeni.

23 Dingana then lived on Mbopa's land, building a kraal at Noyenda, where Mvundhlana ka Mpumuza, alias Gobinduku (his *isitakazelo*), of the *Qungebeni* people lived. This man Mvundhlana was of high rank and could have struck even Ndhlela or Dambuza in Dingana's presence, and the king would simply have turned, lifting his blanket, and gone off to his quarters.⁵⁷ This is not Mvundhlana ka Menziwa, alias Ndonga of the *Langwe* (I do not know if this is a hill or not), (whose praise is, '*I call and they answer*').

23 Kwa Noyenda was originally Mvundhlana ka Mpumuza's kraal, and was stationed at Taleni. Mvundhlana was killed by Dingana, and D. took over his establishment. Later on D. put Mbopa to death at Mbopa's kraal eGumeni, stationed as above-mentioned. Dingana now caused Kwa Noyenda kraal to shift from Taleni to the lands built on by Mbopa. I lived at Noyenda after the death of my mother at Nobamba. I removed there when the iHlaba was being *buta'd*. I am sure of this. *It was here (in the umdhlunkulu) that the members of the royal family were brought up.*⁵⁸

Evening. Magidigidi alone.

At Noyenda great numbers of goats were kept, belonging to the king. The goats of anyone killed would be seized and placed at this kraal. When the Noyenda left Taleni for Mbopa's territory, the goats were left at a kraal at Taleni. '*Noyenda, the umusi of the goats.*'

24 Dingana called those 'Izimphlo' who were Tshaka's regiments.

Amaqalampi, i.e. the regiment that opened the attack, the other regiments being held in check still.⁵⁹

Pakade ka Macingwane and Mpande were on bad terms. Pakade killed Mpande's doctor, Lukunikazi ka Benya of the *Majola* people. This doctor treated Mpande and strengthened him for the chieftainship when he began his reign. Mpande sought out Lukunikazi whilst M. was still in Natal near Tongati in temporary shelters. Pakade killed

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this man during the Boer regime; the incident took place in Natal.

Zibolela, Mbonambi, Mgumanqa, Ndabenkulu, Ziyendane, Sipezi, Ntontela, Siklebe, Nobamba, Mbelebele, Kangela.⁶⁰

Isipezi (very old men) - Tshaka's first regiment. Zibolela, Intontela ('*the eyes do not see him*' was its *isitakazelo*).⁶¹

Nobamba is the oldest Zulu royal kraal. I heard that Jama built this kraal, also the Inzimazana kraal. Nobamba, Mqeku, and Inzimazana had the reputation of being the oldest kraals. Mbelebele was so called by Tshaka *because he used it to harass (belesela) other nations*, but the name existed before T. came on the scene.

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File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 1-2.

1 Magidigidi continues.

I do not know the name of Mbelebele before the name was altered by Tshaka.

Nobamba was quite close to eMqekwini kraal, being the one which was in charge of the *graves of the kings*. The *graves were at the gate* of this kraal, close by. This was the kraal which *burnt off the grass round the graves so that fire would not reach them*.

Isipezi⁶²

amaWombe - Senzangakona's regiment, comes in hereabouts.

Zibolela - formerly the Mbonambi.

Dhlangubo - Tshaka *destroyed other nations* with these men.

Dhlangezwa

Mgumanqa

Fasimba

uHlontane

Dibinhlangu

Gibabanye

Ngqobolondo

Tshoyisa

Fojisa

Bekenya

Ndabenkulu

There were among the Isipezi those who had *been circumcised*. Tshaka *prohibited circumcision* because *it was harmful*; men should not be '*castrated*' like cattle. The amaWombe *stayed at Bulawayo*.

2 The Imvokwe regiment was *buta'd* before the Imkulutshane was.

The reason why Tshaka had so many regiments was because he conquered people in all directions, and so got regiments at a quicker rate, and more of them, than if he had reigned quietly like Dingana and Mpande. Tshaka reigned eleven years, so I was informed. Mdungunya, Kwezi ka Siguda of the Zulu, of the Gibabanye regiment, and Mabandhla ka Msingilili of the Sibiya, of the Gibabanye regiment, all told me this, that Tshaka *ruled* ten years, being killed in the eleventh. Dingana reigned nine and was killed in the tenth year.

Was the Jubingqwanga the uDibinhlangu?

Who *had their headrings cut off* and were told to *kleza*?

Where did Tshaka *put on the headring*?

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File 62, nbk. 72, p. 2.

There was a practice of *butaing* in Zululand under which, though men were *buta'd* all together, some would be cut off and *established*⁶³ in some kraal, taking with them a separate name, although they were recruited at the same time as the main body. So later on confusion arises as to whether they were an independent regiment or merely a section of one, e.g. the Dhlangubo.

9.5.1905, 10.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 3-4.

3 Prepared 9.5.1905 and 10.5.1905.

Regiments of Tshaka and Dingane arranged according to their ages - chronological sequence.⁶⁴

Tshaka

- Isipezi^a - Nongadi ka Dhlaba of the *Dhlahla* people.
- Mbonambi (Zibolela) - Mpisi ka Mtiwensangu of the *Kubisa* people.
- Dhlangubo^b - Zembe ka Ngobe of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
- Dhlangezwa - Zaviyana ka Ndhlongo of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
- Mgumanqa - Ndwambili ka - <sic>; Gwalala ka Manyala of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
- Fasimba - Ndabana ka Mdhlopi of the *Gabela* people; Somfoca ka Dhlakaisuke; Mandanda ka Nhlambela of the *Ntombela* people.
- uHlontane
- Dibinhlangu^d - Kunyana ka Mlaba of the *Magubane* people; Rala of the *Ngobase* people among the *Qungebeni* people.
- Gibabanye^d - Kwezi; Mabandhla; Mfetshe, who was *induna*, the same age as his regiment. Gwalala and Mabandhla were of the same age, though Gwalala was slightly older. Sirayo and Zembe were about the same age.
- Ngqobolondo^d - Madeyana of the *Nxumalo* people was probably of this regiment.
- Tshoyisa^d - Mntuswa of the *Ndhlovu* people; Kundu of the *Gabela* people.
- Imfolozi^d
- Fojisa^d - Mdungunya ka Matula, for whom I carried mats.
- Bekenya^e - Sirayo ka Ngobe of the *Ndawonde* people.
- Ndabenkulu - Mtimbeni ka Mdiyane of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
- Njanduna^f
- Ingcobinga^f

^aT.'s first regiment.

^bI fancy this was a regiment but it may have been only a section.⁶⁵

^cGwalala was slightly older than Zaviyana, so (the Mgumanqa) is senior to (the Dhlangezwa).

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- ^d Became Izimpohlo under Dingana. Are arranged according to ages.
(The Imfolozi and Fojisa) sections sprang up under Dingane at Mgungundhlovu.
^e The great Ndabenkulu.
^f Alias Jibingqwangi. It became the Izinyosi under Dingana.

Dingana

Izinyosi^a
Dhlambedhlu
Imvokwe
Imkulutshane
Ihlaba^b
Kokoti^c
Insewane^d

- ^a Ingcobinga under Tshaka.
^b Izigulutshane; Ndabakadengizibona.
^c Called Ndabakawombe by Mpande.
^d Became uDhlambedhlu under Mpande.

Magidigidi does not know the uPoko (both of them), or the Donqabatwa. The Iziyendane was a regiment of mixed men, of the Hlubi tribes. The amaWombe were Senzangakona's regiment; *in order of age they came after* the Isipezi or thereabouts. In addition to the above were the elderly men at Nobamba, Mbelebele, and Siklebe.

- 4 There was *the great Ndabenkulu* (i.e. the Bekenya) and *the little Ndabenkulu*, passing under the name of simply Ndabenkulu.

10.5.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 4-11.

Many used to refrain from being *buta'd* although of the same age as those going up. Their motive for doing this was so as to be among the bigger lads in the regiment about to be enlisted. This accounts for men of similar ages belonging to different regiments.

As regards the men Dingana called Izimpohlo, these were all *buta'd* by Tshaka. The names however were given by Dingana, who divided them up into sections at Mgungundhlovu. Dingana caused some of them, e.g. the Fojisa, to cut their headrings off and not to *consummate marriage with girls of their choice*⁶⁵ by having full intercourse, though they might have external intercourse with them. They were to *induce the girls to leave home and come to them, so making the girls izingo-dosi*.⁶⁷ The Inzawu was *jutshwa'd* for them on the terms stated.⁶⁸

Tshaka was called '*the wrong-doer who knows no law*'.⁶⁹

- My impression is that Dibinhlangu, Gibabanye, Ngqobolondo and Tshoyisa were names given by Tshaka, whilst those of Fojisa and Imfolozi were given by Dingana. One should say Dibinhlangu not Dubinhlangu, Jibingqwangi not Jubingqwanga, according to Magidigidi.
- 5

.... <Praises of Tshaka, and notes on supernatural phenomena omitted - eds.>

9 (Dingana died in 1840.) In those days mere boys did not herd cattle as became the fashion later on, especially in Natal.

.... <Further notes on supernatural phenomena omitted - eds.>

12.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 11-13.

11 My grandmother Mandhlela (her maiden name was Kabahle) lived at Noyenda; my mother was at Nobamba. I lived alternately at these kraals. My mother's name was uMasoga; her maiden name was uNomengqo. *Soga*⁷⁰ was of the amaNgadini people among the Qwabe. I never saw Soga.

Dingana objected to my grandmother being removed to Nobamba as it was she who looked after the long-haired goats whose skins were worn as clothing. She used to clean my hair of lice. She belonged to the amaNtungwa from up-country who speak with their tongues in a low position, not to those down-country. She belonged to the Mabaso of the Kumalo tribe. (Mncakwana and Ndabankulu were Mabaso.) The Mabaso people built at Ndabankulu near Nhlazatshe.⁷¹ That is where my grandmother came from.

'Ho! Ofe!' is equivalent to 'Ho! Wenzani!',⁷² and is said by the amaNtungwa when they head off anything. They had a separate dialect of their own, these Kumalo people. It was altered by Tshaka.

The amaNtungwa were said by the Zulu etc. to *qotshamisa the tongue*, whereas the amaLala were said to *ratula* or *tekeza*. We see then that 1) *tefula*, 2) *tekeza* or *ratula*, and 3) to *qotshamisa the tongue* were the three great dialects, viz. the uMzansi (alias uMaansi we nsimu), the amaLala, and the amaNtungwa or umuNhla.⁷³

The amaNtungwa or umuNhla used to say *reza* meaning *deda*, and *wentani?* meaning *wenzani?*, thereby corresponding with amaLala.⁷⁴

The amaNtungwa speak of themselves as being abaNguni. Tshaka however put an end to this as he said he was umNguni. He was addressed as 'Mnguni, Mnguni of our people!' The amaNtungwa thereupon became afraid of applying this word to themselves.

The amaNtungwa spoke of *ugwayi* as *ligwayi*.⁷⁵

I see that there is a dispute about the word abaNguni, but I cannot understand how it comes about. The amaNtungwa (like Zulus, 13 Qwabes, and Cunus) have a keen desire to speak of themselves as abaNguni, whereas the name appears to have been applicable to some anciently resident people, already here when the Zulus and Qwabes arrived, but I cannot indicate those people. It may be that, as there is this contention, someone went from the south, where the abaNguni were, to the amaNtungwa and there married and settled down, so that the one people contend that they are abaNguni and not the others. Certain it is, whatever may be thought of this theory, that the name umNguni is a precious one to the people of Zululand, being used as one of the profoundest and most reverential salutations to the Zulu kings, who conquered all the tribes of these parts. Tshaka was the first to appropriate the appellation among the Zulu chiefs.

Among the amaLala chiefs the phrase umNguni is commonly used.

The great Nguni people are without doubt the amaXoza. The great bulk of the present nations in south-eastern Africa came from the north.

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Notes

- ¹The victory of Mpande's forces over those of Dingane at Maqongqo in January 1840 established the former as Zulu king. 'IzimPohlo' seems to have been used as a corporate name for certain male *amabutho* that were closely associated with one another from early in Shaka's reign. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 124, 645.
- ²Dinya was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in Stuart Archive, vol. 1. Stuart's estimate of the ages of the Dlambedlu and iziNgulube is corroborated by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646.
- ³For information on the Chunu chief Phakade see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 263, 271-2; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Chunu. John Shepstone, brother of Theophilus, was a prominent figure in the Natal colonial administration. He served as Secretary for Native Affairs from 1876 to 1884.
- ⁴For accounts of the separation of Zulu and Qwabe see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 19, 25; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 174-5, 208. For Nozidiya and the Qwabe see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 186-7. See also Bryant, History, pp. 132-3.
- ⁵The name Nkosinkulu (literally, great chief) does not appear in many versions of the Zulu chiefly line. See for example Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 32-3.
- ⁶Nobamba was one of the ancestral Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ⁷Cf. the Chunu chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 263.
- ⁸Ngwane is the *isithakazelo* of the Khanyile people. For the putative link between the Chunu and Khanyile see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 262.
- ⁹On the *insonyama* as a perquisite of the chief see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 267; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 119; Krige, Social System, p. 56.
- ¹⁰The iThala is a prominent hill between the sources of the Mhlathuze and Nsuze rivers.
- ¹¹For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ¹²The graves of the Zulu chiefs before Shaka are located about the Mphembeni and Mkhumbane streams, which flow from the south into the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. We have not been able to find the map referred to by Stuart among his notes.
- ¹³Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ¹⁴On the Zulu's once having been hawkers of medicines see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 29. *Umkwebi* (pl. *abahwebi*) is the Zulu for trader, merchant.
- ¹⁵Chief of a group of *kholwa* living at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg, and another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁶The Tholo (Tholweni, Zolweni) people lived on the upper reaches of the Mtshezi (Bushman's) and Mkhomazi rivers.
- ¹⁷Cf. the Cube chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 416.
- ¹⁸*Itusi* in the original.
- ¹⁹On the Lala see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 232-5; Bryant, History, index; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ²⁰Bryant, Olden Times, p. 271, records a tradition that Macingwane was eaten by Bhele cannibals near the iLenge hill in northern Natal.

- ²¹The list that follows has been restructured for the sake of clarity.
- ²²As used here, the term *amabosa* seems intended to designate the age-grade formed at the end of a chief's reign and renamed on entering the service of his successor. We have been unable to determine the derivation of the term.
- ²³The original reads, *it' inkos' ingena i buse ngo ka yise*.
- ²⁴The reference is presumably to a tradition recorded by Bryant in the preface to his Zulu-English Dictionary, published in 1905: see p. 42*.
- ²⁵Bryant, Olden Times, p. 687, gives the 'parent-clan' of the Majozi as the Cube and not the Chumu.
- ²⁶I.e. Table Mountain near Pietermaritzburg.
- ²⁷On page 7 of the original there appears Magidigidi's version of the Chumu chiefly genealogy. We reproduce this at the end of the account of the Matshana-Shepstone affair.
- ²⁸John Shepstone's action against Matshana took place in 1858. For further information see Colenso, The Story of Matshana, and The History of the Matshana Enquiry; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 261; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 302, 322.
- ²⁹In the genealogy given below, names grouped under the same descent line appear to be those of brothers.
- ³⁰John Shepstone.
- ³¹The Ntshokane joins the Mporana (Mooi) just below present-day Muden.
- ³²Theophilus Shepstone senior.
- ³³The Mthwalume river flows into the sea near the town of that name on the Natal south coast. For the place of Mahawule (Maraule) in the Mbo (Mkhize) genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ³⁴*Umsizi* is medicine burnt and ground into powder.
- ³⁵See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 198.
- ³⁶For further information on the *umsizi* connection see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 593, Zulu People, p. 519.
- ³⁷The names given are those of Mbo (Mkhize) chiefs. Cf. the chiefly lineages in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406, and Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118. Tilonko was chief of the Mbo section in the Umgeni division.
- ³⁸Bryant, Olden Times, p. 20, and Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 123, locate Nobamba, one of the ancestral Zulu *imizi*, between the Mphembeni and Mkhumbane streams. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 39, gives Mqeku (Mqekwini) as an *umuzi* built by Ndaba, the putative great-grandfather of Shaka.
- ³⁹The original has *izigaba*.
- ⁴⁰The original has *uhlangoti*.
- ⁴¹On the iziMphlo see note 1 above.
- ⁴²The original has *isibay' esikulu*.
- ⁴³This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page.
- ⁴⁴I.e. the campaign against Soshangane in 1828.
- ⁴⁵Mnkabayi and Mama were sisters of Senzangakhona.
- ⁴⁶The original reads '*Mnkabayi had isizwe....*'
- ⁴⁷On the establishment of the ebaQulusini *umuzi* in the north-west of the Zulu kingdom see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181.
- ⁴⁸This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. The praise literally means 'sharp pain of the stem of the nation'.

- ⁴⁹The *ihlambo* or 'washing' was the purification ceremony that marked the end of a period of mourning. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 708-9.
- ⁵⁰Ngqengelele kaMvulana of the Buthelezi people seems to have held high office under both Shaka and Dingane. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 134-5, 206; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index under *izinDuna*. For further information on Klwana see Bryant, *ibid.*; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 25, 190.
- ⁵¹Dlungwana was a common praise-name for Shaka.
- ⁵²Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 645, lists the isiGulutshane or inDaba-kade-ngi-zi-bone as a regiment separate from the umKulutshane.
- ⁵³This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page.
- ⁵⁴Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, made several attacks on the Zulu c.1818-c.1819.
- ⁵⁵Mbopha kaSithayi of the eGazini people was Shaka's chief personal attendant and one of his assassins.
- ⁵⁶Magidigidi may be referring to the assassination attempt made on Shaka in July 1824. Henry Fynn, who was present at the time, has left an account of this event in his *Diary*, pp. 83-6.
- ⁵⁷Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people and Dambuza kaSobadli of the Ntombela people were two of Dingane's principal *izinDuna*.
- ⁵⁸The original reads *Ilapa kwa ku kuliswa abaNtswana (umdhluwankulu)*.
- ⁵⁹This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. A juxtaposed insertion reads '*kwa ku ngaliwana kwa ku impukane nomvemve*, for this bird will fly up at a fly'. In translation the first part of this sentence would read, 'There was lack of harmony, as between fly and wagtail....' We have been unable to ascertain the connotations of the imagery.
- ⁶⁰The names are of Zulu *amabutho*.
- ⁶¹The telegraphic form of Stuart's notes at this point make it difficult to give a definitive rendering of the original.
- ⁶²As is made clear on p. 3 of the original, the list that follows is of the names of *amabutho* formed by Shaka.
- ⁶³The original has *telwa'd*.
- ⁶⁴We have imposed our own structure on the original lists and annotations. Stuart does not indicate the significance of the personal names that follow the regimental names.
- ⁶⁵The original has *xiba*.
- ⁶⁶The original has *omakoti*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 373, gives *umakoti* as 'Bride, newly-taken young wife - freq. applied to a girl already *lobola'd*, just previous to the wedding....'
- ⁶⁷According to Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 188, *ingodosi* or *ingoduso* means 'Betrothed girl, who has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding'.
- ⁶⁸The inZawu was an age-group formed c.1829 of young women born in the early years of the nineteenth century.
- ⁶⁹*Itshinga e li nge namteto* in the original.
- ⁷⁰I.e. Magidigidi's mother's father.
- ⁷¹Ntabankulu is a mountain at the sources of the Black Mfolozi south-west of present-day Vryheid; Nhlazatshe is a mountain on the north bank of the White Mfolozi west of Mahlabathini.
- ⁷²I.e. 'What do you think you are doing?'
- ⁷³*Ukuqoshamisa*, literally 'to cause to squat', here means 'to keep

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the tongue low'. *Ratula* (*hadula*) means to 'use abundance of harsh sounds, as the amaLala' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 220). *Tekeza* and *thefula* are explained in the Glossary. *Umzansi* means a person from down-country, *umunhla* a person from up-country.

⁷⁴*Ukudeda* means to get out of the way; *wenzani?* means 'What are you doing?'

⁷⁵I.e. tobacco or snuff.

MAGODINI, GEORGE

<Stuart took down forty notebook pages, all written in Zulu, of statements made by Magodini about some of his experiences as a merchant seaman after he had joined a ship in Durban early in 1922. These notes are dated October 1924: as Stuart had left South Africa in 1922 his interviews with Magodini were presumably held in London after the latter's arrival there in September 1924 in the course of one of his voyages. Most of Magodini's account consists of unimportant anecdotes; we here reproduce in translation the only passages of historical value - eds.>

<9.10.1924>

File 59, nbk. 36, p. 5.

- 5 *London is not a good place as there is no work to be had there. There are many people living there who have been unable to find any kind of work at all for two or three years. There is no work for black people in the city. Blacks can find work only on ships. I do not know why it is that there is no work in the city. White people there are in distress as they have no place to stay. They simply wander from place to place and cannot find work.*

<10.10.1924>

File 59, nbk. 36, pp. 26-8.

- 26 *It is difficult to get a job on a ship because there are not many openings. This is because the work is well paid. The captain does not want a man who has no experience on ships, because he will become seasick and be unable to do any work. It will be clear that this is no good. The captain wants a man who has seaman's papers, who has had previous experience. The situation in England is difficult, unlike that in Natal. In Natal one can get a job on a ship; here in England you pay a tax to the government if you want work on a ship, for the ships belong to the government, and there are few jobs available. In England there is work available on ships for black people, but there is no work for them in the towns. This does not apply only to blacks, for there are many whites who cannot find work.*
- 27 *Jobs on ships are taken by Indians, for they work for low pay. There are more Indians than Africans doing this work. The whites prefer them because they work for low pay. They see that if they employ Africans or whites they will lose, for these people want high pay.*
Work on ships is only irregularly available. Africans like it because it is well paid, but it is uncertain work because it comes to an end. This sort of work is good when jobs are available, but it

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causes difficulty because it comes to an end.

Blacks here in England have begun a practice which has not yet been taken up by the whites. When a ship arrives they go to the agent to buy work from him. They go to the captain on the ship and say, 'We want to buy work.' The captain says, 'Have you got money?' They reply, 'We have.' Then they go inside with the captain and hand over money to him. Then he calls the chief engineer and tells him that whites cannot work, that the work is too much for them. This is how blacks set about getting work.

MAGOJELA KA MFANAWENDHLELA

<30.6.1907>

File 65, item 4, pp. 147-9, 151-3.

- 147 Magojela ka Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini ka Tshana ka Ncwana ka Gwabini ka Zungu.¹ I am of the Ngobamakosi regiment.² Our *isibongo* is Zungu, who was a person - not an *umuzi*.
- We are abeNguni.³ We *originated at Mahlabatini*; we *separated from the Mpungose*. Their present chief is Mbango⁴ ka Gaozi ka Silwana ka Kuba: I don't know further.
- In former days our chief (I don't know which) died. We *mourned*.⁵
- 148 After we had finished the Mpungose people arrived (then belonging to our clan). They were then given a beast and it was an *impunga*⁶ one, with which they were to eat medicines in accordance with custom. It was on that occasion that it was declared that, 'They no longer belong to our tribe; *they are the Mpungose people*,' the name originating because of the grey beast referred to.⁷
- Zungu belongs to Malandela, i.e. is an offshoot of Malandela.⁸ We speak of ourselves as Zungu ka Malandela, or simply as Malandela. Now let it be noted that this Malandela is a different one from the ancestor of that name of the Qwabe and Zulu tribes.⁹ Malandela is our *isitakazelo* - Zungu ka Malandela. We cannot associate our ancestors with those of the Zulus, i.e. join hands with them.
- My grandfather Manzini was killed by Tshaka when fighting with him. Tshaka at first made a treaty with Manzini to join him against Zwide, Ndwandwe king, as he was so strong. Manzini agreed. It was after this that Tshaka had him killed. Tshaka killed him *because of what happened in the battle at eZindololwane, at the Mtololo, against Sikunyana ka Zwide*.¹⁰ My father had his amaNkentshane *ibuto*, the one he had *konza*'d with to the Zulu king. When the eZindololwane fight took place, Tshaka and Manzini were looking on. Seeing the red dust rise in the distance, ending in the routing of Zwide's people (called Amankayiya,¹¹ alias Ndwandwe), Tshaka inquired what troops had routed the enemy, believing them to be his own, but as often as he inquired, he was told they were the amaNkentshane. Tshaka now saw the danger to the Zulus from the amaNkentshane chief, as they might rise against the Zulus. Manzini did not go to Bulawayo when hostilities ceased. Tshaka, intending to kill him, sent for him. He came and was put to death.¹² His son Sidada remained, being later on killed at the Ncome¹³ by the Boers in Dingana's reign. Sidada died *without issue, but betrothed to a daughter of Jinji of the Mtetwa people, of the same house as the mother of Tshingana ka Mpande*.¹⁴ This girl was taken to wife by Mfanawendhlela. Her actual name was Ntonjana. She bore a girl, Zifamona, who married Mganu ka Ngoza of the Koza people.
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The Amakoba people *originated from us Zungu people*.¹⁵ Makoba was a person; he was a *twin of Zungu*. Makoba gave his name to a clan. The big *twin* was Makoba, i.e. the one who was born first. Their chiefs were Mgebisa ka Joko.¹⁶

153 When Makoba and Zungu were children they had *curds* poured into their hands. Makoba ate up all that was put in his hand, whereas Zungu would take one mouthful and throw the rest (away), or let the rest fall through his hands on the ground. This was then interpreted to mean that Makoba was a glutton and would be mean, whereas Zungu would be content with little and leave some for others; hence it was right he should become the *chief* notwithstanding Makoba's seniority. And so it happened.

Other offshoots of the Zungu tribe are the amaNgcobo or abasemaNgcotsheni (Gamula: chief - dead); abakwaSengwayo; abasemaNduneni; abakwaGasa (of Gwabini, our ancestor); abakwaPakati (a person); abasemaHlabaneni; abasemaZombeni; and abaseKunene. These are all the offshoots I can think of. All these intermarry. We Zungus do not however intermarry with the Kumene people, for they belong to the *indhlu-nkulu*. We do not marry the abakwaGasa too - they are too closely related.

Notes

¹The names are those of members of the Zungu chiefly line; cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 178. Mfanawendlela was one of the thirteen chiefs among whom the Zulu kingdom was divided in terms of the Wolseley settlement of 1879. His son Magojela served for a time as regent of the Zungu. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 220.

²Formed c.1873 of youths born in the early 1850s.

³For discussion of this term see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

⁴Chief of the Mpungose in the Eshowe and Mtunzini divisions. For the main chiefly line see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 29.

⁵The original has '*kala'd isililo*'. On the *isililo* mourning rituals see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 704, 724 ff.

⁶Grey.

⁷Bryant, Olden Times, p. 29, gives the Mpungose as having originated under the patronage of Zulu kaMalandela, progenitor of the Zulu clan.

⁸According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 25, Zungu, the founder of the clan of that name, was related to Malandela by marriage. See also Olden Times, p. 176; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 21, 29.

⁹This statement contradicts Bryant's version: see Olden Times, p. 25.

¹⁰Sikhunyana, son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, led an attack on the Zulu kingdom in 1826. See the account in Fynn, Diary, pp. 122-8; also Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 60 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 588-94.

¹¹One of Zwide's *amabutho*: see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 435.

¹²Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 177, 219.

¹³Or Blood river.

¹⁴Tshingana, son of the Zulu king Mpande, was another of Stuart's informants.

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¹⁵Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 25, 176.

¹⁶See the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 178.

MAHASHAHASHA KA PAKADE

8.5.1910, Sunday.

File 58, nbk. 18, pp. 22-6.

- 22 Mahashahasha ka Pakade ka Mandhlesilo ka Nyanda ka Lubangu of the eLangeni people. I am a sergeant in the Natal Police, and an *induna* at the Central Gaol, Pietermaritzburg. I am of the same age as the Imbokodwebomvu,¹ but was never *butswa'd*.
- Mhlongo, our former tribal king, used to plant *plantains* (*ukova*), *sugar cane* (*umoba*), potatoes and other things, but after his death the people discontinued doing this.² I do not know where he learnt this. I have never been able to ascertain. Mhlongo lived where Harry Osborn has his farm on the Umhlatuze. Mhlongo must have lived before Senzangakona and Dingiswayo, and therefore could not have learnt from Dingiswayo how to cultivate these things.
- 23 One day Tshaka called all the Langeni people together to a certain *euphorbia* tree at some hill. Finding that they were not all assembled, he sent and directed that even the very old men should come. They came, believing that he had it in mind to make them presents of cattle, as his mother was a member of their tribe. When as many as possible had congregated, he proceeded to call to mind the way in which they had brought him up when a boy; how they had given him a *small black beast* with horns as indicated,



- saying he was to eat that; how they used to send him out herding cattle and, during his absence, dig a *hole*, and on his getting back say, '*There's a bird in that hole over there, my child; go and take it out*', (and how) he then put his hand in to find nothing but faeces buried there; how they would ask, '*Do you know what a porcupine's egg looks like?*', and on his saying, 'No', they would say, 'There it is; take it out,' and when he attempted to do so he would find nothing but *excrement* there; how they would pour *curds* in such quantities into his hands for him to eat that it would run down both
- 24 arms to the elbows and become quite hot as he ate. In fact they had treated him just like a dog. He then said that on account of all this, of their ill-treatment of him, he would have them put to death, and forthwith, on (his) giving the order, all were massacred on the spot.

He was afterwards very sorry for what he had done, and directed

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all the orphans to be carried off to the Mtetwa district³ (for that was where he himself had grown up), where, he said, the country was a pleasant one to live in and where they would get nice *curds* for their children. They were there accordingly accommodated with land. But one day it so happened that a lion began to roar near their cattle. These all ran into the temporary kraal. The men of the place then came to the *temporary shelters* and began singing various *cere-
monial songs*. After this the lion went to the back of the kraal and there began roaring. It was in the daytime. The singing was done in honour of the lion, for according to tribal belief the lion was their *chief*. When the lion roared at the back of the kraal the cattle went out of the kraal and moved off, and the women, in the meantime having packed up all their belongings, moved off after the cattle, carrying their bundles and leading their children. These in turn were followed by the men, and at the rear came the lion. On and on they went till
25 sunset, the men in the rear, paying no attention to the lion, for, it being their *chief*, they had nothing to fear. It was in fact their tribal *chief*. At sunset the lion moved ahead of the cattle and turned them back, and they grouped themselves together. The lion then pounced on a beast and killed it, but it did not eat it; it left the animal to be devoured by the people.

This procedure went on day by day till the party reached their old tribal lands at the Mhlatuze.⁴ Their arrival, and the circumstances under which they had returned, were reported to Tshaka, who *selected cattle to be taken to praise the chief*, i.e. *praise* the lion that had appeared, so that they should be killed for the *ancestral spirits and in praise*. Many cattle were so killed. The lion, when the people reached their destination, for the first time killed and ate one of the cattle. Tshaka said, '*Woh! They have been fetched by their chief. I thought I was sending them to a good place, but he does not want them to leave their old lands.*' He then allowed them to live on their old lands and to this day they are still there.

26 My idea is that the *lion* is believed to be our *chief's ancestral spirit*, though I have never heard of any chief of ours having been a *lion*.

.... <Praises of Mbengi omitted - eds.>

Mahashahasha says Sikwata ka Mandhlesilo, now living under Chief Mfungelwa,⁵ is very well up in the affairs of the Langeni tribe. He usually *praises the chiefs* when a *girl dances*. He will see his son and arrange for him to come down. Mhlahlo ka Mandhlesilo is also well informed.

Notes

¹The imBokodwebomvu age-grade was formed by Dinuzulu in 1886 of men born in the early 1860s.

²According to Bryant's genealogy of the Langeni chiefly line, Mhlongo ruled in about the third quarter of the eighteenth century. See *Olden Times*, p. 126.

³I.e. the territory south of the lower reaches of the White Mfolozi.

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⁴Bryant, Olden Times, p. 125, gives the Langeni as having occupied 'the hill-country about emTinemide, overlooking the middle Mhlatuze river, on its northern side'.

⁵Chief of the Ntuli people in the Eshowe district.

MAHAYA KA NONGQABANA

29.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 77, p. 3.

- 3 I gave Norman Nembula £1 2s 6d to go and fetch Mahaye in two weeks from this date.¹

25.8.1905

File 62, nbk. 77, pp. 3-15.

Also present: Norman Nembula, Nzunzu

Norman N. returns with Mahaya ka Nongqabana ka Ngciza ka Ngcongwana ka Matshoni ka Hlofu ka Malitshe ka Jali ka Njilo ka Macekwana ka Mtwana ka Nseta ka Sabela ka Henge ka Hohoho, alias Huhuhu (*a man of the Sutu people of the place of Mjantshi*).²

When we came down to these regions we came via Swaziland. Hohoho came south, through Swaziland. Mahaya speaks, his son Nzunzu and Norman N. present.

My tribe is the Mtwana (plural Imtwana). We belong to the abaSutu people. Malitshe *fathered* Juda who *fathered* Nqoko (at Ntumbankulu,³ where our tribe increased in numbers). Nqoko *fathered* Satshwa who *fathered* Ngwadhla who *fathered* Dayindhlebe who *fathered* Banginyama who *fathered* Tshanibezwe (ruling and still living at this day).

- 4 Tshanibezwe lives at the Bisi in East Griqualand.⁴

Mahaya speaks with a Pondo or Xosa accent, I believe the latter. We are not amaNtungwa.⁵ The Zulu and Qwabe are amaNtungwa.

Tshaka at Nandi's death captured (ate) cattle at the Mtata, *downstream*, at Mapozi, near the sea.⁶

Dingana, during this expedition, sent to the Pondo chiefs and advised them to follow and to come and ask Tshaka for cattle to give milk to the children, and also to give them *dung*, '*so that they should not be troubled by fleas*'.⁷ 'Follow him and he will give you cattle. *Follow him* and there will be peace.' A chief, Myeki, *chief of the Jali*, left and went to Tshaka whilst stationed at Nyenyezini, a *low-lying place* south of the Mzimkulu, where he found Tshaka's forces *performing the hunting dance (gubaing)*. At this night-dancing

- 5 Tshaka was stabbed in the back slightly. Inquiry was made and it was stated Gcugcwa had done it. Gcugcwa was not there at all; his brothers, i.e. Dingana and Mhlangana must have done this.⁸ This stabbing took place *behind the arm* (I don't know on which side) near the shoulder blade. The assegai did not go in much. There were heaps of cattle captured from the Pondos grazing about in the immediate neigh-

bourhood. Nontonga ka Gcidi and Macingwane ka Bonda stole cattle from those seized whilst the *dancing* was going on at night.

Myeki, *chief of the Jali*, Mboho, and Mendu (my *maternal uncle*) went on to Tshaka. These were the Pondos who had come to *konza* and were present when Tshaka was killed.⁹

When Dingana spoke the above words he sent messengers to the Pondo chiefs to speak them.

I know nothing about crane feathers being brought on this occasion. 6 I know Dingana, after T.'s death, called these Pondos back, and they *konza'd*. Cranes' feathers were taken to Tshaka by Fodo ka Nombewu ka Gansa of the *Nhlangwini* people.¹⁰ He used to pay tribute with crane feathers. Fodo originally lived near the amaBaca. Nombeu and his tribe lived near the abaTembu at the junction of the Tukela and Mzinyati.

Myeki was given a large number of cattle by Dingana - *light brown (mdubu) in colour*. Myeki distributed these by ones and twos among his followers. Myeki's relatives feared he would be killed by Tshaka. The reverse was what actually happened.

At the *Sangwana* hill, at *esiDumbini*, near the upper Tongati is where we first settled.¹¹ Sabela settled there. The tribe - our tribe - increased in numbers under Sabela, divisions thereof becoming numerous. It was from this place that we Imtwana people *dispersed*.

7 Sabela had sons Ngutshana and Ntshangase; they were twins. In the house which *buried* Sabela on his dying there were his sons Mtwana and Xolo. These were of the *esizindeni* kraal.¹² The principal sons were Ngutshana and Ntshangase. Maci and Jali were also Sabela's sons, Nzimakwe was a younger brother of Xolo. Mbotu was *taken under the protection of Mtwana*; he lived at the Mzinto.¹³ It happened in this way. Mbotu's father and mother were killed at the Mpafane (Mooi) river for preventing rain; they were killed among the amaNtolweni tribe.¹⁴ Mbotu *escaped* with his sister Myalwana (she afterwards bore the amaYalo and amaDiba of the place of *Mdantsha*, at the Mzamba, a river beyond the Mtamvuna in Pondoland). Mbotu went down the Mkomazi river, *catching fish and eels*¹⁵ and eating them. *They* 8 *were in a state of starvation*. They came on to the Mzinto where they found the Imtwana already living. The amaMbotu people sprang from Mbotu. They live at eHluku near Harding.

On getting to the Mzinto where the Imtwana lived, Mbotu and his sister found them living on game, especially buffalo. There was famine in the land. These were the days of Njilo. The Imtwana would kill a buffalo, then Mbotu and his sister, after the Imtwana had taken what they wanted and had gone, would come, take the *stomach contents, squeeze out the moisture*, and drink same, and also eat the *coagulated blood* and the backbone which had been cut out.

The Imtwana now noticed that as often as they killed a buffalo a gentle rain or *drizzle* would come, so much so that Njilo directed a watch to be kept. This direction was given because it was noticed 9 there were footprints about where the buffaloes had been skinned and cut up. Presently smoke was noticed in the scrub or bushes along the coast, and Mbotu and his sister were the cause of it. When discovered, Mbotu made the rain pour down. First there was a small cloud in the sky as big as one's hand. Njilo was the only one who had seed; this

he had preserved, of various kinds. He planted gardens, carefully fenced them in, and so prevented pigs and other wild animals from getting in. After this crop, he got more seed and distributed same to all his tribe.

For his action in bringing rain Mbotu was given a *wife to marry, and an umdhlunkulu*. He paid no *lobola*. This was the origin of the amaMbotu, who as I say live near Harding. They are now under Mlotshwa
 10 ka Nciya ka Njilo ka Mazama ka Mpula ka Mbotu ka Mtshikilana of the *amaTolweni people* now living near the Ifafa, near Dhlozi's kraal.¹⁶ Some of this Tolo tribe are of the *place of Makoba* (a man's name, son of Bidhla) on the upper Mzimvubu.

The Imtwana tribe lived at the Mpambanyoni (where Mtwana was buried), at the Mtwalume, *upstream*, at the Msikazi hill, and *extended to the sea, at esiPofu, on the Gunjini stream*.¹⁷ These are the boundaries of our district.

The amaNgcingweni tribe *was given protection* by the Imtwana - ten or so of them. They were amaHlubi. They left and *konza'd* the amaCi. Among the amaCi, when grass was being burnt, a *genet* got up. The amaNgcingweni killed it, but the amaCi snatched it from them by force, saying the animal was their property. A fight ensued, the
 11 amaNgcingweni making the others red (with blood). The amaCi went off home saying, 'We'll see about this, and see what they'll do to us now,' intending to fight them. The amaNgcingweni decided to leave. They then went and *konza'd* our tribe.

The amaCi live in Harding division. Jali sent Malitshe to *attack* the amaXolo at Ntumbankulu hill (with forests). We *quarrelled over a cattle post*. Xolo was the *eldest son*. Mpevu, a *daughter of Nseta*, was *chief* of Mtwana's and Xolo's kraal. She had Mtwana appointed as chief. The Xolo people took the cattle at this *post*, also the *herders and the mdhlunkulu girls*. We chased them, carrying our things. When they *cultivated*, we *cultivated* close up to them, and so kept on pushing them on and on.

Ngcingweni (ancestor of the amaNgcingweni) and Nkomo were sons of
 12 one man. I cannot recollect his name.

The amaCi used formerly to live at Ntumbankulu (at Mehlwamyama), on the north side of the Mzimkulu, above Ndongeni's kraal, especially near Mbotshwa's.¹⁸ The amaCi were *driven away* by the amaXolo. We always *defeated* them. We Mtwana tribe never *konza'd* anywhere.

Lukwilimba¹⁹ ka Mbasa, together with amaNdelu, amaLanga, ama-Dhlala, amaDunge. Lukwilimba fought with us Imtwana for two years but did not succeed in defeating us. Five other tribes then joined Lukwilimba, hemming us in at Ntumbankulu. This took place during the winter. We were then set on to and dispersed. We crossed the Mzi-
 13 mkulu near where Ndongeni lives, and went to Bobeni, i.e. to deep precipices, and thereafter lived near the Mzimkulwana.²⁰ We were not killed much.

Our chief Ntuma ka Ngwadhla refused to *konza*. He stabbed us for *konzaing*. The five chiefs from Pondoland, viz. Nombu, Mdingi, Ncwana, Baleni, and Ngoza (of the Tembus) attacked us in the rear. We were not expecting this, especially as we thought the enemy was in front. They entered when there was no look-out. They came upon us at dusk and started stabbing women, children, and cattle. All

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cried - women, children, and cattle - and this is the occasion when we were really killed off and broken up. This was in Tshaka's day. Those who *escaped* went and *konza'd* in the Nguni²¹ and Mpondo countries.

- 14 Ntuma was not killed. He escaped, and when he got out had to contend with cannibals. The amaMboto were, whilst we were being killed off, being killed off where the Ibisi enters the Mzimkulu, at the Isantombe forest. This was their *stronghold*. Macingwane (of the amaCunu) and Madikane (of the amaBaca) were in league and were the two who attacked the amaMboto and killed them off. We all ran off, also the amaMboto, to the abeNguni, but eventually came back in peaceful times.

Matiwana, *chief of the amaNcwane*, was defeated at Mbolombo, between the Mtata and the Tsitsa (a stream entering the Mzimvubu).²²

I was born during Dingana's reign. My mother *married* my father in Dingana's reign. I am about 70 years old now [(born in) 1835 or 1836].

- 15 My mother, before my birth, married into the amaCi tribe. She was badly stabbed during Tshaka's *ihlambo campaign* in 1828.²³ She had a child in her arms; this was pinned to her with an assegai. The thrust came from in front, through the child, her chest, and to the back, chipping her backbone. She fell forwards. She was ill for two years. *Clots of blood* came out at the back. The child was killed - dead. She struggled to a stream where she got to a log of wood. Whilst (she was) there, an elephant came to drink, started trumpeting, and went off. She got sips of water with her hands and then crawled slowly to a neighbouring kraal. She was a whole day crawling a few hundred yards.

The war of the axe. This *axe* was taken by force by a Ngqika. The European started flogging him with a whip. War broke out. I was a young lad at the time. Many cattle were seized.²⁴

26.8.1905

File 62, nbk. 77, pp. 16-24.

Also present: Norman Nembula, Nzunzu

- 16 Mahaya continues.

The destruction of the nation, when Tshaka conquered etc. Natal. Nombeu and Madikane, of the Nhangwini and Baca tribes respectively, quarrelled. They quarrelled about a *basket of upoko millet*. The Nhangwini said, '*We shall not be overcome by izotsho*,' i.e. those who cut their faces à la Baca.²⁵ The Bacas wore *headrings* which were high up and came forward. The Nhangwini said, '*For what have you put on the headring?*' They replied, '*We are following izotsho custom*.' One side said, '*Today we fetch the basket of grain*.' The others replied, '*Never will you get it*.' The *upoko* was in those days *cultivated* in Natal; *it was this that was used for making beer*. *Amabele* were eaten as food but *upoko* formed the beer.

Nombeu called on Baleni for help. The Baca called on Macingwane, *chief of the Cunu*. The Nhangwini were defeated. It was Nombeu,

17 Baleni, and Mdingi who were the first to be an *imfacane*, i.e. an *impi* that goes along with its women and children in a fighting manner, attacking here and there and passing on. When the Nhlangwini set forth the amaBaca followed. The Bacas were in hot pursuit. Nombeu went on to the Pondos and *konza'd*. Fodo afterwards returned and settled on the Mkomazi near the Mkobeni. I do not know where Nombeu died. Nombeu was killed by the amaBaca at the Rode, *the bush country of the Mzimvubu*.

Macingwane of the Cunus stationed himself at Nsikeni.²⁶ The Bacas were at the Rode. The two, formerly together, had separated, i.e. the Cunus from the Bacas. The Nhlangwini followed the Bacas up, seeing they were without Macingwane's assistance. They settled as neighbours of the amaBaca.

18 On the occasion of the fight the attack took place at night. Sonyangwe ka Madikane was the one who attacked the Nhlangwini. (Madikane was dead, having been killed by abeNguni, *beyond the Mbatshé river*.) Nombeu was on this occasion put to death. The Nhlangwini observed the mourning ceremonies and remained settled where they were. They however spied about, the idea of the Nhlangwini being that they should kill the Baca chief. In the meantime Sonyangwe thought he had defeated and nonplussed them, as he had killed their chief. The Nhlangwini now attacked the amaBacas, also at night, and killed their chief Sonyangwe.

Nomakwelo and Magaga, of the amaMbili and uTshaba tribes respectively, fought in their country near the Tukela. They chased each other to the Mzimkulu, long before Tshaka. Whilst the one was chasing the other, this other was himself being stabbed behind. They came to us Mtwana. It was announced in our tribe, '*The uTshaba people are coming, who impale women and children on posts after having sharpened them.*' The Tshaba people used to fight at night-time. Juda doctored them with medicines near Mehlamnyama.²⁷ He did this to cause them to become worn out and for their strength to fail.

19 Tshaba attacked at the *insunguzi* (a common noun meaning a passage through forests). The Tshabas all were overtaken by a kind of blindness brought on by Juda's drugs. They were afflicted with *umamehlwamnyama*,²⁸ and this is why that particular spot came to be called amaMehlwanmyama.

This district was *the place of chiefs*, for there is always a little rain there and so plenty of food.

Nzunzu says there is a tree where Tshaka rested across the Mzimkulu and Mbango stream, between the Mbango and Boboyi streams, right on the present road. This is where he rested with his *mdhlunkulu*.

This, says Mahaya, was where Tshaka, as I have already explained, held a hunting dance and was stabbed by someone supposed to be Gcugwa.

20 Norman N. says Itshemahlamvu is the name of a great rock on the north side of the Mzimkulu near Ndongeni ka Xoki's kraal. There is a tradition that Tshaka once sat on it. It is now used as a beacon between Brudewold, J.G. Maydon, and J.H. Wood.

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Seven of our chiefs lie buried at Ntumbankulu. A man named Mbukwe took as a wife a white woman who was in a state of destitution. A ship was wrecked at the Lwambazo near the Msikaba river,²⁹ where these rivers enter the sea. It is said nowadays that this woman had come from the ship. Mbukwe made her his wife. She gave birth to my grandfather Mntengwane. Mntengwane fathered my mother Nqalo. I do not know the name of the ship that was wrecked. The survivors got out on wreckage. They wrote on a stone to say that they had buried money close to that spot. I heard this from Duka Fynn.³⁰

- Nzunzu goes on here: My father's mother says two men and one girl got out of this wreck. They came out on a piece of the wreckage.
- 21 They rolled a safe or chest of money along and buried it. They then wrote on a rock, saying that (the two of them) and a girl had escaped. The two men lived on wild plums (*amatungule*), and afterwards died of fever. Black men came along to gather mussels, and found the girl and tended her. They reported this. 'We saw a white person with long hair, a wanderer or waif.' They said they had come out of an *uqwembe*,³¹ not knowing what a ship was. The chief, whose name I forget, then told them to go and 'catch her' on the beach. The girl cried. They escorted her back to the chief. They saw she had breasts and was a woman. She lived on fowl's eggs chiefly. She then saw that no harm was intended and was happy. The chief then looked out for an *umumzana* who had much property. In those days the practice was to send to a man of importance to ask him to give the daughter of the
- 22 man asking a *snuff-spoon*. The chief could not find a sufficiently wealthy man in his own tribe, so the application for a *snuff-spoon* was made to Mbukwe. This custom meant an offer to marry a daughter to the man of whom the request was made. She was then *married off* and made a wife. I do not know how many children she had, but Mntengwane was her son.

She, says Mahaya, first bore Mxokwana, a boy, then Mntengwane, then a girl, Nqolisa. These are all I remember. I do not know this European girl's name. Mntengwane was light in colour, as was his hair. He was a 'bastard' (*ibastela*). Duka Fynn knows of this affair, and that this European girl was afterwards searched for by her friends. Mbukwe lived in the Mtwana tribe, at Ntumbankulu. This all occurred before Tshaka's day.

- 23 I was born in the Nguni country (*ebuNguni*) at the Mbatshe river, this side of the Nciba river and south of the Mtata river.³² I speak the Xosa dialect.

26.8.1905, afternoon. Mahaya continues, no-one else present.

The Qwabes, Zulus, Makanya, and amaBaca are abeNguni; they share the same origins. The abeNguni extend as far as the Mtata and then south well into the Cape Colony. Qubutsha told me that Zulu and Qwabe were Malandela's sons. The amaXosa are very numerous and are the true abeNguni. They parted from the Zulu, Qwabe, and Baca. Both the Zulu and Qwabe still say 'Mnguni!'

The Bacas and amaMpondo used to say, 'We cannot fight with the abeNguni,' implying that they were speaking contemptuously by referring to abeNguni as such, and yet this word is a name, a proper

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name, and not a term of insult.

- 24 The Zulus, Qwabes, and Bacas are amaNtungwa. The amaXoza are also amaNtungwa, although also spoken of as the true abeNguni, for they came from the north.

The Cele originated from the Nyambose, among the Tonga, and so are Tongas. They come from the Mtetwa and the abeTshwawo (at the Mzimkulwana). The amaCele say they quarrelled with the abeTshwawo about a leopard. It had been killed. Both tribes came from the Mtetwa and so were related.³³ They came to these regions long before Tshaka.

The amaNtambo and amaVundhla are tribes that came from the Mtetwa. They lived at the Mkomazi. The amaNtambo lived near Mkobeni at the ePateni mountain (I think the name is) near Willie Nicholson. From the amaNtambo sprang the amaNzoto tribe which lived at the Mkomazi and extended to the Ifafa, to Matshwayibana (a European), and also on the Inhlamvini river, and as far as Ezilulwini, near Mr Walker's place. The amaVundhla were on the opposite side of the Nhlamvini, on to the Ifafa, and towards Ixopo.³⁴

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File 62, nbk. 78, pp. 1-14.

Also present: Norman Nembula, Nzunzu

- 1 The amaNzoto and amaVundhla come from Mntambo. Vundhla, head of the amaVundhla, and Nzoto, head of the amaNzoto, were sons of Mntambo. This man was a member of the Nyambose or Mtetwa tribe, like the Celes.

The amaNdhlovu are one with the Zulus and the Baca and the abeNguni. The amaZelemu are one with the amaNdhlovu. They are closely related to the Baca.

We who live about the Mzimkulu speak of the Tulis as 'uTshaba', though this may be inaccurate. We associate them with the people of Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo, also with the Tshaba people now under Mbotshwa.³⁵ Our old people told us that Mruyi's, alias Kofiyana's,³⁶ people were the uTshaba people, whilst the Tulis were also uTshaba, but that the principal section of the same Tshaba people was the Cele tribe under Magaye. (Mbotshwa ka Mruyi ka Mbengana.)

- 2 Magaga was the first who came to the Mzimkulu, i.e. of the Tshaba people. This occurred before Tshaka's day.

*Ngcondo we Ntshaba separated from the Zulu, Baca and Qwabe, and went up-country, going to eRini.*³⁷

The amaXoza [Mahaya says amaXosa] and amaLawu³⁸ lived together. The latter then sewed skins together - *iminweba, i.e. clothing made of animal skins.*

The amaXosa went and built as far as the Boers at Emnyameni in the Cape Colony, near eRini. Emnyameni was called eRini afterwards.

The amaLawu and amaKoboka³⁹ built above and at Cape Town.

- 3 In the old days there was constant breaking away from tribes by smaller sections. A son of the chief might determine on going to live in a particular part whilst the other would remain. The movement of amaXosa south was due to their going from place to place to get game. They ate *eland, hartebeest*, but not elephants though they killed them. They seemed to want some country ahead; they were *driver*

on by no *impi*.

The abaTembu (who extend from the Mtata to the Nciba river, which is as big as the Mkomazi) also went south simply because they were so inclined, leaving Nodada ka Ngoza ka Mkubukeli.⁴⁰ The abaTembu originally *konza'd* the abeNguni (amaXosa). They *increased in numbers* afterwards and then *fought* with the abeNguni. They used to *quarrel over land*. They would stab one another, and then *make peace*. The abaTembu are very numerous. Ngubengcuka had a son Mtikaka, who had a son Matanzima; these were chiefs of the abaTembu.⁴¹

USojica is Sonzica, Sir T. Shepstone's father.⁴²

I do not know where the Tembus came from, I cannot say if they are amaNtungwa. They are not abeNguni. I hear they are quite distinct from the Zulu, Qwabe, and abeNguni.

The amaMpondo came from the amaSwazi and amaNdwandwe. They stand apart from what we have been writing of.⁴³

The abeNguni took a northerly course when they went to the Cape Colony. They passed through amaHlubi country.⁴⁴ When the abeNguni got to the amaHlubi and abeSutu they learnt to make *calabashes* in which they put *curds*. (They tied them) to a beast, also *amabele*, and went forward. (They are) delicious curds; they make one's eyes water, like *ijiki beer*.

The abeNguni were told to *hunt ostriches* with the amaBaca. They went to *hunt* with their cattle and women. *They found an opportunity for going on, and that was the end of it*. The Baca went a little way, and *returned on their road* and built near Pietermaritzburg, at the Msunduze. The abaNguni refused to return, having got the opportunity of going off.

The most numerous of all the tribes was the amaHlubi.

The abeNguni call themselves amaXosa.

The Qwabes are the abeNguni. The Zulus are not and do not call themselves abeNguni. The Bacas speak of themselves as Zulus.

Madikane ka Kalimetshe (the Baca chief) got the following idea from the Cunus. The Cunus used to take a heifer, smear a certain drug over their hands, and then *pat* the beast. This process would cause the heifer to have milk. The first milk would be set aside and be treated with medicines. After this the heifer would be put to the bull and bear a calf. The milking of a beast in this way, and the doctoring of the liquid, was to enable the chief to *overcome other chiefs*. After bearing a calf, if a heifer, this calf will be dealt with apart from other cattle, milked apart, its milk kept in a different *bucket* and poured into a separate *calabash* to be consumed only by young boys. When such beast, male or female, is killed, still smaller boys and the very oldest men who no longer want anything will consume its flesh.

When the *army* went out, or when the chief was about to be attacked, an ox borne by the heifer medically treated as above used to return by itself from the herd, come to the kraal, and low. It would precede the *army* as it went forth to fight, and thereafter always be near the chief on the hill with great men. It has *gone out, like men* who have gone out to fight. This practice was followed by Madikane (the Baca chief) and Madikizela ka Myeki ka Papa. Anyone striking the ox with

7 a stick would *become mad*. Its flesh was eaten as stated, and any over was burnt. I saw this custom followed by only two chiefs, the ones just stated. In the case of Madikizela, however, the ox behaved oddly. It would come, and whilst the chief *stirred up the medicine for the army*, would proceed to drink it. (Madikizela was of the Ngutshana people.) When it was seen that the ox did not act in the customary manner, men would see that there was something wrong somewhere. If the beast was refractory, or refused to act correctly, things must be gone into de novo.

Madikane was evidently a man with a great power over drugs, and it was from the Cunus under Macingwane that he got them. He was a man who with a small force went up and down the country, killing and marauding. Eventually the amaXosa, Tembus, amaMpondomisi and a few
8 of the amaMpondo leagued together and gradually hemmed him in. They stabbed him about daybreak one day, and on that day darkness came over the land, lasting several hours (probably an eclipse).⁴⁵ Owing to his close association with the amaCunu, I think the two must have been related, no doubt because (as I now hear Mr Stuart say) Cunu was, like Zulu, the Baca ancestor, a son of Malandela.

My impression is that the abeNguni (amaXosa) are also descendants of Malandela. I believe the amaXosa *separated from* the Zulu and Qwabe in Zululand and went across into the Hlubi country, where they began their nomadic life.

The amaMpondo course was along the coast. They came either from the Swazis or Ndwandwes or both. I cannot state who descended south with them. I know of Mpondo. Mpondo's son was Tahle who had a son
9 Ngqungqushu, who had a son Faku, who had a son Mqikela, who had a son Sigcau.⁴⁶ I am however not sure of these names.

The amaXosa and abaTembu are both called abeNguni. I believe Ngcondo was the very first Xosa to go south to the Cape Colony. His son was Toku. This Toku had a son Palo. Palo had a son Tshiwo, who had a son Gcaleka, who had a son Kauta, who had a son Hintsu, who had a son Sirili, who had a son Sigcau (of the same age as myself).⁴⁷

I do not forget a thing after once hearing it, says Mahaya.

The abakaMjengalanga - these Xosas speak of themselves thus. This is their *isibongo*. Sometimes names go wrong by means of the praises men get.

The amaCwera are related to the amaMpondo.

26.8.1905, evening. Mahaya goes on, Norman N. and Nzunzu present.
10 I said my oldest ancestor was Hohoho and he was an uMsutu of the *place of Mjantshi*. This Mjantshi lived beyond Swaziland. She lives in or near forests frequented by elephant. She has always lived in her own district, never being disturbed by wars.

She lived say in the Lydenburg or Zoutpansberg districts, adds Nzunzu, who was so informed when he had, with General Buller's forces crossed the Mgwenya river (Crocodile river) during the war.⁴⁸

Mahaya goes on: The woman Mjantshi or Mabelemade is always spoken of as existing. She never appears to die; she is always living. Her

people die like others.

We are not amaNtungwa, continues Mahaya. I do not know where the amaNtungwa came from, nor by what route. I hear they *rolled by means of a grain basket*.⁴⁹ The peoples they came to *insulted* them by saying, 'You come down by means of a grain basket.' I do not know if Mntungwa is the name of a person.

- 11 The Bacas were *insulted* by the Inhlangwini people, who called them amaZotsha because of their *headrings*. (I explained this yesterday.) On being asked why they put on such headrings as they had, they said, 'We are following *izotsha* custom,' hence the name. This *insulting name* is like that of the amaNtungwa and *the grain basket*.

I heard among Natal natives that the abeNguni (Xosas) are related to the Zulus and Qwabas. I have not heard this from the Xosas themselves.

Macibise's people are, I hear from them, abeNguni.⁵⁰ They may also be amaNgwane. The Bacas told me that the Baca chief Madikane *hlobonga'd with Macibise*, whereupon her people *konza'd* and became absorbed by the Bacas. They allied themselves with the Bacas when Tshaka attacked the Natal tribes.

The amaWushe (chief Sonzaba) are, I think, descended from Macibise's people. This tribe lives in East Griqualand. Some live in Ixopo division.

- 12 Norman N. points out that he has heard that Macibise's father was Mlitwa.

*The amaNtunzele are descended from a woman of our people, a sister of Ntshangase, Ngutshana, and Nseta. Ntunzele was a girl of the isizinda umuzi of Ntamonde, the father of Ngutshana and Ntshangase. Ntunzele is the woman who buried her father Ntamonde on his death, because she belonged to the isizinda section. She afforded protection to a tall, black man of the Hlubi people. She fed him up. He became a great warrior and used to fight in war. Ntunzele one day covered him with a blanket, whereupon she bore by him Cinsu, who lived at Mabedhlana (at Cekwana's place) and Nzimankulu.*⁵¹ Their boundary ran along the boundary of the amaMbulu tribe under Kala (father Noqobo). The Ntunzele also extended towards Highflats (Gqwataza's - a European). They were *scattered* by Macingwane and Madikane.

- 13 *Large nations come to an end with much destruction, for they do not run away.*

....<Praises of Macingwane omitted - eds.>

Macingwane and Madikane killed off the amaMbotu at the Esantombe forest (it formerly had elephants) where the iBisi enters the Mzimkulu.

The amaMpondo, on conquering Mdingi, Baleni, Ngoza, Nombeu, and Ncwana, cut the hands off those from whom they could not remove *armlets* (of dark-coloured metal), then cut feet off where *anklets* could not be taken, and heads were cut off where *neck-rings* could not be taken off. These hands and feet were cut off in the case of both men and women followers of the above-named. I once saw a man, a

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member of the Inhlangwini tribe, living on the Mkomazi between a spot opposite Mpendhle⁵² and the bridge (Leask's), whose left hand had been cut off by the Mpondos.

- 14 The five chiefs whose names have been given had *attacked the Mpondo*, and were defeated and mutilated in this way because the ornaments they carried could not be got off otherwise.

27.8.1905, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 78, pp. 14-24.

Also present: Norman Nembula, Nzunzu?

- Nyokana (*of the isizinda section*) and Nomatiti (chief son) of the Ntshangase tribe fell out about cattle having eaten a garden *belonging to the great place of the chief*. The chief section were defeated in the fight that occurred. They then *crossed* the Mkomazi and Mzimkulu, and joined Ngutshana's people. Nyokana's people remained behind. There are numbers of these still living among the Nyuswa tribe (*up the Mdhloti river*, adds Norman N., and they pay taxes at Ndwedwe),⁵³ where they are called, erroneously, amaTshangase instead of amaNtshangase. When Tshaka came to attack Natal, the Nomatiti, who had gone to settle alongside the amaNgutshana near the iBisi stream, left there with the amaNgutshana and eventually settled in Pondoland on the Mzinhlangana (a stream entering the Mzinhlanga, which again enters the Mzimvubu near Ntabankulu). They still live
15 on the Mzinhlangana. When they left the iBisi they *set up* with the amaNgutshana at the Msikaba. They, when peace arose, *lived* between the Mtwentu and Msikaba, where Chief Ntola's father Mpetshwa died. Ntola *moved* and, going a little north, settled *at the mission station at Maqingqo, up the Mzinhlangana*, i.e. at Emfundisweni.

Nyokana and his people were left by Nomatiti on the Ilovu where the Abambo now live, that is, between Nhlazuka and Ntumbankulu hill, a fine piece of country. [The Ntumbankulu hill here referred to is Cleveland Hill between the Ilovu and the Umlazi.]⁵⁴

- When the Nomatiti section joined the amaNgutshana, they were not merged in the latter but lived alongside of them. Nyokana had two sons, Tshaka and Mdudi (this Tshaka named after the great Tshaka). During Tshaka's depredations, Tshaka and Mdudi ran off and took
16 refuge in Nomabunga ka Nkowane's territory, at the bottom of a precipice near the Mkomazi (in the neighbourhood of Springvale, adds Norman N., i.e. between Nhlazuka and Springvale, only on the south side of the Mkomazi).⁵⁵

Ntamonde died *near Sangwana hill, up the Mdhloti*. We also lived at Mkambatini (Table Mountain),⁵⁶ only to the east of this mountain. This is where Ngutshana and Ntshangase separated. They lived opposite and near one another.

- It happened that on one occasion Ngutshana, who was of less rank than Ntshangase, went over to Ntshangase's main kraal, finding meat being cooked and a very plentiful supply of *ijiji beer* in the huts. Ntshangase now took his sticks and dogs and lads out into the field, and went to the cattle to *herd them*, leaving Ngutshana seated at home with Ntshangase's *mkanthlu* or assembly of men. Finding Ntshangase had been absent a long time, Ngutshana, not knowing when he
17 intended returning, proposed that the meat should be *divided up* and

eaten and the beer drunk, to which all present cheerfully and eagerly responded, 'Yebo, Nkosi.' Meat and beer were thereupon consumed, and in this way Ngutshana usurped the position of Ntshangase, who had forfeited it by his own negligence.

The two tribes never fought together, but Ngutshana left and settled near the iBisi as already referred to.

[It must be stated here plainly that I have made a mistake in saying Ntshangase and Ngutshana are females. They are not; they are males. This correction must be made wherever necessary in the preceding pages.]

18 The name Mehlwammyama to which I have made special reference arose as stated. The hill to which it refers was originally, to the day of the futile attack by the Tshaba people, called eMenzane. Owing to the notable incident that occurred there the name became changed.

27.8.1905, 10 a.m. Mahaya continues, no one else present.

Imvaba - this is the Xosa equivalent of the calabash. 'He who has no calabash is a dog'.⁵⁷ They are of all sizes, and made of ox or cow hide. The principal men's are made of ox hide, lesser men's of cow hide, and a cow hide is often cut in two to make two *izimvaba*. The *izimvaba* at a kraal were all kept in the principal hut; they went there as if they were men to congregate there.

19 The making of an *imvaba* was in this wise. Only the skin of a beast that had been slaughtered would be taken, not of one that had died from some illness. This skin would be soaked for two days and taken out on the third, be scraped and well cleaned on the inside portion, whilst all the hair would be removed from the other side. The skin would then be folded in two and be sewn into a huge bottle. In the case of the largest *izimvaba* there would be two mouths, one at one end and another at the other, through which *curds* were poured, into which the milk was poured, and out of which the whey was removed (to be drunk by those who wished for it, or thrown away). The sewing would be carefully done, whilst at the mouths would be fixed a strap for tying up to prevent the *curds* escaping.

The milk would be poured in by men, one of the mouths being tilted up towards his knees whilst he, taking the large bucket - not carved out of wood but beautifully sewn like a basket (*imbenge*), and holding some four or five gallons - would hold it so as to pour in the opposite way to what a Zulu would do. For instance he would, holding the bucket out from him, pour towards himself into the mouth of the skin. One bucket after another would be poured in, each milk-man pouring in his own and then laying the skin on the floor of the hut which, by the way, was repeatedly *smearred with dung* and always kept clean.

20 Everyone had an *imvaba*. The biggest ones, of ox hide, were often so filled with milk that it took as many as six men to lift them in and out of a hut. They were often put over the back of an ox (*iqeku*, i.e. a trained ox; they go like horses, and carry men), and there tied on and so conveyed wherever it might be necessary to do so. This ox would then be led along, carrying the great skin.

Such an *imvaba* could have *curds* drawn from it from both mouths at one and the same time. The abeNguni always like to have their *curds* fresh, not like the Zulus etc., who would take it thick.

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They, the abeNguni, regard those who allow *curds* to become thick as being poor and having but few cattle.

Now it frequently happens for an *ijadu dancing competition* to be held at which only *curds* are drunk. Indeed this is the only *beverage* taken - no beer. People congregate in great numbers. *Izimvaba* are brought by the headmen as full as they can be of *curds*. The contents
21 are then emptied into some huge vessel, as large as a bath, and from this are filled many smaller vessels, sufficient to feed say two or three men. These smaller vessels would be distributed amongst the company. The milkboys of chiefs would stand beside their respective parties, and the chief or headman who had the largest supply of *curds* would be regarded as having defeated the rest, for this *ijadu dance* is like a competition or show. No-one who came to this *dance* was permitted to leave hungry. No-one on such an occasion, when all were merry, complained of hunger. They were welcome to help themselves.

Men drink the milk of the cows with oldish calves, whilst the younger persons take that of the younger calves.

On the outside of the *imvaba* a 'furry' surface will appear, i.e. the surface of the hide will chafe and stand up as is seen on a Zulu woman's *leather skirt*.

22 With the milk kept in the *imvaba* will be eaten *boiled grains of amabele* so thoroughly cooked as to burst open. No grinding of this corn is done by the Xosas as among the Zulus.

The larger *izimvaba* were as tall as a man. When the milk has been poured into the *imvaba*, the latter is kneaded and kneaded so as to mix thoroughly the old with the fresh contents. It cannot, of course, be shaken like the Zulu *gourd*. When poured out the *curds* would go do! do! do! do! do! do! do! do! do! The *curds* prepared in accordance with this plan are extremely delicious, not so fatty as Zulu *curds*, and as already remarked, take the place of beer among us to a large extent. The practice is still followed. The *curds* preferred are *thin*. Only *menials* take the thick *curds*. When the time comes for pouring out the *why* it squirts out as a man being sick.

23 At these *amajadu dances* men would sit apart from the women. The men would smoke. They smoke not *smoking horns* but pipes, long pipes, say a foot long, carved by themselves and similar to Europeans' in general appearance. This custom was evidently copied a long time ago from Europeans.

Such *curds* as were not consumed at the *dance* would be thrown away after all were satisfied. There was no use in keeping the bitter milk. Or the *imvaba* would be tied up by one end and swung to and fro, thereby churning the cream etc. inside, turning it into butter. The butter will then be extracted whilst the *buttermilk* will be given to boys and girls to drink.

24 A large ox could carry two large *izimvaba* as well as two small ones. In times of disturbance such ox might go along with the women and children and be made to carry not only *izimvaba* but other food for the children, whilst other cattle might be carrying *izimvaba* for the men. The ox carrying the children's food would have a reim about its head and would be led or allowed to go along of itself, turning off where it saw the women and children turn off. It would go en-

tirely apart from the herd to which it belonged.

It is the amaXosa who do as I have been stating. The amaMpondo do not do thus. The abeSutu also act in this way and are similar to the amaXosa. The amaBaca do not do this but they *race their oxen*. They are taken far off, to see which one will win, to be raced, to see whose will be victorious. 'Hooray! So and so has won the *umjadu* competition.'

This custom is well worthy of attention. I proceed to refer now to what the amaXosa do. The custom is amongst them called *ukuleqa*. Oxen are used. An *umjadu* dance is called, known as the *umjadu of the oxen*. Oxen are got together and taken to some ... <continued below - eds.>

27.8.1905, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 79, pp. 1-14.

- 1 ... remote spot where they are kept together. The oxen of all the competitors are put there. Presently a swift-footed boy will shout a cry to the oxen which they will recognise and then start *galloping* after him, i.e. running towards him. On and on they go as hard as they can go. The boy may get out of breath and become tired. Slipping into some bush or other place, he gets someone mounted on horseback to shout to them, and they then fasten themselves to him, forgetting the former leader. Away the man on horseback goes, on and on, the oxen following over hill and dale, some being killed in the race, either succumbing to exertion or being killed by the other competitors. If the horse should tire, the cry is raised by another, who proceeds to the spot where the onlookers are congregated. The oxen first to arrive are the winners, and their owner becomes famous. The
- 2 man on horseback shouts as well as signals to the running oxen. He signals with the *oribi* hide which is thrown about his shoulders, for this is the hide that all at the *ijadu* are dressed in and what they dance in, and the oxen follow the man [as the rats did the Pied Piper of Hamelin, only faster].

- Cattle belonging to a particular individual often won these *ox races*. This superiority took its rise out of a species of cunning. When such event was about to take place, he would take his stick out of the *wattle-work of his hut* into which he had put it, and use this on his oxen, striking them. He would, getting up early, go into his cattle kraal and proceed to recite the very oldest praises of his family, known only to the oldest men, until the oxen saw what was going to happen. The gate would be securely fastened, and then a lad
- 3 going out would call and they would break through the kraal and follow their leader, who would take them off to the remote spot referred to. In the meantime the owner has also started off, absolutely naked as well as his wife. This man, by the way, has during the night slept in the *indhluwuku* hut, which is part of the plan. Only after the oxen have got to the others at the remote spot will the man and woman betake themselves to their clothing.

When the boy calls out the oxen, the cows, knowing what is going to happen, will remain behind, but heifers, not knowing anything, sometimes join the oxen. I should say that the stick above referred

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to has been used to strike the oxen with in the *kraal*. The headman has beaten them and made them move about in the *kraal*, and as soon as the boy starts calling them the man leaves the *kraal*, whereupon
4 the oxen etc. break through and follow.

By going to the *indhlinkulu* the headman has gone to *give praise to the ancestors of his house*. He goes to sleep without even taking food, not caring for it.

When the boy shouts, 'I-i-i-i-i!', they *crowd together*, i.e. all make for one portion of the *kraal* and break through. The boy *gives the signal* merely with his mouth, not with a whistle.

It is only those who are as it were professional racers who have particular *customs* as to the way in which the cattle leave the *kraal*. Those competitors who are not particularly anxious to defeat any particular person do not take these extraordinary pains. So then, more than one person may start his oxen off according to some device, and these act as they think best in order to win the race.

5 The man on horseback (with the ouribi skin) also shouts like the boy, 'I-i-i-i-i!', and flaps up the skin to attract the oxen's attention.

After the lad has got the oxen etc. out of their own *kraal* they go along quietly with him. They do not run. The worst comes about when the cattle are returning. They return, not to their homes or kraals, but follow blindly the leader who is ahead, and care to do that only, passing by their own *kraals* in their wild race forward.

The winner, where a bet has been made, would get a beast, that being the usual kind of bet. The other competitors get nothing. Only particular kraals have oxen that can run in a very determined fashion. Those of many kraals soon tire and give up. They go along native paths.

6 The cattle are put about 30 to 35 miles off (say as far as the Mpambanyoni river from here).⁵⁸ All along the route are spectators on the hills. Two or three on horseback may lead, always along the path. There are people looking on also at the place the cattle start from.

When the cattle arrive, that man whose cattle have won proceeds at once to sing out the praises of his ancestors. He *praises* the cattle.

They are taken out at cockcrow and reach the starting point about midday, and it is shortly after midday that the start is made. The dust rises into the air as soon as they begin to run. They cross river after river in their race. Many of course fall behind in the race, to arrive only on the following day or late in the afternoon. Many do not arrive at all, but people have to go and look for them.

7 About 12 to 15 take part in the race. After going four or five miles several fall back. The remainder proceed, *joetling one another off the path*. Those behind *run on the verges and then in the path*, and so on and on alternately. At the end of the race only two or three come in as winners. They arrive very thin. Those on the line of route keep far off the route taken by the cattle.

The bet is usually a *heifer in calf*.

When the start is about to be made the leader goes ahead, and makes a signal to those herding, as with his blanket. The boys shrink away and hide, and then he starts the *signal*. Anyone caught

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in such a race would be trodden on and injured. The cry is taken on by others as stated, the tired person taking such refuge as he can in a bush or donga.

8 I once saw Nzonda ka Mqomboti's oxen. They were put away at a great distance; they were obliged to cross five rivers, coming from a sixth one. I was a *herd boy*. They came home with one lad, a tall one. The winners arrived very thin, one being a *dark-coloured beast* (*igwaqa*) with horns thus,



The other was a *white-striped beast* (*ilunga*) with a *black rump*. I do not know what bet was made on that occasion. I am not familiar with the bet. This took place about 1848. I was then a lad herding cattle, smaller than the kitchen boy [aet. about 18].

[Theal says the war began on 16th March 1846.⁵⁹ This fixes the birth of Mahaya at about 1846-14=1831 or 1832.]

I once saw eight head of cattle paid by a *prince* of the *Rarabe* people for one of these running oxen. This was at the time of the *war of the axe* (the war of the *izembe* or of the *isixengxe* as we called it at that time).⁶⁰ I forget the *prince's* name, but he was of the *Ndhlambe* people.⁶¹ They were then among the *Gealeka* people, where I lived. The ox was bought from Vonco ka Qokodiba.

Even at this day among the *Nguni* this custom of *ox-racing* is followed.

9 An *udhlolokazi*⁵² beast is the one especially fancied as a racer. This beast is *barren*. It is called *udhlolokazi* because it follows or goes with these running oxen, even though it bears calves. And when it has a calf, on the day of a race of this kind it will be milked on to the ground by the boys in the veld so as to enable it to run. An *udhlolokazi* which is also barren is much esteemed. These *udhlolokazi* beasts are very swift runners, like horses, sometimes leading at the start as well as at the finish, maintaining the lead throughout.

10 I lived as a young lad at Kwelera, across the *Nciba* (Great Kei) and quite close to East London, and several miles from the sea. We used to go and purchase things at the East London store. When I was a boy there was only one house at East London, before the one the war broke out about <sic>, the *war of the axe*. I was still quite a small lad. After the *war of the axe* had been fought, we lived below the *Centane* hill where a stream enters the *Nciba* (Great Kei). The *Nciba* stream is somewhat larger than the *Mkomazi* and about the size of the *Mzinkulu*, though slightly less.

27.8.1905, afternoon. Mahaya continues, N. Nembula and Nzunzu present.

I was *circumcised* shortly after reaching the age of *puberty*. *Circumcision* is still going on among the *Nguni*. A person who has not been *circumcised* is laughed at and called an *inkwenkwe*.⁶³

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When Matiwana fled south with the amaNgwane he came to *the Mtata river, below the Drakensberg*, to forests. He was defeated at Mbolompo mountain; this mountain is close to Tsolo magistracy. It was at Mbolompo that Matiwana was defeated. Well, when Matiwana went off to Dingana to *konza*, many of his people remained. These, tired of being laughed at and spoken of as 'boys', proceeded to be *circumcised* even though advanced in years.

11 The great house in our tribes is the amaNtshangase, followed by the amaNgutshana. The Imitwana, to which I belong, are of lesser status.

It was said that Mtwana was to *bury* Sabela. Sabela's people then joined Mtwana. The amaXolo went off, taking some of Sabela's people. They quarrelled about a *cattle post*. Sabela died at Sangwana, at esi-Dumbini. His territory was very extensive at this place. The tribe in Sabela's days were known as *abeSutu*, and *in time of war* were given the praise, '*Basutu who have imikala*' (*umkala* is the string inserted in the hole through a beast's nose). This was said when *the army was being given its instructions*. '*People of the place of Huhuhu*' is also one of the ancient praises.

2 The amaNgutshana, amaNtshangase, *Ntamonde's isizinda section*, the amaNtunzele, the Imitwana, amaXolo, amaMpemvu (sometimes erroneously styled amaPemvu), the amaCi, amaJali, iziLangwe, amaXolo, amaNzimakwe, amaMboto (not however *those native to the place*), and also the following: the amaNgcoya, amaNyati (living near Faku's ekuQaukeni kraal), amaGingqi, and amaNtusi, are all sections of Sabela's people, whilst 2 living at Sangwana. The four last named are living among the Pundos, and refuse now to admit that they are Imitwana. They say, '*We came from Emtweni*,' instead of from Imitwana. They speak of the other sections as Abambo,⁶⁴ and refuse to allow that they are anything else but Pundos.

The amaNyembezi went off, being *driven out* by Malitshe. They quarrelled *fiercely over a beast that was being driven to slaughter by members of the great house*. The amaTibe said, '*Where is our beast being taken to?*' They replied, '*To the chief for slaughter.*' The answer was, '*Leave it,*' but they continued driving it. So there was a fight. Nyembezi, Tibe's brother, went off to *Kwa Maise*⁶⁵ on the other side of the Mtamvuna. Some of the amaTibe remained behind. Malitshe went to fetch the beast because he considered he was the chief and that they would not object to giving it up. This happened at Ntumbankulu.

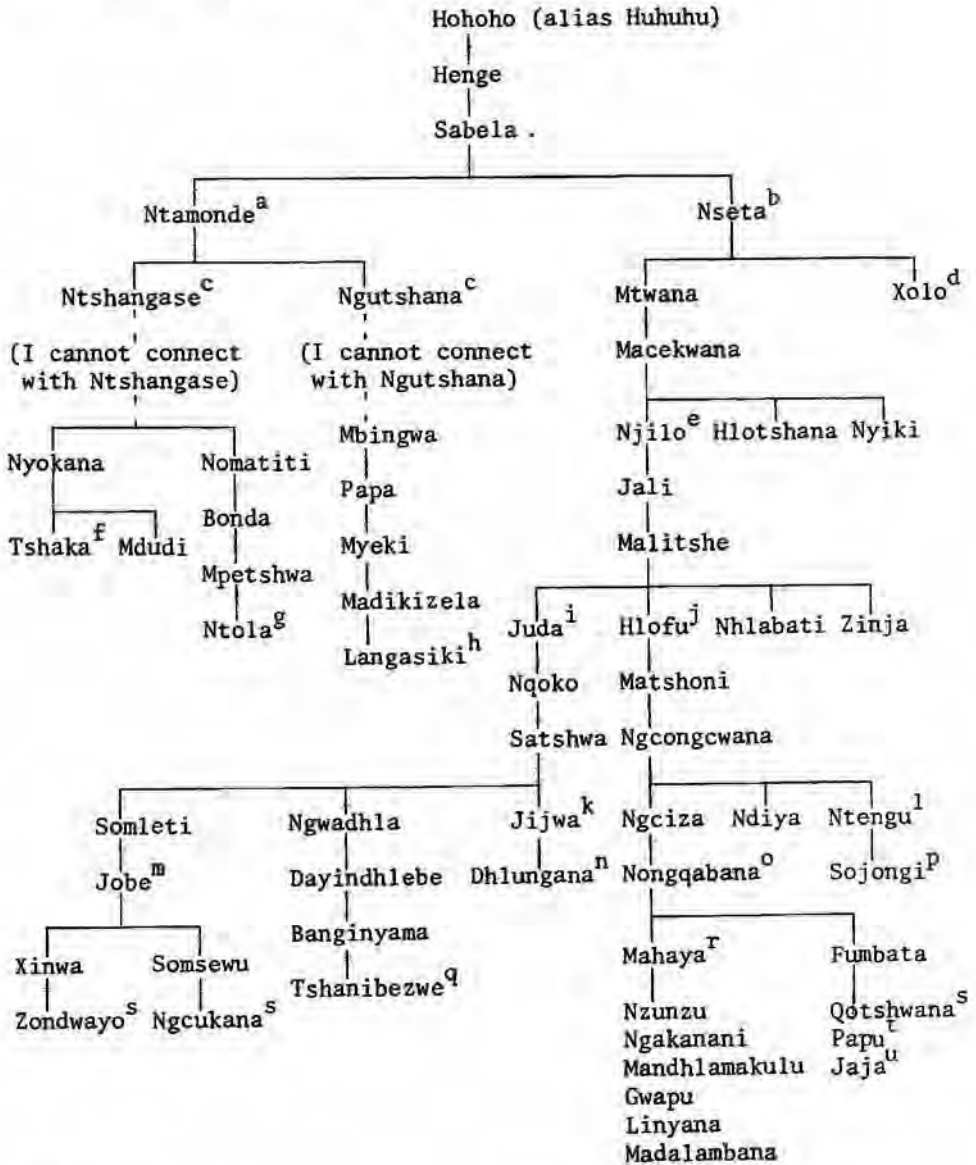
13 Jali is buried at Ntumbankulu. Njilo was buried at the Mhlungwa, i.e. at the Mtwalume. He had come to be here on account of the *cattle post* already referred to. He had quarrelled with the amaXolo and followed after them. This quarrel arose between Mtwana and Xolo on account of this same *post*. Mtwana chased him to the Mpambanyoni and there settled, Xolo being beyond.

[Look at the genealogical tree on the next page.] Sojongi was killed on the occasion of the Imitwana being hemmed in by Nombeu, Mdingi, Baleni, Ngoza, and Mcwana, as already described. With these five the following also combined in the attack: the amaLanga, amaNdelu, amaDhlala, amaDunge, and Lukwilimba. On that occasion members of the Imitwana tribe scattered and fled south, indeed wherever they could find a refuge.

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The amaNtozakwe also formed part of the Imitwana tribe. Their chief was Mcebi ka Nocela. A man Ntozakwe who had only one eye was given protection by the Imitwana chief. He said he belonged to Macibise's people. He was given a chief's daughter and *mdhlunkulu*. He took her to wife and so raised up a people and became a tribe.

14 Genealogical tree: Ntshangase, Ngutshana, Xolo, Imitwana and other related tribes, per Mahaya, 27.8.1905.



^aChief son.

^bOf the isizinda section.

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These two were twins, Ntshangase the senior one.

^dThe eldest son.

^eChief son.

^fNamed after the great Tshaka.

^gLiving.

^hLiving at Emzamuba.

ⁱChief son.

^jOf the *isizinda* section.

^kOne of the last sons borne by Satshwa in his old age.

^lChief son.

^mDied very old.

ⁿLiving. Called after Dhlungwana (Tshaka).

^oMarried a woman Nqalo, granddaughter of a white woman wrecked near the Msikaba mouth. This white woman married a native, Mbukwe, and bore Mntengwane, father of Nqalo.

^pChief of the *isizinda* section; no issue.

^qLiving.

^rMy informant.

^sLiving.

^tLiving.

^uLiving.

28.8.1905

File 62, nbk. 79, pp. 15-24.

Also present: Norman Nembula, Nzunzu

i Mahaya continues, Norman N. and Nzunzu present.

Madikizela ka Myeki had about 170 sons; I do not know how many girls. He lived at the Mzamuba, Bizana district. He never slept at night. He never *took ijidi beer or curds*. He took porridge. He ate his meat on a *shield* which formed an *eating mat*. He had a huge penis. All his sons have *slightly protruding foreheads*. He died from small-pox about 10 or 12 years ago. These sons all are members of the Ngu-tshana, and live at the Mtwentwana and Mzamuba, a stream which enters the sea.

We Imitwana are Basutos, but our elders say we are not the Basuto-land Basutos but came from Mjantshi, whose country is in the Trans-vaal. I do not know how we came to leave Mjantshi's country. At Sangwana is where Sabela's people *increased in number*. I hear we passed through Swaziland on our way south. We are not connected with the amaHlubi. I do not know if the amaHlubi come from Mjantshi. I do not know where Mjantshi lives. (Probably, add Nzunzu and Norman N., through the Transvaal and across the Limpopo - known as uMmiti by natives - and not far from Sotshangana's; ⁶⁶ probably somewhere in the Zoutpansberg district.)

I do not know if the Zulus *had their origins among the Hlubi*. I do not know what people we ousted from Sangwana when we originally came down.

We used to plant sugar-cane at Sangwana; we also did so at the Mzimkulu. We always planted it. When the *cane*⁶⁷ was ripe, bundles of it used to be cut and taken as a *presentation* to the chief, where-upon we would eat it. We knew *sugar-cane* long before Europeans came.

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Only big people *cultivated* it. The pieces that had been chewed and spat out would be carefully burnt so that *abatakati* would not get hold of them, because we were in the habit of *eating tasty things*. The chewed stuff and pieces peeled off would all be carefully collected and, if not burnt, be secretly hidden away. *Sugar-cane* was very well and strongly fenced in to prevent thieves getting in, for cane is like honey.

- 17 The abaMbo. I hear they came from the direction of Swaziland. The Natal people are called abaMbo by the Pondos without discrimination. A wind coming from the direction of Natal is said to *come from the country of the abaMbo*.

28.8.1905, evening. Mahaya continues, Norman N. and Nzunzu present.

'*This wind comes from the abaMbo country*,' say the Pondos, meaning Natal. I do not know how Natal came to be known as Embo. The Pondos refer to those on the north side of the Mtamvuna as abaMbo, and to those south of that river as amaMpondo. There is a wind which is said to *come from the Nguni country*, so corresponding with that from Embo.

- I hear from Mr Stuart that the Tulis turned the amaMpfana from the Bluff [see Maziwana's information].⁶⁸ The amaMpfana had a large section at Nkuswana (the name of a pool in the Mzimkulu near St. Faith's).⁶⁹ There was another section among the amaCi. The former section were under Zozi ka Nyukela, whilst Tendele (*of Guqu*) was also an important man. The section with the amaCi were under Geya. These
18 sections may have come from the Bluff amaMpfana referred to by Maziwana.

A man of the amaMpfana said to me last year that his tribe was descended from the Zulus. I disbelieved this and still do.

I do not hear that when Mtwana chased Xolo, who was going off with the *cattle from the post*, that he came into contact with any other people. Therefore I say the country lay open before them.

The amaXolo *drove* the amaCi from Ntumbankulu. The latter *fled across*,⁷⁰ and went up-country. The Imitwana came and attacked the Xolos at Ntumbankulu, driving them across, once more to push the amaCi further on.

The amaXolos never lost any of their cattle on their route, so there were probably no people in these parts then.

- The amaTshezi (descended from the Tembus) settled at the Mtwalume long after we Imitwana got to Ntumbankulu. The amaBomvana is another
19 name for the amaTshezi. Gambutshe ka Bomvana ka Tshezi was chief of the amaBomvana alias amaTshezi. Gambutshe's son was Ntshunqe.⁷¹

The amaBomvana *were neighbours* to the amaVundhle and the amaNtozakwe. The amaNtozakwe lived under the Hlokozi where the amaBombo are now living.⁷² The amaVundhle chief was Nonkelenja. The present chief is Nsunguzi ka Nonkelenja ka Hlangabeza.

The *isilulu*⁷³ people are the amaHlubi, the Malunga, the amaNgwane, the amaKumalo, the amaBele, and amaHloko (their chief was Ngoyi ka Magangana).

Mdandaza ka Mvivinyeki, who was *induna* to Magaye. Mdandaza became Magidigidi's *induna*; he was *inceku* to Magaye.⁷⁴

Norman N. points out that Mdandaza is still living at *Mtshwe-tshwe's place*, at the Qinqa (a river entering the Mtamvuna). Mda-

ndaza's elder sister is also still living.

'You are a Lala, who sleeps (lala) with his finger up his anus, and at dawn the next day sucks it and then spits out at the sun' - an insulting expression used to a Lala.⁷⁵

- 20 'You came down by means of a grain basket; it rolled and rolled until it landed up here.'

In the old days, especially when there was dispute as to the succession, when a section of the tribe intended to leave, it would decide on leaving at night-time. They would desert and the main body, waking up next day, would find them gone. A junior in dispute with the head of the tribe as to the succession, or wishing to gather a following, would make a point of treating old men and old women very hospitably, and so induce them and others to follow him to set up independently elsewhere. The dispute arose by his becoming of importance through his liberal actions, and *diviners* used to accuse especially wealthy men of being *abatakati*, so that, as these had many cattle, the chief would be enriched.

- 21 In the year when Satshwa became chief there was a great sun, the year in which the Mbototo chief Njilo was killed by the Imitwana tribe. Njilo refused to bring about rain. The Imitwana went off to ask for it. They sat down at a fire and cooked some grain. As they ate some fell on the ground, only to be picked up by the dog. The amaMbototo came and took hold of the dog's tail. The dog began to cry and bite. The Imitwana remonstrated. The Mbototos said, 'You come to ask us for rain. We won't give any. We have increased in numbers now. *Mbatanyoko*,⁷⁶ do what you like.' The Imitwana then went back by night. They reported to Satshwa on their return. Satshwa took his tuft of black finch feathers - a huge one used by him in the *unkosi* ceremony - and gave it to his *induna*, Tshengu ka Mambamba of the Tshenzi people, i.e. of the Bomvana tribe, to put on. He told him to sound the alarm. 'The dog has pissed on me.' His army then hurried forward and went to the great place (Satshwa's kraal). S. gave them cattle which they were to take and kill very early. 'You must have finished by the time the sun is getting warm. When the sun comes up, make ready for battle.' This took place accordingly. The two forces went to meet one another. They fought till sunset. They fought again. Towards sunset the Mbototo forces were finished. The Mbototo chief now fought and was killed.

The sun on that occasion shone scorchingly for three years. That was the time when our kraal came and *konza'd* at *Emahlanyawini* to the *amaZelemu* then under Mpetshu.⁷⁷ These lived at the Mgeni. They went along with some cattle to *konza* with on account of the famine. The Imitwana tribe never ate fish. Those who came to *Emahlanyawini* remained there till Tshaka's day.

- 23 The amaBomvana (Tembus) are quite separate from the amaMpofana. The amaBomvana lived near Hlutankungu at the Mtwalume and Ngilanyoni.⁷⁸ Gambutshe, chief of the amaBomvana, was circumcised at the Ngilanyoni. When he was driven out he went and *konza'd* to the *amaMpondo*. I do not know which chief defeated him. His people left their shields in a heap at the Ngilanyoni (at the Mtwalume). They left the

shields on the hill where they were seated, *guarding their stronghold*. They left them when attacked.

The amaBomvana Tshaka is said to have got to are those here referred to. They settled between the Great Kei (Nciba) and Mtata, but only after coming from other temporary residences.

The abeNguni cut the third finger of the left hand, that is, the tip of it, the first joint.

24 The Imitwana, amaXolo, amaCi, amaJali, amaNgutshana, iziLangwe, amaBomvana, amaNtshangase, amaMboto, amaNtunzele and others all cut the small finger first joint. It is cut over a *pat of cowdung, and bleeds onto it*. This is a *mark of identity*. A child who did not cut was sickly and out of sorts until cut, when he would become well.

<The following three paragraphs represent our rendering of notes which appear in the original in the top margin of p. 24. The telegraphic form in which these notes were written makes it impossible for the reader to be completely certain of their import: our rendering may therefore be misleading - eds.>

In T.'s day, *imisa'd* at Mkonyana, Esantombe, and Engele.⁷⁹

Hele, Makotso. *Bushmen*. At Etshemahlamvu, Ntabankulu (at the Mzimhlava) - still there.⁸⁰ Fled to cold parts.

Bushbuck, buffalo, hippopotamus. Bows and arrow; poison; meat cut out.

[Nzunzu leaves to go to bed.]

We did not *clothe our loins*⁸¹ originally. The amaNtshangase at the Ilovu did not *do so*, nor the amaNtambo at the Pasiwe hill, between the Mkomazi and Mkobeni; the amaNzoto, living at *the Mkomazi opposite Ixopo and in the Memela country at the Lufafa*; the Imitwana; amaVundhla; amaNgingweni, living at the Qura, which enters the Mtwalume; the amaNtozakwe; the abeTshawu, living *on the other side of the Mhlabatshwana up the Mzumbe*, near Highflats; the amaCi; the amaJadi; the iziLangwe; the amaNgutshana; the amaNzimakwe. These and other tribes are descendants of Sabela ka Henge ka Hohoho. They *twisted threads together* and put them round the loins. They *twisted leaves and rushes together*. Small people - of no importance - *dressed thus*. Bigger persons went naked, *wearing only a penis-cover made of the fruit of the imfingo*.⁸²

Strings of fibre were sewed or put together into the *framework of headrings*, with no *resin* on, but *red ochre*. The hair was allowed to bunch out, with the lower hair separated. Heads were greased, (with the grease being) mixed with *black powder*. Hair was called *imbunga* when bunchy but (with) no *headring*.

28.8.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 1-2.

Also present: Norman Nembula

1 Mahaya continues, Norman N. present.

The tribes referred to used to have *loin covers* made of goat, not cow, skins, with the hair long or short. The *front parts* were of *mongoose skin* (for *dancing competitions*) and *genet skin*. The *cover*

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might reach to the knees or to the ankles.

It was the younger men who put grease into their hair, but men also did so if afflicted with *lice*.

We Imitwana and Xolos descended towards the Mzimkulu along the coast to where the amaCi were at Ntumbankulu, whilst the amaNtshangase and amaNgutshana left Mkambatini (Table Mountain) and passed through an upper portion of Natal.

The amaMpondo were ahead of us. They appear not to have gone along the coast at all, but taken an upper route through Natal to the country beyond the Mtamvuna.

2 Sabela's people never *covered their loins* at esiDumbini etc. We *did so* after coming back into Natal from *konzaing among the Nguni*, for the uTshaba people taught us to do so. Their girls taught us to do so. Their girls *covered themselves* by putting two cows' front teeth together over their privates with an *ipwiti*⁸³ hide at the rear, and even the oldest girls *dressed* thus.

Mtwana died at the Mpambanyoni; Macekwana died at the Mzinto; Njilo died at Mhlungwa; Jali died at Ntumbankulu; Malitshe near Nsunguze forest near Mehlwamnyama; Juda died at Mehlwamnyama near his father. It was during Juda's rule that the Tshaba arrived. Nqoko, Satshwa, Ngwadhla are all in the neighbourhood of Ntumbankulu, i.e. there are six at Ntumbankulu.⁸⁴ Nseta died and was buried at Sangwana

Mbete was an iKoboka (Griqua). He came to Ntumbankulu before Tshaka's day. It is not known where he came from.⁸⁵

29.8.1905, Tuesday.

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 2-5.

Also present: Norman Nembula, Nzunzu.

Mahaya continues, Norman Nembula present.

All old members of our tribe who are long dead and gone used to say we were baSutu.

3 Malitshe *kept buffaloes*. He kept them in an *enclosure*, having one *enclosure* of cattle and another of *buffaloes*. These *buffaloes* were *milked* and their milk *churned* to make fat for the chief. One day one of these buffalo stabbed Malitshe's *induna* and killed him. Malitshe then got medicine and caused them to leave and go back to the bushes.

Nzunzu [his age is about 40] says he, whilst a young lad, heard from Jobe ka Somleti ka Satshwa that the tribe had a medicine which they brought with them from Mjantshi's, which could cause buffalo to leave the forests etc. and come and remain at kraals, to be there milked and herded like cattle.

Mahaya says this buffalo medicine was well known to us. Jobe's sons would probably know it. It is found *on flats*,⁸⁶ where *oribi* are, close by where we live. Eland were also *bewitched* and brought to kraals from forests with this drug. In the case both of buffalo and eland, the person wishing to bring them would go to where they feed.

4 which may be a distance of say 30, 40 or more miles, get their *dung*, take wisps of the grass they eat, take the soil marked by their hoofs and, bringing the same back home tied up carefully in grass, pour it into a pot in which the drug referred to, beaten out in the ordinary way, has been put. The whole *potion* is then *stirred* and caused to rise in a *foam*, whereupon the buffalo are called on, the buffaloes of Malitshe, and lo and behold they would come away to the very kraal where the *charm* was being worked on them. And the same might occur in regard to *eland*.

.... <Praises of Malitshe omitted - eds.>

These *praises* of Malitshe (for Jali and Malitshe are those who are known to have kept buffalo) would be shouted as the *foam* of the medicine was being beaten up.

Juda was Malitshe's son. His, Juda's, main kraal, was Esizibeni.

.... <Praises of Juda omitted - eds.>

5 Juda did not keep buffaloes, nor did Jali do so, only Malitshe. A man with a profuse growth of hair,⁸⁷ who said he came from the Balule⁸⁸ and carried drugs, is the one who taught Malitshe how to put spells on buffaloes and bring them to the kraal. This same man attempted to smelt copper and manufacture neckrings, but brought on illness - caused severe headaches, and death. (This) caused the practice to be discontinued when copper was boiling on the hearth. This man strengthened Malitshe in his chiefship with medicines. Jali did not have this drug, so (Nzunzu) is incorrect in saying that it came from Mjantshi. Jobe himself is incorrect if he said so. Jobe knew this drug and could, amongst other things, so bewitch the bush-buck and other animals as to cause them all to enter a certain forest in which a hunt was about to take place. I do not know the long-haired man's name. He came very long ago.

I do not know the name of the drug which brings buffaloes to the kraal. It is dug up. The roots are the valuable portion.

30.8.1905, morning.

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 6-10.

Also present: Norman Nembula

6 Mahaya continues, Norman N. present.

I know nothing of the amaKalanga or ama ka Langa. [See Stow's The Native Races of South Africa.]⁸⁹

The *Bushmen* used to eat *hippopotamus*, the *elephant* being finished. They ate *hippotamus* at the Mzimkulu, near the mouth. When we increased in numbers at the Mzimkulu, the *Bushmen*, unable to associate with us, retreated to the Ingele bush, near Harding, where there were to be found buffalo and *elephant*.

I have never at any time heard that my tribe, under the first chiefs, ever came into conflict with other peoples. I do not know if there were people here in those days.

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The amaHlubi may have come from the Mjantshi people originally, like ourselves, but we are entirely separate from the amaHlubi and never lived with them.

- 7 The ancient practice was for an *umuzi site* to be (occupied) for *one or two years* and then go on to where *eland* are to be found. Men (pioneers) used to report to their chiefs any fine site ahead, whereupon the chief would move on. The country was then all built upon like *stores* do nowadays.

There were amaNkabane living with the amaBaca near Pietermaritzburg before Tshaka's day, but nowadays they are to be found among the amaXosa, not having been dispersed *in the destruction of the nations by Tshaka*.⁹⁰ They simply moved on in a process of settling in new country. The causes of movement were *disputes*, or accusations against leading men that they were *practising witchcraft*. These latter would then *split off from the nation* and then go on, or they would find land (ahead more attractive than what they had), and so go and drive the occupants out.

Eland were appreciated more than *buffalo*; their meat was better. *Buffalo* meat is like bull's (cow's) flesh and has bitterness. It swells up on being cooked; a small piece fills a pot. It is very heavy meat.

.... <Praises of Ngwadhla, Mtwana, and Xobo omitted - eds.>

- 8 Mpemvu would have been *chief* in place of Mtwana, only this person was a girl and so could not *rule*. Her father was Nseta. Mtwana belonged to a separate house but was put into that to which Mpemvu belonged, i.e. the principal house of Nseta.

Some say, '*Mtwana of the place of Mpemvu!*' (Mpemvu was a girl).⁹¹

Nseta had brothers but they were passed by in favour of Mtwana. The *isizinda* kraal was a large one, and it was in this that, according to custom, Sabela was buried.

- 9 Ntamonde, Sabela's chief son, was given people and *went off* with them, leaving Nseta and others behind, still with Sabela. They remained with Sabela, who still retained the great majority of the people, i.e. those who formed into various tribes afterwards. Owing to this remaining with Sabela, Nseta and his followers became even more important than the chief son's following, which was smaller in numbers.

It was Mpemvu, the *eldest daughter in the chief house of Nseta*, who after Sabela's and then Nseta's deaths, took Mtwana her half-brother and, putting him into her own house, appointed him chief in succession to Nseta. Xolo, seeing this, as he was the eldest though not the chief son of Nseta, then seized the *cattle post*, and made off with it and his people [as already set forth in the preceding pages]. It was Mtwana being appointed which caused him to take umbrage. Mpemvu awarded the whole *inheritance* to Mtwana. This appeared to Xolo unjust so he seized the cattle and went off.

- 10 I cannot give Hohoho's, Henge's, Sabela's or Ntamonde's *praises*, or any of them, nor of Satshwa nor Nqoko.

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Notes

- ¹On p. 2 of notebook 77, File 62, Stuart records the following statement made by Norman Nembula on 29.7.1905: 'Mahaye wa kwa Mtwana lives on Mzimkulwana - father of Nzuzu - a good informant'.
- ²Mjantshi is the Zulu form of Modjadji, the name given by the Lobedu, who live in what is today the north-eastern Transvaal, to their successive queens. These royal women commanded widespread respect as rainmakers. See Krige and Krige, Realm of a Rain Queen, esp. ch. 15.
- ³Ntumbankulu (Ntumbankulu) is a mountain in southern Natal thirty kilometres north-west of present-day Port Shepstone.
- ⁴The iBisi stream flows into the Mzimkhulu north-east of present-day Harding.
- ⁵For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ⁶This sentence refers to the campaign which Shaka launched in 1828 against the Mpondo and neighbouring peoples after the death of his mother Nandi in 1827.
- ⁷The regular plastering of hut floors with dung had the effect of keeping vermin away.
- ⁸Mahaya here seems to be confusing Gcugcwa, a bandit of Shaka's day, with Gqugqu, one of Shaka's younger brothers. (See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 42, 497-8, 679; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 201.) He is also confusing two separate events. Shaka was stabbed and wounded at a dance by an unknown assailant in 1824 (see the description of this incident in Fynn, Diary, pp. 83 ff). Dingane and Mhlangana were responsible for his assassination in 1828.
- ⁹Fynn, in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 96, identifies the men who were present at Shaka's assassination as 'some Kafirs' who had arrived 'from remote parts of the country with crane's feathers, which the king had sent them to procure'. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 661, records that on the day of Shaka's assassination at his Dukuza *umuzi* in September 1828 'some *iziyendane* (Natal men) arrived from Mpondoland and vicinity, whither they had been despatched to procure crane feathers...for the royal wardrobe'. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 95.
- ¹⁰The names given are those of chiefs of a section of the Nhlangwini people. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 377 ff.
- ¹¹The Thongathi river enters the sea thirty kilometres north of Durban. Esidumbini was the name of a large rock formation, and of a nearby mission station founded by the American Board in 1849.
- ¹²The *isizinda* (loc. *esizindeni*) section of a chief's household provided the son who, on the death of his father, or the latter's removal to a new homestead, would remain at the old homestead as its formal guardian. See Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 729-30; Zulu People, pp. 418-19.
- ¹³The Mzinto river enters the sea sixty kilometres south of Durban.
- ¹⁴The Mooi or Mpofana river rises in the Drakensberg and flows into the Thukela east of present-day Tugela Ferry. The Tolo (Tolweni, Ntolweni) people lived on its upper reaches. See Bryant, Olden Times, map opp. p. 698.
- ¹⁵The original has *imbokane*.
- ¹⁶The iFafa river enters the sea twenty kilometres south of present-

- day Scottburgh. Dhlolzi is presumably Stuart's informant of that name; his evidence has been reproduced in Stuart Archive, vol. 1.
- ¹⁷The Mphambanyoni river enters the sea near Scottburgh; the Mthwalume river does so twenty-five kilometres further south.
- ¹⁸Ndongeni kaXoki is well known in Natal popular history for accompanying Dick King on the first stage of his ride from Durban to Grahamstown in 1842. In 1898 the Natal Government rewarded him for his services on this occasion by presenting him with a piece of land on the north bank of the Mzimkhulu river ten or twelve kilometres north-west of Port Shepstone. See Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 4, 6. Mbotshwa was chief of the Shaba people in Lower Umzimkulu division.
- ¹⁹This may be a reference to the Lukilimba or Lukulimba who played a part in the affairs of the Port Natal traders in the early 1830s. See Fynn, Diary, pp. 198-205; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 525-6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 57-8.
- ²⁰I.e. the Little Mzimkhulu, which flows from the south into the main Mzimkhulu eight or ten kilometres from its mouth.
- ²¹I.e. Xhosa. For discussion of the term Nguni see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ²²Mbolompo is some forty kilometres west of present-day Umtata. Matiwane's Ngwane were defeated there by a combined force of British, Xhosa, and Thembu in August 1828. See Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane, pp. 236 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 144.
- ²³I.e. the campaign against the Mpondo. The *ihlambo* was the cleansing ceremony that marked the end of a period of mourning, in this case for Shaka's mother Nandi. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 708-9.
- ²⁴The war of the axe was fought in 1846-7 between the Cape colonial forces and sections of the Xhosa and Thembu.
- ²⁵Bryant, Olden Times, p. 501, gives Zosha as a synonym for Debe, the name which he applies to a section of the Nguni peoples. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118.
- ²⁶A hill fifty kilometres north of present-day Kokstad.
- ²⁷A hill twenty kilometres north-west of Port Shepstone.
- ²⁸Literally, black eyes.
- ²⁹The Msikaba river enters the sea mid-way between present-day Port St Johns and Port Edward. The ship referred to may have been the Grosvenor, which was wrecked in 1782 a short distance south of the Msikaba mouth. See the map in Kirby, ed., Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor, opp. p. 192.
- ³⁰Son of Henry Francis Fynn senior, and chief of the iziNsimbi people in the Alfred and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ³¹Literally, a wooden meat tray.
- ³²The Mbatshe or Mbashe river is given on most maps as the Bashee, and the Nciba as the Kei.
- ³³On the relationship between the Mthethwa, Tsonga, Cele, and Nyambose see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 83, 232, 538; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 107, 118.
- ³⁴The emKhobeni stream rises on the ePhatheni hill south-west of present-day Richmond village. The enHlamvini stream rises south-east of present-day Ixopo village and flows north into the Mkhomazi.
- ³⁵Mbotshwa was chief of the Shaba people in the Lower Umzimkulu divi-

- sion.
- ³⁶On Khofiyana see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 496, 554, 561; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 58, 59.
- ³⁷Grahamstown.
- ³⁸Khoikhoi.
- ³⁹A person of slave ancestry, the word *ikhoboka* being derived, according to Bryant, Dictionary, p. 308, from the Dutch 'ingeboekte' or 'registered' person.
- ⁴⁰The names given are those of chiefs of the Thembu section which lived near the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers. See the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 244.
- ⁴¹Ngubengcuka (Vusani) was chief in the early nineteenth century of the Dlomo or senior section of the Thembu who lived in what is now the eastern Cape. He was succeeded by his heir Mthirara. (d. c.1849), and he by Ngangelizwe (d. 1884), brother of Matanzima. See Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, ch. 24; Hammond-Tooke, Tribes of Umtata District, pp. 10 ff.
- ⁴²This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 3.
- ⁴³For discussion of the origins of the Mpondo see Bryant, Olden Times, ch. 28; Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, ch. 18; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118; M. Wilson, 'The Nguni People', in Wilson and Thompson, eds., Oxford History of S.A., vol. 1, pp. 91-3.
- ⁴⁴Before being scattered by the wars of the Mfecane the Hlubi occupied territory on the upper reaches of the Mzinyathi river in the north of present-day Natal. According to traditions recorded in Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 147-8, they had moved to this region from the vicinity of the Lubombo mountains in the east of Swaziland.
- ⁴⁵Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 384-5, gives a slightly different account of Madzikane's (Madikane's) death. He dates the eclipse to 20 December 1824.
- ⁴⁶Cf. the Mpondo chiefly genealogy in Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, opp. p. 301, and in Oxford History of S.A., vol. 1, p. 92.
- ⁴⁷The names given are those of the Xhosa senior chiefly line. Cf. the genealogy in Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, opp. p. 81, and in Oxford History of S.A., vol. 1, p. 88.
- ⁴⁸I.e. the Anglo-Afrikaner war of 1899-1902. Lydenburg is situated in the eastern Transvaal, the Soutpansberg mountains in the northern Transvaal. The Crocodile river rises in the eastern Transvaal near present-day Dullstroom, and flows east to join the Nkomathi near Komatipoort.
- ⁴⁹The original has '*... gingqika'd ngesilulu*'. For discussion of this expression see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 365, and Zulu People, pp. 20-2; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467.
- ⁵⁰Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 48, gives Machibise as the chief daughter of Dibinyika of the section of the Zondi people which lived in the present-day Edendale area near Pietermaritzburg in the 1830s. On the history of the Zondi see also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 522-3.
- ⁵¹Mabedlana is the name of two hills north-west of present-day Ixopo, and Nzimankulu the name of a hill south-west of that village.
- ⁵²A village fifty kilometres west of Pietermaritzburg.
- ⁵³The Mdlothi river enters the sea twenty kilometres north of Durban. Ndwedwe is situated near its source.

- ⁵⁴The Mlazi and Lovu rivers enter the sea fifteen and thirty kilometres south of Durban respectively.
- ⁵⁵Springvale mission is thirty kilometres north-east of Ixopo.
- ⁵⁶Twenty kilometres east of Pietermaritzburg.
- ⁵⁷The original reads, '*Onge na mvabainja*'.
- ⁵⁸The Mphambanyoni river enters the sea at present-day Scottburgh on the Natal South Coast. No other indication is given in the original as to where Stuart's interview with Mahaya took place.
- ⁵⁹The reference is to the outbreak of the war of the axe as described in Theal, *History of S.A. since 1795*, vol. 3, p. 1.
- ⁶⁰*Izembe* is the Zulu and *isixengxe* the Xhosa for axe.
- ⁶¹A section of the Rarabe Xhosa.
- ⁶²I.e. a cow that is barren.
- ⁶³Young boy before circumcision.
- ⁶⁴For discussion of the term Mbo see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 7, 232; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 118. See also p. 129 of the present volume where Mahaya states that the term was one applied by the Mpondo to all the inhabitants of Natal.
- ⁶⁵Mzize lies ten or twelve kilometres south-east of present-day Bizana in Pondoland.
- ⁶⁶Soshangane was founder of the Gasa kingdom in what is now south-central Mozambique.
- ⁶⁷The original has *umoba*.
- ⁶⁸The Bluff forms part of present-day Durban. Maziyana was another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁶⁹St. Faith's is situated thirty-five kilometres north-west of present-day Port Shepstone on the road to Highflats.
- ⁷⁰Presumably across the Mzimkhulu.
- ⁷¹The names given are those of chiefs of the Bomvana people who, by the early nineteenth century, were living on the southern flank of the Mpondo territories. See the genealogy in Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, opp. p. 360; also Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 623.
- ⁷²The Hlokozi hill is situated twenty kilometres south-east of Highflats village. On the Bombo people see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 552-3, *History of the Zulu*, pp. 80-1.
- ⁷³I.e. grain basket.
- ⁷⁴Magidigidi succeeded Magaye as chief of the Cele c.1829. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 540-4.
- ⁷⁵See also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 118. For discussion of the term Lala see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
- ⁷⁶I.e. you who sleep with your mother.
- ⁷⁷For Mpetshu's (Mbeshu's) place in the Zelemu chiefly genealogy see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 372.
- ⁷⁸Hluthankungu hill overlooks the upper reaches of the Mthwalume river thirty kilometres south-east of Ixopo.
- ⁷⁹'T.' is presumably Shaka. *Ukumisa* means to set up, erect; to station one's homestead; to strengthen against evil influences. The umKho-nyana stream flows from the south into the Mzimkhulu about twenty kilometres from its mouth. Mahaya has identified the isAntombe as a forest at the confluence of the iBisi and Mzimkhulu rivers. The iNgele is a mountain range west of Harding.

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⁸⁰Ntabankulu is a mountain between present-day Flagstaff and Mount Ayliff in Pondoland. The Mzinhlava river rises north of Kokstad and joins the Mzimvubu south-west of Flagstaff.

⁸¹The original has *binca*.

⁸²A variety of cycad.

⁸³A species of small, bush-dwelling buck.

⁸⁴This refers to the six names which are underlined in the original: Jali, Malitshe, Juda, Nqoko, Satshwa, Ngwadhla.

⁸⁵These notes occur as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 2.

⁸⁶The original has *incana*.

⁸⁷The original has *dhladhla*.

⁸⁸Or Olifants river, in the eastern Transvaal.

⁸⁹The reference is to G.W. Stow, The Native Races of South Africa, London, 1905, p. 417.

⁹⁰'The destruction of the nations' represents our translation of *izwekufa*.

⁹¹The notes reproduced in this paragraph appear in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of p. 8.

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<Typescript copies of Mahlakula's evidence are to be found in Files 6 and 27 of the Stuart Collection - eds.>

14.11.1900

File 73, pp. 122-3.

Also present: Mtakati, Ndukwana

122 14.11.1900. I, this afternoon at 3.10 p.m., had a conversation for 15 minutes with Mahlakula and Mtakati, members of Chief Mbuyisazwe's tribe.¹ The former was about 27 and the latter 37 years of age. Ndukwana was present. Mahlakula was defendant in a native civil case I tried today, deciding against him.²

The subject was Kimberley, natives working there. Mahlakula has worked at Kimberley on two occasions and intends returning there again soon. He prefers Kimberley to Johannesburg, where he has also been, for various reasons. One is that labourers at K. are paid at the end of every week instead of monthly. He worked at J. before the railway reached there. Wages at K. are 27s for police duty. M. worked at K. in a mine (second visit - last year) for about two weeks, and then became a policeman. People working in mines get higher wages, as well as occasional rewards for making good finds - sometimes as much as £3. Natives cannot get liquor at K. as they do at J. There is no drinking in the compound or getting drunk to the same extent as at J. European supervision is stricter over police, and things go better for it. Basutos, Amaxoza, Hottentots, and Zulus work at K. There are many Natal natives there. In the magistrate's court some native who understands English generally does interpretation as it is required, the magistrate being unable to speak Zulu. Natives sometimes swallow diamonds and, if these are found in their excrement, natives are punished.

123 Mtakati worked at K. a number of years ago and introduced M. to the place, took him there. One reason why both like K. and want to return is because they are attached to, and know, their masters. The impression given me by these men is that the arrangements at K. re natives are satisfactory.

This talk was due to the telegram in the Witness re the Daily News interview with Rev. Moffat.³ [Vide p. 18 of ordinary notebook.]

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Notes

¹Mbuyisazwe was chief of the Hlubi people living in the Klip River division.

²Stuart was at this time magistrate in Ladysmith.

³Presumably John Smith Moffat, missionary and public servant.

See Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, vol. 7, p. 483.

MAHUNGANE AND NKOMUZA

<Stuart's interviews with Mahungane and Nkomuza all took place between 8 and 11 November 1897. In recording their testimony he seems to have been less than usually scrupulous in noting the precise dates on which specific items of information were obtained, and in writing up his notes three years later he organized his informants' statements not in chronological sequence but under a number of subject headings. As his original notes have not survived we have been unable to adhere strictly to our editorial convention of ordering testimonies in chronological sequence - eds.>

19.11.1900 - <evidence given
c.8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, p. 53.

53 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza about 8.11.1897 and two following days, possibly also early morning of 11.11.1897 - but I am not sure.

These men had come up from the low country at my special request and were my guests for about three days. I write from full pencil notes recorded at the time.

There was a *dispute* between Noziyingili and Makasanyana, who was the *heir*.¹ He was not born during Hluma's life-time but Hluma had nominated him. Noziyingili was thus older. Noziyingili was favoured by the Zulus, who placed him on the throne. Mpande instated him. Makasane reported to the Zulus that Noziyingili was the heir; afterwards, however, Makasane changed his mind and nominated Makasanyana, but the Zulus refused to recognize him. Uzisumbula carried the first message to the Zulus, and Noziwawa. Sigawuli carried the message re Makasanyane; he was killed by Mpande.² Makasana *lobola'd* for Hluma but this woman did not bear children to Hluma; her son Makasanyane was of an *ukwigena* union.³ The woman was Hluma's chief wife. Noziyingili was son of Hluma by a junior wife.

Makasane died in a forest, Mangobe, where Mangobe died and was buried.⁴ He was carried there by the Makasanyane party. Noziyingili was *of the age of the Makeke regiment* [54]. He came to the throne about the year 1853 as a boy of about 10.

Bruheim (Madevu) arrived in Zambili's time. He did not succeed any former white man. He first built in Amatutu country as a boy.⁵ 'A man of belonging to Inzanayo regt. say 38' [sic].⁶ He married a sister of Ngwanaza, Umhungwane; also Manhla, Mponweni, Umbasanyana. He paid *lobola*; it is not known how he *lobola'd*. The *gcagea* ceremony

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took place.⁷ He built a house but had a kraal alongside like John Dunn.⁸ He had some children. Ngwanaza quarrelled with Madevu for acting as an agent of the Portuguese and getting people to go off with them and fight against Ngungunyana.⁹ It is said that Bruheim is dead. Nkomuza knew him; he never, however, spoke to him, though he has heard him speak. He spoke the Tonga language well. He did not appear to drink.

The following are the names of some of the *izikulu* of Tongaland now [November 1897] living: Mpobobo, Bungane ka Hluma (with Ngwanaza) of the Izitshozi regiment; Tanga ka Noziyingili (with Ngwanaza); Siwunjane ka Mtunzi ka Hluma; Bekula ka Noziyingili; Sigema ka Noziyingili; Mvubu ka Noziyingili; Manyoka ka Makasane; Majuba ka Sibukula ka Bungane ka Makasane.¹⁰

20.11.1900 - <evidence given
c.8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, pp. 54-5.

54 Makuba *drove out* Bukude. Bukude ran away to Makasane, whereupon the latter *armed a force*, attacked Makuba, *drove him away*, and established Bukude.¹¹ Both Mabudu's and Mhali's *isibongo* was a *ba kwa Tembe*.¹² Mabudu used to say Mhali's people were 'Amatonga'.

[Turn to p. 139, also p. 138, for further notes on Tonga history, by the light of which what follows will be better understood.]

It was Sabi who was attacked by Mwali.¹³

Makasane was on the throne long before Mahungane was born. He (Mahungane) was born at Bungane's, south of the Usutu river.

The Zulus attacked Makasane prior to his attacking Mayeza.¹⁴ Mayeza died in ships on the sea among the Portuguese - [exact place not known by my informants]. We do not know why Mabayi was attacked by the Portuguese.¹⁵

The Madolo people were *attacked* only by Noziyingili; he however did not *drive them out*.¹⁶ No others attacked, i.e. no previous kings. The Madolo people were *relations by marriage* of Makasane's.

Mabudu *paid tribute* with a *basket* full of earth, also food with it, in token of the Matshabane land given him by Mangobe.¹⁷

Sigauza shot himself in 1896. (We) do not know for how long his grandfather was transported.¹⁸

Makasane *paid tribute* first to Zululand; then Mhali and Mpanyela (did).¹⁹ The reason for Mhali and Mabudu's paying separately was the antagonism existing between them.

Dinisa was attacked by Dingana; the route was different from Sotshangana's and Nqaba's.²⁰ The Madolo are Portuguese people, so were included in the attack and ran away.

The Sileyi famine was in Makasane's reign. Makasane arrested some of his people and sold them for food - *sweet cane (izidomba)*, mealies, *nyaluti millet*, *izinhlumayo beans* (like *izindhluvu nuts*) - and they were taken away as slaves.

Smallpox first came to Tongaland in Noziyingili's reign; it came from Delagoa Bay and went on to Swaziland.

There were many cattle at the time of Sotshangana's and Nqaba's flights, for these two raided many of them. It is not known where cattle originally came from.

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Mabayi was arrested by the Portuguese and is still [1897] in captivity (transportation): he was arrested about the year 1893. His people are being ruled by his wife; her name is not known by the informants.

Mahulule ka Mangobe was own brother to Mabudu. Noziyingili *drove out* Mahlombe; he scattered and disorganised the tribe (following). Mahlombe *konzaa'd* Mfungu (near Delagoa Bay) where he died. Sabi, his son, is at present living with the Madolo people.²¹ Mahungane does not know if Sigauza's people are being governed by his wife (if he had any).

When Mangobe gave Mabudu his territory the Matshabane people (now ruled by Manaba) were in occupation of the land.²² No hostilities appear to have occurred. My informants know of no *envoys* who were sent to arrange with the Matshabane about Mabudu being allowed to occupy part of their land. But it is plain the Matshabane people withdrew to the south (where they now are) upon Mabudu crossing the Usutu. My informants say they do not think the Matshabane people were ever attacked by Mangobe or his father or grandfather or any previous person now unknown by name.

It was by Cetshwayo's direction that Noziyingili attacked Manaba. No fight took place, as Manaba's people were so few and afraid - his cattle were seized. No fighting ever took place with the Matshabane people as a means of driving them back; this was due to their small numbers. The Tonga kings kept on and on encroaching on the land previously in occupation of the Matshabane, driving them further back. It will be remembered that it was Sambana who attacked and killed Manaba, being *sent* for that purpose by Dinuzulu.²³

Nkomuza says that in the year 1859 (approximately), and just after the Ndondakusuka battle,²⁴ he had occasion to carry elephants' tusks to Mhlokonghloko (a white man) who *had established an umuzi at the place of Dhlounga*, a man of Somkele's tribe.²⁵ He then noticed that the country between his starting point and the end of the journey was very sparsely inhabited, very much less than he knows to be the case now. In those days there were very many wild animals, lions, etc. The elephants had been shot by natives known in Tongaland as *amapisi*, i.e. natives who had been given guns by white people (presumably English and living in Natal) and told to hunt elephants; they may thus be called simply 'hunters'. There were other white people who sent hunters; my informants cannot give their native names. The *amapisi* at one time were not known; for instance, about 1840, they had not at that time been heard of. The Portuguese, however, used to bring goods and trade for ivory, etc., elephants being then killed only with assegais, no guns at that time being in the country. Guns came in chiefly in Noziyingili's reign; there were just a few in Makasane's time, held by the most important men.

Makasane reigned after he had become blind. Makasanyane ran away and lived at Ingcingwaneni near Ingwavuma magistracy, *konzaing* Lubelo.²⁶

Mahungwane was a white trader at Delagoa Bay. Mahungane went there about the time of the civil war re Noziyingili.²⁷

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21.11.1900 - <evidence given
c.8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, p. 55.

55 Same conversation continued.

The Mvuma (people) were called *amanhlonga* by Mhali.²⁸ Mhali's people were called *amanhlonga* by Mabudu's (*enhlongi* means 'in Tongaland'). Mabudu's (people) were called *amanhlanga* by the Matshabane (people, (i.e. Manaba's) who speak the Zulu language.²⁹

8.11.1897

File 74, pp. 9-10.

9 8.11.1897. Authorities Mahungane and Nkomuza.

The *bonga* is an old custom of the people.³⁰ It is where a man proceeds with a beast to the father (and mother) of a girl to ask permission to marry her. The *imvulanlomo* referred to by Ndaba is food that is given by a young man to his future father-in-law when he goes to enquire how much *lobola* he will have to pay for the daughter.³¹ The food may be in the form of a beast or £1 (cash) or a large flask or demijohn of gin (*isobe*) which costs about £1. The *bonga* and *imvulanlomo* are two distinct customs.

In the very old times *lobola* used to be paid in beads (*ubuhlalu*). These came from Delagoa Bay, and my informants have been told that the measure of *lobola* in beads consisted of a double string the height of a man and falling to the ground on either side if held immediately over his side, i.e. about 12 to 14 feet in length.

Nowadays a woman is *lobola'd* with either £15 or cattle, according to the father-in-law's choice. It is noticed that women are much more independent (after marriage) than they used to be. The following may, my authorities (say), account for the disrespect (for want of a better word): It has for some time been recognised that *lobola* can be paid in money. Now money has no *inzalo* (interest, that is, increase) as cattle have; again it also *hamba's* (disappears, moves away). But it must be remarked that the same independence is observed even though cattle are paid as *lobola*. Nkomuza tells me his third wife, who is a sister of one of his other wives, is very independent, although he *lobola'd* with cattle.

10 I tried to get at the causes of the independence, but the men do not appear to have any definite ideas. They say that boys began to go off to work long before Zulus did so. They went to work in Durban when the houses there had still thatch roofs. No one went to Delagoa in those days as there was only one house there. [I estimate this to be about 40-45 years ago.] Not many of the population went at first; a large number go off now to various places.

There are no missionaries in Tongaland, but there are several *amako'wa*. Mavilu (Ngwanaza's tutor) is one of them; he could read and write.

Again, liquor is sold very extensively in Tongaland. Both men and women drink gin in large quantities, so that much property and cash is thrown away in it.

The paying of cash for women began in Noziyingili's time. When women were *lobola'd* with neckrings (*izimbedu*)³² or *ubuhlalu* (beads) they were not in any way independent or disrespectful. My informants do not attribute it to men not being liked, because, before marriage

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they consented to 'sleeping', i.e. lying with them as lovers.

21.11.1900 - <evidence given
8.11.1897-c.11.11.1897>

File 74, pp. 106-7.

106 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza, from 8.11.1897 to, I think, 10.11.1897 or perhaps also early morning of 11.11.1897 - see p. 53.

Lobola was fixed by Makasane first at five *izimbedu* and five *metal bangles (amasinda)* [further remarks on these topics on p. 65], then, about the time of the *succession dispute* between Noziyingili and Makasanyana, he raised it to 10 of each. Noziyingili promulgated *lobola* as 15 *izimbedu* and 10 *amasinda*. *Izinhlalu beads* were possibly brought in by Mangobe - they were the first measure of *lobola* in then [or them or their] not known [sic]. *Ubuhlalu beads* came in in Mabudu's reign.³² It is believed that it was owing to a proclamation by him that the length of beads necessary for *lobola* was fixed. The king Noziyingili objected to money being paid as *lobola*. He was in favour of *izimbedu*, but as people desired to use money the practice became established. No *lobola* was paid in cattle in Noziyingili's reign, but money came in and was used for that purpose. Cattle came in during Zambili's regency. Zambili advised the people to *lobola* with four head of cattle, the fifth being for killing. Owners of children objected, saying that this was insufficient, as one beast to kill and one for *isibindi* to the girl's maternal uncle left only three for her family.³³ Men proposed six head, i.e. one for killing, one for the maternal uncle, and four on account of the girl herself; others proposed 10 head. Zambili was thereupon compelled to give way, and said as her advice was not taken they must act for themselves. She, however, thought she was 'giving them kraals' (*nik' imisi*), i.e. doing a good thing for them. Zambili gave no instruction in regard to money *lobola* because her husband had brought up the matter before them and failed.

It must be remarked that Zambili was a Swazi girl, daughter of Sobuza. She was *lobola'd* with cattle only, of which there were many tens. The reason why Zambili proposed *lobola* less than ten (in view of the practice in other parts) was because there were so few cattle in the country. At the present day [1897] people *lobola* either in cattle or money as the father of the girl wishes.

107 Girls were not married in Makasane's and also during part of Noziyingili's reigns until they had fully grown up; after that time they were asked for when still young. The reason for this was probably because we used to go off to work when we acquired property; this was then available for, and was used as, *lobola*, instead of, according to the old system, waiting for the cattle accruing on the marriage of a girl of the family.

8.11.1897

File 74, p. 38.

38 Mahungane and Nkomuza [8.11.1897] are my authorities. [See notes in connection with Tongaland regiments.] Ndaba's statement re men building and cutting grass for huts is endorsed.³⁴

It is no longer a custom of the people to *cazulula* meat.³⁵ The reason for this, my authorities believe, is because Tongaland had to

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Amakeke	uMxapo	54
Amatutu		50
Amagovu		46
Ingubo ka Manaba		42
Inzanayo	Ngobamakosi	38
Unompilela		34
Imkwitshimana	Mbokodwebomvu	29
Amahuzu		
Izinsimbi		
Amalalanenjobo		

Notes in regard to the above list.

I got the whole list from two men, Mahungane and Nkomuza (Nkomuzohlatshwa), genuine Tongas but residing in Ingwavuma district close to the Pongolo and Ingwavuma. Both resided in Tongaland for many years. Mahungane is *of the age of the Tulwana regiment*, i.e. his regiment is the Insananda, whilst Nkomuza is *of the age of the Dhlokwe regiment*.

The Mbungabunga and Mamba regiments were *buta'd* by Mwali, but existed under Makasane. Makasane's own regiments proper begin with the Upunga. The Ingubo ka Manaba was so called because at that time Manaba was attacked by.... <sic> The Inzanayo *fought* at Mapunga. The Unompilela, Imkwitshimana, and others never engaged in warfare.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

The above Tongaland regiments were recruited as follows: Mwali recruited only the Umbungabunga and Umamba; Makasane's follow, and end with the Amahebula; Noziyingili's begin with the Izitshozi and end with the Inzanayo; Ngwanaza's begin with the Nompilela and go to the end of the list.

Zambili recruited what for her son? Only the Nompilela.

9.11.1897

File 74, pp. 65-6.

65 Per Mahungane and Nkomuza, 9.11.1897.

The name of the first foreigner who lived anywhere near Tongaland was Dinisa (the native name), a Portuguese. This man had a store and traded in various goods such as *izimbedu* (heavy brass neck-bangles), *amasinda* (lighter brass bangles for arm), *utshodo* (a black cloth). Dinisa was *attacked* by the Zulus in Dingana's reign.

It cannot be said that any boys went out to work in Makasane's reign. A large number began to go off during Noziyingili's reign, which began about 1873, and the custom has continued to the present day. The places chiefly visited were Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, and Kimberley. Many of those who went to work have not returned but live in the places named. For instance, Nkomuza, who has been to work in Durban, knows one Mgoboza, a Tonga, who is at present living near the Mtata river and quite close to the Point, Durban.³⁶

A desire seems to have become evinced very many years ago to

acquire property. Tobacco was grown and elephant tusks procured and taken to Dinisa to barter for goods such as *utshodo* (black) and *izimbedu* and *amasinda* (bangles). After obtaining these, Tongas used to proceed with them to Zululand, with tobacco as well, to barter for other kinds of property, such as *wild-cat skins*, *sheep*, *sleeping-mats*, *goats*, shields. It will be inferred that there were few or no cattle in Tongaland in the early days. The goods to be sold in Zululand were always carried by men or boys, never by women or girls. Women and girls always stayed at home and never went any distance out of the country on any account. Food, except during the two historical famines, was always plentiful.

The result of all this was that at least two important kinds of property were brought into Tongaland both by traders and the work-boys, viz. cattle (including sheep and goats) and money. At the same time the *izimbedu*, *buhlalu*, *amasinda* and *izinhlalu* (large green beads, the size of the first joint of middle finger) were brought in by traders with the Portuguese storekeeper. All these kinds of property came at one time or another to be used as *lobola* for women. [For other evidence re *lobola* in Tongaland vide p. 106.] The first of all was *izinhlalu*. These beads, which are no longer to be got from storekeepers, though sometimes to be found one by one at old deserted kraal sites, must have been used in the early years of this century, if not before the century's commencement. As regards *buhlalu*, *izimbedu*, and *amasinda*, these seem to have come in at much the same time, although precedence seems to be again demanded by the beads, of which none are now to be got. Probably the first rise of these all fell within Makasane's long reign. Cattle (sheep and goats) seem soon to have followed as a form of *lobola*, whilst the last form - money - could not have come in during Makasane's reign because no boys seem to have gone out to work then but only during Noziyingili's.

It should have been remarked that 10 *izimbedu* plus 10 *amasinda* went to *lobola* one woman. Nkomuza himself has a wife whom he *lobola'd* with 10 of the one plus 10 of the other, and he must have married her about 30-35 years ago. The amount of money now paid for women is £15 per head.

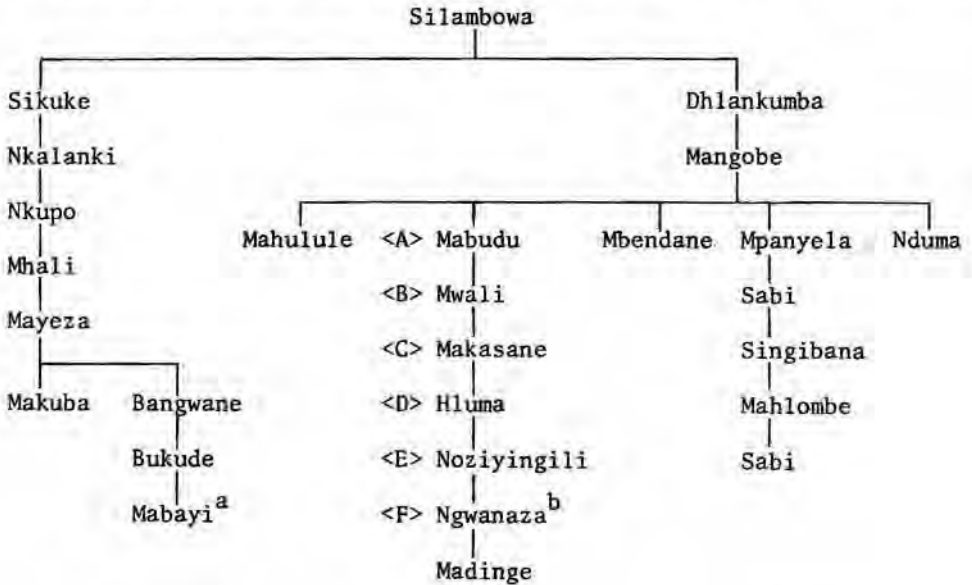
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9.11.1897

File 74, pp. 139-40.

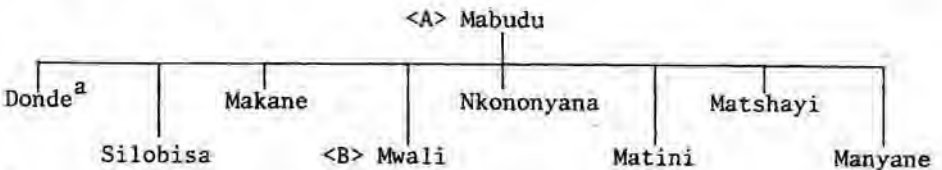
<In the genealogical tables that follow we use the symbols A, B, C, D, etc. to indicate relationships which in the original are indicated by conventional genealogical descent lines - eds.>

139 The royal house of Tongaland, per Mahungane and Nkomuza, 9.11.1897.

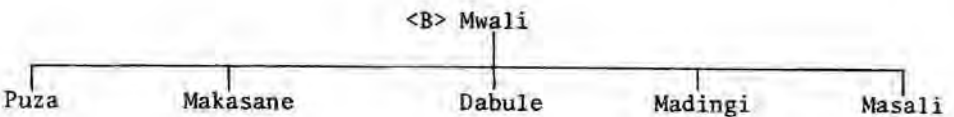


^aNot known by Mahungane and Nkomuza if any issue.

^bNot Ngwanazi.

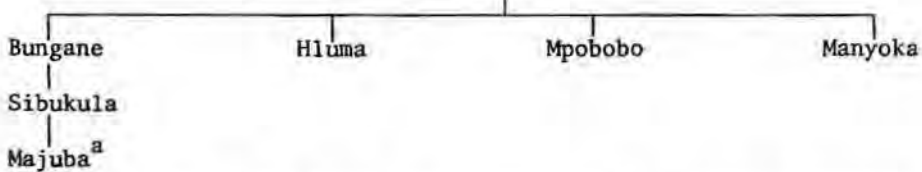


^aOr Donda.



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<C> Makasane

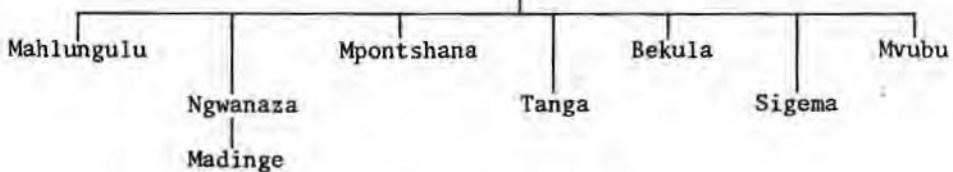


^aI this day had a two hours conversation with this man, Silverton Road, Durban, 2.2.1902. He belongs to the Ingubo ka Manaba regiment, and aet. 43 or so.³⁷

<D> Hluma



<E> Noziyingili



The *a ba kwa Madolo*



^aAlias Umanyenhla.

^bNot known by Mahungane if he had any issue.

[Care was taken in regard to the above genealogies. Mahungane knew most about the old people, but although he asserted positively that Silambowa was the father both of Sikuke and Dhlinkumba, I was not satisfied, because he at first hesitated as to Sikuke's father, although yesterday he said Silambowa was Dhlinkumba's father. Still, there appears to be no doubt that the two lines are very closely

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connected, if not, as stated, through Silambowa, then in some other manner. It is however quite certain that the main branch, the highest in rank though not in power, is that in which Sikuke's name appears first.]

It seems that Mangobe lived between the Mtembe and Usutu rivers about due north of the point or points where the Pongolo river enters the Usutu. At the same time the senior branch occupied, with its people, land also between the Mtembe and Usutu rivers, only to the north-east of Mabudu and his following; consequently they extended to the sea. This latter section of land seems always to have remained in the hands of the senior branch, with one small exception, when Mayeza was attacked by Makasane, to which further reference will be made. Mangobe in course of time gave each of his sons, Mabudu and Mpanyela, a territory. Mpanyela's was that hitherto lived on by his father, whilst that of Mabudu lay on the right side of the Usutu and Pongolo rivers.

Mention must be made of the fact that Mwali attacked the elder Sabi or Mpanyela(?), and was killed by Sabi, the invasion being thus repelled. Makasane too, the longest reigner in Tongaland, attacked Mayeza. Mayeza was defeated and fled to Zululand, where he lived for some time under protection of the Zulu king. The Zulu king, having attacked Makasane (whether before or after Makasane's attack on Mayeza I do not know) and defeated him, caused Mayeza to be restored to his old lands. Mayeza, I believe, eventually died on ships at sea.

Mahlombe seems to have been *attacked* and *driven out* by, I think, Noziyingili. Mabaya, the last head of the principal section, was arrested a short while ago by the Portuguese. Ngwanaza is living in British Tongaland, having fled from lands occupied by his fathers for fear of the Portuguese. Hluma died before Makasane died, so never reigned. It seems that owing to Mahlombe's being defeated the land was given by Noziyingili to the Amatutu people (the regiment), who proceeded to occupy the territory already described.

The Madolo people (this word is their *istbongo*) occupy, and for many years past have occupied, land lying on both sides of the Mbuluze river east of the Ubombo range. Sigauza, the last of the *chiefs*, shot himself a year or two ago because the Portuguese declared that it was their intention to transport him across the seas (imprisonment) for failing to find labourers as required of him. The young man's grandfather had been transported by the Portuguese for some years; immediately or shortly after his return he died.

The Mhali (Sikuke) people *paid tribute* to the Zulus, as also the Mabudu and Mpanyela people. The Madolo did not pay tribute to Zululand.

A great famine lasting three years, and called iSileyi (because so 'prolonged'), occurred before Mwali's time.³⁸ Another famine, called *Ukufa ku ka Mwali* took place about 90 or more years ago in Mwali's reign, hence the name.³⁹

Dinisa, the only trader at Delagoa, was *attacked* by Dingana.

140 Mpoobobo, son of Makasane, was recently appointed by the Portuguese as head of that section of Tongaland which falls within their sphere of influence.

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10.11.1897

File 74, p. 10.

- 10 Per Nkomuza and Mahungane, 10.11.1897.
 Makasane appears to have at first definitely fixed *lobola* at five *izimbedu* plus five *amasinda*. At about the time of the civil war between Noziyingili and Makasanyana, Makasane raised the *lobola* and fixed it at 10 *izimbedu* and 10 *amasinda*.

The *bonga* beast. What happens is this: <sic>

10.11.1897

File 74, p. 137.

- 137 <In the original version of the list that follows, the names of the *izinduna* appear in parentheses against the names of the kings whom they served. We have set these names in a separate column - eds.>

Kings of Tongaland	Approximate dates of accession	<Izinduna ^a >
Silambowa		
Dhlankumba ka Silambowa		
Mangobe ka Dhlankumba		
Mabudu ka Mangobe ^b		
Mwali ka Mabudu	about 1800	
Makasane ka Mwali	say 1820	Munwana Mbodi Mahakeni
Hluma ka Makasane ^c		Mgwazi
Noziyingili ka Hluma	1853 ^d	Mhoweni
Zambili ^e		Botoza
Ngwanaza ^f ka Noziyingili		Gedeza

^a Only a very few seem to be remembered.

^b Makasane and Mabudu reigned longest. Makasane reigned longer than Mpande. Noziyingili reigned about the shortest. Mwali reigned say about 10 years. Hluma did not reign at all. Noziyingili is of the age of the *Amakeke* regiment [54]. Makasane is of the Mamba regiment [i.e. 90 or so].

^c Only a prince; did not reign.

^d Noziyingili's accession was fixed by Mahungane saying he was of the age of the *Ingubo ka Manaba* regiment [42] when Makasane was killed by an *umbango* (civil war).

^e Regent.

^f Not Ngwanazi.

Note on the above kings of Tongaland. The three oldest kings were given me this day by Mahungane and Nkomuza, and the others confirmed. 10.11.1897.

The Tongas went out and attacked Mapunga north of Delagoa. [Ascertain further.]

Hluma was required to pay taxes to the Zulus. [More information wanted.]⁴⁰

11.11.1897

File 74, p. 38.

- 38 Today (11.11.1897) I gave Nkomuza and Mahungane each a cup of coffee in my room. I had a cup poured out for myself. They would not partake of theirs until I had finished. As soon as they had finished theirs they *bonga'd* together, by saying in a loud voice just, 'Nkosi!' (Sir!)

Notes

- ¹Noziyingili and Makhasanyana were sons of Hluma and grandsons of the Mabhudu chief Makhasane, who died in the early 1850s. Hluma having predeceased Makhasane, the former's sons were rivals for the succession.
- ²We have been unable to identify Zisembula and Sigawula. Noziwawa kaMzizima was one of the envoys employed by Mpande on missions to the Tsonga country: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 63, 65.
- ³*Ukungena* means to take to wife the principal widow of a deceased male relative in order to provide an heir for his house.
- ⁴Mangobe (Nwangobe) was either father or grandfather of Mabhudu (Maputju, Maputshu), founder of the Mabhudu chiefly line and grandfather of Makhasane. See the genealogies in Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, vol. 1, p. 25; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 293.
- ⁵G. Bruheim was reputedly the first white man to settle among the Mabhudu. Zambili, daughter of the Swazi king Sobhuza and wife of Noziyingili (Nozililo), acted as regent of the Mabhudu for her son Ngwanazi after her husband's death. Under her rule, Bruheim, who had married one of Noziyingili's daughters, exercised considerable influence in Mabhudu public affairs. The 'Amatutu country' refers to the land allocated to the amaTutu *ibutho* by Noziyingili: see the reference on p. 152 of the present volume.
- ⁶Presumably Stuart is here quoting from his original pencilled notes.
- ⁷The *ungegao* was the main dance performed at a wedding: see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 548.
- ⁸A white hunter and trader who lived among the Zulu from the late 1850s until his death in 1895.
- ⁹Ngungunyana kaMzila was ruler of the Gasa kingdom from 1884 until 1895 when he was deposed by the Portuguese.
- ¹⁰Majuba was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in the present volume.
- ¹¹Bhukude (Bhukutshe), who died c.1857, succeeded Bhongwana (Bhangwana) as chief of the senior section of the Tembe.
- ¹²According to Junod, Life of a South African Tribe, vol. 1, p. 25, Mabhudu was the younger brother of Mhali (Muhali, Muhari), who was Tembe chief in the late eighteenth century. Mabhudu made himself independent, thus establishing the Mabhudu section of the Tembe. Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 293.
- ¹³Sabi was a grandson of Mangobe. Mwali succeeded Mabhudu kaMangobe as chief of the Mabhudu.
- ¹⁴Mayeza (Mayeta), son of Mhali, succeeded to the Tembe chiefship in the early 1820s.
- ¹⁵Mabayi, chief of the Tembe, was deposed and banished by the Portugues in the early 1890s.

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- ¹⁶The abakwaMadolo people occupied land on the Mbuluze river east of the Lubombo range. Their chiefly genealogy is given in the evidence that follows. According to Leslie, Among the Zulu and AmaTonga, p. 269, the abakwaMadolo chief was in 1871 living within eight miles of Lourenco Marques. His people were considered by the Portuguese as 'peculiarly their own'.
- ¹⁷Presumably the reference is to the people whom Bryant calls the Mashabana. See Olden Times, pp. 158-9, opp. p. 314, 336.
- ¹⁸Sigawuza, grandson of Malengane, was chief of the abakwaMadolo people: see the line of abakwaMadolo chiefs given below.
- ¹⁹Mpanyela was a son of Mangobe.
- ²⁰Dinisa was very probably the Governor-General of Lourenco Marques, Dionisio Antonio Ribeiro, who was killed by a Zulu force in 1833: see G. Leisegang, 'Dingane's attack on Lourenco Marques in 1833', Journal of African History, 10, 4 (1969), pp. 571 ff. Soshangane and Nqaba (Nxaba) were chiefs who fled from Shaka through what is now southern Mozambique c.1820.
- ²¹Mahlombe was a close relative of the Mabhudu chiefly lineage. His grandfather and his son were both named Sabi; see the genealogy below.
- ²²Bryant gives Manaba of the Mashabana people as having died in 1892. See the genealogies in Olden Times, pp. opp. 314, 336.
- ²³Sambana(e) kaNhlongaluvalo was chief of the Nyawo living at the southern end of the Lubombo range in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- ²⁴The battle for the Zulu royal succession fought by Cetshwayo and his half-brother Mbuyazi in 1856.
- ²⁵Somkhele was chief of the Mkhwanazi people living to the north of the lower Mfolozi river in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- ²⁶Lubelo was chief of the Mngomezulu people in the mid-nineteenth century.
- ²⁷Presumably a reference to the struggle for the Mabhudu succession between Noziyingili and Makhasanyana after the death of Makhasane in the early 1850s.
- ²⁸Presumably a reference to the abakwaMvumu people who were descended from Hluma ka Makhasane of the Mabhudu chiefly house: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 306.
- ²⁹*Inhlwenga* (pl. *amanhlwenga*), or *inhlonga* (pl. *amanhlonga*), was a derogatory term used by the Zulu people to refer to the peoples living to the north-east of the Zulu kingdom in the direction of Delagoa bay.
- ³⁰*Ibhonga* or *ibhongo* means a 'young male (of man or beast) just after attaining virility....' See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 46.
- ³¹The word *imvulcamlomo* literally means 'mouth-opener': see Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 841. Ndaba was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ³²*Ubuhlalu* is the general term for beads. The informants later describe *izinhlalalu* as 'large green beads, the size of the first joint of the middle finger'.
- ³³*Isibindi* literally means liver. It was regarded as the seat of courage. Its meaning in the present context is uncertain.
- ³⁴Ndaba was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear

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in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.

³⁵The verb *ukucazulula* literally means to divide up. In the present context it seems to connote the apportionment of specific parts of a slaughtered beast to particular individuals or groups.

³⁶Presumably 'Mtata' is written in error.

³⁷Majuba was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears in the present volume.

³⁸The name iSileyi (isiLeyi) derives from the verb *ukusilela*, to lack supplies of food.

³⁹*Ukufa ku ka Mwali* literally means the death of Mwali.

⁴⁰It is not made clear in the original from whom Stuart obtained the information recorded in the two preceding paragraphs.

MAJUBA KA SIBUKULA

2.2.1902, Sunday.

File 71, pp. 66-7.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana, Ndaba

66 Conversation with Majuba of Tongaland.

Dhlozi, Ndukwana, and Ndaba (were present) when, at Silverton Road, I had a conversation for several hours this day with Majuba, one of the royal family of Tongaland. He belongs to the Ingubokamanaba regiment. He says he is *of the age of the Mtuyisazwe* regiment in Zululand; this would make him 43 to 46 years of age.¹ His grandfather Bungane was a son of the great king Makasane, and his father's name is Sibukula.² He says he used to nurse Ngwanaza (not Ngwanazi) when a baby and knows him very well.³ Ngwanaza is at present living in British territory at the ekuPelandaba kraal.⁴ His principal kraal, Emfihlweni, was set fire to and burnt by the Portuguese. It is said 36 Europeans attacked Ngwanaza and he fled.⁵ He was afraid to fight, for Europeans help one another. Ngwanaza has 58 wives; there may be 60 now. He has children.

Majuba has been five months in Durban. He has been engaged making wire bracelets and *wire rings* for legs (calf). He once worked four years at Port Elizabeth, a place he likes because wages there were £4 and £4 10s a month. This was when the railway in those parts was being constructed. He thinks Port Elizabeth is a more moral place to live in for natives than Durban. Natives there are more civilized. Wages are very low in Durban.

The Tonga kings are buried at Kwa Mwayi (Mwali), which is a small bush or forest a mile and a half or so from Emfihlweni. Mwali, Makasane, Hluma and Noziyingili are buried there.⁶ Mwali's kraal originally stood where the bush is now. He was buried there; trees grew up, and the place has become the royal burial ground, no trees or wattles ever being cut there.⁷

Spirits are still being freely drunk in Portuguese territory, over which a man, Mapoloba [I think he says] - Mapobobo - is chief, having been appointed by the Portuguese, but he is not a man who would have dared to eat out of the same *eating-mat* with Majuba; he is not a man of rank. No liquor to speak of is now drunk in British Tongaland. The Tongas (this name, M. says, is an *icilo*, the proper designation being *a ba kwa Mabudu*)⁸ have a wish to be under the British Government. The Tongas did not fight, for it was useless, seeing so powerful a state as Zululand came to grief.

I read him over my list of Tonga kings, genealogical tree, and regiments, but he had nothing to add thereto and appeared surprized.

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67 He is on the point of returning home; he wants to leave on Tuesday, but I persuaded him to stay over next Sunday to afford me an opportunity of having another chat with him.

Gedeza, Ngwanaza's *induna*, is still living. One of his wives got the *amandiki* disease or complaint.⁹ This disease, known in Swaziland as *amandawu*, has spread over Tongaland - and, Ndaba adds, came as far as the Mpukunyoni district.¹⁰

Ngwanaza has twice come down to Durban. Last time he came he went to Pietermaritzburg and there saw Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs.¹¹ Samuelson then asked him if *amandiki* existed in his country and he said, 'Yes,' whereupon S. said this was not to be allowed: the people were to stop the practice altogether. This order seems to have had some effect.

M. says that going back at this time of year he is likely to get an attack of fever, but with a little doctoring will soon get over it. M.'s people have for very many years lived in Tongaland.

9.2.1902, Sunday. Silverton Road.

File 71, pp. 67-8.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana, Ndaba

Further talk with Majuba. Present: Majuba, Dhlozi, Ndukwana, and Ndaba.

Majuba and Ndaba are going home in a day or two. Majuba tells me that Ngwanaza has very few people with him now. When he went to see Ngini (Sir M. Clarke) at uBombo several years ago, Ngini expressed surprise at no old men being with him.¹² Ngwanaza quarrelled with the Portuguese. They first summoned him but he failed to go. Afterwards they asked him to help them against Ngungunyana.¹³ N. called up his forces and sent them forward to Delagoa en route to Ngungunyana. On the way, in spite of warning given by Ngwanaza to the Portuguese, the troops broke into and looted stores, drinking the liquor and taking the guns. When they got to Delagoa a rumour got about to the effect that they were to be taken to Ngungunyana's by ship. This rumour being found true caused so much dissatisfaction and distrust that the men turned homewards. The Portuguese said that as soon as they had dealt with Ngungunyana they would come and deal with Ngwanaza. Bruheim (Madevu) was sent to Pietermaritzburg to tender the people's allegiance.¹⁴ After the Ngungunyana expedition, which had proved successful, the Portuguese sent 37 men to Ngwanaza. Ngwanaza fled. He was afraid of fighting because he thought that if defeated and he took refuge in British territory, the British would hand him over.

68 The Portuguese had previously called on Ngwanaza to pay hut tax. Ngwanaza refused. The *senior men* (*amadoda*) however disagreed with Zambili (Dhlamini) and said they ought to pay taxes, seeing they were far lower than those claimed by the British Government.¹⁵ This difference arose in intensity. When Ngwanaza fled the *senior men* remained, Mapobobo was appointed chief, and the main body of the people very rarely visit their rightful king. Mapobobo is to all intents and purposes now king over the Mabudu people. The Portuguese have raised the taxes. It was the Queen Regent, Zambile, who stood out, saying she had given her allegiance to the British Government (at Pietermaritzburg) and would not fail.

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I told Majuba I did not think the Mabudu people had taken properly into account the MacMahon Award of 1875.¹⁶ I explained as well as I could.

Majuba says the allegiance of the nation was tendered at the conclusion of the Zulu War of 1879. This act tends to show that the Tongas did not know anything about that cruel act, the MacMahon Award.

The kraal Ngwanaza is now living in is called Emfihlweni, for the old kraal name has been preserved at the new site.

I told Majuba not to be downhearted. The Boer War is nearing conclusion, and there is a possibility that England will obtain possession of Delagoa Bay, when the MacMahon Award would vanish and Zambile and her son be restored to their proper country. This may not happen in a year or two, it may take twenty, but what is twenty in the history of a native?

It is not known when the Tongas first came to Tongaland. The people are called neither Abenguni or Amantungwa.¹⁷ One might glean particulars from the old people in the country.

I asked Majuba if he thought he could get two or three old men to come down and stay here with me two or three months and educate me in Tonga affairs. He said he thought this could be done. Ndaba suggested Luhoho, and Majuba said Mapoyi, both about 67 years old. I said I would pay their railway fares to and fro, and *present* them each with something on their return, as well as find food and lodging for them. Majuba perceived I took a keen interest in Tongaland and I warned him to be careful not to excite people. He was not to ask either Zambile or Ngwanaza for the people, but might speak about the matter if he liked.

Notes

¹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646, gives the umThwisazwe *ibutho* as having been formed c.1869 of youths born c.1849.

²Makhasane was chief of the Mabhudu branch of the Tembe Tsonga from early in the nineteenth century until his death in the early 1850s. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 293, 299, 304-5; Jumod, Life of a South African Tribe, vol. 1, p. 25.

³Ngwanaza (Ngwanasi), great-grandson of Makhasane, was chief of the Mabhudu people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 203, 307; Jumod, Life of a South African Tribe, vol. 1, p. 25.

⁴Rival British and Portuguese interests in the country south of Delagoa Bay resulted in a partition of Ngwanaza's territory. Though the southern portion was declared a British sphere of influence in 1887-8, it was not formally annexed until 1895. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 307, locates kwaPhelindaba kraal between the Phongolo river and Khosi bay.

⁵Ngwanaza and his mother Zambili fled from the Portuguese in the early 1890s.

⁶The names given are of successive chiefs of the Mabhudu people. See the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 293.

⁷Cf. Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 65.

⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 75, gives *icilo* (*ichilo*) as 'any ... thing

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disgusting to nature, filthy, obscene, to be ashamed of'.

- ⁹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 411, gives *indiki* (pl. *amandiki*) as a 'person (mostly girls) suffering from some neurotic or hysterical disease ... prevalent in the north of Zululand....'
- ¹⁰Presumably the country about the Hluhluwe and lower Mfolozi rivers where a section of the Mpukunyoni people settled.
- ¹¹S.O. Samuelson was Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, 1893-1909.
- ¹²Sir Marshall Clarke was Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate in Zululand, 1893-7.
- ¹³Ngungunyana kaMzila was ruler of the Gasa kingdom in what is now south-central Mozambique in the early 1890s. He was attacked and deposed by the Portuguese in 1895.
- ¹⁴G. Bruheim was reputedly the first white to settle among the Mabhudu, and was influential in Mabhudu public affairs during the regency of Ngwanaza's mother Zambili.
- ¹⁵Zambili, daughter of the Swazi king Sobhuza (Somhlolo), was mother of Ngwanaza, and regent of the Mabhudu people at the time of the Portuguese attack. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 307.
- ¹⁶In 1875 the French President, Marshall MacMahon, arbitrated in favour of Portugal and against Britain in a long-standing dispute over rights to the territory to the south of Delagoa bay.
- ¹⁷For discussion of the terms Nguni and Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 3 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

MAKEWU

8.10.1899, Sunday.

File 73, pp. 91-2.

Also present: Mahuyi, Zulu, and others

- 91 Stanger, Natal, per Makewu, chief,¹ with six followers, two of whom appeared to be over 75 years old. One of these is Maruyi ka Sonyanga who belongs to the Isangqu regiment and comes from the Mtetwa people.²

Tshaka built his principal Natal kraal where Stanger now stands and called it Dukuza. The reason for the name is that when he was at Gibixegu kraal³ in Zululand he was stabbed by Ntintinti ka Nkobe. The assegai, which he drew out, he recognised as belonging to Sipezi⁴ where his brothers lived (he had *distributed* to them this kind of assegai). It struck him high up the arm (right, I fancy) above the elbow and therefore penetrated the arm and just touched the side. It was prevented by his arm from entering his person or side - i.e. it *dukuza'd*.⁵ [*Dukuza* means, going astray, going by the way which is not the desired one.] After this incident he left Zululand, calling it Empakeni [Empaka, according to Sijewane: *vide* pp. 48, 49 for interview],⁶ and lived at Dukuza until he was assassinated by his *inceku* Mbopa, who was avenging his mother's death at the hands of, or by direction of, Tshaka.

The kraal at Dukuza was a very large one, and was called Fasimba at its nether part and Dukuza in front.⁷ The magistracy stands on the very spot where the *isigodhlo* was; and on the near side of the house which Mr Wheelwright⁸ used to occupy when magistrate here is the spot at which the kraal stood in which Tshaka was assassinated.⁹ The grave is close to the same place and has a thorn tree growing about or on it. Tshaka had several kraals in Natal. One was called Kangela;¹⁰ it was across the Umgeni, although his recognized boundary was the Umgeni. The people who occupied land in the neighbourhood of what was afterwards called Dukuza were the Amalala.¹¹ There are none of these now in this part; (they) have all removed across the Umgeni. They are to be found at Mahlongwa and near Isipingo.¹² They had their own *chiefs*.

Tshaka is said to have had cut open a woman with child so that he could see the position occupied by such child in the womb. This had to be done whilst the woman was alive. A man too would be *castrated* so that he might be an ox. Woman and man would die. If vultures hovered over the kraal he used to cause people to be killed and given to them, as they were hungry and they too had come to attend the *ibandhla* or council. He used to cause a person's eyes to

be taken out of his head in order that it may be observed how he managed to walk and adapt himself to the new circumstances. If a man showed a wound in his back, Tshaka would say it was plain he had been running away, and then order him to be pricked with an assegai so as to feel what it was like, and then to be stabbed to death and thrown away. People who had been sent to kill others were themselves met when returning and killed in order to know what death was. He would prevent men, even old men, from marrying, and caused headrings to be cut from men who would then *kleza* once more, his argument being that they therefore would be saved the evils attendant on married life, such as death of their children and having to wash themselves after such death with dirty water. In fact by preventing their marriage he urged that he was placing them under an obligation to him and they ought to be thankful. If one of his beasts was taken and eaten by an alligator or crocodile, the order would be that such crocodile must be caught by hand and carried and brought to him. *Ukuhlobonga* was not permitted, as also marriage.

Maruyi is not certain as to whether *ukuhlobonga* arose out of the restrictions placed by Tshaka on marriage or whether it was an old custom that existed prior to Tshaka's day. He is however of opinion that the custom did not originate with Tshaka as it prevailed amongst the Mtetwa people where Tshaka grew up (under Dingiswayo), to which and among which people Maruyi belongs and lived as a boy. [In this connection Mr C. Barter's statement re Tshaka's initiating *hlobonga* should not be overlooked - vide Native Affairs Blue Book of about 1893 or 1894 I think.]¹³

Sotobe was sent by Tshaka over the sea to go and find out what the English people's home was like.¹⁴ He went but returned after Tshaka's assassination¹⁵ [see p. 49 : Sijewane]. Tshaka liked Europeans, who were first reported to him as people white in colour who had come out of the water and whose hair was like *maize tassles*. He was very much taken with the gun; he put up a shield, fired at it, examined the bullet mark on it and then shot at a beast as at a target and killed it. He called the *white people abakwetu*.¹⁶

The Dukuza kraal existed for some period under ten years. After being assaulted Tshaka did not care to live in Zululand. His brother Dingana was against him. There was much opposition when Mhlangana ((born of) *a junior wife of their house*)¹⁷ was proposed as Tshaka's successor. He was put to death.¹⁸

Tshaka gave over a girl (engaged to himself) with a large number of cattle and a specially-built kraal to Mpande, asking him to raise up seed to him as he was afraid of doing so himself because he might have been killed. Mpande accordingly married the girl and she bore Mbuyazi who afterwards fought Cetshwayo at Ndondakusuka.¹⁹ Mbuyazi was therefore regarded as Tshaka's successor. [Maruyi fought for Mbuyazi and so belongs to the *iziGqoza*.²⁰] It seems that Tshaka felt very unsettled towards the end and would have been glad to make terms with the Europeans. Tshaka killed his eldest brother Sigujana.²¹ Mbelebele and Umgumanqa are the names of others of Tshaka's kraals; these two were in Zululand. He was grey when assassinated and had a headring. The boundary of Tshaka's dominions was the Umgeni extending up to Emtshezi (Estcourt), and to this day almost Zulus only are to

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be found living this side of the Umgeni. [Zulu was present during the conversation.]²²

9.10.1899

File 73, pp. 92-3.

Also present: Zulu

Same continued, assisted by Zulu, who was present at the interview yesterday.

93 When at Dukuza Tshaka sent off a body of troops to the *iNyoka* pass in the Amaxoza country beyond the Pondos to build him a kraal there among the Inkonyana ka Yisa - a Xoza regiment. The forces went, proceeded as far as the Pondos, whom Tshaka had specially directed them not to touch, and looted a large number of cattle belonging to the Pondos, which they then brought back to Tshaka without having established the desired kraal. Tshaka was angry at this having been done.

An *impi* was sent to Balule, to Sotshangana.²³ Tshaka's order was that every soul should go - '*kukulela ngoqo*', i.e. take every one, even *wigoqo*, a man who never *konzas* or attends hunting parties or assists in building king's kraals etc., one who is never seen at the king's kraal.²⁴ It was in this expedition that Maruyi's father So-nyanga was killed. Tshaka was at Dukuza when this *impi* went, and it was during its absence that Tshaka was assassinated by Mbopa, acting in concert with Mhlangana, T.'s brother, who really instigated the murder. It seems Tshaka went into the cattle kraal to see his cattle. Whilst there, Mbopa began driving about and beating the cattle. Tshaka said, 'Why are you beating the cattle?' and as he turned his back to Mbopa, Mbopa threw an assegai at him which struck him. He pulled the assegai out as he ran out of the kraal, but at the gate of the kraal another man lay in wait. This man snatched the assegai T. carried and stabbed him dead on the spot. The *impi* from Balule returned to find him dead.

Tshaka used to be very fond of going about visiting places. He sat very little indoors. He frequently went to sit by, and look at, the sea, and when it was sunset he used to start off home at a run, and his *incekus* were obliged to keep up the running, which was not stopped until Dukuza was reached.

Notes

¹Makewu was chief of the Dube people in the Lower Tugela division.

²The isAngqu *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.

³Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 586, and Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*, p. 247, give Gibixegu as an alternative name for the Bulawayo *umuzi*.

⁴Presumably the *ikhanda* where the isiPhezi *ibutho* was stationed.

⁵Henry Fynn has left an account of this incident, which occurred in mid-1824. See his *Diary*, pp. 83 ff.

⁶Sijewane was another of Stuart's informants. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 480, gives *impaka* (loc. *empakeni*) as 'cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a "familiar" and sent by him on villainous errands....'

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On the name eMpakeni as used by Shaka see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 194.

⁷UFasimba was also the name of one of Shaka's *amabutho*.

⁸W.D. Wheelwright was resident magistrate in the Lower Tugela division, 1887-9.

⁹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 661, gives the name of this *umuzi* as kwaNyakamubi.

¹⁰Subsequently corrupted into Congella, the name of a Durban suburb.

¹¹On the Lala peoples see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

¹²I.e. along the Natal coast south of Durban.

¹³Charles Barter, author of Dorp and Veld and Stray Memories of Natal and Zululand, had a long and varied career in Natal politics and public affairs. From 1880 to 1896 he was magistrate for Pietermaritzburg City.

¹⁴This mission of Sothobe kaMpangalala to the Cape took place in 1828. Accounts are given in Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 616-21; and Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 117 ff.

¹⁵In September 1828.

¹⁶I.e. people of our house.

¹⁷Bryant, Olden Times, p. 52, gives Mhlangana's mother as Mzondwase, fifth wife of Senzangakhona.

¹⁸Mhlangana was killed on the orders of Dingane in a dispute over the succession after Shaka's assassination.

¹⁹In 1856.

²⁰The name by which Mbuyazi's following was known.

²¹Sigujana succeeded his father as chief of the Zulu. His assassination opened the way for Shaka's succession.

²²The reference may be to another of Stuart's informants.

²³Soshangane was founder of the Gasa kingdom in what is today south-central Mozambique. UBhalule is the Olifant's river. The campaign referred to took place in 1828.

²⁴*Ukhukhulelangoqo*, literally a sweeping away of those who stay at home, derives from the verb *ukukhukhula*, to sweep away, and the noun *ungoqo*, a socially despised person who does not usually appear at the royal *umuzi*.

MAKUZA KA MKOMOYI

5.3.1921

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 28-34.

- 28 Makuza ka Mkomoyi ka Pobo ka Sigudo ka Linda ka Ceba (or Cebekulu) of the Cebekulu people. Mkomoyi was stationed at Bulawayo; he was of the Izimpohlo under Dingane.¹ I am of the Mbonambi regiment.² I was born after the death of Dingana, and after Mawa's flight into Natal (1843)³. [Makuza was, I think born about 1847 or 1848.]

Cetshwayo collected various regiments and placed them into his Undi kraals, of which at first there were two, viz. *the Black Undi* and *the Red Undi*. The former was situate at Ngoye, the latter at the Mlalazi.⁴ The Eqwageni kraal was at Eshowe. Cetshwayo did his best to collect as many troops as he could into his new kraals, but Zulus living in the northern parts of Zululand would not obey his orders. Upon this, C. (it was after the Ndongakusuka (battle))⁵ remonstrated with Mpande, asking how it was he did not cause the upper districts to comply. He, C., said he was acting in the best interests of the country, and that Mpande was not doing so. He accused him of having set him and Mbuyazi on to fight, by saying, '*Makasane has a sufficiency, Makasane who saw his rams kicking one another in his presence.*'⁶ When Mpande said this *all the great men of the Zulu country* exclaimed, '*He is setting them on!*'⁷ Did you not promise the Boers not again to bring about bloodshed?' Mpande said, 'I won my kingship by force of arms; so must others do likewise.' Hence he justified his above remark by what had been habitual in Zululand.

- 29 Cetshwayo pointed out to his father that he *had set the two on*, although he, C., had had a snip or piece taken out of his ear by the Boers on the occasion of Mpande declaring to the Boers that C. was his son and heir. Mpande accused C. of spoiling the country, and (said) that if he would not follow his, M.'s, advice, he should go and be advised by his mother, and if (he was) unwilling to be guided by her, he must refer to *other men*, i.e. the British Government, whose protection Mpande had asked for. C. said, '*Be silent, kafula!*'⁸ Was it not you who set us on to fight at Ndongakusuka? It was you who said, '*Our house did not gain the kingship by being appointed to sit on a mat*'. [I.e. when the son and heir was appointed he would sit on a mat because of his rank.] '*Our house gained the kingship by stabbing with the assegai.*' It was you who said, '*Makasane has a sufficiency*' etc.

C. spoke as above when Shepstone came on a visit.⁹ This took place at Nodwengu, Mpande's head kraal. Shepstone reproved C. for speaking in these terms to his father, for he, M., being father,

was in a position of *supreme authority* over him. Among Europeans all respected and obeyed their fathers. C., however, regarded Shepstone as *an outsider* and as not having had anything to do with the Ndongakusuka affair by which C.'s status was established, i.e. with the circumstances immediately antecedent thereto.

John Dunn at this time was C.'s adviser, and C. had great confidence in him.¹⁰ Hence Mpande advised Shepstone to go and get in touch with J. Dunn as the best way of approach to Cetshwayo. Dunn advised Shepstone to admonish Cetshwayo in general terms without bringing in his duty to his father etc. etc., for of course C. was deeply incensed against his father because of the bad action of Mpande in causing them to fight one another. Shepstone, at the coronation, followed this course, and matters seemed for a time to go well.¹¹

- 30 The first European to come to Natal was Hlazakazi. This may be Febana, or as I think, more probably Lieutenant King.¹²

'This stick which they carry, what is it for?' (This was said by the earliest Zulus of the gun that was carried, *for they did not know that it was a weapon.*) Tshaka then wanted the carrier (a European) to aim at a vulture hovering above with this *stick* of theirs. The European did so, and fired, bang! The sound caused all round about to fall on hands and knees. The bird was brought down. Wonderful! The Zulu nation then pressed that ambassadors be sent to the makers of such weapons and find out about them.

.... <Praises of Cetshwayo omitted - eds.>

'So you are inciting the Zulu nation against me so that it should kill me?' - said by Tshaka to Nandi re the child she nursed.¹³

*'Let men of good blood go, not men of bad blood.'*¹⁴ This was the advice given by the men to Tshaka as to who should go across the sea to visit King George IV.

- 31 Story about Tshaka, re sticks thrown into the sea.

When Tshaka, through being profoundly impressed with the power of a gun, wished to establish communication with the English people as makers of such a weapon, his first impulse was to go across the seas himself. But gratification of the impulse depended on what the sea itself wished in respect of the one desiring to cross it. Hence arose the idea that sticks should be thrown into the sea in order to see what became of them. If they were carried away altogether, it would be clear that the owner of such stick would himself be carried away and not suffered to return to the country. If, however, the sea brought it back, it would indicate that the owner would be permitted to return in safety to Zululand. When at the Isibubulungu¹⁵ with his regiments, Tshaka directed all the men to come to the seashore, and one and all, including himself, were to fling their sticks into the sea and watch the result. The sticks were accordingly thrown, the men standing along quite a considerable stretch of coast. The waves brought back the vast majority, but not that of the king. Search for it was continued until nightfall, without success. There were other sticks that did not return, namely those of men who were known to

have killed others, especially the sticks of *the great men of the nation*, and of those whose children or wives had been in the habit of dying rather freely, as well as of those whose blood was bad.

32 As the king had thus been 'smelt out' by the water, it was out of the question for him to undertake the voyage. He accordingly asked for volunteers from his people as a whole, but no-one would come forward, as they would not dare to cross the sea, as it and the sky seemed to be one and the same, i.e. the sea seemed to merge into the sky, especially in regard to the deepest and most awe-inspiring waters remotest from the land. Tshaka discussed the matter with his men. They said, '*Let men of good blood go, not men of bad blood.*' He said, 'If I were to go, people in England would put faith in me, being the king, but as I can't go, having been *smelt out* by the water, someone else must do so.' He then thought of Sotobe ka Mpangalala. Now Sotobe's stick was among those which had been cast back onto the shore, so there was no objection on that score to his undertaking the voyage. Sotobe and Mbozamboza accordingly were deputed to go under the charge of Hlazakazi (Lieutenant King).¹⁶ They went, and later returned, upon which cattle were killed as a thanks offering to the spirits for the ambassadors' safe return, whilst he, Sotobe, himself was made a present of cattle that filled *the enclosure*.

The sticks thrown in were ordinary ones used by people. But *they had become physically identified with their owners, for when people ate meat they would smear fat on the sticks, and then on their own bodies*. As the king's stick did not return, the doctors were consulted. They caused the other sticks of the king, as also of all those whose sticks had been returned by the water, to be washed and treated with drugs, and so ward off any harm that might be brought to the owners in case *the heavens* broke out violently, as indicated by the sticks that had not returned. These sticks were all *washed with medicines* so as to *ward off lightning, and prevent it from coming and 'taking' them when the sky thundered, as the sea had taken the sticks*.

33 I am in no doubt whatever as to this stick incident. It really occurred. I got the story from my father Mkomoyi. He also *threw* his stick, for he was one of Tshaka's warriors.

Inquiries for the king's stick. '*Haven't you seen the king's stick?*' '*No, we haven't seen it.*' The search was made very thoroughly, but with negative result. This king's stick was well known by all, for it was the one used to *point* with.

The sticks represented the very persons of the respective owners, for the reason that it is the universal rule for the owner to smear his stick. Hence no fitter test could have been devised, nothing more directly connected with each person. Indeed it may be said to be part of himself (cf. *a discarded garment*).

A test was being applied. The sea is pure. No dirty thing enters it. Anything carried down by rivers is got rid of, thrown on the banks or bottom, before the river enters the sea. As, therefore, all things automatically purify themselves before going into the sea, the sea itself is not only pure, but [because evidently having the power of election and discrimination, and the capacity of self-purification, like the living human body] it is a living thing. It is a self-cleaner or purifier. The sea too, if anything enters it by chance, gets rid of it, and casts it on shore.

Custom in regard to a reed raft. 'Do not get into the raft; the water will "smell you out", and take you. Confess yourself.' The raft hears nothing, but the water in contact with it does. He then crosses.

34 The king's stick would not have been taken away had he confessed his misdeeds, e.g. killing off girls who became pregnant by him etc. His stick, I think, failed for that reason to return. Then the king's stick must have been of brass, but that of course would sink.

The reed raft made by natives to cross rivers is called *isihle-ngela* or *isihlenga*. Zulus do not get onto it, as a rule, before they cross-examine and confess themselves. This cross-examination is called *ukuzibula*, *ukuzitsho*. 'Do you go about secretly trying to kill or injure others? Are you a thief? Are you jealous? Are you covetous? Do you commit adultery? Do you have criminal intercourse with women?' These questions are put in connection with the raft, with the object that the water, which is in touch or contact with it, shall hear the confession and so abstain from injuring or drowning the individual in question.

<6.3.1921>

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 37-43.

37 <Repetitious information on crossing rivers by raft omitted - eds.>

The defeat of Pakatwayo¹⁷ by Tshaka.

Tshaka proposed to Pakatwayo that they should hold an *ijadu* dancing competition. Pakatwayo said, 'How do you hope to surpass me, son of Senzangakona?' He said that he would not dance with a man whose forces were not numerous enough to go round one's neck [the reference is to a bead necklace], whereas the *Qwabe* were unsurpassed in strength. Nor (would he dance) with a little *Ntungwa*¹⁸ fellow from up-country, whose penis stood erect. He, P., had a vast tribe, covering a large part of the earth. His kraal was at Emtandeni.

<Stuart indicates that the passage below, which occurs in the original on p. 39, should follow on from the preceding paragraphs - eds.>

39 *Sojiyisa* asked, 'Hau, chief of the *Qwabe*, since we are of the same descent,¹⁹ why do you speak in this way? Why do you use insulting language to Tshaka, saying that he is a necklace which does not fit round the neck? Do you wish to make war then? Because we are the same people, for our part we do not wish to fight. We have said that we wish to dance. But you, for your part, insult us.'

Pakatwayo answered, 'I spoke in this way because of your numbers. But tomorrow we shall dance.' He continued, 'Come without your assegais.' He said this because he saw that Tshaka had felt the two insults about the size of his forces and his being a little *Ntungwa* from up-country.

37 The dance was accordingly arranged, so Tshaka went to Mtandeni with his warriors. He took his assegais with him, but these were hidden in the river, and he came to the kraal with his men in dancing costume, but unarmed. Their costume was of ox-tails, headbands, etc.

etc., so thick that their bodies could not be seen, out of respect for the king they had come into the presence of. He had one beast killed for him, and next day the dance was held, Tshaka's men being the first to perform. They danced well. *The chief gave praise, saying, 'I have seen. You have danced well.'* Then the Qwabes followed, very much more numerous and imposing than Tshaka's men.

- 38 When the Qwabes had danced and had reached the climax, Pakatwayo shouted, *'We have stabbed them!'*, meaning that Tshaka's party had been defeated and that Pakatwayo's was more powerful. Tshaka, hearing this, got incensed. *'Why does he insult us twice, saying that we are a necklace too short to fit round the neck, and then crying, "We have stabbed them."?'* The dance concluded. Pakatwayo then said, *'I killed a beast for you yesterday, son of Senzangakona, and won't do so today, so you may as well return home.'* Tshaka took the hint and left, *though angered by these words. He said, 'So he wants to fight me?'* He noticed that as the festivities were over, all the Qwabes dispersed to their respective homes. He saw then that the opportunity of getting the better of Pakatwayo had arrived. He got to the river where his assegais were hidden by sunset. He then made all his men arm and, when it was quite dark, marched them back to Mtandeni kraal. *The Qwabe had supposed him to have left, whereas he had not.* Instead of attacking the kraal here and there, he went with his force straight to the upper end, and sought out the king's sleeping-hut. Now it was not the custom for the king's hut to be shut up tightly of a night, because to do so caused the place to become too stuffy. Only a *shield* would be set across the doorway. Hence as soon as Tshaka's men got to the hut they went straight in, found Pakatwayo and stabbed him to death. The alarm was then given, but only presently, to add that their king had been killed.

- This is the version that was given me by my father Mkomoyi and another of my 'fathers', Buhlungu, both being the sons of Pobo ka Sigudo ka Linda [see p. 28]. My father was older than Buhlungu, the latter being also of the Izimpohlo regiment. They did not tell me that Pakatwayo was caught at a *palm* tree, jumped over by Tshaka, taken home, and died next day from fright.
- 39

As soon as the Qwabes began to arm, on hearing the call to arms, they heard the king was already dead, upon which they said, *'Whom are we to fight for now that our king is dead?'*, upon which they returned to their homes. Thus there was no fighting at all between the Qwabes and Zulus.

- 40 Tshaka, after killing Pakatwayo, went to *sleep* at some other kraals of the tribe. Next morning, when the Qwabes were collecting and Tshaka was making off, Pakatwayo's *induna*, Sikwayo, remarked that as their king had been killed, and killed because he had *insulted* Tshaka, there was no more necessity for fighting, and the whole tribe would *konza* Tshaka. Tshaka then had all the cattle of the tribe collected and brought to him. He then became their king. The Qwabes said the insult by their chief had now been expiated, and, *'We are now Tshaka's people.'*

The man who, it is stated, stabbed Tshaka in the arm is said to have been Sikwayo, the *induna* of Pakatwayo. *'Sikwayo was being*

slandered,' said Mkomoyi and Buhlungu. 'Shaka was stabbed by his father's sons, Dingana and Mhlangana.'²⁰

The capture of Dingiswayo by Zwide.

Zwide put a spell on Dingiswayo, chief of the Mtetwa. He was smeared with medicines, and then stirred up a mixture of medicines so that it frothed over. He saw Dingiswayo in the medicine. He said, 'Here is Dingiswayo, he is coming to me. He has left his whole nation; he has left his army. He is coming with his isigodhlo girls.' And indeed Dingiswayo went off in the night with his umthlunkulu girls.

Then Zwide ordered, 'Let the amaPela regiment arm.' He said, 41 'Dingiswayo has left his home. He is now in the bush country with some of his people. I have seen him in the medicine.' The amaPela went out. Zwide instructed them, 'Go down into the bush country.' That was part of Zwide's territory. The amaPela went down into it. Some of them said, 'We cannot find him as the king told us to do.' Others said, 'He is here. It smells of umutwa.'²¹ And indeed the amaPela came upon Dingiswayo's party, which was carrying food with it. They came upon his people as they were eating. Dingiswayo's party were startled, saying, 'Hau! Where does this impi come from?' Dingiswayo told them, 'It has come from Zwide; it has come to take me away. I saw Zwide as I was sleeping; I saw that I would be taken away. I have been summoned by him. Now he has sent to fetch me.'

The amaPela came up and asked, 'Where is the chief?' His people replied, 'He is sitting over there, eating.' They then said to Dingiswayo, 'You must go up-country, Nkosi. We have been sent to fetch you. Do not stay in the wilderness. Our king says that you must come and eat, since you have left your home.' Dingiswayo's girls and wives cried, 'We shall never see our chief again, for he is being taken away.' The amaPela said, 'Be quiet, for he will be given food. Do not cry for him.' Then they went off. Dingiswayo said to his women, 'Sing my song, the one sung when I left home crying.'²² Sing that one.' The soldiers said, 'No. Do not sing songs 42 of crying.' The girls repeatedly cried, 'We shall never see the chief again!' The soldiers contradicted them, 'You shall see him again. He will be given food. A beast will be killed for him and he will be given meat and beer.'

They went off, returning to the chief, Zwide. They found the chief seated. The sun was just coming up. They took the one chief up to the other. The order was given, 'Take all Dingiswayo's people to that hut.' They went in. Then Zwide asked, 'Who is as great as you, Dingiswayo?' Dingiswayo replied, 'No, I am no longer as great as you, for I have left my people and my soldiers.' Zwide said, 'So then, could I now fight with you, Dingiswayo?' The latter answered, 'No, I no longer say that I could fight with you.'

Zwide then left Dingiswayo and went some distance away. He danced a war dance, and then came back and jumped over Dingiswayo. Then he called his izinceku to take him to the cattle enclosure where he, Zwide, used to wash, and where he had stirred the medicines. He then summoned all his izinduna and said, 'My izinduna, 43 do not kill the chief by hitting him with sticks, for he is already dead. You will bury him at sunrise tomorrow. Look after him well, and let him sleep, so that you may bury him tomorrow.' They an-

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swered, 'We have heard, Nkosi. We shall not kill him, for he was killed by you when you jumped over him.' Zwide said, 'I have killed him with the medicines which I ate.' 'We have heard, Nkosi. Tell us where we are to bury him.' 'Bury him at the Mahlabaneni hill. While some are digging, let others cut posts. When you have prepared them, fix them in the ground, so that when you have finished no evil person will be able to cut open this chief for the purpose of killing the chief who lives.' Zwide's order was, 'When you have buried the chief, you will build a fence right round the grave. Then come and report to me, and to the warriors who have done the work I shall give cattle.' Indeed the men came to report to him. 'Have you buried him properly?' 'We have done so.' Then the men came to have cattle distributed to them by the king. They did not go home; they slept outside. Water was brought to the chief, and he stirred it up. The gall bladder of a beast was also brought to him, for he had overcome another chief. He cleansed himself after the death of the chief whom he had overcome.

[There is no reference to Ntombazi²³ above; she is the one who insisted on Dingiswayo being put to death, for Zwide was inclined to release him.]

Notes

¹IzimPohlo seems to have been used as a corporate name for certain male *amabutho* closely associated with one another from early in Shaka's reign. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 124, 645. Bulawayo was the name of an *umuzi* built by Shaka, first on the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi and subsequently between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni. See Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, pp. 124, 126.

²Formed c.1863; age-group born in early 1840s.

³Dingane was killed in 1840. Mawa was a sister of Senzangakhona. For accounts of her flight from the Zulu kingdom into Natal in 1843 see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 42-3; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 200.

⁴The Ngoye hills are situated between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni. The Mlalazi river rises near Eshowe and flows into the sea at Mthunzini.

⁵Fought in December 1856.

⁶The original reads, 'U ya del' uMakasane o wa ke wa bon' izinqama zake zi kahlelana e se kona (or e buka)'. We have been unable to establish the precise connotations of the reference to Makhasane. A man of that name was chief of a section of the Tsonga in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 303-5), but as used in the present context the name seems to refer to Mpande himself.

⁷The original reads, 'Wayi qata na!'

⁸A term of contempt applied by the people of the Zulu kingdom to individuals who fled to the colony of Natal, as Mpande had done in 1839.

⁹In 1861.

¹⁰For information on Dunn's life see *Dictionary of S.A. Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 260-2.

¹¹Shepstone's 'coronation' of Cetshwayo took place in 1873.

- ¹²Febana was Francis Farewell. He and Lieut. J.S. King were leaders of the party of white hunters and traders who came to Port Natal in 1824.
- ¹³This passage appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 31.
- ¹⁴The original reads, 'A ku ye aba gazi lihle, aba gazi libi ba ngayi'.
- ¹⁵Durban Bluff.
- ¹⁶Sotobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiya people was one of Shaka's principal *izinduna*. Mbozamboza of the amaNgwane people is described as a 'chief' under Shaka (Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, p. 117). For accounts of Sotobe's mission to Port Elizabeth in 1828 see Isaacs, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 616 ff.
- ¹⁷Chief of the Qwabe.
- ¹⁸For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ¹⁹The founding chiefs from whom the Zulu and Qwabe peoples took their names are traditionally supposed to have been brothers: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 19-20. Sojiyisa ranked as a member of the Zulu royal house though there is some doubt as to his parentage: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 44-5; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Zulu Royal House: men.
- ²⁰Makhuza here seems to be confusing two separate events. Shaka was wounded in the arm and side by an unknown assailant in 1824: see the description of this incident in Fynn, Diary, pp. 83 ff. He was stabbed to death by his brothers Dingane and Mhlangana in 1828.
- ²¹Perfume used for dressing hides, i.e. the coverings worn by the *isigodlo* girls.
- ²²Presumably a reference to Dingiswayo's flight from home during his youth. See the accounts of this incident given by Bryant in Olden Times, pp. 87 ff, and by Matshwili kaMngoye as rendered by Stuart in uBaxoxele, pp. 14 ff. We have been unable to trace Stuart's original notes of his interviews with Matshwili.
- ²³Zwide's mother.

MALAMBA

16.10.1900 - <evidence given 15.10.1900>. Ladysmith. File 73, p. 85.

- 85 Ladysmith. Per Malamba, a native constable at the railway station (chief: Mabizela), 15.10.1900, aet. about 34-37. He says many different kinds of native things are made in this division (Klip River) near the Tugela where it is joined by the Indaka (Sunday's?) river.¹ A man of the Ngoni people makes assegais, hoes etc. A person in this locality (in the bush country) could procure wooden meat-trays, head-rests, knobbed sticks, beer baskets (*izicumu* - these are woven), beer pots etc.

[Qalizwe bought me yesterday (vide p. 113) what he called *isixembe* (large wooden spoon) and *ivovo* (mat-work, like a dunce's cap, for separating dregs etc. from beer.)²

16.10.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 106, 163.

- 106 Ladysmith, 16.10.1900. Per Malamba. His chief is Mabizela.³ Previous chiefs, going backwards in order, are Mganu (who contended for the chiefship with Mafongozi - p. 112),⁴ Nodada, and Guda: tribe Amatembu.⁵ Guda, Malamba thinks, crossed over from Zululand, i.e. he was the one who did so. As for the Amacunu tribe, their chief is 163 Silwane, and others backwards in order are Gabangaye (killed at Isandhlwana), Pakade, and Macingwane.⁶

Notes

¹The inDaka or Sundays river joins the Thukela twenty kilometres south-west of present-day Pomeroy.

²Qalizwe was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence on p. 113 of File 73 indicates that the purchases were made in the country between Colenso and Ladysmith.

³Chief of the Thembu people in the Umsinga division.

⁴The reference is to evidence given by John Kumalo. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 216.

⁵Cf. the Thembu chiefly genealogy given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 244.

⁶Cf. the genealogy given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 263. Silwane was chief of the Chunu in the Umsinga division.

MANDHLAKAZI KA NGINI

21.11.1913

File 59, nbk. 33, p. 17.

- 17 Mandhlakazi ka Ngini of the *Sitshi* people says: My father used to wear *umnaka*.¹ My mother told me, for he died whilst I was still a child. This he wore round the neck. It 'burnt' him, i.e. severely injured his neck. On Dingana being informed he said that he should go to Zulu² ka Nogandaya, present him with a beast, and have him pour the gall where he had been burnt. This was done by Zulu. I don't know if he got better. *Umnaka* is for putting round the neck and is of *itusi* (copper). (When worn) round the wrist it is (known as) *ingxota*.³

18.5.1916, evening.

File 57, nbk. 2, p. 63.

- 63 Mandhlakazi ka Ngini arrives. He says that Mkehlengana⁴ ka Zulu told him that no-one ever saw Tshaka eat, i.e. no one except his immediate attendants.
He thinks a book of *praises*, and genealogical trees of tribes, also historical matter, would sell very well among the *kolwas*.

Sobekase (deceased) was a great authority on the Zulus. He said one of Tshaka's doctors was so expert as to be able to cause two *pieces of tripe* to fight one another. He would call one Tshaka, and another the chief of some tribe it was intended to fight against. He would then cause the two to come into sharp conflict with one another, with the result that the one called Tshaka would cause the other to burst and so be defeated. *Tripe* is of course eaten by *izimbongi*.

20.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 64-8.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 64 <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

Mandhlakazi ka Ngini ka Mkonjwa ka Nhlaba ka Moya ka Sigauli of the *Sitshi* section of the *Qwabe* people. I am the son of Zulu ka Nogandaya's daughter. I was born in the year of Somsewu's marriage regulations, 1869, so am 47 now.⁵

I once saw Zulu. He was about 5 feet 9½ inches tall, with very broad shoulders, and was very hairy on the chest and back. He was

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very dark, but *shiny black*, not jet black. Like Mkotana.⁶ I saw him twice. He could not see any more when I saw him. He had to have someone to lead him *with a stick*. Although he had a big chest and shoulders, he had comparatively thin legs. He no longer had a head-ring. The name of Zulu's kraal was eNtshaseni, not eNdongakusuka. Ndongakusuka was the hill on which Zulu's kraal was. Socwatsha agrees.

.... <Praises of Zulu and Ngini omitted - eds.>

66 Ngini, my father, was of the Izimpohlo of *esiklebeni*, under *Dingana*. His real regiment was the Ndabankulu.⁷ My father was an *inceku* at *esiklebeni*.

Sohayi ka Mvunge of the *Mdhlalose* people, of the Itshelemali regiment of *Ngangezwe*. It was probably (equivalent in age to) the Indhlonhlo regiment in Zululand. He is a great authority on Zulu matters.

Mqaikana⁸ ka Madikane of the *Mkize* people recites the praises of the Embo very well indeed. *His people are related to those of Ngwenyeni ka Bambata*. Mqaikana may be of the same age as the Uve regiment. He used to live at Esimahleni; I think now he is at eNcwadi. He pays taxes at eMpendhle. Ngwenyeni died about three years ago.

67 Tshaka on one occasion *set on the Embo⁹ and Nxamalala people to fight one another*. They accordingly fought on the flat at *Myimbana's* place. Tshaka's *induna* sent to *set them on* was Sizi. Tshaka ordered all the cattle of the Nxamalala to be collected into one kraal or place, and all those of the Embo into another kraal or place, and there await the result of the issue. The Nxamalalas then fought the Embos under Zihlandhlo, and defeated the latter. Tshaka's *induna* then said, 'How is it now, *Mnawe*,¹⁰ that I should open up the cattle and drive them off to Tshaka?' Zihlandhlo said, 'No! I still have a cover to wrap myself in,' *meaning Sambela*.¹¹ He called on Sambela, saying, 'My sun will be extinguished, for my cattle are to be taken away.' They were set on to fight again. Sambela sent the *amaNtungwa ikanda* to fight. Another one also fought, but I have forgotten its name. Sambela fought the day after Zihlandhlo's fight. S. defeated the Nxamalalas unaided by Z. or his people, and set about burning the Nxamalala kraals. When Z. saw the Okeni and the Mbungeni kraals on fire he said, 'What is that over there, Sizi? What is that over there?' After this the Nxamalala cattle were let out and driven off to Tshaka, who of course retained them.

68 These people did not formerly *quarrel with one another* in any way. Tshaka just simply *set them on to fight*. On this occasion, the *amaNxamalala*, on being defeated and chased, got caught in traps that had been set for game, when they were easily killed. Although not many could have been killed in that way, the incident was never forgotten or forgiven by the Nxamalalas, who regarded the traps as intentionally set to catch them.¹²

Sohayi, the man mentioned on p. 66, was so smart a man that a chief (mentioned by Mandhlakazi) offered Ngangezwe an ox if he would surrender him and let him be a man of that chief's tribe.

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Ngangezwe refused. Sohayi is now blind and quite unable to walk. He has four wives. His kraal is about 14 miles from Mid-Illovu.

21.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 69-73.

Also present: Socwatsha

<In the testimony of this day's date as recorded in the original, the statements made by Mandlakazi are interwoven with statements made by Socwatsha. Where Socwatsha's evidence supplements information provided by Mandlakazi we have reproduced it below. Where Socwatsha is the principal informant we have omitted his statements: these will be reproduced under his own name in a subsequent volume - eds.>

69 Mzilikazi's war in Dingana's day,¹³ The army was in charge of Ndhlela ka Sompisi. The Zulu army clashed with Mzilikazi's, probably late in the afternoon. The fight discontinued, probably at night and by the Zulus withdrawing after many of them had been killed. The Mzilikazi people did not at first know they were fighting Zulus. When they discovered this, they shouted to the Zulus, '*Heyi! Heyi! So you are hiding your identity! So you die in this manner. We'll be with you tomorrow!*' The Zulus saw they were too few in numbers, so Ndhlela thought of a plan, which was to light large fires all over the place to give the impression that the Zulus had set up camp. As a fact, Ndhlela directed them to retreat as fast as they could to Zululand in order that Dingana should again make ritual sacrifices and this time send out a much larger force.

70 Socwatsha says that in the foregoing battle, a youth of Mzilikazi's force ran up and got in among the Zulus with his assegai, stabbing right and left, shouting, '*Ihloya! Ihloya!*' (i.e. '*Umhlo-la! Umhlo-la!*' - a dialectical difference).¹⁴ He caused quite a commotion, but was killed after having wiped out a number.

71 On Zwide putting Dingiswayo to death, D.'s wives (*umdhlunkulu*) all left their tribe and went to where their husband was, i.e. Zwide's kraal. [See p. 107 for Zulu and longer version of this.]¹⁵ They there got up onto the top of the huts and wailed and lamented. They there struck up a chant (this chant is quite well known). It was suggested that they should be put to death, but Zwide refused, saying, '*They are widows. I won't put them to death. They have come merely to lament their husband's death.*' Hence they were allowed to go free, after being brought down. Their doing so at all was regarded as uncanny and mysterious.

I, Mandhlakazi, once asked a son of Magolwana¹⁶ how it was that the Zulu *izimbongi* were able to remember the praises of kings to so extraordinary a degree, how it was that they managed to dispose themselves to receive and retain so much, what drugs they ate which opened up the chest or heart to the reception of so much. [See p. 6 of next notebook].¹⁷ He said it was because they were given always
72 tripe to eat. Moreover, they used to eat the drug *umklele*, viz.

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the plant used for wattling in the *izigodhlo*.

So much for that. I know, and Socwatsha agreed this afternoon, that *izimbongi* used to wear a dress like the *isiwaba* leather skirt, made of the hide of a beast, i.e. of the part about the neck. This dress was fixed round the waist and reached down to just above the knees. Zulu ka Nogandaya, when he used to *recite* praises, used to put on a dress of this kind.

Our fathers used to refuse to give us information of our ancestors when we wanted to find out about them. They would threaten to beat us if we persisted in asking.

Magolwana used to *recite* praises to such an extent that he would go on hands and knees, and lose his voice. He was once given a pair of large horns which were fixed to either side of his head as if they were on the head of a cow or ox. An *imbongi* would *recite* and *recite*, then stop a little, move on further, then go on *praising*, then stop, then on again.

<22.5.1916>

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 74-82.

74 *The death of Pakatwayo*,¹⁸ per Mandhlakazi.

It is said that Pakatwayo began the affair by asking Tshaka for beads, fine red ingwele beads that had come from the Nhwenga.¹⁹ Tshaka gave praise to Pakatwayo's messengers for his words, and sent him some beads. Pakatwayo gave praise. Then he said, 'Weu! Go and ask for a shield for me, go and ask for cattle of his place. I see that there are fine cattle at Mahlabatini.'²⁰ His messengers went off to Tshaka, who gave them some oxen (I don't know if they were more than ten in number). They took them off, and Pakatwayo gave praise for them.

75 Then the Qwabe said, 'These cattle have incisions on their tails, where medicinal powder has been rubbed in.' These words came to the ears of Tshaka. His *izinduna* said to him, 'Do you hear that it is said that you have caused medicines to be rubbed into incisions on the tails of these cattle?' (It was at this time that the Qwabe insulted the Zulu by saying that they were like a necklace which could not even go round the neck, because of their small numbers. They spoke thus because they, who were large in numbers, had never fought with a people so few in number as to be like a necklace which could not go round the neck.)

Tshaka cried, 'Weu! So they say that, do they? They say that I have treated the cattle with medicine? Did they not accept the beads which they came to ask me for?' He then ordered the Mbelebele regiment to go out and build an *ikanda* near a certain place. (I don't know the name of the place; Mkehlengana and others do know it.) They cut poles and put up a fence. The Qwabe saw what they were doing, and the next day came and pulled down the fence and destroyed it. Tshaka's men reported the matter to him, saying, 'While we were busy building the *umuzi*, they came and destroyed it.'

76 On hearing this, Tshaka sent out his regiments to go and build, and himself went with them. When Tshaka arrived the Qwabe ran away, fleeing into the palm trees. The people whom the Zulu found in their homes were stabbed. Then Tshaka's *izinceku*, who were in attendance on him, said that they had seen someone continually coming and

77 peeping out from among the palm trees. They told Tshaka, 'There is someone peeping out over there.' Tshaka ordered the place to be surrounded. This was done, and the man caught. Tshaka ordered the man to be brought before him, and, astonishingly, he turned out to be Pakatwayo. Tshaka then repeated what Pakatwayo had said about the cattle, and asked him, 'Why, when I had given you a shield, did you say that I had treated the cattle with medicine?' It is said that Pakatwayo could not utter a word, for he was stricken with fear. The Qwabe were then assembled and ordered to come before Tshaka. This they did. Pakatwayo was then eqa'd.²¹ He was eqa'd by Tshaka. Tshaka then ordered him to be taken back to his home at Mtandeni. Pakatwayo then fell sick. This was reported to Tshaka, who ordered that cattle should be sacrificed for him. This was done, but Pakatwayo died.

On his death his people konza'd to the Zulu king. Tshaka then ordered the Qwabe to come back and live separately. He asked them, 'How is it that when your chief died you did not fight for him?' The Qwabe could find no word to answer. Tshaka reproved them because they had not fought for their chief.

78 The case of Noziwawa of the Kumalo people.

This man, on one occasion, shortly before the army left on an expedition to Mzilikazi or another enemy, danced a war dance before Dingana as others had been doing. He, however, danced in an even more dramatic manner than the others, for in the course of his pas seul, at the most dramatic moment, he smashed his assegai haft in two, to impress on the king what would occur when he fought the foe. The army left and eventually clashed with the enemy, defeating it. Noziwawa behaved with great valour, and succeeded in killing a large number. On getting back to the king, the *izinduna* made it appear to the king that only about three men had so far distinguished themselves as to be worthy of mention. They gave the names. Enquiries were made after Noziwawa, but the *izinduna* said he had failed to kill anyone at all. Dingana became angry and said, 'Then this fellow 79 who went so far as to break his very assegai before me did nothing after all. Take him and put him to death.' Noziwawa was then taken off and killed. Dingana was then informed of the truth, viz. that Noziwawa had greatly distinguished himself and had killed many men. D. deeply regretted what had occurred but which by then was beyond repair.

This caused Dingana to express surprise at only three men having distinguished themselves when large numbers of the warriors that sat before him showed wounds about the chest and shoulders. He did not believe the *indunas*. As he was making such remarks, a small man rushed forward and danced a war dance in a determined fashion. Dingana asked who he was and if he had killed the enemy, when a large number admitted that he had distinguished himself. Hence he was regarded by the king as a hero.

80 The reason for the reluctance of the *izinduna* to bring to notice names of heroes was from a fear lest their own importance should be diminished through others becoming famous and so receiving royal favours. The *indunas'* policy was to make it appear as if those of high rank, like princes etc., had been heroic. The princes had really no need of rewards, and they would be likely to appreciate the recommendations made by the *izinduna* and, being in a position to

do so, would promote their interests. Thus they masked many heroes through mere self-seeking. A hero who had perhaps killed three or four would be silenced by its being said by the *indunas* that some other man, some special favourite (like a prince) had killed a couple of the very men claimed, and someone else would be declared to have killed the others, thereby leaving the true hero without anything to boast of.

The story of Mhayi.

- 81 Mhayi was a man so crippled as to be obliged always to go about on hands and knees. This was in Tshaka's day, so Mandhlakazi's mother and grandmothers informed him. Tshaka had a special liking for cripples, idiots etc. Mhayi used to go to a woman and say, 'Show me your vagina,' and the woman would lift her clothing and do so. He would pass on and say the same to another. When he had finished looking he would say, 'This is food for the *umnumzana!*' These women were not those of *izinduna* or of the *isigodhlo*, for M. would not have dared so to speak to them. Mhayi had quite a large kraal, for, being favoured by the king, he had wives given him from time to time. His daughters are said to have been very good-looking. He himself was not an imbecile in any way. He would sometimes shout out to some man or lad passing by his kraal at a distance, and keep on and on shouting until the stranger came up to him, when M. would ask him to milk his cattle. This done, the stranger would continue his journey. M. was privileged, for he might enter the *isigodhlo*.
- 82

A great hero was Nozitshada ka Maqoboza.²²

Mandhlakazi says the old women, his grandmothers and others, used repeatedly to refer to Mbuyazi and Wohlo in their talks of old times.²³

23.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 82-101.

Biographical notes on Zulu ka Nogandaya. [This account must be collated with those of Mkehlengana and Mkotana, about April and May 1905. It must be regarded not as superseding but as supplementary to those. Mandhlakazi, however, contends that Ndondakusuka was not the name of one of Zulu's kraals, but of the place where he lived. See my notes on p. 98 further on.]

- The story of Zulu begins when he was at his home in the Quabe country. It happened that he met Tshaka, who was at his maternal uncle's place in the Quabe country.²⁴ Tshaka did not know that Zulu's name was Komfiya. Because Tshaka was now ruling, Zulu made up his mind to go up to the Zulu country and konza him. He then sought out four men, he himself making a fifth, and went up with them to konza in the Zulu country. When he arrived he said to the *izinduna* that they should report his arrival to Tshaka. They did so, saying, 'Here is Komfiya ka Nogandaya.' Tshaka said, 'Komfiya ka Nogandaya?' The *izinduna* replied, 'Yes.' Tshaka ordered them to get him some food, which was done. The next day they sent for him, and he went up to the *isigodhlo*, where he met Tshaka. Tshaka said, 'So it's you, Komfiya?' Zulu replied, 'Yes, Ngasita,²⁵ it is I.' 'What is it you
- 83

want?' Zulu answered, 'Ngasita, I have come to konza.' 'You have come to konza?' Zulu said, 'Yes, Ngasita.' 'Who are the others?' He then named my 'father' Situnga and his brother Magutshwa. Tshaka said, 'It is well, Komfiya,' and told him to fetch the others. When he had done so he was to build a homestead. So his homestead of
 84 Ntshaseni was built. When it was finished Tshaka told Zulu, 'Place your chief man in charge of it, for you yourself are to live here.' He then asked him, 'Is this Situnga, the great warrior of Pakatwayo?' Zulu answered, 'Yes, Ngasita.' 'Is he not the son of Mkonjwa?' 'He is, Ngasita, but he is very ill.' Tshaka said, 'Komfiya, make him the induna of your homestead.' Then Zulu moved up to Tshaka's place, where he became an inceku responsible for smearing Tshaka's hut floor with cowdung. He thenceforward remained an inceku.

While Zulu was an inceku a hundred cattle were slaughtered. The Zulu were summoned and Tshaka formed them into the Mgunanqa regiment. He said, 'Zulu, are you prepared to go among your people, the Qwabe, and kill?' Zulu replied, 'Ndabezita,²⁶ I am.' Tshaka ordered him to
 85 attack, and bring back the cattle of Mbangambi. He went off with Situnga, the two of them. While they were on the way, Zulu said to Situnga, 'I shall stab the people in each house, while you block off the doorway.' Zulu started at the end house. As a person came out he stabbed him, passed on to another house, stabbed another person, and passed on. They did this with the whole umuzi. All the people fled from their homes. The two men opened up the cattle enclosure and drove off the cattle. The umuzi where they stabbed the people was a large one. They drove off the cattle and brought them to Tshaka, who apportioned some to go to Ntshaseni while keeping the rest himself. It caused great admiration that only two men, Zulu and Situnga, had captured so many cattle.

86 I shall now tell of how Zulu won renown as a great warrior. He attacked Nkomo of the Mbata people.²⁷ In those days all Zulu youths were tough. One day when the people were in their homes, there came the wind that makes the sound 'Kwitshi-i-i-i.' Tshaka exclaimed, 'Nhi! This is the wind of Makwata! This means war!' He said this when he was with Mvundhlana ka Menziwa, the hut being full of warriors. He said, 'Let us talk of matters of war. I see that Zwide is coming.' So they discussed military affairs - Mvundhlana, men from all the amakanda, men of Mbelebele.²⁸ Tshaka said, 'Hau! How silent you are, Komfiya.' Zulu answered, 'Nkosi, if three of your great
 87 warriors kill before I do, if I kill only after they do, you may kill me.' Tshaka said, 'Nhi!' So you have matched me, Komfiya!' He told an inceku to go to one of the storage huts and fetch a shield, a single assegai, and a headband, all of which were then given to Zulu.

Tshaka then ordered up his men. When they were drawn up he told them, 'Zwide is at hand.' He went on to prepare for action, having ordered the men of all the amakanda to assemble. In making preparations, he put on his finery and then began giving praises to the ancestral chiefs of his house. I think that the induna at that time was Mvundhlana ka Menziwa.

It was heard that Zwide's force had entered the upper part of the Zulu country. Somapunga²⁹ said, 'No, do not go out to meet him.' Tshaka's army went out to the attack. The news came that the Mbele-

88 bele ikanda had been burnt. Tshaka said, 'It is nothing that they have burnt it; there is no buffalo that was ever beaten by its calf. Tshaka then came over to this side. He ordered his army to draw the enemy along; they should continually make as if attacking, and then give way. In this way the enemy reached Nkandhla, came down the Geongoe to Sungulweni, and beyond to Nomveve, where the two armies fought it out.³⁰

89 It was Zulu who led the attack at Nomveve. It was he who stabbed first, and it was his opponent who was the first to fall. They drove the enemy back and forced them into retreat. It was reported to Tshaka that Komfiya, the son of Nogandaya, was fighting fiercely. When Tshaka was told, he said that he could hear where Zulu had been fighting, Zulu 'the heavens which thundered in the open, where there are no mimosas or acacias' (adding a few more lines). The enemy army was reported to be in the wilderness, retreating home-wards. The warriors broke into a war dance, but Zulu did not join in until Tshaka cried, 'Dance, Heavens which thundered in the open, where there are no mimosas or acacias!', upon which the son of Nogandaya danced. A number of cattle were selected, and Zulu's mat-bearer was told to take them to Ntshaseni.

90 Then all was peaceful, after the warriors had returned from driving out Zwide's force. One day, when all the great warriors were sitting with him in his hut, Tshaka said, 'Mvundhlana! I set aside these ten oxen without horns. Let there come forward any man who can match Zulu, and he shall have these cattle.' There was dead silence in the hut. Then Mvundhlana ka Mensiwa spoke up. 'O, bird which devours others, there is no man who could match Zulu.' Upon which Tshaka said, 'Take them, Komfiya.'

91 I heard from my father Ngini, who was of the Ndabenkulu age-group, and from Cebokazi, who was of the Mvutwamini,³¹ that there was no one in the Zulu country who could match Zulu. Furthermore there was no one whom he allowed to win more favour than he. No other induna could ever win a reward of cattle greater than that given to Zulu. If Zulu heard that favour had been shown to another induna, he would scatter that man's forces and seize the cattle given to him. It would be reported to Tshaka that the cattle meant for the other induna had been seized by Zulu. Tshaka would say, 'The son of Nogandaya has surpassed all other men. His name is known there where Sikota is, "Sikota, the long grass into which there is no entry".'

92 Zulu had to leave the Zulu country because of what was said by his wife Nongobosi, daughter of Vimba. After Dingana's death, Nongobosi, together with Zulu's men, said, 'Mpande will not allow you to live,' for Zulu had taken Nongobosi herself from Mpande, saying, 'Sikiti! A woman will never be married by a coward' (ivaka - one who never stabbed anyone, a coward, one who trembles as he comes to an enemy), meaning Mpande. They said, 'Mpande will kill you. He has a grudge against you, for he says that you took Nongobosi from him.'

Zulu gave the word to the people of his district, and crossed over. Mpande then raised the alarm among the Boers, asking them to head off this person called Zulu. The Boers came to Ndongakusuka, to Ntshaseni, but Zulu had already fled and they did not find him. They then closed all the fords over the Tukela, but did not find

him. They then looked for his wives. They asked, 'Where is Zulu?' The women said, 'We do not know.' But Zulu was driving off his cattle. He went in front while Situnga followed. The Boers failed to find Zulu, for he had now met up with Wohlo, who disguised him and sent him to the Mdhrazi.³² Wohlo also went down-country, heading for the other side of the Mkomazi, while Zulu remained at the Mdhrazi. When Zulu heard that Ogle was down at the Mzinto he sent to find out where he was. He was found, so Zulu left the Mdhrazi and went down to join him. He settled there at the Zembeni. After he had established himself there, his people began to join him, until they had all arrived. He then asked Somtseu³³ for the country at the Mkwuya. He settled there, low down the Mkomazi river, with all the people who had come with him.

Zulu's chief wife was Mahazane, a daughter of Vimba. She bore Mkehlangana, Zulu's heir. Zulu had many wives, perhaps forty. Vimba lived in the Zulu country. Mpande met Nongobosi in the Zulu country before she had been permitted to marry (for marriage was still controlled).

When my father was klesaing at esiklebeni, in the time of Tshaka, another youth came up to him and hit him, simply to make trouble. He was older and bigger than my father. My father reported the matter to Zulu. While the fellow who had hit my father was driving cattle, Zulu came up and said, 'Who was it who hit the boy who is klesaing?' When this person denied doing it, Zulu hit him on the head, knocking him to the ground. He was using a knobkierie, and carried on hitting him with it. That was the end of the matter; it was not reported further. Matters concerning lowly herdboys were not reported to the king. Such affairs were reported to the induna, and there they would rest.

Zulu would take fright if he heard that another of the important men in the land had been killed. He would leave his home at once; even his wives would not know where he was. Even when messengers from the king arrived they would be told that no one knew where he was. They would go back to the king and report that they had not seen Zulu. The king would ask where he was supposed to have gone. They would reply that it was not known. Some days would go by, and then one day people would be amazed to see Zulu approaching, driving cattle. He would come dressed in his finery. He would have made a raid on another district and seized its cattle without having killed anyone. He would have taken them by stealth. He would break into the praises of the chiefs Punga and Mageba, and would then declaim those of Tshaka. Tshaka would laugh, and ask, 'Where did you get these cattle, son of Nogandaya?' Zulu would tell him, and Tshaka would laugh, and there and then give him a portion of the cattle. The district that he had raided was one with many cattle, and part of the Zulu country. He would bully weak peoples if he saw that there were no men to oppose him. The people would not follow up their cattle, for who was there to do so?

But one day Zulu acted like a coward. It was during his escape, at the time of 'the breaking of the rope'.³⁴ While they were driving their cattle along a party of bandits appeared out of the forest.

They headed off the cattle which Zulu and his people were driving. They said, 'Give us this beast,' and picked out a light-brown heifer. Soon afterwards Situnga came up. He asked, 'Where is the light-brown one?' Zulu replied, 'There it is, disappearing over there.' Situnga asked, 'Why did you let them take it?', and went charging at them, with his assegai raised and his shield under his arm. He came suddenly in view about a hundred yards below them. He yelled, and as they turned to look he was coming up close to them. Zulu was still standing where he had halted with the cattle, and was looking on. No sooner had they seen Situnga raise his assegai than they fled back into the forest. He headed off the beast which they had taken, and came back with it to Zulu. Zulu's wives said to him, 'So you allowed yourself to be sucked dry!', seeing the beast being brought back by Situnga. They drove the cattle on again, and continued their flight.

This man Zulu had a hardness of heart. On one occasion he had the tables turned on him. He was defied by Situnga himself, and had to leave the matter at that. It happened that when Situnga arrived at the Ntshaseni homestead he asked, 'What is there to eat?' The women replied, 'O, you of the Sitshi people, we are hungry.' Situnga told them to bring out their calabashes, and filled them up. He told them to eat. He ordered the cattle to be brought home, slaughtered one, cooked the meat, and gave some to all Zulu's children and wives. He did all this in the presence of Zulu, who simply kept silent. What could he do in the face of Situnga's actions?

Zulu had married a sister of this man Situnga. Zulu favoured her, and said that she should become his principal wife. Situnga objected, on the grounds that a girl of the house³⁵ could never be made chief wife. Situnga had the last word in the matter, for it ended in his favour.

Situnga was a great warrior, a warrior of Nomo of the Qwabe people. (We Sitshi people were of Nomo ka Kondhlo.)³⁶ Situnga was followed in age by my father Ngini, who was a son of Mkonjwa. [See p. 64.]

[The foregoing was taken down verbatim from Mandhlakazi. Nearly the whole was read over to him. I also turned to my notebooks 56, 57, 60, 61 etc. for Mkotana's and Mkehlengana's evidence about their father Zulu. There were many names and several pieces of information which Mandhlakazi did not know. The principal authority I have on Zulu ka Nogandaya is Mkehlengana (deceased). Mandhlakazi agrees with Mkehlengana that Nogandaya's heir was Voti, not the name given by Mkotana. In the foregoing version by Mandhlakazi he has omitted two or three important incidents in Zulu's life, to be found in Mkehlengana's and Mkotana's versions.]

... <Praises of Situnga ka Mkonjwa omitted - eds.>

100 Mkonjwa ka Ndhlaba of the Sitshi people, grandfather of Mandhlakazi, used to be the greatest warrior in the Qwabe tribe, greater than all others. The old people said that when Nomo wanted to kill a man, and the man ran away to Mkonjwa, he would not be followed up, for Mkonjwa used to fight with the Mtetwa people. It was he who kept

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guard there at the Mtetwa country. He died in battle with the Mtetwa army, being stabbed to death.

.... <Praises of Mkonjwa ka Nhlaba omitted, together with linguistic notes - eds.>

101 Nozitshada ka Maqoboza. My mothers merely told me he was a very great warrior. They did not give any particular anecdotes.

Kokela ka Mncumbata. This was a very famous warrior like Zulu himself. I think he was *induna* of the *Black Hlomendhlini*, and Zulu was *induna* of the *White Hlomendhlini*. He and Zulu used to hold *ijadu dancing competitions together*.

Luswazi ka Ndirolo of the *emaNgadini* people. He was also a great warrior. He was of the Mgumanaqa regiment, and so of Zulu's age-grade. I know nothing of him. Luswazi lived under Zulu, old people of his <sic> i.e. at the Mkomazi. Kokela also, I fancy, came to live under Zulu. Both these men's descendants live under Mqolombeni.³⁷

24.5.1916 - <evidence given 23.5.1916> File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 102-3.

02 [Can Mqaikana beat Nduna? Where does he live? Stories about Ngingi and Situnga. Put Noziwawa's (p. 78) and Mhayi's (p. 80) stories into Zulu. Piece p. 71 re memory of Magolwana etc. Piece about death of Dingiswayo p. 71.]³⁸

Mandhlakazi said last night that natives have a superstition in regard to the spilling of *amabele* or mealies. If any of either are spilt they take up a small portion of what has been spilt and throw it over the left shoulder, though they may also do so over the right. This is done to prevent hard times coming on them.

If beer is accidentally spilt in a hut, a broom is not used to sweep it away, but the hand. It is scooped aside as well as possible by the hand. Were it to be done with the broom, those seeing it would immediately exclaim that to do so will bring bad luck.

103 [Zwelonke ka Mgengebuli ka Ngudwa ka Mqalana (my servant, aged about 20) agrees with the foregoing. He goes on to say that when a goat is sacrificed to the *amadhlozi*, the women are not allowed in the hut in which the goat's flesh, I think he said, is, and where the pot of beer has been placed for the *amadhlozi*, whilst the men are there. They may come into the hut only after it has been *plastered with dung*.]

24.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 103-6.

Mqaikana³⁹ (the expert Embo *imbongi*) ka Madikane lives under Chief Mandhlakayise⁴⁰ of the Qadi tribe, but pays taxes at Impendhle.

Christianity.

In a talk I had with Mandhlakazi on this subject he said: That he himself wondered if natives were on the true line in worshipping *amadhlozi* etc. His inclination has therefore been towards Christi-

anity. But he finds many difficulties. It is hard to believe in the incarnation, hard to believe in a future life. Then there are many divisions among Christians, proving that many are contending to possess what in its nature cannot be many but one, i.e. Truth.

104 I drew his attention to the great similarity between natives and the Jews, and how Judaism had survived in spite of many calamities, e.g. the dispersion of Jews and the ascendancy of Christianity. The Jews had preserved their nationality and *identity as a people* in spite of dispersion. One therefore has a lesson here for the Zulus. The Jews resisted Christianity and have continued to survive in spite of that resistance. Why should not the Zulus do the same? Why should not their *nation* be allowed to survive? Why should they be broken up, although not knowing what prospects there are of being received by the European races?

M. says he has had to do with what he calls the Church, i.e. Church of England, i.e. Colenso's church, also with Wesleyans. It is native clergy that come his way. If a *dhlozi* beast has been killed, and a native minister comes, he proceeds to partake of the beast without asking any questions. If he were told it was a sacrificial one, he would not partake of it, but if not informed, he considers himself free to eat, though as a fact the beast has been so sacrificed. This causes natives to talk, as also does the order that native beer must not be drunk. Nor must *the meat of a beast that has died* be eaten. The Roman Catholic church, however, permit *the meat of such a beast* to be eaten and beer to be drunk.

105

It is clear that missionaries are endeavouring to break down the native *uhlanga*⁴¹ and to destroy the power of the chiefs.

I said I thought it wrong to break down the *uhlanga* by means of which natives had continued to exist until the present time, and to offer as substitute a creed of another race widely different in civilization. I went on to point out various things to show that the denominations cannot lay claim to Truth. None of them have the whole Truth.

M. says it is apparent to him that the main object is for the ministry to obtain money from natives to enable them to subsist and further the interests of their own families.

[It is evident that M. is exceedingly in the dark, and that the policy of missionaries is to get hold of those who are in the dark and unable to defend themselves, and to induce them to accept their particular forms of Christianity as the Truth, whereas Christianity itself is losing its hold in a remarkable way in England and other countries. There is a lot of good in Christianity, but it cannot lay claim to being the one and only Truth. India does not think so, nor does China, to mention no other countries.]

106

25.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 106-8.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

107 *The mourning for Dingiswayo*. [See note on this, p. 71.]
Zwide asked two of his sisters to help him, for Dingiswayo was proving difficult to overcome. He said, 'Children of my father, help me by going to Dingiswayo and marrying him.' He gave them each a

snuff-case and told them, 'When Dingiswayo ejaculates, take up some of his semen in the snuff-case.' In due course the girls went off to Dingiswayo. There was a shrilling of women, for they had come to marry the chief. It was good, and there was rejoicing.

I do not know how many days it was before they were taken to Dingiswayo's hut. When they came, Dingiswayo hlobonga'd with them. After he had finished, they wiped him clean. After this they left the
108 Mtetwa country, returned to Zwide, and gave him what he had sent them to bring. When they arrived with it, Zwide said, 'Now I have overcome him!' He then mixed medicine to put Dingiswayo in his power, and when he looked into the medicine he found there the Mtetwa chief himself.

In the Mtetwa country all was quiet when Dingiswayo suddenly gave the order to arm. The important men of the nation reproved him, saying, 'Hau! Without even telling the people why, you order the army to prepare for war.' He ordered his war finery to be brought out. His crane feather was brought. He went into the cattle enclosure, and proceeded to prepare for war the force which he had available. While he was busy, a number of locusts suddenly settled on the feather which he had put on. The izinduna cried, 'Hau, Nkosi, what are those things on the feather?' Others exclaimed, 'They are locusts.' <Continued below - eds.>

25.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 1, 3-7.

1 The feather came loose and fell to the ground. The izinduna said, 'No, Nkosi! The army has been injured. Let it again be treated with medicines.' Dingiswayo answered, 'No, Mtetwa people! It has agreed' (the omen that he had seen). He went off, and the izinduna were silent. He went into Zwide's country. He said that he would there prepare the army which had not been properly prepared.

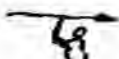
3 Zwide's force came against his, and they fought. There was not a great battle. Zwide defeated his opponents, and gave orders for Dingiswayo to be captured. [Mandhlakazi retracts this, and agrees that Dingiswayo was caught when practically alone.]⁴² I do not know whether they took him to Zwide's place or whether Zwide jumped over him there in the open. Then Zwide ordered him to be released. But his mother said, 'How can you release this crafty person who has done so much against you?' So Zwide leaped over him again. I do not know whether he actually killed Dingiswayo, or leaped over him and let him die.

4 Great lamentations broke out when Dingiswayo's death was reported at Yengweni.⁴³ Great lamentations broke out among the umhlunkulu, among his wives. They came to Ntombazi's⁴⁴ place, crying, and climbed up onto all the houses. Some climbed up, others pulled out the thatch from the houses, still others were wailing. The men were amazed at this omen. They felt that some evil would follow because the women had climbed on to the houses. Zwide said, 'No. Leave them. They are widows.' They were left alone. They wailed and wailed, until they were exhausted, and asked to be put to death. They were climbing onto the houses, crying, 'Let Zwide kill us too, like our husband.'

That was how Zwide overcame the Mtetwa people. I have not heard anyone say that they went to war again after Dingiswayo's death. People say that it was only Tshaka who continued to feel hatred.

- 5 My fathers (Ngingi and Zulu and others) said that Tshaka found fault with the practice of carrying a number of assegais. [Cf. what is here said with pp. 12, 13, Holden, *History of the Kaffir Races.*] This was when he was still among the Mtetwa with Dingiswayo. He said, 'Wo! If these men were mine I would cut a single assegai for each of them. I do not want them to bear wounds behind. A good man should have his wounds on his chest.' So when he came back to the Zulu country he ordered that only one assegai should be carried, and this was done.

Zulu used to jeer at a man if he did not hold his stabbing assegai in the *imfukule* position. He himself used to hold his assegai in this position, pointing upwards, with the blade above his hand and the shaft below it. Not



(the above attitude is known as *ukukabukomo*, or *ngi m ke mahlanze*, *ngi m guaze mahlanze*),⁴⁵ but the *imfukule* position, as below.



Zulu said that the assegai should be held in the *imfukule* position. Our fathers learnt this from him.

- 6 Magolwana's and other *izimbongi*'s memory. [See p. 71 of preceding notebook. Entered this note in Book of Eulogies, ii, on page facing p. 1.]

I once asked Mfihlo ka Mshwankele ka Magolwana of the Jiyana people, 'How is it that you Jiyana people can recite praises at such length without forgetting them?' He answered, 'We used to eat animal guts and tripe. And when a man was going to recite praises he would eat the root of the *unklele* tree.' It was said that it was those things that made a man not forget. For this tripe came from the *isi-godhlo*, and in the Zulu country it came to be known as the part of the beast that belonged to the *izimbongi*.

Mbelebele, Tshaka's *umuzi*. I think the name derives from the word for a matter that persistently worries one (*umbelebele*), that reminds one of something that one has forgotten. I think the owner of the *umuzi* got the name from the words, 'You have been worrying (*belesela*) me for a long time.' [Lugubu⁴⁶ agrees with this, 31.5.1916. Bryant seems to have a better derivation of this word; See Dictionary.]

- 7 I know that when a child comes and asks for snuff, old women will say, 'I have none.' The child will go and tell the person who sent it. This person will say, 'No, go back and ask again.' The child will do so, and the old woman will say, 'Au! Here is this persistent worrier (*umbelebele*) again. I am being pestered by this *umbelebele*!' She then ignores the child, and it goes off.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

7.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 11-13.

- 11 One day when Mpande was sitting in assembly, a daughter of Siguyana approached with wild vegetables which she had been gathering, and placed them near Mpande. Mpande said, 'Hau! What is this, daughter of Siguyana?' She answered, 'Wild vegetables, Nkosi.' Mpande tasted some, and when he found that they were good he said, 'Hau, Zulu people! The daughter of Siguyana gives me wild vegetables. But I cannot imagine where I could ever be in need. Where could I ever be in need in the Zulu kingdom, where the smell of food is everywhere?' The implication of his words was, 'Would I ever be destitute and hiding in the forests with Masiguyana? Would she ever have to go out to pick wild vegetables for me?' For a man who resorted to eating wild vegetables was a man in a position of need, one who had been driven from his country by war. 'We drove Sikunyana far away; we drove Mzilikazi far away; and we drove Nxaba ka Mbekane far away!'⁴⁷ He was boasting of the power of the Zulu kingship, which had overcome the nations. [Cf. 'Bellow, beast of the Zulu; you who will never leave this place!']⁴⁸

It was Masiguyana, the mother of Mtonga,⁴⁹ who spoke thus. Mtonga was the one who was designated by Mpande as the future king. He said, 'Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Zulu people, the heir will come from among the calves.' Mapita⁵⁰ and the others murmured, saying, 'Hau! Has not Cetshwayo been designated as heir?'

- 12 <In the original there is given at this point a passage in Zulu bringing out the sense of the words spoken by Mpande when Masiguyana brought him wild vegetables. This passage is followed by Stuart's own translation, which we reproduce here - eds.>

'Zulu, with our nation as mighty as it is, I cannot imagine in what foreign land I could ever be wandering about with Masiguyana where she would be obliged to leave some forest shelter to pick me wild herbs like these. Who is it could drive me forth as an outcast from forests like these of ours?' The men would thereupon concur in approving the king's remark, saying: 'Whatever indeed is it that could happen which would compel Masiguyana to steal from some strange forest, to pick herbs here and there for your Majesty?'

- 13 Mfihlo ka Mtshwankele ka Magolwana ka Mkatini told me the above anecdote. He was an expert on Zulu affairs. He was killed in the Bambata rebellion⁵¹ at Mome. He was a great *imbongi* too, though not like Magolwana.
Nxozana ka Moni of the Qungebeni people was Mpande's *imbongi* when cattle for the royal household were being slaughtered, so Mfihlo told me. Nxozana fathered Jikajika, who was one of Cetshwayo's *izinceku*. I do not know where Jikajika is now.

8.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 13- 14.

Zulu ka Nogandaya remonstrates with Tshaka.

One day in the assembly at Bulawayo Tshaka asked, 'Is Magcansa here?' (Magcansa of the Nwana people was brother of Zulu.) 'Is Mbewu

- here?' (Mbewu of the Mbedwini people). The men of the assembly replied, 'Yes, Ngasita.' Tshaka said, 'Take them and kill them.' Upon which Komfiya stood up and said, 'Ngasita!' Tshaka looked at him and said, 'What is it, Komfiya?' The latter replied, 'Hau, Nkosi! Why did I come here to the Zulu country? Why, when the people with whom I came from the Quabe country are being killed? Why do I konza? Do I not konza for them?' Tshaka said, 'Sit down, Komfiya; you have spoken. Let them go.' All the men of the assembly saluted him, saying, 'Yebo, Ngasita!' Tshaka said, 'Komfiya, take them and pour gall on them, for the heavens nearly scorched them.' The assembly gave praise, saying, 'Yebo, Ngasita!' Trembling, the two men went off to their homes in the outlying districts.

The modern people force their way through all places wont to be treated with respect, e.g. when they say, as is reported, 'Bayeza!' for 'Bayede!', and so forth.

9.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 14-15.

<The anecdote that follows is recorded twice in the original, with minor stylistic improvements in the second version. We reproduce the latter - eds.>

- 14 [See Mangati's version on 30.6.1920 in light blue notebook, p. 25.]⁵²
- 15 On one occasion, when Tshaka, in the presence of his counsellors, had ordered a man to be put to death on some pretext or other, he said to him, 'Tell me, So-and-so, now you are on the point of being put to death, which among the things you are leaving behind, do you consider the most delightful of all?' 'A little child, your Majesty, that has just learned to smile,' replied the poor wretch, 'a brave young maize plant just about to burst into bloom; and best of all, the king.' 'So well, Zulu,' exclaimed the despot, 'has the man spoken, he deserves not to die. Release him!' And released he straightway was from his terrible predicament, amid a loud chorus of 'All hails!'

<5.6.1921, High Brae.>

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 7-8, 15.

Also present: Mgidhlana, Maputwana

- 7 *The killing of Nomantshali, favourite wife of Mpande.*⁵³
Mandhlakazi gives the story of the death of Nomantshali immediately after Mgidhlana narrates it, and in his presence and that of Maputwana. The version is that of Mgidhlana as rendered by Mandhlakazi in Mgidhlana's presence.

Nomantshali ka Sigulana of the emaBeleni people was a wife of Mpande, the king. She was not his chief wife, but was his favourite. People said that she had medicine to make Mpande love her, and that she was weakening him by making him do so. Some years after the battle of Ndongakusuka⁵⁴ (after we had buta'd) - the battle where the princes fought and many of Cetshwayo's brothers were killed - Cetshwayo said, 'Let the daughter of Sigulana be killed.' For it was said that she

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had love medicines with which she bewitched the king, weakening him, for he was unable to walk. When he heard this, Cetshwayo said that his father had said that his heir was 'among the calves', though Cetshwayo had already been designated. Cetshwayo called up an armed force and ordered it to go to Mdumezulu.⁵⁵ When the men arrived there they found that the daughter of Siguyana was absent, and that Mtonga and Mgidhlana⁵⁶ had escaped to the Boers, to Landelisa, at the stronghold of Hawane.⁵⁷ The men then went on to Nodwengu, to the place of the king Mpande. When they arrived they ordered the king, 'Bring her forth!' It was Manyono ka Njongolo who said this. Mpande denied that she was there. When they heard this they berated him. Then Mpande said to his incekus Sonkehlenkehle, 'Give me an assegai so that I may kill myself.' Then he said, 'Since you have treated me in this way, you will never see my young sons, not until the stars shine during the day.

- 8 Manyono then took off his men, and they scattered into the hills in search of the daughter of Sigulana. They felt that she would not have left the Zulu country, as she was a woman, and because she would have fled to the king where she thought she would be safe. They eventually found her near esKlebeni, below the Mtonjana, in the little umuzi attached to it.⁵⁸ Someone pointed out where she was, saying, 'That is where the daughter of Sigulana is!' Then she came out from Langasana's,⁵⁹ for she had heard that her youngest son, Mpoyiyana, who followed Mtonga in age, had been killed. Her heart broke and she came out, saying, 'Let me be killed in the wilderness, for everyone dear to me is dead.' She did not know that Mtonga and Mgidhlana had escaped. The soldiers surrounded her and stabbed her to death.

Mgidhlana adds that when this outrageous episode was reported to Cetshwayo he strongly disapproved of it. His orders had been simply that his 'mother' and her children were to be killed, not that if she had taken refuge with his father that the troops (Ngobamakosi) were to go to Nodwengu and demand her person of the king. The order had been issued to Manyonyo, and he exceeded instructions by going as far as he did.

- 13 Mpande creates an awkward impression in Zibebu's mind. Per Mandhlakazi, Mgidhlana agrees with this, and asks where Mandhlakazi got so true a version as to what happened.

When reports were being made to Mpande after the battle of Ndongakusuka, he asked which troops had been responsible for the victory. The answer was that it had been the Mandhlakazi.⁶⁰ Mpande said, 'Ha! So they say that the Mandhlakazi are a separate force, that the Mandhlakazi fight as a group.' That was all. Zibebu heard the king say that the Mandhlakazi were a separate force, implying that he too was a chief in his own right, though he had fought for Cetshwayo. The impression then was made on his mind that he really stood apart from Cetshwayo, and this was no doubt one of the reasons which induced him to stand up and fight against Cetshwayo in later years.⁶¹

<8.6.1921>

File 57, nbk. 7, p. 29.

Also present: Mgidhlana, Maputwana?

- 29 Mandhlakazi says he has heard on good Zulu authority that Mpande praised Nomantshali, i.e. *the daughter of Siguyana*, thus: 'Thighs, the cynosure of the Zulu nation's eyes'.

2.2.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 85-92.

- 85 Mandhlakazi ka Ngini of the Sitshi people.

The killing of the Qadi people.

They were killed when Dingana became king. He summoned the Qadi, ordering them to bring poles. It was the practice in the Zulu country that when building was to be done the proclamation was made, 'Let poles and bushes be brought.' On this occasion the Qadi were required to bring only poles. When they had come with them to Dingana, he ordered them all to run and pretend to fight so that it could be seen how they would do in battle. The Qadi duly did so, running up to a ridge and back again to Dingana. He ordered them to do it again, which they did. By now they were tired from the running, for they had had no food. He then had them all killed. Their chief was Dube.

The killing of the abambo people.

- I heard tell that the Nguqa, a powerful ibuto of the eMbo people, was ordered to go up to the royal place. It duly did so. Dingana then ordered the men to stage a mock battle, and run to where the Qadi had run. They ran to the place, and back to Dingana, who ordered them to run again. Again they ran. A third time he ordered them to run, and a third time they ran. He saw that now they were tired, and gave the
86 order for them to be killed. They were put to death, all except those who escaped by running away and hiding.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

The killing of Zihlandhlo ka Gawabe.

- A certain Jiyiza ka Dhlaba, of the Mbo people by birth, went with a message to his people after a man of the Qwabe had whispered to him, 'Go and warn Zihlandhlo⁶² that I have heard that an attack is to be made on him.' Jiyiza went off. When he got home he took his shield from the storage hut and proceeded to work on it, delaying in the delivery of his message. A force of men sent by Dingana arrived at Zihlandhlo's place, four or five of them. They came and stood before the gate, and announced that they had been sent by Dingana and wanted to see the chief. They asked for Zihlandhlo to be called, and said that he must come alone, as they wanted to discuss a matter that was privy to the king. (None of the people knew the king's affairs.) Zihlandhlo went out and sat down. The men came close up to him as if they wanted to speak privately, when suddenly one stabbed him with an assegai. None of Zihlandhlo's people saw what happened. The men went off, calling out as they did so, 'There is your chief. Let him not be
87 eaten by the dogs at the gate!' The men of the place came from the upper end of the homestead to find Zihlandhlo dead at the gate.⁶³

Zihlandhlo was a favourite of Tshaka's, together with Magaye⁶⁴ ka Dibandhlela.

After the death of the chief, Jiyiza ka Dhlaba said, 'I was told that he was to be killed, but I forgot to warn him.' The abambo people cried, 'Hau, Jiyiza! So it is you who are responsible!' He was driven out from among the abambo. He went to the place of Dumisa⁶⁵ ka Mwenya, and was given refuge there. Today his sons are still living there. Even now the abambo people all say, 'We remember Jiyiza well, the man who brought about the misfortune which caused the death of our chief.' He remained an outcast, and the abambo do not mix with his people.

The English do not have grudges, but the Boers never stop saying that we once fought with them.

The killing of Matshukumbele ka Gawabe by Zihlandhlo ka Gawabe.

Zihlandhlo said to Matshukumbele, 'My brother, I appoint you to visit Tshaka for me.' Matshukumbele went off to konza Tshaka, who presented him with cattle and told him to take them back to Zihlandhlo. But Matshukumbele did not do so; he kept them for himself. Again he went to konza, again Tshaka gave him cattle to take to Zihlandhlo, and again he kept them for himself. Then Zihlandhlo went up to konza. Tshaka kept his silence for a time, and then asked, 'Hau, my brother! Do you not give praise?' Zihlandhlo answered, 'Wo! No, Nkosi, I have not yet seen Matshukumbele.' Zihlandhlo returned home.

Matshukumbele heard that Zihlandhlo had been to konza Tshaka. He said, 'Wo! I must go against Zihlandhlo.' He then summoned his men and ordered them to arm themselves. He was intending to go and kill Zihlandhlo. Some of his men had told him that, in speaking to the king, Zihlandhlo had denied that the cattle had ever reached him. When he heard this, Matshukumbele said, 'I must kill Zihlandhlo.' He armed, and went off to Zihlandhlo's place. Zihlandhlo saw him coming in at the gate of his meeting place. Zihlandhlo was in the cattle enclosure with his assembly. Matshukumbele said to him, 'Why did you say that I had not brought the cattle?' Zihlandhlo answered, 'What do you mean? Have you come to kill me?' He said this because Matshukumbele was standing there armed. Zihlandhlo said, 'No, son of my father, do you think I could say such a thing? In fact I was asking for monkey skins for you, so that you can dress up when you go to konza Tshaka for me. Come, child of my father, sit down, and I shall give you the skins tomorrow.'

Then Zihlandhlo whispered to one of his izinceku, 'Run to Sambela at Mngeleneni, and tell him that Matshukumbele wants to kill me. The men are in the cattle enclosure, looking at him. Let a force arm at once, and come here in the night. Sambela is to kill the men who are siding with Matshukumbele.' The inceku took the message to Sambela at Mngeleneni. Sambela said, 'No. He is being insulting. I cannot kill men of the home.' The men of Mngeleneni armed, and very early in the morning were in position behind the homestead, for Zihlandhlo had ordered that they should halt there, behind the isigodhlo. When the force arrived, Sambela sent an attendant to report its arrival to Zihlandhlo, who came out through the gate at the upper end of the homestead to find the whole force from Mngeleneni present. He ordered them, 'Do not kill Matshukumbele. Capture him so that I may speak

90 with him.' Matshukumbele was still asleep in the house which had been allotted to him. Zihlandhlo went back by the upper gate into the isigodhlo.

At dawn one of his izinceku went out and shouted, 'All men to the cattle enclosure!' The men of Zimahleni and the men of Matshukumbele rose, and crowded into the enclosure. Zihlandhlo too went into the enclosure. When the men had sat down, Sambela's force came up on them through all the openings in the fence, and proceeded to stab Matshukumbele's men. Zihlandhlo crossed paths with the force from Mngeleni as he was going back to his isigodhlo. In trying to escape, Matshukumbele's son Ludonga [Mbokodo said Sibabili was the name - see notebook under date 9.11.1913⁶⁵ - but I still think Ludonga is right: Sibabili may be another name of the same man] climbed onto the fence, where he was stabbed by Mngundu ka Mzukula of the Ndhlovu people, an inceku to Sambela. He stabbed him to death. The others were stabbed there in the enclosure. As Matshukumbele was escaping over the fence, Mhlana 'who carried the calf on his back', of the place of Ngeongo, an inceku to Sambela, rushed at him and caught him. Mhlana praised himself with the words, 'Now I have you; the neck does not tire from bearing the medicines worn by a man who has killed in battle, but they have tired out the old people'. So Matshukumbele was caught by this warrior. Matshukumbele exclaimed, 'Hau! So you have caught me, son of Msolwa. What hands have you caught me with?'⁶⁷ Zihlandhlo 91 ordered, 'Bring him here to me!' They did so. Zihlandhlo said, 'Hau, my brother! So you wanted to kill me. You were going to stab me because I was alone. Here are the monkey skins which I was telling you about yesterday. Do you see them? Here they are. These are the monkey skins from the Kombe.'⁶⁸ He then put him to death.⁶⁹

The matter was reported to Tshaka. Tshaka exclaimed, 'Maye! Who is it who has killed Matsuku?' (his nickname, as used by Tshaka). It is said that Tshaka was very fond of him. Tshaka was planning to launch an attack on Zihlandhlo, and surround his homestead, when Nandi intervened, saying, 'What of the consequences of your oath?'⁷⁰ Did you not make an oath that you would not kill Zihlandhlo, your 'brother'? That was the end of it.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

92 Sambela.

Sambela was fathered by Gawabe. He followed Zihlandhlo in age in the same house. He was pure white in colour, and very small. He was a great warrior; there was no Embo who was as great as he. Sambela once suggested to his brother Zihlandhlo that Tshaka should be killed. Zihlandhlo disapproved, for he was on very friendly terms with Tshaka, and in addition, when Tshaka used to say that Sambela should be killed, Zihlandhlo would refuse. Tshaka wanted to kill Sambela because he was so strong, and also because he had fame as a warrior. Sambela made the suggestion in the assembly of his people that Tshaka should be killed. I think that Sambela was of the uluTshwele (regiment), an ibuto of Zihlandhlo. [See Mbokodo's evidence.] Sambela and Zihlandhlo were killed by Dingana. [For the death of Zihlandhlo see pp. 86, 87 herein. For the death of Sambela see Mbokodo's version in notebook under date 9.11.1913.]

3.2.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 92-5.

Per Mandhlakazi.

The girl who married Mavovo of the Embo people, then married Mavovo of the Cube people, and finally returned to Mavovo of the Embo.

93 Mavovo, the grandfather of Gawabe, the chief of the Embo, married a girl (I forget of what people). After she had married Mavovo, she was taken by Mavovo of the Cube, for she had chosen him as a husband. She had run away to him. He said, 'Whom have you married, woman?' She answered, 'I have married Mavovo of the Embo.' They were neighbours.⁷¹ Mavovo of the Cube said, 'It is I who am Mavovo. That other fellow is Mavovwana.'⁷² Mavovo of the Cube said this because he had taken the woman away from him.

94 It came to the ears of Mavovo of the Embo that Mavovo of the Cube was continually calling him Mavovwana. Then there was excitement among the Embo! Mavovo of the Embo said, 'Weu! What is to be done, for here is Mavovo of the Cube treating me with contempt?' The country was suffering from famine. The woman who had married Mavovo of the Cube after being taken from Mavovo of the Embo now had a child, a fat little girl still at the breast. There was a diviner, a man of no property who went round looking for food, for it was a time of famine. He said to Mavovo of the Embo, 'Nkosi, I could fetch that woman back for you if you still wanted her.' Mavovo said, 'Could you really fetch her back?' He replied, 'I could, Nkosi.' Mavovo gave orders for him to be given some amabele, so that he could carry it with him. This was done. He and Mavovo finished their talk and he went off. He journeyed to the Cube, to Mavovo's place. As he was coming up to the gate, he met some children sitting playing. He asked, 'Which is the child of so-and-so?', giving its name. When he saw it he said, 'Come closer, child of my sister.' He kissed it on the cheeks, there at the gate. The mother was away, having gone out to work in the fields. 'O! Give greetings to my sister.' He went off alone, and returned to the place of his people.

When the woman returned home she called the child, kissed it on the cheeks, and suckled it. After she had finished, as dawn was approaching, she escaped, and, carrying the child on her back, took the road that led to the Embo of Mavovo. She came to Mavovo and married him. A great cry was raised at the place of Mavovo of the Embo, for the great wife had returned. The womenfolk uttered shrill cries, 'Ki! Ki! Ki! The great wife has returned!' She escaped from Mavovo of the Cube after she had been made great wife; at Mavovo's of the Embo she had also been great wife. When she came to Mavovo of the Embo, he had appointed another chief wife, the mother of Kabazele. She bore Mbangi, at the Mpunga homestead.⁷³ (Mbangi fathered Magaba.)

Mavovo of the Embo said, 'I have overcome him. It is now he who is Mavovwana, and I who am Mavovo.' This woman remained as a wife among the Embo, and it was seen that Mavovo of the Cube had been overcome. I have forgotten the name of this woman; I think she was of the Cunu people.

I shall go, and complete the story; I cannot finish it now.

95 We people are surpassed by the bees of the wild. For they put food aside; they accumulate stocks that will last for a very long time. They do not complain of hunger. They surpass us in realizing that the

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land may be affected by famine, or that floods may occur, while we do not go out to find food.

[This applies to the gross improvidence of natives, as for instance in not seeing the advantage of recording their ancient stories etc. etc., for to do so would promote their national interests.]

Notes

- ¹The neck-ring.
- ²A well-known warrior.
- ³The armband worn by persons of distinction.
- ⁴Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁵A photograph of Mandlakazi is reproduced in Stuart, uHlangakula, p. 45. On the Natal Government's measures to amend certain African marriage practices in the late 1860s see Welsh, Roots of Segregation, pp. 78 ff.
- ⁶Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁷The designation izimPohlo seems to have been used as a corporate name for certain male *amabutho* closely associated with one another from early in Shaka's reign: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 124, 645. The isiklebhe (loc. esiklebheni) *umuzi* was first built by Senzangakhona: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 46; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *imizi*. The inDabankulu *ibutho* was one of those formed by Shaka of men born in the early nineteenth century: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 241.
- ⁸Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁹I.e. the Mkhize people.
- ¹⁰I.e. 'my elder brother'.
- ¹¹Brother of Zihlandlo. See the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ¹²For another account of this incident see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 275-6.
- ¹³Historians disagree as to the dates of the attacks made by the Zulu on the Ndebele during Dingane's reign. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', pp. 26, 33, 38; Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom, pp. 85-91, 128-9.
- ¹⁴*Umdlola* means a strange occurrence, an ill-omen.
- ¹⁵This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is to a more extended account of Dingiswayo's death as given by Mandlakazi later in his evidence.
- ¹⁶Magolwana kaMkhathini of the Jiyane people was a famous *imbongi* in the time of Mpande. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 30-1.
- ¹⁷This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is to Mandlakazi's evidence under date 25.5.1916.
- ¹⁸Chief of the Qwabe.
- ¹⁹A derogatory term for the Tsonga and neighbouring peoples living to the north-east of the Zulu kingdom.
- ²⁰The present-day Mahlabathini district is located to the north of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi river. As used in the present context, the name seems to refer to the historic Zulu heartland, which is to the south of that river.
- ²¹Literally, jumped over. On the significance of one chief's jumping

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- over another see Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane, pp. 19n, 105n; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 312.
- ²²Stuart here cross-refers to information about Nozitshada given by Dunjwa kaMabedla: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 126.
- ²³Mbuyazi and Wohlo were Henry Francis Fynn and Henry Ogle respectively.
- ²⁴Bryant, Olden Times, p. 48, gives Shaka's mother Nandi as daughter of the Langeni chief Bhebhe and his great wife Mfunda of the Qwabe people.
- ²⁵A term used when addressing the Zulu king.
- ²⁶Another term used when addressing the Zulu king.
- ²⁷This may be a reference to the Nkomo of the Mbatha chiefly house who, according to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 224, was killed by the Mthethwa in Dingiswayo's time.
- ²⁸Mvundlana kaMenziwa was head of the Biyela section of the Zulu royal house. UmBelebele was the name of one of Shaka's *amabutho*, and also of one of his *amakhandu*.
- ²⁹Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 161, 212-13, 588, gives Somaphunga as a son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide who joined Shaka after Zwide's defeat and death.
- ³⁰The route taken was along the ridge between present-day Nkandla village and Eshowe, and then down to a position near the confluence of the Mvuzane and Mhlathuze rivers where the battle took place. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 206; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 17.
- ³¹A female *ibutho* formed by Shaka and consisting, according to Bryant, of women born in the final years of the eighteenth century. See Olden Times, p. 645.
- ³²Mandlakazi may here be referring to the Mlazi, a river which enters the sea just south of present-day Durban, and near which Ogle (Wohlo) had his main establishment (see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 111). Mdlazi was the name of a Cele chiefly *umuzi* established in the early nineteenth century near the Mhlali river, which enters the sea fifty kilometres north of Durban. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 96, 119.
- ³³Theophilus Shepstone, successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, 1845-76.
- ³⁴The original has *ngoku dabuka kwe goda*, an expression commonly used to denote Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839, when he crossed with a large following to the Natal side of the Thukela.
- ³⁵The original has *intombi ya s ekaya*. Zulu and Situnga both belonged to sections of the Qwabe people.
- ³⁶For Nomo's position in the Qwabe chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186.
- ³⁷Another of Stuart's informants.
- ³⁸This paragraph occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of page 102.
- ³⁹Not to be confused with Stuart's informant Mqayikana kaYenge of the Zondi people, whose evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁴⁰For Mandlakayise's place in the Ngcobo-Qadi chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 482.
- ⁴¹Literally reed or stem, i.e. people of the same stock or ancestry.
- ⁴²This note appears in the original as an interlinear insertion.

- ⁴³Dingiswayo's principal *umuzi*.
- ⁴⁴Mother of Zwide.
- ⁴⁵I.e. at close quarters.
- ⁴⁶Another of Stuart's informants. His evidence has been reproduced in Stuart Archive, vol. 1.
- ⁴⁷Sikhunyana, a son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, was defeated in an attack on Shaka in 1826. Mzilikazi of the Khumalo fled from the Zulu country in the early 1820s, and was subsequently attacked on several occasions by the Zulu. Nxaba of the Msane people was driven by Shaka from his kingdom in the early 1820s.
- ⁴⁸A praise shouted by Zulu warriors to the cattle in the royal enclosure when boasting of the might of their nation. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 30.
- ⁴⁹A son of Mpande by his favourite wife Nomantshali, daughter of Siguyana (Zigulana) of the Ntuli. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 27.
- ⁵⁰Maphitha kaSojiyisa was closely related to the Zulu royal line, and wielded considerable influence in the kingdom.
- ⁵¹In 1906.
- ⁵²Mangathi's evidence is reproduced in the present volume.
- ⁵³Nomantshali was killed in March 1861. See Mael, 'Political integration in the Zulu empire', pp. 295 ff.
- ⁵⁴In December 1856.
- ⁵⁵One of Mpande's *amakhanda*.
- ⁵⁶Sons of Mpande. Mgidlana was another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁵⁷A mountain east of present-day Utrecht.
- ⁵⁸The esiKlebheni *umuzi* was situated in the Zulu ancestral heartland about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. The first *umuzi* of that name was built to the south of the river below the Mthonjaneni heights.
- ⁵⁹One of Senzangakhona's wives.
- ⁶⁰UMandlakazi was the name used to identify the people under the local authority of Maphitha kaSojiyisa and his son Zibhebhu, who were closely related to the Zulu royal line.
- ⁶¹Zibhebhu was one of the leading opponents of the Zulu royal house after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ⁶²Chief of the Mbo (Mkhize) people. For Bryant's version of the Mbo chiefly genealogy see Olden Times, p. 406.
- ⁶³For Bryant's account of the death of Zihlandlo see Olden Times, pp. 413-14.
- ⁶⁴Chief of the Cele.
- ⁶⁵Chief of the Duma-Seleku people in the Mzinto area. For further information on him see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 531.
- ⁶⁶Mbokodo's evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁶⁷The original reads, 'Hau! U ya ngi bamba mfokatana ka Msolwa. U ngi bamba nga tip' itandhla na?' The informant Mandlakazi here breaks into the *ukutekeza* manner of speech, presumably in imitation of Matshukumbele.
- ⁶⁸A forest on Qudeni mountain in the south-west of the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁶⁹Bryant's account of this incident in Olden Times, pp. 410-11, is based on that in Stuart's uTulasizwe, pp. 96-9.
- ⁷⁰The original has *Iqangane u yo li bekapi?*, literally, 'Where will you put the *iqangane*?' *Iqangane* is a swelling of the belly supposed to be caused by the making of a certain rash oath: see Bryant,

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Dictionary, p. 528.

⁷¹The Mbo and Cube territories were in close proximity to each other: see map in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 698.

⁷²Diminutive form of Mavovo.

⁷³The original does not make clear which of the two women was mother of Mbangi. For the positions of Khabazele and Mbangi in the Mbo chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.

MANGATI KA GODIDE

29.6.1918

File 57, nbk. 4, p. 4.

- 4 Mangati ka Godide ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi (alias Nkobe; he *ground the grain - izinkobe* - of Senzangakona) ka Kuguqa ka Msalela ka Nomatshingila of the Ntuli people, parent tribe amaBele.¹ Mangati was *induna* of the Indhluyengwe regiment.² He is about 70 years of age. He used to be a policeman at Greytown to John Shepstone, and knew father.³ He is tall, light brown, and of slight build. He is very smart, quick-speaking, and his words are not easily caught.

Ndhlela was of the Ntontela regiment. He was Prime Minister. He was of about the same age as Senzangakona. His eldest sons were of the Ingcobinga regiment.

.... <Praises of Ndhlela omitted - eds.>

Ndhlela was tall, brown, with thin legs and a big chest. His land was at Mpapala, at the Mamba. It also included Mpatesita's district, and stretched up to the Mfongosi. His great kraal was eziBungwini, near Macala mountain, where Godide was brought up.⁴ I never saw him.

1.7.1918

File 57, nbk. 4, pp. 14-19.

Also present: Socwatsha?

- 14 Mangati continues.

I knew Godide. He was *induna of the Mpunga* regiment. His great kraal was Egweni, near Macala hill. Ndhlela's eziBungwini kraal, the principal one, was also there. Godide was born at Mgungundhlovu;⁵ he came to the vicinity of Macala when a boy.

Zihlandhlo had his kraal at Esimahleni about Macala. Sambela's was near there too. The Esimahleni is now at eNgilanyoni hill near Mid-Illovo. Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Gubele, of the *Embo people*.⁶ Sambela was son of Gcwabe. Kabazele's and Gubele's *graves* are *above the Nsuzé*.⁷ Gcwabe's is at the foot of Macala - the eastern slope. The remnants of the tribe were given by Dingana to Ndhlela to look after.

I once visited Ngunezi ka Siyingela ka Zihlandhlo. He gave me £3 8s at his Esimahleni kraal because he regarded my grandfather as the protector of the remnants of the tribe.

15 <Praises of Sotobe ka Mpangalala omitted - eds.>

Mpande narrowly escapes being killed by Dingana. [In working this up refer to Sivivi's account in notebook 10.]⁸

It was Ndhlela who saved Mpande from being killed. Mpande was then living within four or five miles of Middle Drift, near where the road goes to Fort Yolland, his kraal being called Emlambongwenya, *for it was the place of his people*.⁹ He had already had some sons, viz. Cetshwayo, Mbuyazi etc., but such fact was concealed from Dingana. As a boy, Mpande had trouble in one of his legs, a bone protruding therefrom (*umeboka*).¹⁰ This, and the fact of his appearing a bit of a fool, was urged by Ndhlela as an excuse for not putting him to death as Dingana had done some five other sons of Senzangakona.

Nxagwana and Matunjana were sent by Dingana with cattle (100 heifers) as a present to Mpande, it then (later on) being Dingana's intention to put him to death on his coming to *give praise* for the gift, as is customary when the king made any gift. Ndhlela, the head *induna*, was not informed of the plot but got to hear of it, so he secretly informed Matunjana of it [see below], directing him to advise Mpande not to come to *give praise*. [See Zulu version pp. 16-19.] When Matunjana and Nxagwana got to near where Mfanefile's store is, Matunjana pretended he wanted to get away to see his sweetheart, so went, saying he would shortly return. He at once made his way by a devious route - travelling part of the way in a river bed -
16 to Mpande and told him that the cattle to be given were part of a plot and warned him not to come to express thanks. Matunjana immediately went back and rejoined his companion. Mpande lost no time in getting away to Natal. *This was 'the breaking of the rope'*.¹¹

Ndhlela was not told by Dingana of the plot. He heard of it from others. He was very surprised, hence his directing Matunjana to warn Mpande.

It was at Komo hill that Nxagwana and Matunjana halted with the 100 heifers.¹² They there killed a beast, partaking of it with the *party of king's envoys* accompanying them. Matunjana then said he wanted to go and see his girls at Mpapala. He went off down the Mamba stream, travelling part of the way in the river bed itself so as to keep out of sight. On getting to Mpande's kraal at night, he threw a stone at the *induna's* hut. The *induna* came out. Matunjana said he wanted to see Nkonzapi (another name for Mpande). The *induna* brought Mpande. Matunjana then told the *induna* to leave and, when alone with Mpande, he told him the whole plot, i.e. delivered Ndhlela's message.

As soon as Ndhlela discovered the plot he sent his *incek*u Rwayirwayi. He said, '*Go, Rwayirwayi, and signal to Matunjana that he should come here to me.*' Ndhlela then left the homestead and went out into the hills, saying, '*Bring him to me in the hills. You will find me at a certain place in the bush.*' Rwayirwayi duly called Matunjana and took him to where Ndhlela was, in the hills, at a place
17 where the bush was dense, to the east of Kwa Matiwane.¹³ They came to Ndhlela. Ndhlela was bitter about the plan to kill Mpande, whom he had protected by saying that he was not going to contest the kingship. He said, '*Go, Matunjana ka Sibaxa of the emaNkwanyameni. When you get to the Komo hill, leave Nxagwana, with the excuse that you are going to Mpapala to visit the girls who have chosen you in marriage.*' (This was in Ndhlela's country. Three girls had as a

matter of fact chosen Matunjana when a wedding-dance was on. Ndhlela knew of this, and these girls were daughters of his - Ndhlela's - people.)

He said, 'Matunjana, the Zulu nation will not survive if Mpande dies, for he has fathered children, while Dingana, like Tshaka, has none. Mpande will save the Zulu nation from crumbling.'

Matunjana then went off to carry Ndhlela's secret message to Mpande. He said to Mpande, 'Tomorrow we shall come with cattle which Dingana has given you. You must give praise. You must give praise to me and to Nxagwana; you must act as if you were seeing me for the first time.' They went inside. Songiya, mother of Mpande, was roused. Mpande said that she too should see Matunjana, who had come to warn him; his mother should hear the words of Ndhlela. Mpande's mother gave praise. She gave Matunjana a pot of beer. Matunjana then went off in the darkness. At dawn he was at the Mamba, at Singulweni.¹⁴

18 He came to Nxagwana as the sun was rising. Matunjana then said, 'Let meat be cooked and then let us be off to drive the cattle to Mpande.' They went off, going down the amaDungela ridge.

The cattle were brought to Mpande at Emlambongwenya. (This was probably the name, as it was the place of his people.) [Socwatsha says it was Empenqaneni. Mangati (says) the kraal was first called Empenqaneni, and later Mlambongwenya. It was called Mpenqana whilst Mpande was still a prince. The name changed as stated when he became king.]¹⁵ Cries of joy were raised. Nxagwana and Matunjana gave praises to the kings. They cried, 'Take them, Prince! Your brother, the king, gives them to you. He says, "Drink from the udders with your mother." He apportions them to you.' Songiya went out, and beat the cattle with a stick, crying 'Halala!'¹⁶ and giving praise.

The shouting of praises came to an end. They went to look at the cattle. Mpande gave praise. 'The son of my father has placed a cover over me by giving me so many cattle.' He then gave them one of his own household cattle to slaughter - a cow. They feasted on beer and meat, and then went to lie down. The next day they left. Matunjana left his stick behind. He came back from the hills saying, 'I have forgotten my stick.' He wished to convey all Ndhlela's words; he had not yet finished. He said, 'On no account come and give praise for the cattle. You will be killed. Ndhlela says, "Cross the river, and go to the Boers." So that when Ndhlela has died because of what he has done for you, you will care for his orphaned children. He can no longer care for them. If you survive, look after his children.'

19 After Ndhlela's death Mpande duly took care of his children. He gave them cattle. He started with Godide (my father), the eldest. He gave him 250 cattle. He then gave cattle to all Ndhlela's children, saying that they should grow up (kula). He also gave cattle to the children of Nduwana, and established them in homesteads.¹⁷ Cetshwayo, had he not been killed by the English, would have taken care of us and presented us with cattle too, like his father. He gave them all cattle by the dozen and established them in homesteads.

Nzobo (alias Dambuza) ka Sobadhli of the Ntombela people.¹⁸

.... <Praises of Nzobo omitted - eds.>

He was of the iWombe regiment. This is the man who caused people to

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be killed off in every direction, especially those with property, cattle or girls.

When the Boers got Nzobo they tied his legs together and then tied the string round the brake (screw), his face downwards, so that when the oxen pulled the waggon he had to protect his face by holding on to the ever-moving ground. Hence he was soon exhausted and so done to death.



This was done because he was supposed to have suggested to Dingana the putting to death of Piet Retief and his party.¹⁹

12.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 1-2.

- 1 Mangati ka Godide ka Ndhlela ka Nkobe (Sompisi) ka Kuguqa ka Msalela ka Nomatshingila, of the Bele people. Ntuli is our *isitakazelo*.

Mangati is about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and of the Indhlyengwe regiment. He is about 73 or 74 years of age.

Senzangakona took Bibi, the sister who followed immediately after Ndhlela in age, to wife. She was followed in age by Nduvana.

Senzangakona said, 'How is it that my wife, who is so beautiful, and whom I love, should be called a Bele? Why should she be addressed as Mbele? It is difficult for the tongue to say Mbele to my wife. When she is addressed as Mbele, does it mean that she is the front covering (ibele) of a rock rabbit (imbila)?'²⁰ He said that the old people should be asked what their *isitakazelo* was. They replied, 'We are addressed as "Mbele! Ntuli!"' He then said that the name Ntuli should stand, and that his wife should not be called a Bele. Hence the origin of the Ntuli people in Zululand being called by this name, as if it were their *isibongo*, whereas it is simply the *isitakazelo* of the Bele people.

- 2 We Beles are blood relations of the Basuto. Our place of origin is eLenge (Job's Kop), Natal.²¹ It was there that our ancestor Mahlaphlapha lived. I do not know his father's name. He afterwards fled from eLenge. Whilst at eLenge our people were cannibals.²² This is a well-established fact. Mahlaphlapha fled to Cape Colony, perhaps to Basutoland [as stated by J.S.]. His chief son was Qunta, whose chief son was Mabandhla, and his chief son of the left-hand house was Ndomba. Mabandhla lives in Cape Colony, where there are many Beles. Mabandhla's chief son is Mbomvu. Ndomba lived in Estcourt (?) Division. He is dead.

We Beles are a hardy, long-lived tribe.

13.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 2-4.

The amaBele are descended from cannibals who long ago used to eat people. I have heard this said.

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Our great-grandfathers, the grandfathers of Ndhlela, came down into the Zulu country by means of a grain basket.²³ The grain basket rolled from eLenge (Job's Kop) with them inside it. There were people inside it. A piece of fat appeared in the basket, at the place where they were living. The person with the piece of fat ran away to the Zulu country. They followed him and so came to the Zulu country, travelling by means of the grain basket. They arrived in the Zulu country and came out of the basket. They then konza'd in the Zulu country, at a time when the house of the Zulu was still small and had not yet increased in size. Our people went to the Zulu when Jama was still ruling, or it may have been Senzangakona or even Ndaba.²⁴ Our people grew up with Senzangakona. We konza'd to the Zulu before the country had been united by Tshaka.

3 The real name of Nkobe (father of Ndhlela) was not Nkobe but Sompisi. He was called Nkobe because he used to grind the grain (izinkobe) of the chief; he was a menial. He was called Nkobe because he used to grind the maize very fine, leaving no husks in it. (This meant that the maize would rise when being cooked.) He surpassed the girls in grinding, for when they ground boiled maize for the chief there would be husks in it. The girls were told to leave off grinding as they had been surpassed. Thus he came to be called Nkobe.

[See history of the Amabele in Bird, *Annals*, i, where it is said they went off to Cape Colony and there became slaves, not merely amaMfengu. This disposition to become slaves was, as seen above, in Nkobe, i.e. in the above incident.]

The inkata *yewe* was never thrown away or buried with the king when he died.²⁵ I do not know what became of Cetshwayo's on his death; I fancy it must have vanished as the people had been scattered.

4 Mangati says that Dinuzulu was not a party to the war on the Government started by Bambata.²⁶ He ascertained this himself from Dinuzulu during the rebellion. Dinuzulu was at fault in harbouring Bambata's wife. Siganda declared that Dinuzulu was at the back of the war, and it was because of this assertion that Mangati was drawn into taking part.²⁷ He felt he could not do otherwise if his king had ordered him to fight. Siganda, however, was quite mistaken, hence Mangati, like others, was duped. Bambata was nearly stabbed when natives found that bullets 'entered' when he or his people declared they would not.

14.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 4-13.

We amaBele are amaNtungwa.²⁸ These originated up-country. The Kumalos are amaNtungwa; Matiwane ka Masumpa's people, the amaNgwane, are amaNtungwa.²⁹

There are the following sections of the Ntuli tribe:³⁰

Mavumengwana, Ndhlela's son of the left-hand house
(Mfungelwa)³¹

Mpumela ka Ndhlela (Mlokotwa) - formerly Godide³²

Mbuzo (Mapoyisa) - Nkandhla district

Mkonto (Maqilimana), not yet chief; (Ngobizembe)

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Bele (sections)

Ndomba ka Qunta - at Estcourt

Mncindo ka Tshoba - Richmond Division near the Mkomazi

Mahlungwana ka Tshoba - *down the Mpambanyoni*, close to the sea.

- 5 Bibi, the wife of Senzangakona, was a sister of Nduvana and Ndhlela. Nduvana was of the Wombe regiment; Ndhlela was of the Intontela regiment. Ndhlela was the eldest; then came Bibi, then Nduvana. [See more about Bibi, pp. 10, 11.]

Bibi was killed by Mpande's regiments near Maqongqo.³³ She ran away with Nduvana. They got to a little sharp-pointed hill in the thorn country called Uve. Here they hid in a donga of a little stream. The *impi* came upon them in a little bush and killed the two. Bibi was killed on the ground that she had been a favoured wife of Senzangakona, and so opposed to the other wives. I do not know the class of girls Bibi belonged to.

Godide (my father) told me, 'My fathers (i.e. Ndhlela and Nduvana) had been *circumcised*.' Godide was of the Inyosi regiment. I was Godide's *inceku* and he frequently spoke to me. Godide was very dark (like Mavumengwana). He was *impucule*, i.e. without a hair on his chin or lips. He was tall, say 6 feet 1 inch. Ndhlela was very tall, say 6 feet 5 inches or so; so were his sons Nhlukuziso and Ndabankulu. These two I knew. Nhlukuziso and my father Godide were killed by Zibebu at Ondi.³⁴ Ndabankulu died at home of a chest complaint.

- 6 When Senzangakona took Bibi to wife he expressed disapproval of her tribal name Bele. He caused inquiry to be made of the old men of the tribe, upon which they said Ntuli was an *isitakazelo* of the tribe. S. then directed all those Beles associated with Sompisi, whom Senzangakona had called Nkobe, as above explained, to drop the name Bele as their tribal name and assume that of Ntuli, which was done.

What happened seems to have been this. Sompisi found his way first from eLenge to the Zulu tribe. He there became a servant to Senzangakona. Presently his relatives followed on from Lenge and *konza'd* the same chief and were received because Sompisi was in favour. When the change of name was directed, the relatives of Sompisi, though properly speaking amaBele, took it on. Hence, at the present time, we find three sections of Ntulis in Zululand, and one in Natal, viz. under Mavumengwana, Mpumela, Mbuzo, and Mkonto respectively, of which Mbuzo and Mkonto are not descendants of Sompisi

- 7 but of some ancestor common to all further back. This will be seen from the following genealogies:

Mavumengwana and Mpumela ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi (Nkobe) ka

Kuguqa ka Msalela ka Nomatshingila.

Mbuzo ka Mngeni ka Menyelwa ka Mahaule ka Mlomo.

Mkonto ka Ntwananhle.

I was born at Empandhleni shortly after Mawa ka Jama crossed into Natal [1842].³⁵ Mpande took exception to Mawa crossing over into Natal with as many people as she wished to do. At any rate much too large a number wanted to accompany her and so do as he had himself done when, in Dingana's reign, he left with a vast concourse of Zulus. He accordingly directed these would-be elopers to be attacked by the Izingulube regiment, so that the people of the nation should get

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drawn together and no longer cross over. Many were killed and this act checked too great an exodus. Mawa's party was thus a small one. I do not know what *troubled* Mawa so much as to cause her to leave. She *crossed over* with Makobosi ka Xube of the Ndhlovu people. Makobosi was
8 Ndhlela's great *induna*. Mawa, I believe, first settled in Dukuza district (near where Stanger is now), then moved on towards Verulam, and seems to have lived there. Makobosi's son Ncapayi afterwards became court *induna* at Verulam.³⁶ I do not know where Mawa died, but she died in Natal. I do not know if she was ever married.

Mawa left the Gingindhlovu district, then known as Entonteleni, to escape into Natal.

The Izingulube were stationed at Entonteleni. Their orders were to *go up the Tsekela* to cut off the flight. They proceeded as far as *Isiwa samanqe* and Ndulinde, starting from eDhlokweni drift.³⁷ People seeing this were afraid to come down and join Mawa. They thus *were drawn in together*, i.e. they were directed to vacate the district adjacent to and near the Tsekela and to move and build further inland. Among those who did this was Godide my father, who went from Macala mountain and re-erected his kraal or kraals at Empandhleni.

The site at Macala originally became that of my grandfather Ndhlela on Dingana putting Zihlandhlo (ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Gubela ka Mavovo) to death. These were of the Embo tribe and originally came
9 from Swaziland. The graves of Gcwabe and Kabazele and Gubela are at Macala, i.e. on that side of Macala which looks towards the Insuze river. I can point them out.

Zihlandhlo was killed *at Makedama's place, in the emakabeleni country* on the right bank of the Tugela.³⁸ That is where his grave is.

I am not sure if the father of Gcwabe is Kabazele or Gubela, or which is the elder of these two.

Zihlandhlo's chief son was Siyingela. This man crossed into Natal and went to live on the Mkomazi at eNgilanyoni hill between the Ilovu and the Mkomazi. They there rebuilt Esimahleni kraal which had previously existed at Macala.

I do not know where my ancestors Kuguqa, Msalela, or Nomatshingila were buried. Nkobe, alias Sompisi, died *in the Emahlabatini country* at Kangela kraal.³⁹ This was in Tshaka's day, I fancy. I do not know what his regiment was.

*It is a practice in the Zulu country that when the sons of the king have intercourse with a girl they penetrate her; they do not soma externally.*⁴⁰ This is well established. Mpande's sons did this.

10 Bibi's son was Sigujana.⁴¹ [This concurs with what Tununu says: nbk. (pink) 22, p. 2.]⁴² She also had a daughter, Nomqoto, who became mother of Sokwetshata ka Myandeya ka Mbiya of the Mtetwa people.⁴³ Bibi, as has been pointed out, was daughter of Nkobe, alias Sompisi. She was *followed in age* by Nduvana, and she herself *followed after* Ndhlela, the great *induna*.

Mangati knows the name Mfokozana, though not as alias to Sigujana, though it may be. This Mfokozana (of whom) Mangati knows was a son of Senzangakona.

Nomqoto died *in the Mtetwa country, where she had married.* Nomarinqa, a girl, who *followed Mbandamama ka Ndhlela in age*, also

became a wife of Myandeya. She was summoned by Nomqoto, then wife of Myandeya. She said, 'Let a girl of the house of my maternal uncle come.' She accordingly went. Nomarinqa gave birth to a boy and a girl. I don't know their names.

Bibi was killed by Mqundane ka Nobongoza and others.⁴⁴ Mpande had said, 'Let her not be killed. I shall need to use her to rule.'⁴⁵ But Mqundane said, 'Stab her, for she was favoured over our mothers.' [For the place etc. where she was killed see 6 pp. back, p. 5.] For in Dingana's time she had become a woman of great importance at Mqungundhlovu. Mpande too intended to set her in a high position.

- 11 You must be the possessor of some beautiful virtue, like Bibi, whose star was in the ascendant whatever king happened to come into power - a saying in the Zulu country.

Bibi was Senzangakona's favourite wife; she surpassed all his other wives in favour.

A story about Manembe's death (the great doctor).

Manembe of the Gwensa people lived in the Lower Umfolozi district, perhaps at Inseleni and not far from Cetshwayo's Mangweni kraal. He was the great doctor who treated Cetshwayo's army with medicines just before his attacking and defeating Mbuyazi at Ndongakusuka.⁴⁶ Later on, Manembe's chief son, Ngulungulwana, went to Mangweni kraal to serve, being in one of the regiments. N. here got ill from a fever and died. Cetshwayo, however, did not trouble to report either the illness or his death to Manembe. M. said, 'What is Cetshwayo doing that he does not send a report to me that my child is dead? He would not have died if his illness had been reported to me.' He regretted that he had used his powers to treat Cetshwayo's army, saying, 'I would not have done it if I had known that he would see my son ill and fail to report the matter. Enough of my helping him, I who overcame Mbuyazi's doctors, Mqalana of the Nzusa and his lot!'⁴⁷

- 12 Cetshwayo heard of this, that he was complaining in this manner. He said, 'Hear, my men, Manembe is complaining, and is blaming me, saying that he will leave off doctoring my army.' His izinduna replied, 'Manembe will perhaps kill you, for he is mourning for his son.' The order was given that Manembe should be killed. A force was sent out from Mangweni. Manembe's strange powers let him know that it was coming to kill him. He told his wives to take his children and scatter while he remained alone at home. They refused, and set about cooking some food. But the food would not cook; the boiled maize no longer spattered round the hearth. The beer which they had drawn off could not be poured. The ladle would not enter the beer-pot, even though it was full; if a person tried to scoop out some beer the ladle would fly into his or her face.

- 13 The impi arrived and surrounded the homestead. He called to it from the calf pen (he was simply seated there, not hiding), 'Do you come to kill me? Because my child Ngulungulwana is dead?' That was all. He said, 'Kill me, that I may follow my child.' He said, 'Things will not prosper with you people.' Then they killed him. When the sun set he rose up, even though they had stabbed him; he rose up and spoke, saying, 'Things will not go well with you, because of my death.' That was the end. Nor did Cetshwayo's affairs prosper, as history clearly sets forth.

[Cf. snake not ceasing to wriggle till after sunset.]

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Mangati knew Cetshwayo well and often sat and conversed with him.

15.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 13-21.

Mangati proposes a Zulu name for Robert. (The name) Mdabuli (he who forces his way into the origins of things), *on account of your 'cutting through'* by asking all these things, i.e. about the far-off past - searching, exhaustive inquiry - and also *for going across the sea* [re Swazi Dept.].⁴⁸ This was proposed as a name for little Robert, I having earlier in the day asked Mangati to give him a Zulu name before he leaves today.

'Yeti!' This is used (said) when praising a girl at the performing of the *igcageca* wedding dance, before the girl had left the row of dancers but was still with the main body, and when the praises of her ancestors and her elder relatives were declaimed, followed by the *giyaing* of the warriors.⁴⁹

When a beast is about to be killed for the ancestral spirits, the expression in Zululand is not 'Yeti!' but 'Izwa-ke!' or 'Izwanini-ke!',⁵⁰ such term being addressed not to the living but to the departed, i.e. those about to be *bongwa'd*. The *bongaing* then proceeds at once.

If the king gives cattle to anyone, that person does not begin by saying 'Yeti!' or 'Izwa!' when he *bonga's*, but *bonga's* and sings eulogies right away, the occasion not being formal.

I do not know what 'Yeti!' means.

I have noticed that the term 'Bayeza!' is used as a salute among Natal chiefs. They have got away from 'Bayede!'⁵¹ I don't know why they do this.

'Bayede!' in Zululand is shouted out loudly when a large number are present to give it. If (there is) only one person he drawls or dwells on the second syllable, and salutes in a lower voice; he does not shout as would be done when many salute together.

Nomantshali.⁵² [This story incomplete.]

Nomantshali was the daughter of Sigulana of the *Bele* people, i.e. our tribe. She came from eLenge, where her people were. Thus she is one of our tribe, like Bibi. She (N.) was almost as great a royal favourite as Bibi. *She was the favourite of Mpande. On the day she died the earth shook; the mountains thundered; a person pouring milk into a gourd found that it would not go in; a woman grinding meal (inhlama) found that it scattered and could not be ground; and when boiled maize (umcaba) was being ground it too spilt.*

I did not know Nomantshali. I saw her at Mdumezulu, at the place of *Sitshwili* (a ridge), beyond *Nodwengu*.⁵³ She was of medium height and build, light-coloured, good-looking, not fat, moderately sized. She gave birth to Mtonga and *Simpoyiyana* (who was killed with her). [Mgidhlana says this name is right but it became usual to shorten it to *Mpoyiyana*.]⁵⁴ She was killed in the *Mahlabatini* country. She was at the place of *Langazana ka Gubetshe*, to which she had escaped, at *eSiklebeni*, on this side of (below) the site of *Mgungundhlovu*.⁵⁵

I do not know the origins of this affair. She was killed by *Cetshwayo*, some time after the battle of *Ndondakusuka*. Mtonga was

a grown youth (*insizwa*), of the Mbonambi age-group. I have heard it said that Nomantshali had once put a spell on Cetshwayo's mother Ngqumbazi. Ngqumbazi had left the Gqikazi umuzi at the Vrina river,⁵⁶ and had passed by Nomantshali's place at Mdumezulu. When she came to Mpande's place she lay down. The next day she was still lying down. She was ill. She began to grow a beard on her face like a man. It was said that she had been bewitched by Nomantshali, at whose place she had slept. Mpande said, 'Why did you sleep at Nomantshali's place, 16 when you have accused her of placing a love-charm on me?'

She would probably not have been stabbed. A woman was not stabbed, but had a rope put round her neck; it was then struck tighter and tighter with a stick, so throttling her.

The king took Msukile, a daughter of Ndhlela who followed Mavumengwana in age (she died last year; she was of the iNqootsho age-group), and sent her to Nomantshali. He lobola'd her with 40 cattle. She was not killed. She was maternal aunt (*uninakazi*) to Mtonga. She was placed in Mtonga's charge. She died at Mtonga's place last year.⁵⁷

A praise-name or eulogy of Nomantshali was Somapa.

My tribal *isibongo* is Bele (also, as previously explained, Ntuli); my personal praise is 'the hoe of Mpendu which hoes on the hillside'. The real signification of the tribal *isibongo* is that it is an *isitakazelo*, i.e. it is associated with happiness or gratefulness of disposition, friendliness. It may be that the tribal name is called 17 an *isibongo* because it is that which is always employed by custom when expressing thanks to another (*ukubonga*). It is that by means of which one expresses thanks, for any gift or kindness, hence *isibongo*.

Mvundhlana ka Menziwa was a great chief, and under him lived Masipula (ka Mamba ka Ntopo ka Ndaba ka Jama) of the eMgazini people (*Ntshangase - isitakazelo*) and Mdhlaka (ka Ncidi ka Ntopo ka Ndaba ka Jama) of the eMgazini people - the great *indunas* of Mpande and Tshaka respectively.⁵⁸ Masipula was formerly *inceku* of Dingana at Mgungundhlovu. My father Godide was *inceku* of Dingana in the *isigodhlo* at Mgungundhlovu. The *isigodhlo* there was called eNkwezi. My father milked the cows of the royal household.

Mvundhlana was the great head of one branch of the Zulu tribe. As time went on and they became rather distantly related to the Zulu royal house, the Zulu chief designated them as a separate group,⁵⁹ seeing they had beautiful girls, upon which Mvundhlana's people became the *Biyela*, whilst those of Masipula and Mdhlaka were called Mgazi.

I know that Senzangakona took to wife Zitshungu ka Mudhli ka Nkwelo ka Jama, and she became chief wife of eNgwegweni.⁶⁰ When the Zulu War was fought she was still chief wife there. Upon doing this, Mudhli's section became the *left-hand house of the Zulu people*, but took no special name.

18 I never saw Mvundhlana. He died at his home. Mvundhlana was a very great warrior. What he used to do was this. He would engage the enemy in battle with the rest of his regiment, and when the enemy began to flee he personally kept on and on following it and went right out of sight, upon which he would go off to the amaBele district, from where his mother Ngazi came, and there stay so long that it would be

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concluded in the Zulu country that he must have been killed.

The severe wounding of Hlati and Ndhlela in the last Zwide attack on Tshaka.⁶¹

19 The Ndwandwe came down the Geongoe ridge, passed Empandhleni, and reached the Tukela at Ndongondwana.⁶² They then turned about, climbed up the Madungela, and went down to Maqonga, below the Komo; they went along the Mvuzane towards the Mhlatusze, where they turned about and set up camp.⁶³ The Zulu watched them. The next day the Zulu approached, coming from Tshaka at eTshowe. In discussing the plan of action with Tshaka, Hlati ka Ncidi and Ndhlela ka Sompisi said, 'Do not be agitated; do not be afraid. When the enemy come to take you they will do so only after having defeated us men of the Ntontela ibuto. We shall scatter them.' Indeed at dawn the next day the armies met at Nomveve.⁶⁴ The two men fought fiercely with the enemy. As the enemy began to give way they both fell, severely wounded. They were as if dead. The enemy retreated, then broke and fled. The Ndwandwe were routed by the iNtontela and driven towards the Mhlatusze. But the two men were lying badly wounded where the fight had taken place. The Ndwandwe were utterly defeated. Ndwandwe and Zulu corpses were lying across one another where the armies had met.

20 Those who could do so returned to Tshaka, those with wounds and those without. They said, 'Hlati fought fiercely, until at last he fell. Ndhlela too fought fiercely, until at last he fell.' The king asked, 'Are they dead?' His men replied, 'They are still groaning; they are not yet dead.' The king sent out his izimbongi with oxen to call on the ancestors with praises so that the two men should recover. 'For if they die then I too am as if dead.' Indeed praises were given. The two men regained consciousness during the night; they were revived by the cold. They squatted on the ground. They were lifted up by the arms; they vomited blood. A small homestead was seen nearby; they were taken to it. Water was drawn and they were made to vomit. Blood came from their mouths. Horns were used to administer an enema to them, causing blood to flow. The king sent doctors to treat them with medicines; they vomited blood. The eventually recovered. On the king's orders they went to him at his home; they did not go to their own homes. He treated them with medicines and they recovered; they survived their wounds. A large present of cattle was given to them. The king said to Ndhlela, 'What is your elder brother's homestead called, then?' He answered, 'It is called eManwe-leri.' Tshaka said, 'No. Let that name be dropped. I now name the homestead eManxebeni, after the wounds (amanxeba) which the Ndwandwe gave you. Go and set up a homestead, and establish yourself with these cattle. Bring up the child Sonsukwana, of your elder brother, Gqwatshaza.'⁶⁵

Hlati followed in age after Ndhlaludaka; he was father of Madwaba. [This man Madwaba was a very good imbongi: see Mangati's remarks re him where he is dealing with izibongo in separate paper.]⁶⁶

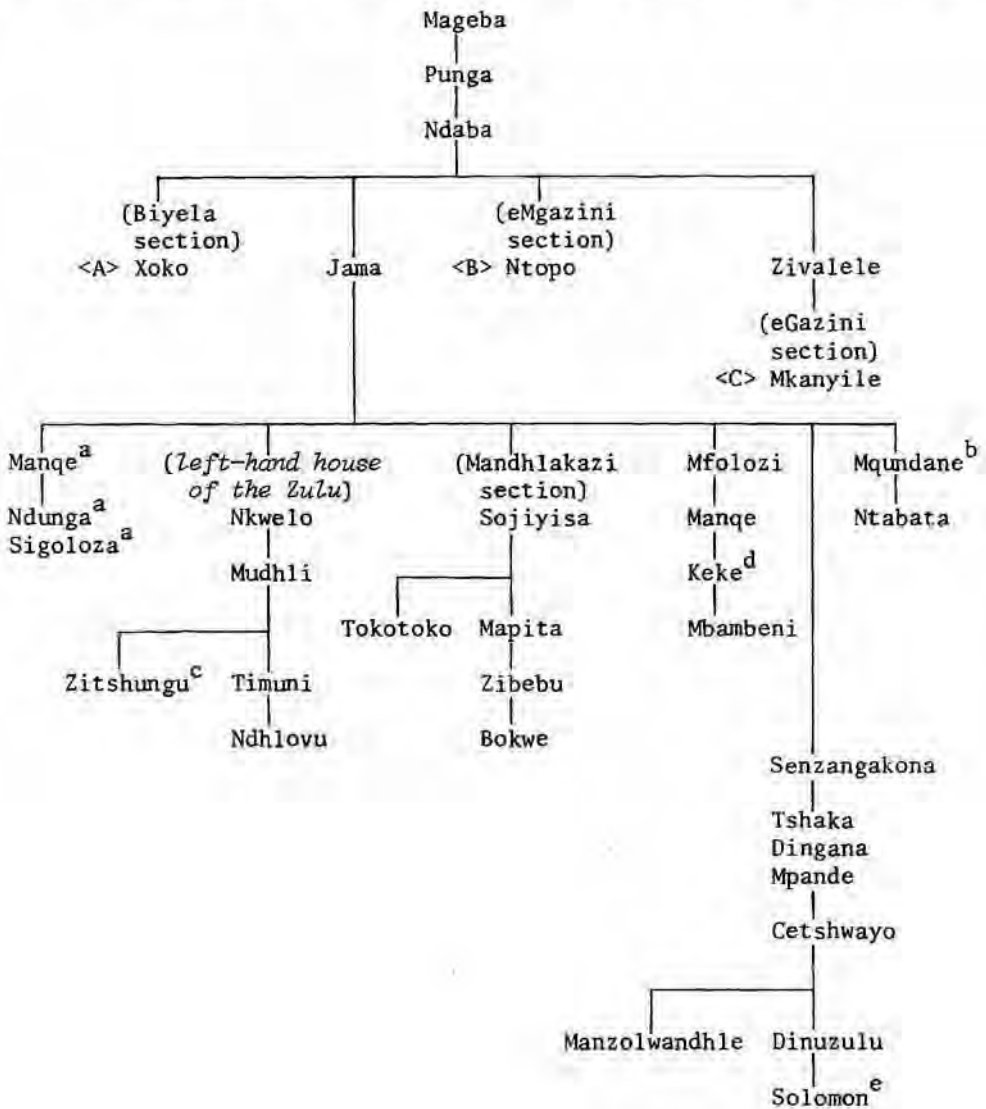
21 [Mangati catches the 4.25 p.m. train to Pietermaritzburg (15.6.1920), he having come to Pietermaritzburg in connection with Ntulizwe's case - now declared head of Ndhlela's section of the Ntuli tribe. I asked him to get Mantshonga and Mazimu, living near Empandhleni, to come down to me at once. I promise to pay. Both are said

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to be exceptionally good *izimbongi* of Biyela affairs.]

My own impression of the genealogy of the Zulu tribe, based partly on Mangati's information:

<The genealogy given by Stuart at this point in the original was clearly built up from information supplied by a number of different informants over a period of time. It includes numerous arrowed insertions and supplementary notes. For typographical reasons, certain relationships, which in the original are indicated by conventional genealogical descent lines, are here indicated by the use of the symbols A, B, and C. Repetitious information has been omitted - eds.>



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Biyela

Ntombela

eGazini - this was *the washing enclosure of the king*, maybe Senzangakona or Tshaka. Mbopa ka Sitayi of the eGazini - so-called after he had stabbed Tshaka.

29.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 22-3.

22 Mangati continues.

The Mandhlakazi were not originally formed into a separate section (*datshulwa'd*) by the Zulu kings. The name was of one of Mapita's kraals, and a district seems to have adopted that name. The kraal had been erected in honour of his grandfather. At Ndondakusuka it was the Mandhlakazi section which caused Mbuyazi's men to break. This fine action caused the name to develop so as to connote all Mapita's tribe.

The Mandhlakazi were later on separated off by Dinuzulu on the occasion of some beer being sent him (at Usutu)⁶⁸ by Mahu ka Tokotoko ka Sojiyisa. A large number of girls went. These girls, after sitting for some time with the prince, left the prince's hut (i.e. those related by blood), except Mahayihayi, Mahu's daughter, and some girls of ordinary people. Dinuzulu questioned her. (Dinuzulu was looking for a girl he could sleep with that night. He asked Mahayihayi why, being a 'sister' of his, she did not leave with his other 'sisters'.⁶⁹ She replied, 'So you are rejecting me too, even though I am available to you?' She then quoted a case where one of her tribe, a son of Hayiyana, had had illicit intercourse with Ndabuko's daughter, who died before childbirth.⁷⁰ D. said, 'This dying was proof of doing wrong.' 'Yes,' said M. 'Their intercourse was illegally and secretly done, knowing it to be wrong. In our case it would not be so.' Mahayihayi married D. and had a daughter by him. She is living.) She said she belonged to the Mhlabangubo people, meaning that Zibebu, her great uncle, had attacked and actually stabbed Cetshwayo at Ulundi.⁷¹ Because of this stabbing of the king, so this Mandhlakazi section was regarded by her as having become an independent tribe, with its name as proposed by her, just as, in the case of Tshaka's being stabbed by Mbopa ka Sitayi, the latter's tribal name from thenceforth became eGazini,⁷² that (iGazi) being the name of a small kraal of the king (possibly Senzangakona or Tshaka) just outside one of his big kraals, where he used to wash with *love medicines*. (*The enclosure where the king washes.*)

23 Mahayihayi's father afterwards sent to ask Dinuzulu about his having slept with her, pointing out she was his 'sister'. Dinuzulu pointed out that the girl had herself stated she belonged to a different tribe on account of Zibebu having stabbed Cetshwayo. ('We stabbed the chief.') After this Mahayihayi became Dinuzulu's wife, he then being said to have separated off the Mandhlakazi tribe.

Mapita had three leading kraals: Ekuvukeni, Enkungwini, Ekuxedeni.

30.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 23-7.

During one of his campaigns Tshaka saw a little hill which was situated up the Bivana river (between it and the Pongolo).⁷³ He liked the way in which it rose directly out of the plain. When his army was on its way home he ordered it to go and dig up the hill and carry it back, so that he could use it as his seat at home. He said that he would review his troops while seated on it. His izinduna said, 'Nkosi, never will your men be able to dig out the hill and carry it; they would die. The earth is too heavy. You would have to return home alone, for all your men would have been killed by the weight of the earth.' So the idea was abandoned.

This hill was pointed out to me by Vusindhlu [Dick A.'s induna]⁷⁴ ka Mqandi ka Mtshana of the eziBisini people on the occasion of my visiting him. He at the same time told me its story. This hill is about 20-25 feet high, and is flattish on top. Tshaka climbed up this hill and sat on it.

24 Mapita was rather short. I saw him at eNkungwini, his kraal. I was mat-bearer to Msuduka ka Nduvana. He was dark brown in colour, almost shiny black. He was no longer able to go to konza Mpande. He was of the Wombe, the great induna of this regiment being Nduvana of our tribe.

I never saw Nduvana. He was killed at Maqongqo with Ndhlela. [In 1839.]⁷⁵

The mother of Mpumela (Nompoya) and the mother of Mavumengwana (Sogidi) married Mondise, Dingiswayo's chief son.⁷⁶ They were seized by Tshaka's impi. The king gave them to Ndhlela, the great warrior, as wives, of which he had four. Three of them were daughters of the same man.

Solomon, alias Nkayitshana, named after a certain white man at St. Helena where Dinuzulu was [wrong; it was after Nzibe], (was called) Mapumuzana, because the Zulu people rested after the capture of Dinuzulu.⁷⁷ That is, they did not want him any more, for they allowed him to be caught, and in so doing obtained rest or cessation from fighting.

Cetshwayo gave Dinuzulu his name because the Zulu people did not like him, that is Cetshwayo.⁷⁸ Not all the Zulu people gave praise to Cetshwayo; some of them spoke evil of him.

25 We Ntuli tribe don't dabulana, i.e. don't intermarry. For instance, if we did dabulana we should be intermarrying with Mgeni (Mbuzo's) people.⁷⁹ Their old chief was Sogweba ka Masekwana, now Velapansi (living). But we don't. No son of mine would intermarry with these people, and particularly not with Mavumengwana's nor Mpumela's.

It is looked on as incest to intermarry with even distant members of the same tribe. We look on it as marrying one's sister.

Those not regarded as a separate people among the Zulus are the Mkanyile people and the Sitayi people, both of the eGazini people. They are called eGazini because they are of the igazi, as they stabbed the king. Igazi was the name of the enclosure where the king washed.

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The people of Maqoboza, alias Mqundane, the father of Ntabata (dead) of the Imboza regiment are of the Zulu tribe. These two were not separated off. They live between Hamu and Masipula.⁸⁰

The abakwaNongcanga people, i.e. eGazini. The abakwaMkasana (Ndabezita). The abakwaManqe ka Mfolozi ka Jama. These have not been separated off as yet, all being the names of old Zulu men.

The story of Tshaka and the *umtakati*. [See what Mandhlakazi gave on 9.1.1921; see light green nbk., pp. 14, 15.]⁸¹

26 Once, at the royal kraal Bulawayo, a man was caught *takataing* someone of the *umpakati* during the night.⁸² He was arrested. The matter was reported to Tshaka, who expressed great surprise that anything of that sort should go on in his kraal, and directed the culprit to be brought before him. 'Is it a fact that you *takata*?' said Tshaka. 'Yes, Sir, it is.' 'How is this?' 'Sir, it is in consequence of having been inoculated when a child by my father to the end that I should follow this practice. He inoculated me on the anus.' 'Well then,' said Tshaka, 'now that you are about to die, say what things of surpassing beauty you leave behind on earth.' 'In the first place, oh son of Senzangakona,' replied the poor wretch, 'I leave the king whom, merely to converse with face to face, is an inexpressive delight; next, the smile of a little child that has just learnt to sit up by itself; and lastly, the young shoot of a mealie plant, to look on which is enchanting, especially when seen with one's head brought so as to view the tops of a whole field.'

27 Tshaka, pleased with the man's compliment to himself, then directed that he was to be taken away and *have the place where he had been inoculated* excised, whilst his medicines, particularly those which he had, on Tshaka asking him, pointed out as what he poisoned others with, were to be taken and burnt, and their ashes strewn on the Umhlatuze river to be carried off towards the sea. The excision was accordingly made and the medicine destroyed. The man was thereupon allowed to live. Never again did he resort to his former practices; the king's treatment had cured him completely.

The name of the man is unknown.

Mangati refers to the story of Gcugcwa, though does not relate it, there being no time.⁸³

[I asked Mangati to return with Mantshonga and Mazimu. He expects to come back about six weeks hence. 30.6.1920.]

In the separating off of a section of a chiefdom (*dabulaing*) there must be shedding of blood, i.e. violence. As regards a girl, she is *deflowered* with the penis, which is regarded as like an *assegai*, for it draws blood; (the same) as regards a king or chief, when assassinated or wounded by some portion of his own tribe. In each case, there being effusion of blood, there is *dabulaing* or creation of a new order, separation from the parent tribe, after which intermarriage may lawfully occur.

It does not follow that all chiefs of tribes *dabula* sooner or later. The Ntuli chiefs, for instance, as Mangati explains, do not observe this custom; hence, with even so distantly related a portion of the Ntuli tribe as Mbuzo ka Mngeni's there is no intermarriage with the principal part of the tribe to which Mangati belongs.

15.12.1920

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 7-10.

- 7 Mangati ka Godide, *isibongo* Ntuli.
 'Sikiti! I swear by Sikiti!' This was said by the men of former times. I have heard them so making oaths, but I do not know the origin of the name. I know it refers to Tshaka.⁸⁴
- <Notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>
- 8 A song sung when young people were holding an *ijadu* dancing competition.⁸⁵

O, ha, o, he has many cattle!
 They are being aggressive towards one another,
 You of our maternal uncle!
 I shall take mine tomorrow.
 I am speaking of that yonder,
 Of which you no longer know.
 He is speaking of that yonder,
 Of which you no longer know.
 And yet it is you who know of it.^a
 O, ha, o!
 He has many cattle,
 You of our maternal uncle,
 I shall take another war-shield,
 I am speaking of that yonder,
 Of which you no longer know,
 And yet it is you who know of it.

^aA reference to the succession, when Cetshwayo became Mpande's heir. Mbuyazi did not know that Cetshwayo was the heir, for his father still said that it was Mbuyazi. He was setting them on to fight.

- This was Cetshwayo's *isisuso*, accompanied by the clapping of hands when dancing was taking place.⁸⁶ That is where the dispute between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi began in 1856. There was talk of there being an *ijadu* dance between the two parties, so that they might compete with each other. There was a cry of 'Oxixiri! We are dying of laughter.' This was the accompaniment of the song, which the girls cried out as they stood behind. 'Oxixiri' was intended as a derogatory name of Mbuyazi's party. The dance was not, I believe, held, but Cetshwayo's party practised the song given above.
- 9 I was a mat-bearer at this time, carrying mats for Msuduka ka Nduvana who followed after Ndhlela in age.

Mpande gave Cetshwayo a shield made from hide of the *indhlelo* side (i.e. the side onto or into which a beast eats), whilst Mbuyazi was given a shield made from the hide of the *inxeba* side.⁸⁷ Mpande killed an ox, one that was black, with patches on the inside of the hind legs and up as far as the top of the legs. It was called an *waba* beast.⁸⁸ It was killed at Nodwengu. Mpande intended that the two of them should fight each other to the death so that he could then designate as his heir Mtonga, son of his wife Nomantshali.

- When Mpande crossed into Natal the Boers asked who his heir was.⁸⁹ He said, 'What do you intend to do to him?' They replied, 'We shall cut an identifying mark on him so that if Dingana kills you we shall
- 10

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recognize the heir whom you indicate to us.' He indicated to them that Cetshwayo was his heir, upon which they cut a mark on him. They asked about Mbuyazi. 'What is his status?' Mpande said, 'I fathered him with Monase, who was an ingodosi girl of Tshaka.'⁹⁰ They enquired about Tshonkwenti, who was of the same age-grade as Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi (they were all fathered at the same time). Again Mpande accounted for him by name, saying, 'I fathered him with an ingodosi of Dingana.' They enquired about Hamu. Mpande replied, 'I fathered him for Nzibe, who is dead.' (He was not involved in the succession dispute.) Nzibe died in Sotshangana's country on one of Tshaka's campaigns.

Nzibe, Mpande, and Ntikili (a girl) were next to one another in age; they had the same mother. Ntikili married Mayanda, and bore Somkele.⁹¹

14.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, p. 16.

- 16 'They are returning, the ones of Mgungundhlovu whose fighting sticks are red with blood!' - a praise of the Mgungundhlovu cattle when coming home to be milked.

22.1.1921, Saturday.

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 16-20.

- 17 Mawa was a daughter of Jama, like Mnkabayi and Mmama. I do not know whom she married, if she was married. She built on the Ntonteleni kraal site, i.e. in the district round about that kraal. And this district is the one on which Gingindhlovu was built by Cetshwayo.⁹² She built at Ntonteleni during Dingana's reign. [See Gardiner, Journey to Zoolu Country, pp. 116, 143, 144.]

I do not know the difference that arose between her and Mpande, but Mawa crossed into Natal with a considerable section of the people. Mpande, seeing this, at once sent the Izingulube regiment to put a stop to the exodus. This regiment accordingly killed a number of people who proposed eloping, and so prevented the exodus from being larger than it was. The Ingulube regiment established themselves in a kraal at that part (eNtonteleni).

Gqugqu was a child of Senzangakona (or Jama). I am not sure. Nor am I sure if this child was girl or boy. [It was a boy.]⁹³

She, Mawa, crossed into Dukuza (Stanger) district, and later went to live inland of Verulam, i.e. at Ndwedwe, where she died. She was accompanied by Makobosi, my grandfather, Ndhlela's principal *induna*. Makobosi's father was Xube of the Ndhlovu tribe.

- 18 <Praises of Makobosi omitted - eds.>

I never saw Makobosi. I was born just after the crossing over of Makobosi with Mawa and I am of the iNdhlyengwe regiment.

Makobosi crossed with Mawa seeing that Ndhlela had been killed by Mpande at Maqongqo. Makobosi was sent for by Mpande, who approved of his having looked after his aunt Mawa, but Makobosi objected to returning on the ground that he would be put to death for having caused Mawa to desert and to cross into Natal. That, at any rate, was his belief as to what would happen. Hence he remained and died in Natal,

near the Mhloti river. His chief son may have been Manepu, who I know was under Mbozane in Ndwedwe District.⁹⁴ Nonguba and Mngwazi were other prominent sons of Makobosi.

19 [See Bird, *Annals*, i, 97, re death of Tshaka.]

Mxamama ka Ntendeka (alias Sotshaya) ka Sotshungotshe of the *Sibisi* people - a favourite of Tshaka.⁹⁵ It is said this man, whilst seated in the assembly before Tshaka, would suddenly look up at the sky as vultures were flying overhead. Tshaka, seeing him looking up, would say, 'What does the thing of Sotshaya say now?' Upon which he would say, 'I am looking at the vultures. I think they are hungry; they have come to attend the assembly.' Then people would be put to death and the vultures fed.

The Ndongande was in the bush country on a ridge running towards the Mhlatusé. This was the name of a donga. This was a large and deep donga where people were killed.

Mxamama would be disappointed if people were not put to death. It would be said to him, 'Go away. Matters are quiet; there is no weighty business today' (i.e. none are to be caught and sacrificed).

One of Mxamama's duties was to close all the gates of the *isi-godhlo*, for he was one of those responsible for keeping watch.

20 Tshaka copied Mxamama in himself, saying on other occasions, 'The vultures are hungry; they have come to attend the assembly; therefore they must be given food,' upon which men would be killed.

Notes

¹For a variant version of this descent line see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 126. Ndlela was one of Dingane's chief *izinduna*. His chief son Godide was killed in Zibhebhu's attack on Cetshwayo's oNdini *umuzi* in July 1883. Senzangakhona, father of Shaka, was chief of the Zulu in the early nineteenth century.

²Formed in the late 1860s of youths born in the late 1840s.

³Before his appointment as Secretary for Native Affairs in 1876, John Shepstone, brother of Theophilus, had spent nine years in Greytown as resident magistrate of Umvoti county. Stuart's father, Martinus, was clerk and Dutch interpreter in the Umvoti county court from 1868 to 1878.

⁴The Mamba stream flows into the Thukela twenty kilometres east of present-day Kranskop village. The Mfongosi flows into the Thukela ten kilometres north-west of Jameson's Drift. The amaCala hill lies ten kilometres north-east of Jameson's Drift and overlooks the Manyane stream.

⁵Dingane's chief *umuzi*.

⁶Cf. the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly line given by Bryant in *Olden Times*, p. 406.

⁷The Nsuze river enters the Thukela twenty kilometres north-east of Kranskop.

⁸Sivivi's evidence will appear in a later volume of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁹The Middle Drift (ford) over the Thukela was situated twenty kilometres north-east of Kranskop village.

¹⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 78, gives um-Coboko (*umchoboko*) as 'scrofula,

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- showing itself gen. in glandular-swelling, body-sores etc.'.
- ¹*Ukudabuka kwegoda* in the original, an expression used to refer to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839.
 - ²The kwaKhomu hill lies twenty kilometres south-east of present-day Nkandla village on the road between Nkandla and Eshowe.
 - ³The place of execution near Dingane's Mgungundlovu *umuzi*.
 - ⁴USungulo (loc. oSungulweni) is a hill near the source of the Mamba stream.
 - ⁵The notes within parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Socwatsha was another of Stuart's informants.
 - ⁶An exclamation of joy.
 - ⁷Nduvana is presumably the 'Ndwane' whom Bryant gives as Ndlela's brother: see *Olden Times*, p. 60.
 - ⁸Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli was one of Dingane's chief *isinduna*.
 - ⁹For a variant account of the execution of Nzobo by the Boers in January 1840 see Delegorgue's *Voyage* as cited in Bird, ed., *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 571.
 - ²⁰*Ibhele* (or *umbhelenja*) is a 'square of skin worn hanging as a frontal dress (in place of the *isinene*, by men, and sometimes by girls when in "un-dress" within their homes, or as part of adornment for a wedding)': see Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 32.
 - ²¹Ilinge (loc. eLenge) is a prominent hill twenty kilometres west of present-day Pomeroy.
 - ²²For other references to Ntuli cannibals led by Mahlaphahlapha in the time of Dingane, see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 58, 347, *Zulu History*, pp. 35-7; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 299, 302.
 - ²³The original reads '... *behla nge silulu*', which literally means by means of, or on account of, a grain basket. The historical connotations of this phrase are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 20-2, and *Dictionary*, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 467.
 - ²⁴Ndaba and Jama are usually given as grandfather and father respectively of Senzangakhona.
 - ²⁵An *inkatha* is a grass coil placed on the head for carrying a load. The *inkatha yezwe*, literally 'the grass coil of the nation', was a ritually made coil which was kept in the king's great hut. The unity of the kingdom was believed to depend on its preservation. See *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 40-1; Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 475-7; Krige, *Social System*, pp. 243-4.
 - ²⁶Bhambatha kaMancinza was chief of the Zondi living in the Mpanza valley near Greytown. He was a principal figure in the disturbances which took place in Natal and Zululand in 1906.
 - ²⁷Sigananda kaSokufa was chief of the Cube people in the Nkandla district. He was prominent in the disturbances of 1906.
 - ²⁸For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa*, pp. 120-32; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
 - ²⁹Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane in the time of Shaka.
 - ³⁰In the lists of Ntuli and Bhele sections that follow, the first name on each line is that of the founder of the section. Of the personages mentioned in the Ntuli list, we have been able to identify Mavumengwana, Mphumela, and Godide as sons of Ndlela; and Mfungelwa

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- and Mloketwa as sons of Mavumengwana and Mphumela respectively.
- ³¹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 60, gives Zinti as the son of the left-hand house of Ndlela.
- ³²Presumably what Stuart means to indicate here is that after Godide's death (in 1883: see note 1 above) his brother Mphumela succeeded to the leadership of this section of the Ntuli.
- ³³The amaQongqo hills north of the upper Mkhuze river were the scene of Dingane's defeat at the hands of Mpande's forces in January 1840.
- ³⁴In 1883.
- ³⁵Empandleni is a hill near present-day Nkandla village. Mawa, daughter of Mpande's grandfather Jama, fled with a following to Natal in 1843, not 1842.
- ³⁶I.e. at the magistrate's court.
- ³⁷*Isiwa samanqe*, literally the cliff of vultures, and Ndulinde are hills west of present-day Gingindlovu. Dlokweni is a locality on the lower Thukela.
- ³⁸The Khabele people lived in the Thukela valley north-west of Ntunjambili (Kranskop) mountain.
- ³⁹The emaHlabathini country, which lay on either side of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi river, was the locality where many of the Zulu royal *imizi* were built. KwaKhangelana was one of Shaka's *imizi*.
- ⁴⁰*Ukusoma* was the practice of pre-marital external intercourse.
- ⁴¹Sigujana succeeded his father Senzangakhona as chief of the Zulu, but was shortly afterwards assassinated at the instigation of his brother Shaka.
- ⁴²Tununu's evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Papers.
- ⁴³Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 203.
- ⁴⁴Nobongoza was a son of Jama and brother of Senzangakhona. His son Mqandane was thus a cousin of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 356.
- ⁴⁵The original reads, '*Ng'i yo busa ngaye*'.
- ⁴⁶In 1856.
- ⁴⁷Mqalane of the Nzuza people was an *inyanga* who treated the army before it went to war in the time of Senzangakhona and Shaka: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 57, 204-5, 226, 588; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 184-5.
- ⁴⁸Stuart accompanied a Swazi delegation to London in 1894. We have been unable to identify the 'Robert' here referred to.
- ⁴⁹On the *igcagca* wedding dance see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 548.
- ⁵⁰Literally, 'Hear!'
- ⁵¹A salutation reserved for the Zulu king.
- ⁵²One of Mpande's wives, whose sons Mthonga and Mgidlana were feared by Cetshwayo as possible rivals for the royal succession.
- ⁵³EmDomezulu and kwaNodwengu were *imizi* of Mpande, situated north of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- ⁵⁴This note occurs in the original as a marginal insertion. The evidence of Mgidlana, one of Nomantshali's sons, will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁵⁵Langazana, a wife of Senzangakhona, lived in the isiKlebhe *umuzi* near the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi in the reigns of Mpande and Cetshwayo. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 49-51; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 12.
- ⁵⁶The royal *imizi* in the iVuna valley were located to the west and

- south-west of present-day Nongoma.
- ⁵⁷Mthonga was chief of a section of the Zulu in the Eshowe district.
- ⁵⁸Mvundlana was of the Biyela people who, like the emGazini, were closely related to the Zulu royal line. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39-40; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 29, 356. In genealogies of the Zulu royal line Ndaba is usually given as the father, not the son, of Jama.
- ⁵⁹The original has '... the Zulu chief *dabula'd* them'.
- ⁶⁰The genealogical relationship between Senzangakhona and Mudli is uncertain: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 46, 48, 123. Ngwegweni was one of the Zulu royal *imizi* in Mpande's time.
- ⁶¹Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe. The struggle between Zwide and Shaka took place c.1818-c.1819.
- ⁶²The Gcongco ridge lies on the north bank of the Mhlathuze river to the south of present-day Melmoth. Empandleni is the hill on which Nkandla village is situated. Ndondondwane is a locality on the Thukela about the present-day Middle Drift.
- ⁶³The amaDungela are hills on the north bank of the Thukela near Middle Drift. Kwakhomo hill lies further to the north-east on a spur of the Nkandla range. The Mvuzane stream flows from this spur into the middle reaches of the Mhlathuze.
- ⁶⁴KwaNomveve is a locality situated between the Mvuzane stream and the Ntumeni heights to the south.
- ⁶⁵Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 60.
- ⁶⁶We have not been able to trace the paper referred to.
- ⁶⁷It is not made clear in the original whether Madwaba was a son of Ndlaludaka or of Hlathi.
- ⁶⁸Dinuzulu's principal *umuzi*, located near Nongoma.
- ⁶⁹As a great-granddaughter of Sojiyisa, a son of Jama, Mahayihayi was a member of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house, and was therefore considered a 'sister' of Dinuzulu. Cf. Bryant's account in Olden Times, p. 73.
- ⁷⁰Hayiyana was son of the Mandlakazi chief Maphitha kaSojiyisa. Ndabuko was a son of Mpande.
- ⁷¹The name Mhlabangubo literally means 'stabber of the cloak'. The reference is to the attack made in 1883 on Cetshwayo's homestead uluNdi by the Mandlakazi under Zibhebhu kaMaphitha. During his flight after the battle Cetshwayo was wounded by men of Zibhebhu's force.
- ⁷²The reference is to the assassination of Shaka at his Dukuza *umuzi* in 1828. Mbopha kaSithayi, who belonged to a section of the Zulu royal house, was one of his assassins.
- ⁷³The Bivane river flows into the Phongolo east of present-day Paulpietersburg.
- ⁷⁴Dick A. was probably R.H. Addison, Chief Native Commissioner for Natal and Zululand from 1913 until his retirement in 1915. (Information from J.P.C. Laband.)
- ⁷⁵The defeat of Dingane's forces by those of Mpande at the amaQongqo hills north of the upper Mkhuze river took place in January 1840.
- ⁷⁶Dingiswayo was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century. Mphumela and Mavumengwana were sons of Ndlela.
- ⁷⁷Solomon, alias Nkayishana or Maphumuzana, succeeded to the chiefship of the uSuthu section of the Zulu in 1916 after the death of his father Dinuzulu in 1913. Dinuzulu was held in captivity on St.

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- Helena from 1890 to 1898 after being found guilty of leading a 'rebellion' against British authority in Zululand in 1888. Nzibe was a son of Senzangakhona who died on the Zulu campaign against Soshangane in 1828. The name Maphumuzana derives from the verb *ukuphuma*, to give rest.
- ⁷⁸The name Dinuzulu derives from the verb *ukudina*, to become tired, and the noun *uZulu*, the Zulu people.
- ⁷⁹I.e. Mbuzo's section of the Ntuli people living in the Nkandla district.
- ⁸⁰Maqoboza, alias Mqundane, is variously given as a son or grandson of Jama: see the genealogy on p. 210 above, and Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 356. Hamu was a son of Mpande; Masiphula kaMamba of the emGazini section of the Zulu royal house was one of Mpande's chief *izinduna*. Hamu's territory lay on the upper reaches of the Mkhuze river, Masiphula's further to the east.
- ⁸¹Mandhlakazi's (Mandlakazi's) evidence appears in the present volume.
- ⁸²The precise meaning attributed to *umpakati* (*umphakathi*) varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counsellors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 643, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinduna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati".'
- ⁸³Gcugcwa was famous in Zulu lore for a riposte which he made in answer to Shaka when taken before the king for stealing royal cattle. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 497-8.
- ⁸⁴Sikithi, i.e. the Finisher-off, was one of Shaka's praise-names.
- ⁸⁵On the *ijadu* dance see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 567-8. The original of the song recorded by Stuart reads as follows:
- O - Ha - o a nga nkomo!
 Izibindi zi ya nkwana,
 Wena ka malume!
 Ngi ya wu tat' esami ngomuso
 Ngitsho nga lokuya!
 O nga sa kwaziyo.
 Utsho nga lokuya
 O nga sa kwaziyo
 Kanti weni' okwaziyo
 O! Ha - o
 A nga nkomo
 Wena ka malume
 Ngi ya wu tat' esinye isihlangu
 Ngitsho nga lokuya
 O nga sa kwaziyo.
 Kanti weni' okwaziyo.

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- ⁸⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 602, gives *isisuso* as a 'certain kind of quick, spirited dance....'
- ⁸⁷The *indlelo* is the side of a slaughtered beast opposite the side with the stab-wound in it. The latter, the *inxeba* side, is the more prized and is a perquisite of the chief or some favoured person. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 101.
- ⁸⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 691, gives *iwaba* as a 'black ox...with a white patch under the belly and running slightly up the flanks or about the stump of the tail....'
- ⁸⁹The reference is to Mpande's flight to the Republic of Natalia in 1839.
- ⁹⁰*Ingodosi* (*ingoduso*) normally denotes a 'betrothed girl, who has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding': see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 188.
- ⁹¹Mayanda (Malanda) and Somkhele were successive chiefs of the Mkhwanazi people.
- ⁹²I.e. in the south-east of the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁹³Gqugqu, a son of Senzangakhona, was put to death by his elder brother Mpande in 1843.
- ⁹⁴Mbozana was chief of the Ngongoma people in the Inanda district. See the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 482.
- ⁹⁵On Nomxamama see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 595, 667.

MANGOYA KA MGEJANA

<31.12.1913?>

File 63, item 2a, pp. 44-8.

Also present: Mahlezana?

- 44 Mangoya ka Mgejana ka Gawu of the *Manqe* people. Mahlezana ka Mabedu ka Myayeya of the *Nwandwe* people.¹
- Mangoya says: I am of the Mboza regiment.² We camped first at the Mandeni on the Tugela side of Ndulinde.³ The Mandeni is a stream. *The maize was growing tassels* at this time. We did not fight for a day after reaching the Mandeni. On the day of the fight we formed a circle, the Abaqulusi, Ndabakawombe, Ndhlonhlo, Tulwana, Sangqu, Imdhlenevu (alias Ingwegwe), Izingulube.⁴ After these regiments clashed with Mbuyazi's men, the latter repulsed them. The Usutu⁵ section did not join in the first attack. The companies (*amaziba*) attacked first; the *isibay' esikulu*, i.e. the Usutu proper, were held back.⁶ After these were repulsed, the Ndabakawombe (*amaKala*) were sent. This regiment was repulsed; then the Mandhlakazi⁷ was sent and defeated Mbuyazi. Matsheni and Sikizane were *izinduna* of the Mandhlakazi. Hayiyana and Hlomuza, sons of Mapita, were present. Matsheni and Sikizane were in chief command.
- John Dunn,⁸ after firing, retired. Upon this the whole of Cetshwayo's *impi* chased Mbuyazi's lot, after rattling the shafts of their assegais against their shields. The shields were raised slightly and were struck with the shafts of the assegais.
- Mbuyazi's section burnt the grass. This was done to indicate the mark beyond which they would not go - their last stand. We came up to the burnt grass and drove them back to the Tugela, to Dhlokweni and Ndongakusuka. The river was full. There had been rain during the night whilst we were at Ndulinde. After chasing them off, we ate the cattle.
- 46 Cetshwayo had on his black loin-cover of the skin of the silver jackal, and his buttock-cover of genet skin. He had a black shield with a white patch at the side. He had on his head a band of otter skin, with tassels of blue monkey skin, and a crane feather. The crane feather was given to the amaMboza and Ndhlonhlo regiments. He also had a gun that took cartridges. (He knew how to shoot; he shot buffalo and bucks.) He walked in the midst of the companies of men (*anaviyo*).

There was a mock hunt.⁹ It was Mpande who told this hunting party to go out. He did not intend really to hunt, although some hunting, would occur, but each party took out *imbumbulayo*,

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47 i.e. large shields - hunting proper is done with *amarau*.¹⁰ Mpande had nominated Mbuyazi, and his directing *the hunt* to take place was to bring about a fight, as it was well known that *the Zulu succession is secured by fighting, not by nomination.*

.... <Praises of Cetshwayo(?) omitted - eds.>

The hunt went down to Mpila hill near the Black Umfolozi, south bank. Mbuyazi's men did not come out. They *laid down their equipment* and returned home. It was after *the hunt* that Mbuyazi was given Ndulinde, Nongalaza's people at Nyoni, so as to increase his people.¹¹

48 It was J. Dunn and his iziNqobo¹² who helped to repulse the first attack. [See p. 37.]¹³ I don't know where Mbuyazi died. Mxamana (of the Ndabakawombe) ka Mabili of the Mtetwa people. (Mabili was Jobe's son.)¹⁴ Mxamana *stabbed* Mbulazi.

Songiya ka Mponswa of the *Hlabisa* people was mother of Mpande. [Baleni ka Silwana says Songiya's father was Ngotsha, and Mgidhlana ka Mpande says so too.]¹⁵

Mtekelezi ka Lokotwayo ka Somfula ka Mponswa ka Holizibi ka Mdinwa of the *Hlabisa* people.

Notes

- ¹We have been unable to identify any of the persons here named. The Manqele were an offshoot of the Ndwandwe people.
- ²Or Thulwana, formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.
- ³A hill twenty kilometres west of present-day Gingindlovu. The informant is describing events leading up to the battle of Ndondakusuka fought between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbulazi near the mouth of the Thukela in December 1856.
- ⁴Of the *amabutho* here listed, the abaQulusi constituted a territorially based unit, as distinct from the age-based units commonly formed in the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁵The name uSuthu, which eventually came to be applied to all who identified with the cause of Cetshwayo, seems here to refer to the people living under Cetshwayo's immediate jurisdiction.
- ⁶The term *isibaya esikhulu*, literally 'the great enclosure', was used to denote the fighting men attached to the principal residence of a chief or king. See *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 310, 311.
- ⁷The name for the people under the immediate jurisdiction of Maphitha kaSojiyisa, whose house was closely related to the Zulu royal house. Maphitha lived in the north-east of the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁸A white hunter and trader who fought in the battle on Mbuyazi's side. He later rose to prominence in the Zulu kingdom under the patronage of Cetshwayo. For an outline of his career see *Dictionary of S.A. Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 260-2.
- ⁹The incident here described took place some time before the Ndondakusuka battle.
- ¹⁰*Ihawu* (pl. *amahawu*) is a type of small shield.
- ¹¹Present-day Nyoni railway station is situated fifteen kilometres

south-west of Gingindlovu. Nongalaza kaNondela of the Nyandwini people was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*. In Dingane's time his great *umuzi* was situated near present-day Mandeni station (Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 136).

¹²The name given to John Dunn's adherents.

¹³The reference is to the evidence of Maxibana, which appears elsewhere in the present volume.

¹⁴Jobe kaKhayi was chief of the Mthethwa people in the late eighteenth century.

¹⁵For Baleni's evidence see Stuart Archive, vol. 1. Mgidlana's evidence will appear in a later volume.

MANKULUMANA KA SOMAPUNGA

14.9.1905, afternoon.

File 62, nbk. 80, p. 10.

Also present: another?

10 I met Mankulumana ka Somapunga ka Zwide ka Langa,¹ Dinuzulu's *induna*, also another *old man*.

Mankulumana says that Qwabe and Zulu's mother was Nozidiya.² She had a quantity of *amabele*. People used to come and buy from her. She got a *dark-brown beast* in exchange for the *amabele*, and this beast gave birth to a number of white or whitish beasts. Either the *dark-brown* beast was given by Nozidiya to her younger son Zulu, or some of its progeny. Qwabe, seeing Zulu favoured, accordingly separated; hence the separation between the Qwabe and Zulu tribes.

Tshingana³ ka Mpande is well up in Zulu history.

Notes

¹Mankulumana was a younger son of Somaphunga of the Ndwandwe chiefly house. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 161, 213. A photograph of Mankulumana is reproduced in Stuart, *uHlangakula*, p. 12.

²Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 19, 25, gives the mother's name as Nozinja.

³Another of Stuart's informants.

MANYONYANA KA NSUNGULO

23.10.1921, Sunday.

File 58, nbk. 21, pp. 22-5.

Also present: Cumezana

- 22 Manyonyana ka Nsungulo ka Ntobolongwana ka Matshwayibana ka Dhlaba ka Mavovo ka Tshukulase ka Duluzana of the *amaCube* people.¹ Manyonyana is of the Mavalana regiment, born when Cetshwayo and Zibebu fought at oNdini [1884].² (He is) about 5 ft. 8 in. (tall), dark, given to smiling, (and has) no heading. (He is) accompanied by Cumezana ka Ndube ka Manqondo.³
- The dispute between Ntobolongwana and Sigananda of the Cube people.*⁴
- Matshwayibana ka Dhlaba (the latter was chief of the Cube people at Nkandhla) fathered Ntobolongwana. Zokufa ka Dhlaba fathered Sigananda, who became his heir. Ntobolongwana was of a junior house. He gained status through being elevated by the king, Mpande, who raised him up for his great deeds as a warrior. He konza'd to the king, and continued as a great warrior. He eventually achieved high status, becoming induna of the whole Mpohlo regiment (i.e. induna-in-chief of that regiment).
- Sigananda refused to go and konza to the Zulu king, for he too was a chief (i.e. he regarded himself as an independent chief). Mpande ordered him to pay tribute and konza to him, but he refused. The king then sent a force to kill him, upon which he fled with many of his Cube people towards the Mzimkulu river. He went off with his cattle as well. When Ntobolongwana saw that the cattle were being taken off, he proceeded to head them off at the ford over the Tukela. He then set them aside, looking after them for the king. Upon this, Mpande said, 'Wo! You have done well, Ntobolongwana. I should like you to join the iziGqoza.⁵ I give Mbuyazi to you. Go with him and be one of the iziGqoza. Tell the people beyond the Mhlatusi that they are to be iziGqoza and join Mbuyazi.' Ntobolongwana assented. After leaving the king he went to Masipula and told him what had been said, for Masipula was Mpande's chief induna.⁶ He said, 'The king has told me to join Mbuyazi.' Masipula replied, 'Wo! Do not go. You will die. Cetshwayo will kill you.' Ntobolongwana agreed with what the induna said.
- After this the army prepared for war. Mpande took his war shield, made from the skin of the side with the stab-wound in it,⁷ and gave it to Mbuyazi. He thus set them on to fight. Cetshwayo came up and attacked Mbuyazi. Their forces fought it out. Ntobolongwana came over to Cetshwayo. The battle of Ndondakusuka was fought.

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24 After it was over, Lurungu ka Somwigo came up and said he was now taking the cattle of Sigamanda's brother. Ntobolongwana refused to give them up. Lurungu's force prepared for battle. The people who sided with Ntobolongwana did the same. Allied with them was a force of the Magwaza people. The Magwaza were under Manqondo. The forces met at Nkolotshana and fought it out. Ntobolongwana died there; he was killed by the Cube, by Lurungu's men. Upon this they seized his cattle and took them to Lurungu's homestead, ezigqileni.

25 Then Sigamanda returned from the country on the other side of the Tukela. He came before the war with the white people [1879]. It was reported to the king that Ntobolongwana was dead. Mpande said, 'It is good that he is dead, for I told him to join Mbuyazi and he refused. I no longer have cause to mourn for him.' A force from the king then went to fetch the cattle in question from Lurungu. It came and took them. When Sigamanda returned from the country across the river, he summoned the sons of Ntobolongwana and told them, 'For my part, I know nothing of this matter of the death of our father (Ntobolongwana), for I was absent.' He then presented them with a beast for the purification rituals necessary on the death of their father; he ritually purified the sons of Ntobolongwana. So the matter ended in Sigamanda's favour, and he became chief of the Cube people. At that time Cetshwayo had not yet begun his reign.

Then at the time of the war between Cetshwayo and the whites, Sigamanda fled. He came to the emakabeleni people, to the chief Makedama, and remained there.⁸ He did not want to fight in the war, for he regarded himself as an independent chief. After the war was over he returned to his country at the Nkandhla.

Ntobolongwana's sons remained with Manqondo, who had been the ally of Ntobolongwana.

[Read with the above my account of the Cube tribe in History of the Zulu Rebellion, pp. 207-211.]

.... <Praises of Ntobolongwana omitted - eds.>

Notes

¹The line of Cube chiefs given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 416, indicates that the informant Manyonyana belonged to an offshoot of the chiefly house.

²The Mavalana *ibutho* was formed by Dinuzulu in 1906 of youths born in the 1880s.

³Ndube and Manqondo were chiefs of the Magwaza people.

⁴Sigamanda kaZokufa became chief of the Cube in the reign of Mpande. He died in 1906.

⁵The name given to the adherents of Mpande's son Mbuyazi who, in the 1850s, contested the succession with Cetshwayo. Their rivalry culminated in 1856 in the battle of Ndongakusuka, which resulted in the victory of Cetshwayo and the death of Mbuyazi.

⁶Masiphula kaMamba was of the emGazini people (*isithakazelo*: Ntshangase), whose chiefly line was collateral to the royal line of the Zulu. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 29; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 132; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 29, 355.

⁷The original reads, *wMpande u se tat' isihlangu se nxeba*'. On the

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importance of the *inxeba* (i.e. wound) side of a slaughtered beast, as against that of the *indlelo* side, see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 267.

⁸The Khabela people under Makhedama lived on the Natal side of the Thukela near present-day Kranskop.

MAPUTWANA KA DIDIZA

<5.6.1921>

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 11-12.

Also present: Mgidhlana, Mandhlakazi

- 11 By Maputwana ka Didiza ka Makunga ka Nxaba ka Mbekane of the *Vundhla* people.¹ Nxaba ka Mbekane was our chief. He had his homestead at the *Hluhlwase*, where *Somkele* was established.² His homestead was called *oGobeni*.

.... <Praises of Nxaba omitted - eds.>

- 12 *Nxaba* ran away from *Tshaka*. It was ordered that the *Tonga* should not keep white cattle.³ He was attacked on that account. He escaped, but the cattle were 'eaten up'. He passed through the *Ndwandwe* country and went to the *Izindololwane*.⁴ Those people are now called the people of *Mabelemade's* place.⁵ They were separated, i.e. the men fled, while women with child remained behind.

Zwide afterwards captured us after killing *Dingiswayo*.⁶ *Tshaka* later fought *Zwide*, causing his tribe under *Sikunyana*⁷ to flee. We returned to *Zululand* with *Somapunga*.⁸ We were placed under *Mnkabayi ka Jama*, and became part of the *Baqulusi* people.⁹

Our people were treated with contempt; it was said that we were *Tonga*. The order was that we should simply be beaten and our girls taken away. That is, they treated us roughly. The order no doubt was that we should be killed, but the troops, finding us a small tribe, simply beat us. *Nxaba* managed to escape with a number of cattle.

<7.6.1921>

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 26, 27.

Also present: Mgidhlana, Mandhlakazi

- 26 *Tshaka* was so called from the *tshaka* disease his mother was wrongly supposed to have. This is a very bad and serious disease, and cannot be got the better of. It is cured by doctors. (When any girl gets, it her stomach swells as if pregnant, but she to a dead certainty remain barren. When *Tshaka* was born he was given this name, and when he became king people at once began, through *hlonipa* custom, to call the disease *itshaka* by the word *iqagane* [*Mgidhlana's*] or *iqangala* [*Maputwana's*] or *iqangane* [*Mandhlakazi's*].¹⁰

Maputwana says he heard that this disease was called *itshaka* from his mother, of the *Bele* tribe (*Ntuli* tribe). She was very well in-

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formed, and of the iCenyane class or regiment.¹¹ She told him 40 or more years ago. Maputwana is of the Kandempemvu regiment.¹²

27 *Tshaka's euphorbia tree.* Tshaka had a *euphorbia* tree planted near the Umhlatuze river, and not very far from Bulawayo.¹³ This tree has grown until others have sprung up beside it. It is now very large. It is known locally as *Tshaka's euphorbia tree*. It is most dangerous when in flower. Maputwana says he visited it with another man.

[I ascertain that Maputwana had never even seen the Tukela until a few days ago when coming to Pietermaritzburg with Mgidhlana, and yet, being of the Kandempemvu regiment, he must have been born about 1851 and so be 70 years of age.]

8.6.1921

File 57, nbk, 7, p. 29.

[Mgidhlana, with Maputwana and a young man, also a *mat-bearer*, leave by train (9.30 a.m.) this morning for Pietermaritzburg.]

Notes

¹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 279, gives Nxaba kaMbhokane as chief of the Msane.

²Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 278, 460, & map opp. p. 698, gives the Msane as having lived near the emThekwini hill north of the Hluhluwe river. Somkhele kaMalanda was chief of the Mkhwanazi branch of the Mpukunyoni people in the Hlabisa district. He died in 1907 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 113).

³The term Tonga seems here to be used to refer generally to the peoples living between the Lubombo mountains and the sea.

⁴The core of the territory inhabited by the Ndwandwe before their defeat and dispersal by Shaka was the Magudu region south of the middle reaches of the Phongolo. The izinDololwane are hills situated north of the upper reaches of that river in the present-day south-eastern Transvaal.

⁵Bryant, Dictionary, p. 755, gives Mabelemade as the name of a 'certain queen said to reside "far away north"'. The reference is possibly to the 'rain-queen' of the Lobedu.

⁶The killing of the Mthethwa chief Dingiswayo by his rival, Zwide of the Ndwandwe, took place c.1818.

⁷Son of Zwide.

⁸Another of Zwide's sons. On Somaphunga's return to the Zulu kingdom see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 212-13, 588.

⁹Mnkabayi, sister of Shaka's father Senzangakhona, was placed by Shaka in charge of a number of his adherents in the north-west of the Zulu kingdom. EbaQulusini was the name of her principal *umuzi*. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181; and also Webb and Wright, eds., A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 14n, 32-3.

¹⁰In a marginal note Stuart writes, 'Notice the variation between these three men'.

¹¹An *ibutho* formed by Shaka c.1823 of young women born c.1800.

¹²Formed by Mpande c.1868 of youths born c.1848.

¹³Shaka's principal *umuzi*.

MAQUZA KA GAWUSHANE

2.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 46, pp. 1-2.

Also present: Tshonkweni, Mkalipi, Norman Nembula, and others

- 1 Maquza of the Cele tribe arrives with his chief Tshonkweni,¹ Mkalipi (Tshonkweni's *induna*), Norman Nembula,² and three or four others.

Maquza states that he is of the same age as the Ndabakadengi-zibona regiment (Dingana's).³ He is anything between 85 and 90. He was, I fancy, born about 1818-1820. He says he was present at Bulawayo when, during a dance, Tshaka was stabbed in the right upper arm with an assegai. This assegai T. himself extracted.⁴

- He remembers the death of Nandi. Tshaka himself killed her. He left Dukuza at a run and entered Nyakamubi (his mother's kraal), where he saw a child, which he concluded was his, outside his mother's hut. The child was three or four years old. He thereupon killed his mother without her telling him the child was his. He had previously given his mother medicine to bring about a miscarriage in a girl he had caused to be pregnant. The mother had instead allowed the girl to
2 bear the child.⁵

Tshaka mouthed his words, owing to an impediment in his speech, as if his tongue was too large. He was *light* in colour, tall, and had a heading.

Maquza is a proper or hereditary member of the Cele tribe. He says he was present at Bulawayo when T. was stabbed, but is unaware that Fynn was there and doctored T. He is apt to exaggerate as to his size in T.'s day.

3.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 46, pp. 2-10.

Magaye ka Dibandhlela is our great Cele chief. Magaye ka Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli ka Langa ka Sodi ka Maganga ka Nqumela ka Ndosi -- ka Cele <sic>. Magaye's sons are Magidigidi, Mntungwane.⁶

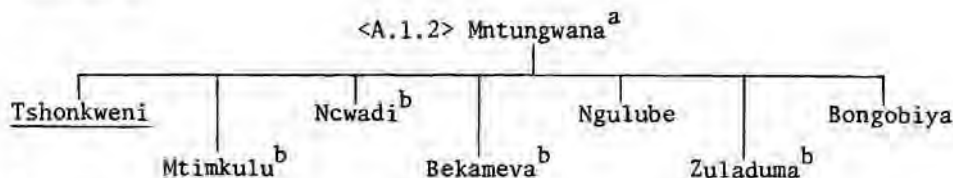
- 3, 4 <The Cele genealogy that follows, as given by Maquza, appears in the original on the same page as genealogies and lists of Cele chiefs provided to Stuart by three other informants. These accompanying genealogies and lists are given in Appendix 2. In the genealogy given by Maquza, certain of the relationships which Stuart indicated by means of descent lines are here indicated by the symbols A, A.1, A.1.1, B, etc. We retain Stuart's underlining of names of figures in the main chiefly line - eds.>

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<The names in the paragraph that follows are those of other sons of Magidigidi. They are given here as listed in the original - eds.>

Nzobolo,^a Ntwana, Mbodiya,^a Ngele,^a Zanaye, Mvinjelwa, Sanyeli, Mbali, Zikoteni,^a Nsukumbili,^a Matshana, Nondwayi, Maduna, Bangizwe, Magcekeni, Mdinwa,^a Magwegwana, Titi.

^aDeceased.



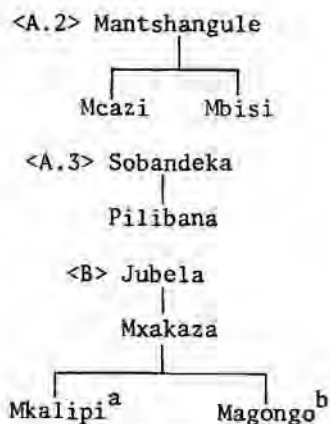
^aWas older than his brother Magidigidi.

^bDeceased.

<The names in the paragraph that follows are those of other sons of Mntungwana. They are given here as listed in the original - eds.>

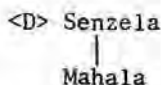
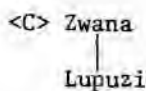
Dhlozi, Tabataba, Gulugulu, Mntuyedwa, Novuya,^a Citumuzi, Nkunzana, Fulebe, Nkutshilizela, Siyavuma, Landa, Mbotshwa.

^aDeceased.



^aOne of my informants, aet. 57, Tshonkweni's *induna*.

^bOne of my informants, aet. 45 (Ngobamakosi).



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5 Maquza ka Gawashane ka Zinya ka Shabeni.

Europeans came first to Mpipi, who lived just across the Tongati.⁷ Mpipi was the son of Ngata. He took the Europeans to his chief, Magaye, who lived on the Mhlali in his kraal Emdhlazi. Magaye then said that they must go on to the *king*, Tshaka. He sent them on by Hasazi, Mpipi's son. These Europeans were Sifile (Mbuyazwe) and Febana, Jani Kingi, Pobana, Nhlamba (native interpreter).⁸ The Europeans that came to Mpipi arrived from Durban. Tshaka asked where they had come from. 'From the sea,' they replied, 'in an *wmkuambu*,'⁹ though this word was not known then. In those days natives thought the sea was a *lake*. Tshaka told the messenger to return with the white man, and there was satisfaction. At this time Tshaka was living at Bulawayo. I know Mpipi and Hasazi.

6 I have seen Febana, Mbuyazi, and Pobana. Mvemve, my brother, was my guardian when white people came. I was living with him then across the Tongati.

Whenever white people went to Tshaka they, on passing through Magaye's land, would put up at Mdhlela, Magaye's kraal.

Sotobe was sent to the Cape with Europeans.¹⁰ He returned, bringing a whitish box with him containing two cats, one male, the other female. These were intended for Tshaka, as the Europeans had observed that mice were eating the regiments' shields. Mice also nibbled at one's feet and ears. The box was closed down when it reached Tshaka. He caused it to be broken open with an axe, as it was locked down. The two cats came out alive. He was much surprized. Tshaka was grateful that he was given the cats. But at first, until explanation was given as to the purpose they were to satisfy, he was alarmed at the mewling of the cats in the evening. The cats were not killed. But when Tshaka left Zululand to go to Dukuza,¹¹ he left the cats behind and called Zululand '*the country of cats*'.¹²

Tshaka's regiments: Fasimba, Gibabanye, Dhlangezwa, Mkandhlu, Mgumanqa, Dibinhlangu, Mpiyake, Njanduna, Ndabenkulu, Bekenya (I think this was a division of Izinyosi), Ntontela, Poko, Hlontane, Jubingqwanga (a division of Izinyosi), Mbonambi, Sipezi, Nomdayana (*incorporated into the ikanda*).

Dingana's regiments: Izinyosi (Ingcobinga under Tshaka), Dhlambedhlu, Imikulutshane, Ndabakadengizibona, Ihlaba.

8 Magaye's kraals were: Emdhlazi (above Mhlali station, Magaye's main kraal), Ekumangaleni, Odabeni, Esokeni, Emdhlela (north of the Tongati), Onikela, Esitshweni, and others.

Maquza assisted by Tshonkweni, Mkalipi, and N. Nembula.

The Cele tribe. This tribe *originated in the Mtetwa country* in Zululand. We are not related to the Dube tribe. I do not know the Mtetwa chief we join with. We parted quite amicably from the Mtetwa, just as Tshonkweni's (section) has separated from Matambo's section, simply because they fancied other land. Our boundary was from the Nonoti to the Mdhloti.

Dibandhlela was buried at Nyanganye (on Natal Col.¹³ land, near Essery's house) - per N. Nembula and Mkalipi.

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After Tshaka's death Dingana attacked the Celes on the ground that they had regretted the death of Tshaka. They then went south and settled at the Mtente and Gozo in Pondoland under Henry F. Fynn (Mbuyazi). They afterwards came back.

9 I was born at the Mhlali. After Tshaka's death Dingana attempted to drive those living south of the Tugela into Zululand. Many broke away south, including a large section of Celes. I was among those who went to Zululand. We settled near the Matikulu below Magula hill¹⁴ and near where Mncinci, the Qwabe chief, was buried. We lived under Nkunga ka Sitayi.¹⁵ Sitayi was also father of Mbopa, Tshaka's *inceku*.

I cannot say when the Cele settled between the Nonoti and Mdhloti. I know it is very ancient, for the old people have long said that they are accustomed to living in level country as opposed to hilly, and that they object to going to (live) in hilly lands if pressed to do so.

There is no doubt that the Cele *originated* at the Mfolozi, Black or White or conjoined.¹⁶

'Baba Ndosi, Mfoloz' *emhlope*':¹⁷ this was said by Mkalipi's grandmothers to his fathers when he gave them snuff, which tends to show that the White Mfolozi is our place of origin.

We have always been on very good terms with the Qwabe people. *There was a great deal of intermarrying.*

Mdandaza. Melapi ka Magaye. *Among the Izinkumbi.*¹⁸

10 [My informants gave me the impression, after an hour's discussion, that the tribe must have lived between the Nonoti and Mdhloti for at least 150 years. They cannot say how they came to part with the Mtetwa, why they crossed the Tugela, or why they left the Mtetwa so far behind. It is possible they have lived in the region stated for 200 or more years. At the same time it is strange that they cannot give the graves of Mkokeleli, Langa, Sodi, etc. Cele appears to them to be the name of a person. He is said to be the son of Nyambose, (which is also) the great Mtetwa *isibongo*, though this seems a mere guess. Magaye was on very good terms with Tshaka. Maquza, though an old and intelligent man, is not a first-class informant - not up to the present.]

4.2.1905

File 68, item 10, pp. 1-2.

Also present: Tshonkwani, others?

1 Tshaka's coming to Magaye etc.

T. came at breakfast to Mdhlahi. *He sat on the hill above the homestead, at the track made by the cattle.* He had many people. Magaye then gathered his men to perform a dance for the chief Tshaka. He assembled the *Njanduna*. *They danced for a long time.* T. then came to the Mdhlahi kraal. He entered the cattle enclosure, and went up to Magaye's *isigodhlo*. T. asked, 'Are these your men?' M. said, 'Yes.' T. said, '*They are handsome; they have long legs. They must become my regiment.*' M. agreed, not having anything to say. T. thereupon took the regiment which M. had assembled. T. *built* them a kraal up the *Mdhloti* in their own country. He did not take them to Zululand.

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T. then went to Zihlandhlo and took the Mpiyake, *Zihlandhlo's* regiment. These (men) went and built in Zululand. Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe of the Embo tribe.

T. only came once to see Magaye. When T. came to Dukuza he ordered M. to bring his own hut and build it *inside Dukuza*. This was his *hut for konzaing*. T. came to Magaye when he had come to Dukuza.

I do not know what regiment my father belonged to.

2 Engwazini was, Tshonkweni says, I think, one of Mkokeleli's kraals.

I, Maquza, *crossed* into Natal with Mpande (*igoda*).¹⁹ Mpande *halted*²⁰ at the Tongati. I did not again go back.

Mpangazita ka Mncumbata of the Ndwandwe tribe was killed by Mpande at the Tongati.²¹ He said, 'At Mgungundhlovu, when we spoke, a matter was at an end; here too it must be the same.' Mpande's followers objected to this assumption of authority, and started mauling him about with their hands, pushing him from one to another. He had a *piece of blue cotton cloth* on, which fluttered as he was pushed about. He died of this treatment, not having been struck in any way. Mpande too did not order his death.

Kokela *follows Mpangazita in age*. He was Dingana's *induna* at Njanduna. The Njanduna *crossed* to Zululand to Ndulinde²² near the *White Hlomendhlini ikanda* in Dingana's day, but remained at the Mdhloti in Tshaka's.

The emaNhlokweni (scattered), amaTshange (scattered - not the same as Yamela's lot, of the Embo tribe), amaQadi (not the same as those of the Ngcobo - scattered), and amaNdelu (Sonsukwana - Umzinto) used to *shut up cattle* for us when the sun went down - *our heifer calves*.²

T. used to get on very well with Magaye, and called him '*my younge. brother*'. The two were of the same age.

The Makanya people *were dispersed*, and *konza'd* Magaye. T. agreed to this.

Notes

¹Tshonkweni was chief of the Cele in the Alexandra division and another of Stuart's informants.

²Another of Stuart's informants.

³Formed c.1835; age-group born c.1815.

⁴Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 83 ff, has left an account of this incident, which occurred in mid-1824.

⁵Cf. the accounts of Nandi's death in Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 132 ff; Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 108 ff.

⁶Cf. the Cele chiefly genealogy given by Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 544.

⁷For other accounts of the first meeting between subjects of Shaka and representatives of the traders who came to Port Natal in 1824 see Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 63 ff; evidence of Dinya, *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 96-7.

⁸Sifile (Mbuyazwe) was Henry Francis Fynn; Febana was Francis Farewell; Jani Kingi was James Saunders King; Phobana was Frank Fynn.

The Nhlamba referred to was presumably Hlambamanzi (alias Jacob or Jacot), a man from the eastern Cape who, on the first arrival of whites in Shaka's court, was found to be in the king's service.

⁹*Umkumbu* (*umkhumbi* in modern orthography) means any narrow, trough-like object, such as a Zulu meat-tray; by extension it has also come to mean 'ship'.

¹⁰For accounts of Sotobe's mission to the Cape see Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 117 ff; Fynn, Diary, pp. 141, 154, 184; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 616-21.

¹¹One of Shaka's *imizis*, situated south of the Thukela on the site of present-day Stanger.

¹²The original reads '*ela se mpaka*'. For another variant of this tradition see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 194.

¹³This could be a reference either to Natal 'colonial', i.e. crown, land, or to land owned by the Natal Land and Colonization Company.

¹⁴South of present-day Eshowe.

¹⁵Of the eGazini people, who were closely related to the Zulu royal house.

¹⁶Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 538, who gives the Cele as originating further south between the Ngoye hills and the Mhlathuze river.

¹⁷Literally, 'Father Ndosi, White Mfolozi'.

¹⁸The notes in this paragraph occur in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. Melaphi was another of Stuart's informants. *Izinkumbi* (locusts) was the name given by Henry Francis Fynn to the refugees who gathered under his protection in the 1820s and 1830s. The name continued in use among their descendants.

¹⁹Literally, 'the rope'. 'The breaking of the rope' was an expression used to refer to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in 1839.

²⁰The verb used in the original is *ukumisa*, which can also mean to set up a homestead.

²¹On this incident see 'Report of the landdrost of Tugela', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 541-2; Krauss, Travel Journal, pp. 71-2; Delegorgue, Voyage, vol. 1, pp. 179-83; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 102; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 278.

²²A hill 20 kilometres west of present-day Gingindlovu.

²³On the Ndelu or Shinga people see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 532-3.

MASUKU KA MADUBANA

6.5.1914

File 49, item 32 (k), pp. 1-2.

- 1 Per Masuku ka Madubana. Chief: Mafahleni.¹ [Baleni ka Silwana generally concurs in this story after hearing it. He knows of Matshongwe having had his eyes extracted. 13.5.1914.]²

Matshongwe and Nhlanganiso were once sent by Tshaka to spy up-country, in the Transvaal above Swaziland. They went, and on getting to that country they found many bucks. *On seeing the buck they supposed them to be cattle. They returned, and told the king, 'We have seen the cattle; there are great numbers of them up-country.'* An impi went out, and travelled a great distance searching for the cattle. *The impi asked, 'Where are the cattle?' Seeing a number of buck in the distance they pointed and said, 'There they are.'* The impi went forward, came up to the buck, and discovered what they were. *There were no cattle to be seen. 'O! Where are the cattle?' 'O! We thought these were cattle; we saw them at a distance.' 'Weu! So the cattle are nothing but buck?'*

The impi then halted there. The decision was made that it should return to the king to report that the animals which Matshongwe had seen were not cattle. The impi returned, and told the king, 'It was not cattle that Matshongwe saw; it was buck.' The king ordered them to be summoned before him. *'These cattle which you saw, where did you see them?' 'O, ikosi, we thought they were cattle because we did not come close to them.'* The king became angry, and cried, *'Weu! I did not send you out to find buck and mistake them for cattle. This is the fault of you people, Matshongwe. You failed because you did not go close enough to see properly. This is the end for you. Seize them and take out their eyes. Let every man of the Zulu country who is sent out to spy learn that the same will be done to him if he does not speak the truth.'* Upon this both of them had their eyes taken out. *They were then released, and went off, falling into dongas, each going his own way. That was the end of it.*

It was my father and other elderly men who told me this story. My father was of the Impohlo regiment. He lived at Emgungundhlovu (Dingana's). My father was of the Dibinhlangu section of the Izi-mpohlo.³ My father knew Tshaka by sight.

Notes

¹Mafahleni kaLugaju was chief of the Nxamalala people in the Impe-ndhle, Lion's River, Umgeni, and New Hanover districts. For his

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position in the Nxamalala chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 522.

²Baleni's evidence appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive. On Matshongwe's having his eyes taken out see also Baleka kaMpitikazi's evidence in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 7.

³'IziMpohlo' seems to have been used as a composite term for a number of *amabutho*, one of which was the Dibinhlangu or Dubinhlangu, formed early in Shaka's reign.

MAXIBANA KA ZENI

31.12.1913. Dore's store.

File 63, item 2a, pp. 29-40.

29 Maxibana ka Zeni ka Mbizela ka Nonkande of the emal'seleni people. Chief: Mfinyeli ka Nguzalele (Mridi) of the Xulu people.¹ (This tribe originated from Xabatshe - don't know which, but said to be near the Pate, where Bongoza decoyed the Boers.)²

The battle of Ndongakusuka.³

Numbers of people started to konza to the princes. As people came to konza, each prince built his own kraal round which his people were concentrated. After this, Mpande slaughtered a beast: it was a black one with a white patch on its flank.⁴ He then said, 'Let the shield made from the side with the wound in it be Mbuyazi's, and the one made from the opposite side⁵ be Cetshwayo's.' No quarrel took place on this account.

The time for an unjadu dancing competition then drew nearer. It was said that Cetshwayo would hold the dance with Haiyana ka Mapita.⁶ This dance came on; they danced. Then, while the dancing was going on, Mbuyazi exclaimed, 'The one has stabbed the other!' meaning by this that Cetshwayo had been defeated by Haiyana in the dancing. After this came to an end and we had forgotten about it, we heard it said that a mock hunt had been arranged, and that the armed force at Mbuyazi's was increasing in size. We then heard that Mpande said, 'Makasane is happy, he who sometimes saw the eagles of his place fighting.'⁷ This was the very cause of the war. We then heard that the princes were quarrelling. A hunting party was summoned to hold a hunt in the bush country at Ntabankulu and at Nde:vu hill, i.e. between the White and Black Umfolozis. When the hunting party got into the bush country, its sections crossed each other's paths. Mbuyazi's section got out of sight. This section of M.'s turned back and went home. Upon this, C.'s section turned round and went home, i.e. to Gqikazi, built then at Kwa Denge, i.e. close to the Nongoma magistracy. Mbuyazi's impi went home to Macanca, a hill opposite Nhlazatshe⁸ and to the north of it. Others of his imizi were ezim-Fabeni.

A pause now came. Presently we heard, 'Mbuyazi has gone. He has taken all the lowland country; all of it now adheres to him,' (i.e. all the flat country of the Biyela, Majiya, Mtetwa, Mpukunyoni, as far as the Tukela). All this land, it was said, was his. At this juncture it was heard that the cattle from Mangweni⁹ had been taken off. They were taken by Manqina ka Nkontshela, who brought them to Mbuyazi. Upon this Cetshwayo's forces took to arms and went out.

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after Mbuyazi. Mbuyazi gathered his followers into a body and went with them away down-country to the Matigulu. C.'s army then followed him. I was there, having been buta'd as a mere boy. I was buta'd when still very young. The reason for this was my own personal wish. I am of the uDhloko regiment.¹⁰ I, as a cadet, was called iNyati,¹¹ which kleza'd at Mahlabatini, at Nodwengu.¹²

Our shields were red in colour. We had oxtails strung round our necks. On the head we wore a circle of black and white ostrich feathers.



There were a number of these white feathers back and front. Round the loins we wore girdles (imitsha) of long-haired white goat skin behind, and of twisted genet skin in front, or we wore girdles of black sheepskin. We did not wear buttock-covers (amabetshu). Amabetshu were not put on for dancing, only for everyday wear. This applied to all the regiments.

We Dhloko carried three or four assegais, but at the *umkosi ceremonies* only sticks were carried. As regards headdress, each man had a grass frame put on his head. It did not fit like a hat, but rested on the head and was tied with string under the neck. The string passed behind the ears and under the chin.



The oxtails were each cut into two or three strips, and each of these strips was cut down and twisted, then tied to a necklace. [See above.] We wore circlets of short oxtails immediately below each knee, and another set of oxtails round the upper part of each arm, i.e. round the biceps, and also round the wrists.

The assegais were the *iklwa* and the *isijula*: these were the kinds carried.

Our big *induna* under Mpande was Nduumundumu ka Nonkokela of the Ndabezita people. Cetshwayo's great *induna* was Mgamule ka Nzobo (the man I know), now dead.¹³ Mbuyazi's big *induna* is unknown to me.

We followed Mbuyazi for three days, starting from Gqikazi. Our object was to fight with him, as Cetshwayo's cattle had been taken. We came to the Matigulu opposite Ndulinde hill.¹⁴ The whole force went up the Ndulinde. We heard, 'Mbuyazi has crossed over; he is now on the other side of the river'. We next heard that he had returned and was at Ndondakusuka (the name of a big hill).¹⁵ C. then sent off his army and it appeared near Ndondakusuka.

The Ndabakawombe, Dhlabedhlu (i.e. Mpande's), Sangqu, Tulwana, and Ndhlonhlo were selected to start the fight. We Dhloko belonged

to the other portion of the Usutu¹⁶ that had not been selected; (it also) included the Mandhlakazi.

35 C.'s force was driven back by Mbuyazi's regiments. After this the Mandhlakazi went into the attack. No sooner did they do so than they drove back the iziGqoza.¹⁷ Upon this the rest of the Usutu *tshaya'd ingomane* (i.e. to strike the shield slightly uplifted with the shaft of the assegai). M.'s impi was then broken up and driven into the water at Dhlokweni. Many were then killed off. This hurling of M.'s impi into the river took place about 9 or 10 a.m.

After this C.'s impi returned and 'ate up' the cattle from the whole of Mbuyazi's country.

The river was full. Some fugitives swam; others were swept away by the water.

Cetshwayo himself was in this battle. I saw him. His shield was dark brown, almost black, with a small white patch.



36 C. had on, I think, a buttock-cover of blue monkey skin. I don't know what kind of front cover he wore. The Tulwana carried black shields with white patches on the loins. Later on, years later, this regiment carried white shields. The older men had all put on the headring. The young regiments carried black-coloured shields, but such shields had white patches. C. had on a bunch of eagle feathers. He had not put on the headring at that time.

Mbuyazi too had not put on the headring. Both were of the Tulwana regiment. Mbuyazi was very tall, as tall as Mgamule ka Nzobo. I do not know what dress Mbuyazi wore. He was called 'the elephant with a tuft of hair on its back' because he had a tuft of hair low down on his back (where indicated). This was used as his name and not as an insult. All we people spoke of him to one another as 'the elephant with a tuft of hair on its back'. He may have got the name because 37 of his father intending to designate him as his successor, thereby ousting C. This may be the reason for using the name 'the elephant'. I believe Mpande gave Mbuyazi this name. The common form of the name was Mbuyazi and not Mbulazi. I do not tefula and yet use the former form of the word.

We Dhloko also stabbed the iziGqoza. Mbuyazi's followers were the iziGqoza, and Cetshwayo's were the uSutu. I cannot think of the meaning of the name iziGqoza.

John Dunn was in the battle.¹⁸ He fought with his iziNqobo people, i.e. the name of his people. [See p. 47.]¹⁹ Mantshonga and Ngqelemana (Europeans) are also supposed to have taken part.²⁰

The stories are that Mbulazi was killed by the warriors, or that he was swept away in the Tukela. Others say he crossed over. There is still an impression that he is living.

38 C. took part in chasing the iziGqoza. He went up Ndondakusuka hill. 'The one who remains silent and provokes quarrels with no one!

O ya o!'

This refers to Cetshwayo. This was the ceremonial song sung by C.'s troops. No more of it than this.

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Cetshwayo returned after the battle to his ekuBazeni kraal, *built at Denge*, near Gqikazi. Denge is quite close to Nongoma court house.

The Usutu were called '*the Usutu with the long horns*'. We believed that the name was derived from *cattle captured in the war in Sikwata's country*.¹ The *battle-cry* of C.'s regiments was '*Usutu!*' Mbuyazi's said, '*Laba! Laba! Laba! Laba! Laba!*'

Women and children were killed at Dhlokweni. Others were killed at other places.

I know of no quarrel about girls between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.

Zibebu² sat on the left side of the hut going in. The men usually sit on the right side. Zibebu used, however, to sit on both sides.

39 I was on Zibebu's side at Tshanini, but was not present at Msebe as I was lying ill.³

The Usutu faction proper at Ndondakusuka was *simply an assemblage from all the regiments*.⁴ The Mandhlakazi fought on the Usutu side. Haiyana ka Mapita and Hlomuza ka Mapita were in charge of the Mandhlakazi. There were no Mandhlakazi who fought on Mbuyazi's side.

No bucks were killed by *the mock hunting party*. This kind of '*hunt*' is one where it is known that hostilities are intended. The Usutu, instead of carrying small shields used in *bona fide* hunting, carried large ones, but not as large as those *carried at the umkosi ceremony*. These were called *imbumbuluzo* because they were *smaller*. Mbuyazi's people too carried *imbumbuluzo*.

40 It had been proclaimed that there was to be *a mock hunt* before C. and M. went out. I know of no other *such hunt*, and this was so called from the larger size of the shields making it evident that both sides expected to come into action. I know nothing of this kind in Tshaka's or Dingana's time.

Mgamule ka Nzobo, C.'s head *induna*, was assisted by Dambuza ka Mafuku of the emaNkwanyaneni, Magedama ka Sobadhli ka Dhlukula of the Ntombela, and many others.

Ndondakusuka hill is slightly above Dhlokweni drift.

Notes

¹According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 229, Mfinyeli kaNguzalele of the Xulu people lived in the early nineteenth century.

²On the origins of the Xulu, cf. Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 228. The uPhathe stream flows from the south into the White Mfolozi east of the present-day road between Melmoth and Mahlabathini. Bhongoza kaMefu of the Ngongoma people won fame in the Zulu kingdom for leading a party of Trekkers into an ambush after the Zulu defeat at the Ncome (Blood) river in 1838.

³Fought in December 1856 near the mouth of the Thukela between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, sons of Mpande who were contending for the future succession to the Zulu kingship.

⁴The original has *iwaba*.

⁵The word used in the original is *indhlelo*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 101, gives as 'that side of a slaughtered beast, or its hide, opposite to the wounded side - this latter ... is the most prized and goes to the chief, or favourite wife'.

- ⁶Maphitha kaSojyisa, head of a collateral line of the Zulu royal house, lived in the north-east of the kingdom. His following was known as the Mandlakazi.
- ⁷We have been unable positively to identify the 'Makasane' here referred to, although from the context it would appear that Mpande was using the name to refer to himself. The best known personage of that name was Makhasana kaMwayi, chief of the Mabhudu Tsonga, who died c.1854. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 293, 303-5.
- ⁸A prominent hill north of the White Mfolozi thirty kilometres west of present-day Mahlabathini.
- ⁹One of Cetshwayo's *imizi*.
- ¹⁰Formed c.1858 of youths born c.1838.
- ¹¹The 'cadets' of the uDloko *ibutho* were called iziNyathi. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 33.
- ¹²One of Mpande's principal *imizi*.
- ¹³Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli of the Ntombela people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ¹⁴Ndulinde hill lies twenty kilometres west of present-day Gingindlovu.
- ¹⁵On the north bank of the Thukela near its mouth.
- ¹⁶The name for Cetshwayo's supporters.
- ¹⁷The name for Mbuyazi's supporters.
- ¹⁸A white hunter and trader from Natal who, with his African following, fought on the side of Mbuyazi.
- ¹⁹The reference is to the evidence of Mangoya, which appears in the present volume.
- ²⁰Mantshonga was the Zulu name for Captain J. Walmsley, Natal border agent on the lower Thukela. We have been unable to identify Ngqelemana.
- ²¹Sekwati (Sikwata) was chief of the Pedi living in what is now the eastern Transvaal from the late 1820s until his death c.1861. On the 'uSuthu' cattle, cf. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 329.
- ²²Son of Maphitha, and his successor as leader of the Mandlakazi.
- ²³Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi defeated Cetshwayo's uSuthu at Msebe in March 1883. Cetshwayo's successor Dinuzulu, supported by a party of whites, defeated Zibhebhu at Tshaneni in June 1884.
- ²⁴The original has *inhlanganisela nje yamabut' onke*.

MAYINGA KA MBEKUZANA

8.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 74, pp. 16-24.

Also present: Mkotana

- 16 Mayinga ka Mbekuzana (the latter, named by Tshaka, and known also as) Nommombe) arrives with Mkotana. He is of the Dhlokwe regiment.¹ He seems about 66, rather older than Ndukwana and Mkotana.² He belonged to Cetshwayo's faction in 1856 against Mbuyazi.³ He crossed into Natal one year after this [i.e. say 1858]. He is of the Gasa tribe, related to the amaBele people, maybe also to Sotshangana's people. It is of the amaNtungwa family.⁴

I know Mpande. He *buta'd* me.

- My father was short, a hero of Tshaka's, who called him Mbekuzana because of his style of walking, being a short man.⁵ My father went on the Pondo expedition.⁶ He died in 1856 (battle between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi). His regiment was the Mgumanqa; it was *the age-group of*
 17 *Zulu ka Nogandaya*.⁷ The Mgumanqa kraal was at the White Mfolozi, in the *Mahlabatini* country.

Senzangakona gave *lobolo* for Nandi. Nandi became pregnant by S. when he *hlobonga'd* with her. She went home, and was found to be pregnant. She said the Zulu chief had caused her to be pregnant. The Langa people sent to the Zulus and the chief admitted having caused her pregnancy. Cattle were then set apart, Nandi was *lobola'd*, and came and bore Tshaka. [Mayinga, says Tshaka.] The name which T. was given by Senzangakona was Sikiti. The name Tshaka arose because of *his deeds as a warrior of the Mtetwa chief*. The name Tshaka was given by Dingiswayo, not owing to the *itshabi* which the girl Nandi may have said she was suffering from.⁸

- 18 *Tshaka grew up in the Zulu country, but became something of a wrong-doer (itshinga)*. Senzangakona used to chase him off, and he went to the *eLangeni* country.

Nandi once went through a time of destitution with Tshaka. She eventually found protection in the *Mtetwa* country. Senzangakona wanted to kill T. T. was warned by an *inceku* that he would be attacked at Kwa Nogqogqa, the name of the kraal he stayed at with his mother. He eloped. The kraal was attacked and broken up, but he and his mother escaped. The kraal was afterwards built in the *Mtetwa* country. The kraal Nogqogqa had been constructed - and it was that one in which Tshaka and his mother lived - in the upper part of the *Mahlabatini* country near Kwa Nobamba.⁹

Nandi bore Tshaka, Nomcoba, and Ngwadi. Nandi never became intimate with Gendeyana. She is being slandered by saying she did.¹⁰ Nomzinhlanga followed Tshaka in age, and Nandi bore her by Senzangakona.¹¹ Nandi never married Gendeyana. Ngwadi was not the son of Gendeyana but of Senzangakona. Ngwadi was killed by Dingana.

No wife of Senzangakona ever married again. Nandi did not marry. She did not marry when she got to the Mtetwa.

Dingiswayo sent out a force to attack Malusi of the Nxumalo people.¹² Tshaka went on this occasion, and that is where he began the battle. On this occasion he rushed forward alone into the enemy and started stabbing about. Dingiswayo reproved him; he said that being a chief's son he should not go forward alone.

Another impi left D. to attack Pakatwayo, and fought an engagement at the Mhlatuze.¹³ T. again went forward and attacked. (My father was Mpande's doctor, also for Tshaka himself; he was an inyanga who treated with medicines.) Pakatwayo was defeated. D. found out that P.'s impi ran off because of Tshaka, then called Sikiti. D. now named him Tshaka by saying 'Tshaka who is not beaten, the axe that surpasses other axes, the impetuous one who disregards warnings' (for he was warned not to throw himself into the battle, but disregarded the instructions).

Everyone was taught by Tshaka what true bravery was. He made them throw away their many assegais and ordered that each man was to carry only one assegai.

Tshaka used to cause cowards to be caught and their arms lifted up and then stabbed. If the man shouted he would be killed outright and the assegai turned round and round inside him. If one *bubula'd*, i.e. mumbled, without shouting, he was regarded as a hero, his wound treated and (he was) given a beast which was spoken of as 'the tears of your mother'.

T. said the old system of hurling assegais was bad; it caused cowardly behaviour.

21 When attacking, T. told the men to carry their shields under their arms and only to bring them out when they got in among the enemy. In the attack they would run in a stooping position and at a great rate.

Mbikwana was Tshaka's maternal uncle; he followed Tshaka's mother in age.¹⁴

22 Succession disputes cause slanders to be spread; that is why Nandi was said to have married Gendeyana, and yet that was not so. Ngwadi followed in age after Nomzinhlanga, whose other name was Nomcobe [note the 'e' at end].¹⁵ I have seen Nomzinhlanga. She died just after the battle of Ndongakusuka [1856]. I saw her at Kwa Tulwana in the Mahlabatini country.¹⁶ She was of medium height. She was then very old. She had kraals of her own. I do not know if she married. I think Nomzinhlanga and Nomcobe were one and the same person. She was very fat. She was light in colour. She had a large nose. The old people used to say her nose was like Tshaka's. She was good-tempered. I saw her at the *unkosi* ceremony at Nodwengu.¹⁷ The nose was wide, not long. (She had a) broad face and forehead.

.... <Praises of Tshaka omitted - eds.>

23 I saw Sotobe ka Mpangalala.¹⁸ He was a very big man, with a head-ring right at the back of his head.

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.... <Praises of Sotobe omitted - eds.>

People could not run formerly. Tshaka taught them to run; also his troops were taught to run. He taught his men to do as he used to do (when among) the Mtetwa. He taught the attack to take place by running sharply. (They were to) run to the attack, (with) shields tucked under the arm.

Tshaka's *dancing* shield had one round spot (black) on it, about the middle; the rest of the shield was quite white.

24 The *war* shield had a name of its own. It was speckled in one portion of it, at the lower end, not all over. This was like *uburwanga*; if the same colouring had been all over it would be called *nala*.¹⁹ I forget the name of the shield.

Tshaka was *dark in colour*, like his sister Nomcobe. He was tall, the tallest of Senzangakona's sons. It is said that Mhlangana was about his height.²⁰

Tshaka's nose used to perspire. He used to take hold of his nose from above and give it a twist as if to *blow* it and get sweat off at the same time.

He was always talking of *war*. He snuffed a good deal.

The old regime was good, even though the king killed off frequently. We used to think the king was *having sport* and we thought but little of it. He never seemed in earnest.

The custom about snuffing or eating of kings (seen by me as followed by Mpande) was that if the king should take a pinch from the boy holding the snuff, and then speak before snuffing, he had to throw it away as if useless and done with, and the boy would do the same and pour out more which the king then pinched once more. So with food. If the king takes a spoonful and, before eating it, happens to talk, that spoonful was thrown away and a fresh dip made. Tshaka would have followed this custom.

8.7.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 75, pp. 1-6.

Also present: Mkotana, Dinya

1 Mayinga. (Present: Mkotana, also Dinya, who arrived this evening.) Mayinga says Dingana ordered Mvundhlana ka Menziwa to kill his sister, who was in the *isigodhlo*, because she *hlobonga'd*.²¹ Mvundhlana put her to death.

2 Mayinga also states that Ndhlela ka Sompisi was ordered by Dingana to kill his daughter, to take her home and kill her, for that was when the *isigodhlo women* were being killed for *hlobongaing*.²² Mvundhlana's sister [see above] was killed at the same time. Both these executions accordingly took place, and the brother in one case and father in the other took an ox and went to *give praises!*

Women in Zululand were not killed by being beaten with sticks. They were tied round the neck with a rope with a slip-knot, and this was struck with a stick and the person throttled till the eyes came out of her head.

Tshaka first called the Gibabanye the uPoko regiment, but as he used to take *upoko* beer and that was his food, he decided to withdraw

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this name. The same kind of thing occurred with regard to the Ndabenkulu regiment, (which was) first called the Velabakuze. T. said, 'That expression is one which refers to me, for wherever I appear people are startled.'²³ [Cf. where Madikane talks of the 'Uyababaza!' uttered by a warrior when attacking either the Ndwandwe or Mzilikazi.]²⁴ He then said they were to be the Ndabenkulu.

3 Tshaka's regiments according to Mayinga.

1 Isipezi - 'the wall of Madilika', or the uDonqabatwa

2 Mgumanqa - 'which stands threateningly in the patch of burnt grass, the Nomandela which is at Mateko'.

3 Fasimba - 'uNomnyali, the rough tongue of a beast'.

4 Nbonambi - 'uMbonambi whose fighting sticks are red (with blood)'

Dhlangezwa - 'the stand of last season's grass'.

Gibababanye - formerly uPoko. This regiment, the Gibabanye, was cut in two and incorporated into the Ntonteleni and the Mkandhlweni. One division was called uDhlangubo, the other retained the name Gibabanye.

Dibinhlangu

Ndabenkulu (Velabakuze) - 'the dun-coloured beasts that bellowed at the Ngoye'.

Bekenya

Jibingqwanga (Ingcobinga)

Ntontela - 'the eyes of Mborwa, which saw the Ndwandwe in the water'; butwa'd by Senzangakona.

Nomdayana - this was a section (isigaba) of the Mbelebele. This section put the amaMpondo to flight. 'The head-rest of our mothers at our place,' said Tshaka.

Donqabatwa seems to me to be the praise of one of the above regiments. 'The wall of Madilika'. Udonqa is a food, for boiled maize (umcaba), as sweet as sugar. (It would have been) unlikely for T. to name his regiment after his own food.

4 I have heard of the uHlontane from my father. It may refer to a class of girls.

Mnkangala was one of Tshaka's kraals, not a regiment. There was a kraal in Msinga Division called Mnkangala, a cattle post. Other cattle posts of Tshaka's in Natal were between the Ilovu and Msimbaze (on the coast), also at the Mfume (where the cattle seized from Faku of Pondoland were placed - the umdubu beasts).²⁵ These two posts had no names. Three or four people were left to herd them. Another post was south of the Mkomazi near the railway station, at the Emahlongwa mission station.

The men of the Mkandhlwini were killed off, being accused of being cowards. This regiment had been cut up by the Pondos. T. accused them of cowardice and killed off those who had escaped by their bravery from the Pondos.

5

The Pondos were attacked by the Mkandhlu, who were killed off by the Pondos by a shower of assegais - small assegais thrown by the Pondos and coming down on to their heads. After this the Nomdayana came to the rescue and the Pondos were repulsed.²⁶

When Tshaka's forces returned from the ihlambo campaign in Pondoland, T. ordered the whole force north to attack Sotshangana.²⁷ The

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whole force went along the Drakensberg on its way up past Swaziland. It met Nhlanganiso (and) some Ntungwa in the north and killed him.²⁸ T. in the meantime went home and turned out all the *old men* to go and fight. Many persons took refuge in the bushes. This force followed the other. He started it off himself and then returned. Dingana, Mhlangana, and other relatives - except Mpande and Nzibe who went north, Nzibe dying of fever (*imbo*) in Sotshangana's territory - returned, having decided to kill Tshaka.²⁹ I do not know what tribe Nhlanganiso belonged to. Nqabeni was also killed by T.'s Sotshangana forces. I do not know what tribe Nqabeni belonged to.³⁰ Magonondo escaped, so also Madhlangampisi, and Mlambo ka Mavundhla (got onto a hill and kept watch and so escaped). Putile also escaped.³¹ The Swazis escaped by going into caves underground.

[Questions for Mayinga - Where did you live? Mpande's *zibongo*. The Gasas tribe, history. Dingane's *zibongo*. Tribes in Zululand.]³²

9.7.1905, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 75, pp. 6-24.

Also present: Dinya and Mkotana

Mayinga (Dinya and Mkotana present).

(I was) born in the *Mahlabatini* country, south of the White Mfo-
lozi, in the neighbourhood of Nobamba.³³ I reached the age of puberty
there; my father died there. From there I went to the Mamba stream
near the Insuze and Tugela.³⁴ I was here until I was recruited. I
fought at Ndongakusuka, and a year after crossed into Natal. I went
and lived in the *emaKabeleni* country near Greytown.

The Gasas tribe lived *up-country* in Zululand. We lived near the
amaHlube and above the hill Ntabankulu.³⁵ We Gasas people were T.'s
doctors. Dingana once called on us to bring on rain, and promised to
present us with a huge number of cattle. All the Gasas people were
called up; even an old woman who could still totter was to come. We
brought the rain but lightning struck near the *isigodhlo*. D. com-
plained of this and accused us of lamenting the death of Tshaka. He
was thereupon going to take action against us when we demanded to
see where the thunderbolt had struck. The place was pointed out and
found to be well outside the *isigodhlo*. We accordingly remonstrated,
saying it had merely struck on our *medicine pegs* and no charge could
be brought against us.

Dingana did not want them to live because he knew they were
Tshaka's doctors. Nor did he want them to make rain (as above stated)
He merely said, 'T. did not sufficiently reward you for what you did,
you who make rain fall from the heavens, you who can treat the king
with medicines and make him well. I will.' He said everyone of the
tribe was to come up and go to a large plain at Inhlazatshe where the
numerous cattle which he wanted to give them could stand and be
seen.³⁶ Cattle were collected. The people gathered. My father was told
by D. not to go but remain, for D. would not forget him. He, D. said,
was D.'s *carrying-skin*. So my father did not go. When all had col-
lected they were put to death. Some were thrown into *deep pools*, this
being done for fear lest they, by their bodies being put elsewhere,

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might cause the sky not to rain, whilst others had the *medicine pegs* driven through the palms of their hands, they lying on their backs at the time. Very many of us were killed there. When I arrived at years of discretion I found only my father living; i.e. of our tribe all the others were dead.

9 Macingwane, chief of the amaCunu, killed our chief Mnisi (Mnisi 'of the rain') ka Nsutsha ka Tuyisa. Macingwane *decoyed* Mnisi by asking him to *make rain*. Mnisi took his *people* with him, *those of them who made rain, old women who came carrying pots*. He arrived and proceeded to make rain. It rained. He was then presented with many cattle. He took them off, and was *escorted on the way*, but in front they found an *impi* which killed them off. The women and girls who were carrying *the pots* escaped, being captured by Macingwane. This was the occasion of our tribe breaking up. Some went to the *Sutu country* (Basutoland), some to *konza* the Zulu tribe, some to *Sotshangana*. The name *Gasa* in Gasaland must be from us. Some *Besutu* say they came from *Gasa*, i.e. our people; i.e. some of us went and *konza'd* them. I do not know how the name *Gasa* in Gasaland began. We were *scattered* before *Tshaka* came on the scene. We, when *broken up* by Macingwane, came and *konza'd* *Senzangakona*.

10 We *originated* with the amaLembe and amaBele and amaNtuli (Mavumengwana's tribe).

The Lembe and Ntuli, says Dinya, came from the Beles.

The amaBele and uGasa, continues Mayinga, *originated from Gudhli-ndhlu* (a chief - ancient one). I was told this by Sobekase (deceased) ka Tshoba of the *Bele* people.

The amaBele - Dinya says there are many tribes sprung from this tribe.

10 a.m. Mayinga goes on.

Tshaka one day woke to find *that his thighs were messy with dried slime*. He asked of the Zulu headmen what this was. 'You have come of age, *Mntwana*,³⁷ they answered. 'Go back into the hut and wait there.' They said this although as a matter of fact T. was a man. They flattered him. He went indoors. Girls thereupon sang a song all over the country; they *gathered at the isigodhlo* where T. was.

'Ya i ya i, see,

The Mntwana has come of age.'

11 They were being *acceptably lewd* (*bina'd*) by singing this. '*The Mntwana is in seclusion.*' This process of being *taken through the ceremonies of puberty* went on for some months. This happened at *esiKlebeni*.³⁸

When T. got older he used to have the white hairs pulled out of his head. He always wanted to be regarded as quite young. [Compare with the macassar oil incident.]³⁹

After T. had *gone through the puberty ceremonies* he sent a force to the *amaBomvu* country to kill the chief, *Nzombane ka Matomela ka Ndhlovu*.⁴⁰ This tribe lived in Natal opposite *oSungulweni*.⁴¹ This tribe still lives where they formerly did. They killed the chief, *Nzombane*, they seized the cattle, and when these arrived T. *came out*

from seclusion.

This *coming-of-age* (*tombaing*) of Tshaka is a well-known incident.

12 Jama is the one who built Nobamba.⁴² It was there that Senzangakona was born. Sotobe ka Mpangalala *herded* the cattle of Nobamba. Sotobe is the same age as Jama and older than Senzangakona. Sotobe would not eat a beast unless it was fat. Sotobe used to *upbraid people* very loudly. He would purposely find fault at nothing with someone and then shout out in a very loud way so that the king could hear. The king, T., would then send him a beast. '*Bamba, Sotobe!*' would be shouted,⁴³ then a *basket of beer* would be given him at the same time by the king. S. would then cease *scolding* and go and *give praise*. S. was a very big man, tall and stout. His *head-ring* was right at the back of his head, which sloped far back, with a prominent forehead. People used not to laugh much even when he made a joke for it was looked on as an insult to him. A man must laugh and then cease, not continue, for he would be accused of laughing at him and perhaps find S. pitching a *grind-stone* at his mouth to stop his sniggering.

13 S.'s meat used to be *pounded* to soften it. He had eyes always red, and a protruding forehead. He had a badly shaped head. *His head* came forward and then went back. He was not really ugly but his head was peculiar.

Nqoboka ka Langa of the *Mbonambi people* had a bigger body than Sotobe. He lived near the Mtetwa at the uKula.⁴⁴ Tshaka said he would never kill him because of his being so large a man. 'I like him.' Nor was he killed, nor did Dingana kill him.

14 Sotobe was *induna at Intontela*.⁴⁵ He was excused from going out on campaign on the ground that he could count cattle. He could look at a herd and state the exact number at a glance. He once did this and his estimate was put to the test by dividing up and actually counting the stock. He was found to be correct, whereupon the king said he was to *look after* his (king's) cattle. The Intontela kraal [see next page] was first erected in the *Mahlabatini country* near Siklebeni. It was then moved to the Mamba where Sotobe went to live. The Intontela and Siklebe are Senzangakona's kraals.

Nobamba is the very oldest kraal of Zululand. That is what I have usually heard. Ndaba, or even Punga and Mageba, not Jama, may have first built it.⁴⁶ The kings were always said to be buried at Nobamba.

Malandela and Zulu were both persons, also Qwabe.⁴⁷

The Mfemfe kraal belonged to Hamu ka Mpande. It was originally Mpande's brother Nzibe's kraal. Mpande, by giving it to Hamu, *revived* it for Nzibe.

Mawa (the princess) was daughter of Jama. Mawa belonged, I know, to Intontela, therefore I believe Ntontela must be Jama's kraal. Mbelebelo was Senzangakona's kraal.

Mpande was much younger than Sotobe. Sotobe used to *reprove people* as above stated because he said the cattle were his, i.e. the king's cattle.

15 I never saw Ngqengelele, Ngomane, Mdhlaka ka Ncidi.⁴⁸

Nobanqa of mother, nobanqa!

Mother's seed harvest is overflowing.

It is overflowing like yesterday.

*He who wished could spill it about.*⁴⁹

They start off, jump up, and as they do so, strike their buttocks with their heels etc., making a clapping sound. It was a favourite game for girls, also boys. It caused great fun and amusement, in the autumn when the people had plenty to eat. The game is called uNobanqa. Older people used to look on as this took place in the open space near the gate of the homestead. They competed in it; whoever did this most times and best was looked on as winner. It was very common throughout Zululand.

I think Siklebe must be Senzangakona's, for it used to be spoken of as *ikanda, the ikanda of Senzangakona.*

16 The Mbelebele went out from Siklebeni; it went out with the ama-Wombe regiment.⁵⁰

There was a spot in front of Nobamba where a large tree stood, said to be Kwa Nkosenkulu. This tree was a wild fig (*untombe*) or euphorbia (*umhlonhlo*). Nkosenkulu was not the name of a person but a title, and the spot probably referred to some one of the old Zulu kings.⁵¹ Anyone running there whom others wanted to kill would escape. For he would run until getting near, then throw away his assegais etc. and enter. His pursuers would not follow as he had taken refuge in a sanctuary. This man would not afterwards be killed even though seen, but (would be) looked on as having escaped. People used to run off as hard as they could go to this spot when about to be killed. If they succeeded in reaching there they were allowed to go free, and were even presented with cattle by the king for having escaped to a king's grave. This man would then drive off the cattle, get home, and take and kill one to return thanks to his own guardian spirits for having assisted him to escape.

17 I know of Marwanqa ka Tshekumbuya of the Sibiya people who ran away to the spot in question. I saw him run there. He had killed someone, I think. He escaped. This was reported to the king. The king said, 'Where is he?' 'We left him at Kwa Nkosenkulu.' 'So he managed to reach it?' 'Yes, he did.' The king thereupon presented him with six head of cattle. 'Go and get him away with these.' This man is still living at the Mvuzane beyond Entumeni.⁵² Tshekumbuya was brother of Sotobe.

18 Nobamba was always situated in the same spot; it was not even moved. It was there to watch over the chief, Nkosenkulu. When rain was wanted it was asked for in the Emakosini country, and those asking would go to Nobamba, the Jerusalem of the Zulus.⁵³ No-one carried a stick there. It stood some way up the Mzinhlanga stream (which enters the White Mfolozi), also the Amapopoma, which enters the Mzinhlanga. Dukuza, also Siklebe, Dhlambedhlu, Kangela, Tulwana, were all located - in my time - close to Nobamba, on the south side of the White Mfolozi. (On the opposite side were Bulawayo, Nodwengu, Mlambongwenya, Mpenqana, Ndabakawombe, Zwangendaba, Mdumezulu - these in Mpande's day [say 1850-1857].⁵⁴

The *umkosi* ceremony was held at Siklebeni, then at Nodwengu, and that is where Cetshwayo held it. Tshaka held it at Siklebeni. Senzangakona also held the *umkosi* ceremony at the same kraal.

19 Tshaka's Bulawayo kraal, alias Gibixegu, separated off from Mbelebeleni when Tshaka defeated Zwide. Tshaka called the kraal Gibixegu because he had defeated Zwide. He said, 'I won't think of fighting with an old man (*ixegu*) who used to fight with my father.'⁵⁵

Sotobe was about the age of Manyosi (ka Dhlekezele), the *induna*

of *Siklebeni*.⁵⁶ When I knew him he was very old, with no teeth. His eldest son was Nobiya, (who was) killed at Ondini by Zibebu.⁵⁷ He was an old man when he died. Sotobe had been dead some years when the Ndongakusuka battle was fought [1856]. When he went to the Cape he took his wife Mafokose with him, the mother of Nobiya, Sotobe's son and heir.⁵⁸

It is an insult to say, 'Little Ntongwa who came down by means of a grain basket,' just as it is an insult to say a person is an iLala or *inhlwenga*.⁵⁹

Lubololwenja (Lufenulwenja) was a person. This was the Zulu *isi-bongo*. Tshaka thereupon bought the Ndabezita *isibongo* with cattle from some other tribe. I do not know whose son Lubololwenja was or how the *isibongo* arose.⁶⁰

- 20 There is, Mkotana and Dinya say, a hill called Ezilulwini (Izilulu) at the source of the Mtwalume, i.e. in the vicinity of Highflats. We can't think how this name arose.⁶¹ Amazizi people used to live about there, also *Nhlangwini* people, on the Mkomazi side. The Izilulu is merely a hillock on a plain - a well-known hill.

- The Tusi people are descended from baboons. If we were to kill one, although (it was) eating our gardens, they would go off and give their children the root of the tree-fern (*inkomankoma*) to eat, and old people would also eat this plant, for someone of their house had died. The Tusi people lived with us at the Mamba, under the uKomo near the Nkandhla forest.⁶² There are many of the Tusi people - Bilibana, *induna* of Dukusa. There are many baboons that came out of Nkandhla; the Tusi people killed them too, but whenever they did so they used to eat medicines because 'one of their number had died'. I do not know if these people are amaNtungwa or abeNguni.⁶³

The Zulus, Qwabes, also the amaBaca (who split from Zulu in a succession dispute) called themselves abeNguni.

Covi (Mpumuza) at Makanya (Inganga tribe).

Name of wife of Sotobe who went with him to Port E.⁶⁴

5.45 p.m., 9.7.1905. Mayinga (Dinya and Mkotana present).

.... <Praises of Dingane omitted - eds.>

- 23 Ngwadi was always regarded by Tshaka as his own brother, not as Gendeyana's son. No sooner was T. assassinated than Dingana hurried on to kill Ngwadi. Had Ngwadi really been Gendeyana's son there could not have been the intimacy there was between Tshaka and him to such an extent that he was allowed to have an *isigodhlo*. It was a deliberate insult on D.'s part to say Ngwadi was Gendeyana's son.

[Questions for Mayinga. Did not Zulus originally settle at Ndhlovane? Mpande's praises. All classes of girls. *Ukusoka*. Emakosini. The way in which Mpande was *elapa'd*. Senzangakona's wives and children. Dingiswayo. Tshaka's life eLangeni, kwa Qwabe. When did he feed the vultures? Fill *udonga* with human corpses, cut a woman open, go to watch sea.]

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[Took a photo today of Mayinga, Dinya, and Mkotana together - half-plate.]

10.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 75, p. 24.

Also present: Dinya, Mkotana

Mayinga (Dinya and Mkotana present).

We hear that the Zulus *originated at the Mhlatuze* and, after separating from the Qwabe due to *disputing the succession, went up-country* and settled up the *Mzinhlanga* in the neighbourhood of where Nobamba was afterwards built. Qwabe and Zulu *disputed the succession to the chiefship*, but I do not know how. I know nothing definite of the 'white cow' being given to Zulu, although, now the matter is mentioned, I do recollect having heard about this beast.⁶⁵ I heard about it when still a lad.

During the Zulu war Qwabe people were recruited and took part. After his capture Cetshwayo saw them and said, 'And you too, Qwabe, do you take part against us? Are you still harbouring feelings of revenge against us?' The Qwabes in question were actually present when the capture was effected.⁶⁶ The ancient quarrel was therefore being kept still alive by the Qwabes.

10.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 1-2, 6-13.

Also present: Dinya, Mkotana

1 Mayinga continues (Dinya and Mkotana present).

The Indhlovane is quite close to the Mzinhlanga stream. We, in living at Nobamba, were above the Indhlovane. The Indhlovane is a small stream. There is a bush about it with many *euphorbia* trees. There is one *broad hill-slope*, also many vultures. The Biyela tribe once lived there. Ntombela also lived at the Ndhlovane. Ntombela may be a son of Malandela. The name of the Ntombela kraal was eMungwini, also eManqineni. Ntombela is spoken of as Zulu ka Ntombela. From this, then, it may be that Zulu originally lived at the Ndhlovane with his father.

The Butelezi, amaQungebe, Imbuyeni, amaCunu, Majola, Xulu, Sikakane, are all tribes which were quite close to Nobamba. There was inter-marriage with them. Tshaka *attacked* and killed off these tribes; he *crept up on them in the night*.

2 Tribes further off were the amaMbata, Gasa, Kumalo, Hlubi, Qwabe, Dube, Langeni, Tembu, Zungu, Makoba.

Dinya says a woman once was with child. She brought one forth who was called Makoba. The woman (said), '*Hold me; there is another in my womb (ozungwini)*.' They thereupon held her and Zungu was born. The Zungu and Makoba people accordingly do not intermarry to this day. This was the origin of the Makoba and Zungu tribes.

6 Mayinga continues.

People say, '*The Qwabe of Nozidiya*.' Nozidiya may be a person.⁶⁷

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This is an *isitakazelo* which is derived from the name of a person.

- 7 A person's name is used as an *isitakazelo*. An important woman's name can also be used as an *isitakazelo*.

Langazana was a wife of Senzangakona. She was *chief wife at Siklebeni*. She had many followers (kraals). Her father was Gubetshe.⁶⁸ Langazana; Bibi (ka Nkobe), sister of Ndhlela; Mpikase of the ama-Qungebe people, mother of Dingana; Songiya, mother of Mpande, daughter of Wolizipi of the Hlabisa people, Wolizipi being Mbopa's father;⁶⁹ Nandi, mother of Tshaka; Nomarawu, chief wife at Dukuza - these are among the wives of Senzangakona.⁷⁰

.... <Linguistic note and praises of Mpande omitted - eds.>

- 10 *The feather of Madolwane, the long one*. It was called Madolwane because of its length, i.e. the *blue crane* feather worn by Tshaka.

I went on the Sikwata campaign as *mat-bearer* for Jojo (ka Mfusi of the *Nxumalo* people) of the Inyosi regiment.⁷¹ This was just before I reached the age of puberty [say about 1854]. My father was in the Mgumanqa regiment; he was a *well-known warrior*. He was *strongly built, with a tough body, i.e. isiqandolo*, referring to a short person, stoutly built.

- 11 I know of the following incident. The son of one Nkunzana of the Ntombela tribe was smelt out by witchdoctors as having *shaved Dabulamanzi* on the crown of the head whilst he was asleep.⁷² A force was sent to kill him. They adopted a plan. Two went up first, saying in answer to questions that they had come in search of Dhlambedhlu cattle (for they belonged to this regiment). Presently two more arrived. Nkunzana was found seated in the cattle kraal *making a basket*. They suddenly set on to him with their *knobbed sticks*, and, believing they had killed him, proceeded to *plunder the homestead*, which was a large one.

- Nkunzana now recovered and went to a hut at the back. He there started praising himself, '*I, Nkunzana wo daka*' etc., adding he would first eat before attending to them. He took a *calabash* and drank some of the *ewrds* into his mouth, then he seized a *basket used for storing upoko millet* and, taking his *assegais* and *large fighting shield*, dashed outside, threatening to assault his assailants. He attacked them, stabbing one through the lower portion of the arm and then through the upper portion (as the arm was bent). The man cried out.
- 12 In the meantime Nkunzana's sons, hearing what had happened - for they were at the stream nearby whence they had gone to wash - rushed home, ran into their *huts* and seized their *assegais* etc. They set on to their (enemies), who by this (time), had increased in numbers, and succeeded in driving them off. It is wonderful what men can do who know their lives are in danger. After this Nkunzana ran off, intending to cross into Natal. On getting as far as the Tukela he decided not to desert his mother country. He accordingly went straight back to his king. When he got to the royal kraal, he, being *related to the royal house*,⁷³ went to the upper end thereof and began *calling out and bongaing* the king in a loud voice. 'Who is that?' asked the king. The *izinceku* approached and found it was Nkunzana. The *bongaing* went on

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- and on. Eventually the king spoke to him and asked what he wanted. He said he had come back to his country and would not desert it, preferring to be killed by his own king rather than do that. This pleased Mpande, who now awarded him a large number of cattle (including those seized from him), and gave his sons about 20 each because of their marked bravery in going to their father's rescue. Nkunzana lived near Gaozi ka Silwana.⁷⁴

11.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 13-17.

Also present: Dinya, Mkotana

Mayinga (Dinya and Mkotana present).

My name Mayinga is in its *tefula* form. It is also Malinga. The Qwabe and Mtetwa would use the *tefula* form.

- There were many *areas of empty land* in the Zulu country. A person would go off without permission and build there. When, however, a quarrel occurred between *izikulu*, the king might say, 'Go, so-and-so, and set up your homestead in such-and-such a place.' Anyone who fell foul of the king would often have to walk a very long way before finding a kraal where he could take refuge. Even before Tshaka came to the throne there was a lot of vacant land; *they were not crowded together, they were in open country*. Cattle might graze and go some three or four miles without coming to a kraal. Nowadays lands are built upon not previously occupied. People only built on patches of land; here a tribe, there a tribe. Tshaka would not allow his people to bear children; that occurred in Dingana's day.

Sotobe ka Mpangalala, under whom I lived, had many followers. He occasionally killed people, no-one going to report to the king. The Ngcolosi and Cele are tribes attacked by Sotobe.

The whole land is the king's. No-one objected to its being lived on. Members of any given tribe might separate from the tribe and live on land they fancied, even though at a distance. Manqondo, for instance, was chief of the Magwaza tribe living opposite Nkandhla mountain, and yet members of this tribe lived at the Mpapala, i.e. with a tribe or two between them and their chief.⁷⁵ And so with Godide ka Ndhlela who lived up the Nsuzi near Qudeni; whereas Mavumengwana and Zinti came and built at the Mpapala.⁷⁶ This separation is not due to quarrelling but simply to inclination. No *district (isigodi)* ever became full.

Dinya speaks. *Separation was caused by growth of numbers (qalwa nge zifu)*. The *umumzana* divided up the land for his own kraal, i.e. gave garden lands to his wives; that has nothing to do with other kraals. In time other kraals encroach. Objecting to this, he might decide to leave the neighbourhood and go elsewhere. He would pick out another vacant space and build there, *because there was no law restricting occupation of land*.⁷⁷ If, however, a tribe encroached on another tribe's lands they resisted one another. If there was no way of reconciling they would go to the king.

Mayinga: *Disputes over land were usually settled by the izinduna,*

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and were not taken to the king. Only a great quarrel, i.e. between *izikulu*, would be brought to the king's notice. Matters were settled by priority of occupation. A man coming to live next to an old established kraal might be told to leave and not to provoke the old settler.

- 16 Mkotana: 'A stick belongs to the one who cuts it.' This principle operates in land matters, especially where a man is encroached upon by some newcomer.

Dinya: Mpande was with Sotobe, Nkunga ka Sitayi, and Mbilini (of the *Mkwanaza* people - a renowned warrior of *Tshaka*) when they came into Natal in 1839.⁷⁸ I then saw Sotobe; he was a mature man (*kehla*) and appeared to me then to be not very much older than Mpande.

Mayinga: Sotobe, when offering praises to the spirits at *Dukuza* (before *Nodwengu* had been established), used to say, 'I am of the age-group of *Jama*; we used to herd large numbers at the *Ndhlovane* before *Senzangakona* was born.'

Sotobe used to speak arrogantly by saying that he was *Nkulunkulu*, that age gave him primacy.⁷⁹

Dinya says: The *insonyama* was never taken to *Tshaka* or other kings. A *duna*, however, might each year, or after a couple of years, present an ox as *insonyama* to the king.⁸⁰

Mayinga adds that *umntwana* would also be sent - *isetulo*.⁸¹

- 17 Mayinga: A man could not be a dog in the manger by claiming a too large piece of land, excluding others from coming there. This would be a great offence, and a person might be killed on the ground that he was laying claim to what was not his but the king's.

Mkotana: Saoti of the *Dumisa* tribe,⁸² at the *Mzinto*, when quarrels about gardens occurred, used to go himself and stand on overlooking ground and, after hearing both sides, decide what the respective holdings should be, and there would be an end of the dispute. Each case will be settled on its merits. 'I ploughed here first.'

1. not unhealthy; 1a. garden land; 2. climate; 2a. water; 3. kraal site; 4. trees, firewood etc.; 5. pasture - these are the main considerations in selecting building sites. 'I came to a country where calves do not die,' i.e. no sickness for stock. He likes it because of that, because it can support livestock. Other land is good for goats.

Ntshuku - *Tshaka*⁸³

Mcekeceke - *Tshaka*

iCenyane - *Dingana*

Inzawu - *Dingana*

Mvutwamini

Ikwani

[Dinya leaves. Madikane arrives.]

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<A number of notes in telegraphic form appear as insertions in the top margin of p. 19 of the original. These we have omitted. They are so brief as to be largely unintelligible, and their authorship is not indicated. Some of them appear to be written up in extended form in the evidence of Mayinga that follows - eds.>

<12.7.1905>

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 19-20.

Also present: Madikane, Mkotana.

Mayinga says: I remember seeing Mpande kill off the Zwangendaba regiment for stealing cattle seized from Swazis after the cattle had been got home.⁸⁴ The regiment was made up of Izinyosi, Imikulutshane, and Imvokwe in a kraal of its own in the *Mahlabatini* country, viz. Kwa Zwangendaba. (Zwangendaba kraal was existing even in Cetshwayo's day. The *induna* appointed after the incident in question was Godide ka Ndhlela and Sofoca ka Njamaisuke of the *Xulu* people. Sofoca was the big *induna*.) The same regiment had previously been accused of stealing the cattle seized at Maqongqo.⁸⁵ They were called up, and came without their weapons. No one might come with assegais or shields to the king's kraal, though they brought their sticks with them in accordance with custom. They came to Siklebe where Mpande was. Mpande now asked Kuzwayo ka Dingiswayo,⁸⁶ the *induna*, also Mtweni ka Ntibela (*induna*), for an explanation of the theft. Mpande had previously thought there were many cattle until advised of the true state of affairs. Kuzwayo, seeing he and his men were in jeopardy, exclaimed, 'Why do you want to kill us, we who *cared for Tshaka?*' (referring to the Mtetwa tribe, to which he personally, and some of the members of his tribe,⁸⁷ belonged, having *brought up Tshaka*). I was at Siklebe that day as *mat-bearer* for Jojo ka Mfusi of the *Nzumalo* people, of the Zwangendaba regiment (originally Inyosi or Ingcobinga). He escaped, for all this regiment was not killed. The *izinduna* and *great men made peace by praising the ancestral chiefs*, for that is the way to *make peace before the king*. (These were, *indunas* such as Lukwazi ka Zwana of the *Ntombela* people, Manyosi ka Dhlekezele, Mbilini (wo Dhlolo - his praise).⁸⁸

They brought down a vulture flying overhead with a gun (in Tshaka's presence to show the power of a gun).

The Mbonambi were killed by Mpande (who asked, where Mtonga was. He accused them of *crossing over* with him. 'Why do you *desert him?*' (They were) killed off.⁸⁹

Notes

¹The uDlokwe (uDloko) *ibutho* was formed in the late 1850s of youths born in the late 1830s.

²Ndukwana and Mkotana were two of Stuart's informants.

³The reference is to the struggle for the succession to the Zulu kingship between Cetshwayo and his half-brother Mbuyazi, a struggle which culminated in a battle at Ndongakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela in 1856.

⁴Sushangane kaZikode of the Ndwandwe people fled from Shaka's armies

MAYINGA

- in the early 1820s, and eventually established the Gasa kingdom on the upper Sabi river in what is now central Mozambique. For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index. On the origins of the Gasa people see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 447-8.
- ⁵The name Mbekuzana (Mbhekuzana) is derived from the verb *ukubhekuzana*, to walk with the buttocks stuck out.
- ⁶Shaka sent expeditions against the Mpondo in 1824 and 1828.
- ⁷The umGumanqa was one of Shaka's early *amabutho*, formed of men born towards the end of the eighteenth century. Zulu kaNogandaya was a famous soldier of Shaka's time.
- ⁸The conventional account is that Shaka was so called because in the early stages of her pregnancy his mother was said to be suffering from *itshaka* or *itshati*, a stomach complaint.
- ⁹The emaHlabathini country about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi was the territory occupied by the Zulu chiefdom in the pre-Shakan period. Nobamba was one of the ancestral Zulu *imizi*.
- ¹⁰Other sources claim that Gendeyana fathered a son, Ngwadi, by Nandi: see for example Bryant, Olden Times, p. 63.
- ¹¹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 46, identifies Nomzinhlanga as a daughter of Senzangakhona's first wife, Mkabi.
- ¹²For Malusi's place in the Nxumalo chiefly line see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 161.
- ¹³Phakathwayo ka Khondlo was chief of the Qwabe.
- ¹⁴According to Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 85, 569-70, a man named Mbikwane kaKhayi of the Mthethwa people was Shaka's 'most tactful and imposing diplomat'. Shaka's mother Nandi was of the Langeni people.
- ¹⁵Bryant gives Nomzinhlanga and Nomcoba as daughters of Senzangakhona by different wives: see Olden Times, pp. 46-7, 49.
- ¹⁶KwaThulwana was presumably the royal *umuzi* where the uThulwana, one of Mpande's *amabutho*, assembled.
- ¹⁷One of Mpande's chief *imizi*.
- ¹⁸Sotobe, who was of the Sibiya people, held high office under both Shaka and Dingane.
- ¹⁹An *inwanqa* (*izwanqa*) is a black beast with white or grey markings; an *inala* is a beast with white spots all over the body.
- ²⁰Mhlangana was another of Senzangakhona's sons.
- ²¹Mvundlana was head of the Biyela people, who were closely related to the Zulu royal house.
- ²²Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's chief *izinduna*.
- ²³The name Velabakuze derives from the verbs *ukuvela*, to appear, and *ukukhuza*, to express surprise.
- ²⁴Madikane's evidence appears in the present volume.
- ²⁵The Msinga division extended over much of the country between present-day Greytown and Pomeroy. The Ilovu and Mzimbaze rivers enter the sea some thirty kilometres south of Durban. Mfume is at the sources of the Mzimbaze. *Umdubu* is a light-brown or dust-coloured beast.
- ²⁶The Nomdayana was one of Shaka's *amabutho*.

- ²⁷ *Ihlanbo*, literally a washing, also denotes the cleansing ceremonies performed to mark the end of a period of mourning. The 'cleansing' campaign here referred to was the attack which Shaka made against the Mpondo in mid-1828 after the death of his mother Nandi in August 1827.
- ²⁸ We have been unable to identify Nhlanganiso.
- ²⁹ Nzibe was a full brother of Mpande.
- ³⁰ We have been unable to identify Nqabeni.
- ³¹ The names mentioned in the two previous sentences are those of chiefs who lived in the country about the upper Phongolo and in what is now the south-eastern Transvaal.
- ³² In the original certain of these questions are scored out: the answers to these are given by Mayinga in the evidence that follows.
- ³³ One of the ancestral Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ³⁴ The Mamba stream joins the Thukela some twenty kilometres east of present-day Kranskop village.
- ³⁵ Ntabankulu mountain rises at the sources of the Black Mfolozi river.
- ³⁶ Nhlazatshe is a mountain on the northern bank of the White Mfolozi west of present-day Mahlabathini village.
- ³⁷ The original has '*Utombile mntwana*'. The verb *ukuthomba* means to ejaculate or menstruate for the first time, hence, to reach the age of puberty. *Umntwana* means an offspring of the royal house.
- ³⁸ One of the Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ³⁹ See Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 112, 131-2.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. the Bomvu chiefly genealogy in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 518.
- ⁴¹ A mountain north of the Thukela and west of present-day Eshowe.
- ⁴² The Zulu chief Jama was father of Senzangakhona.
- ⁴³ Literally, 'Take hold, Sotobe!'
- ⁴⁴ The uKhula stream joins the Nseleni north of present-day Empangeni.
- ⁴⁵ I.e. the *umuzi* at which the inTontela *ibutho* assembled.
- ⁴⁶ The names are those of ancestral figures in the Zulu chiefly line.
- ⁴⁷ Zulu and Qwabe, the founders of the lineages of those names, are traditionally said to be the sons of Malandela.
- ⁴⁸ Ngqengelele kaMvulana of the Buthelezi people is variously given as one of Shaka's *izinduna* or as a menial in his service. Ngomane kaNqombolo of the emDletsheni people held high office under Dingiswayo and Shaka. Mdlaka kaNcidi of the emGazini people was one of Shaka's chief *izinduna*.
- ⁴⁹ This was presumably a song sung by children playing the game of *unobhaqa*. The original reads
'Nobanqa ka Mama, nobanqa!
Imbewana ka Man' ipalele.
Ipalele ngo kwa izolo,
O tandayo a ngahl' a yi cite'.
- ⁵⁰ This presumably means that the Mbelebele *umuzi* was established when men of the Wombe *ibutho* were directed to leave the isiklebhe *umuzi* and set up another *ikhanda*.
- ⁵¹ Nkosenkulu means great chief. There is uncertainty in the published sources as to whether or not there was an ancestral Zulu chief of that name.
- ⁵² The Mvuzane stream joins the Mhlathuze north of present-day Entumeni.
- ⁵³ Emakosini (emakhosini), meaning the place of the kings, refers to the Zulu heartland south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi where the graves of the ancestral Zulu chiefs were situated.
- ⁵⁴ The names given in the two previous sentences are those of Zulu

- royal *imizi*.
- ⁵⁵Shaka defeated Zwide of the Ndwandwe c.1818-1819. The name Gibixegu derives from *ukugiba*, to defeat, and *ixegu*, old man. On the derivation of this name see Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 247; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 586.
- ⁵⁶Bryant describes Manyosi kaDlekezele of the Mbatha people as a 'domestic' in Shaka's service. He was also famed as a glutton. See Olden Times, pp. 174-5, 225-6.
- ⁵⁷A reference to the attack made on Cetshwayo's uSuthu following by Zibhebhu ka Maphitha, leader of the Mandlakazi, in July 1883.
- ⁵⁸For accounts of Sotobe's embassy to the Cape in 1828 see Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 616 ff.
- ⁵⁹For discussion of the terms Ntungwa and Lala, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7-9, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index. '...came down by means of a grain basket' is our translation of the original's '*wehla ngesilulu*'. The historical connotations of this phrase are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467. On the derogatory connotations of the name Lala see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118. *Inhlwenga* is a derogatory term applied to an individual of the peoples living between the Zulu kingdom and Delagoa Bay.
- ⁶⁰On the name Lubololwenja or Lufenulwenja, meaning dog's penis, as an *isibongo* of the Zulu, cf. Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 174; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 221-2.
- ⁶¹*Izilulu* (loc. *ezilulwini*) is the plural form of *isilulu*, a grain basket.
- ⁶²The uKhomu hill is south-east of present-day Nkandla village on the road to Eshowe.
- ⁶³For discussion of the term Nguni see the references as for the terms Ntungwa and Lala in note 59 above.
- ⁶⁴The two previous sentences occur in the original as insertions in the upper margin of p. 21.
- ⁶⁵Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 19-20.
- ⁶⁶Presumably a reference to the capture of Cetshwayo by British troops in the Ngome forest in August 1879.
- ⁶⁷Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 186-7.
- ⁶⁸Of the Sibiya people.
- ⁶⁹Cf. the Hlabisa chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 61. The Mbopha here mentioned should be distinguished from Mbopha kaSitayi, one of Shaka's *izinduna* who was involved in his assassination.
- ⁷⁰Cf. the information on Senzangakhona's wives given by Bryant in Olden Times, pp. 46-53.
- ⁷¹The reference is to the attack made by Mpande in late 1851 on Sekwati, chief of the Pedi living in what is now the eastern Transvaal.
- ⁷²The reference is presumably to Dabulamanzi, son of Mpande.
- ⁷³The Ntombela lineage was closely related to that of the Zulu.
- ⁷⁴Presumably Gawozi kaSilwana, chief of the Ndlovu section of the Mpungose people in Mpande's time. According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 29, Gawozi was placed by Mpande in territory north of the upper

Mlalazi river.

- ⁷⁵For Manqondo's place in the Magwaza chiefly genealogy, see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 124, 127. The Mpapala flats lie to the west of Eshowe at the source of the Matigulu river.
- ⁷⁶Mavumengwana and Zinti were sons of Ndlela of the Ntuli people, one of Dingane's chief *izinduna*. Qudeni mountain overlooks the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi from the east.
- ⁷⁷The original reads, '...ngob' izwe la li nge namteto'.
- ⁷⁸A reference to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839. Nkunga kaSitayi was presumably a brother of Mbopha (see note 69 above). We have been unable to identify Mbilini.
- ⁷⁹This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 16. There is no indication as to which of the informants present at the interview gave this information. The original reads, 'uSotobe waye cakatisile (= delela) ngokuti uyena nkulunkulu - u yena mdala!' UNkulunkulu means Supreme Being.
- ⁸⁰Bryant, Dictionary, p. 122, gives *iduna* as '...a highest-class *i-nDuna*, of which there were only a few in Zululand, forming, as it were, the ministry of the Zulu king'.
- ⁸¹The construction and punctuation of this sentence in the original renders its meaning ambiguous. It could mean either 'Mayinga adds that the prince (*umntwana*) would also be sent a presentation (*isetulo*)', or 'Mayinga adds that a child (*umntwana*) would also be sent - a presentation'.
- ⁸²Sawoti was chief of the Duma people in the Alexandra division in the late 19th century.
- ⁸³This list occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 14. The names are those of women's *amabutho* formed by Shaka and Dingane; cf. the list in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645. There is no indication that the list was given by Mayinga rather than the other informants present at the interview.
- ⁸⁴Presumably a reference to the Zulu attack on the Swazi in 1852.
- ⁸⁵The amaQongqo are hills north of the upper Mkhuze where Mpande's forces defeated those of Dingane in January 1840.
- ⁸⁶Dingiswayo was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century. For Khuzwayo's place in the Mthethwa chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 85.
- ⁸⁷By 'tribe' as used in this context is presumably meant 'following'.
- ⁸⁸Lukwazi kaZwana (Mazwana), a member of the Ntombela chiefly lineage, had risen to high office under Dingane: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 560; Stuart Archive, p. 165. For Manyosi see note 56 above.
- ⁸⁹The notes in the previous two paragraphs occur in the original as insertions in the upper margins of p. 20. Mthonga was a son of Mpande who fled, first to the British in Natal, and then to the Boers in what is now the Utrecht district of Natal, early in 1861 when his life was threatened by Cetshwayo, his brother and rival for the succession.

MAZIYANA KA MAHLABENI

20.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 15-16, 23-4.

Also present: Nodwengu, Socwatsha

15 Maziyana arrives, 20.4.1905, with Nodwengu.

Women do not go (herd) to the king's eating cattle, for (his) personal use - only men.

Mcotoyi ka Mnini ka Manti (Mabona) ka Mzoywane ka Dole ka Sivuba ka Mayiya (Mayiwe) ka Dambela ka Lutuli ka Nkomo ka Ncamuzakancane.¹

I am of the amaNdelu tribe. I am of the same age as the Isangqu regiment, but was never *buta'd*.² My father was Mahlabeni.

16 Our chiefs: Mzingelwa (living at the Mtwalume above where the Izinkumbi live; he pays hut tax at Mzinto) ka Sonsukwana ka Ndelu (was called after a preceding chief of the tribe) ka Mangcuka ka Jele ka Mgwabatshi ka Magininda ka Majojobela ka Ndelu.³

Our ancestors came here to Natal with the Tulis. The Tulis came from far down the Izimfolozi (rivers), near the sea and the Mtetwa tribe. From there they came to the Matikulu and from thence to Port Natal, Esibubulungu.⁴

23 Maziyana (and Nodwengu). Socwatsha present.

Ntaba's principal kraal was Kwa Gobela, built near the Marianhill Trappists.⁵

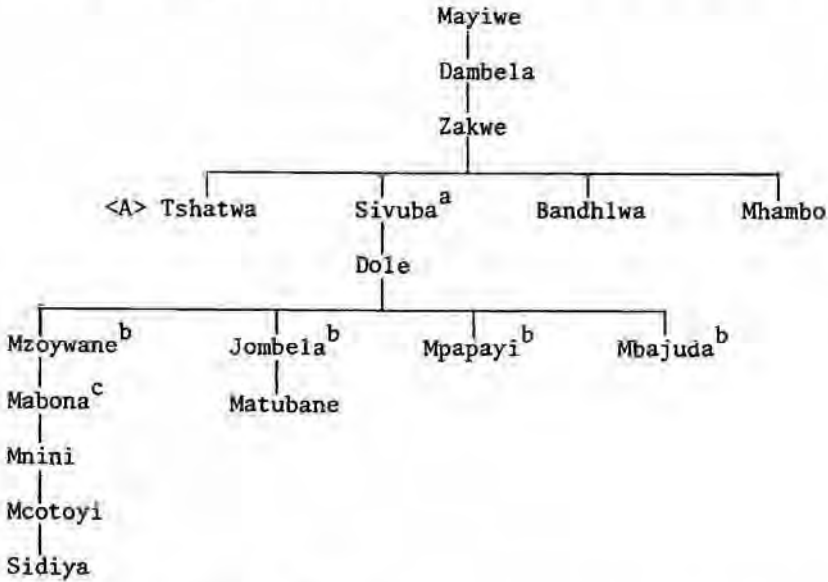
Myebu's chief kraal was Kwa Gobela; it was in that that Ntaba grew up.⁶ Tusi ka Myebu (*a younger brother of Ntaba*) went out and built Kwa Gwabalanda on the site of Pinetown itself. *The left-hand section (ikohlo)* also went off with Nongwadi; this was built at Mbumbulu. The name was generally known simply as Ekohlo; though there was a name it fell into disuse. Mnyama went off with Nguqe ka Myebu and built *the Emyameni kraal*; it was built where the Mlazi and Umncadodo conjoin. Cogi went off with the emaVanganeni kraal; it was built on the north side of the Mkomazi above where Mcotoyi now lives. Ncwane went off and built where Chief Ndunge now lives; his kraal was Emnyoko.⁷ Mancamane separated off with the oNyazini (kraal).

24 Tshatwa was a son of Zakwe, (from) whom all the Tulis are descended. Mkwici is a son of Mande ka Zakwe. I fancy Dambela is a son of Lutuli, not Mayiwe (Mayiya). Dambela ka Mayiwe ka Zuba ka Mqayana ka Lutuli ka Nkomo ka Ncamuzakancane. Tshatwa is the son of Zakwe, and

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not of Sivuba. Sivuba is a son of Zakwe.

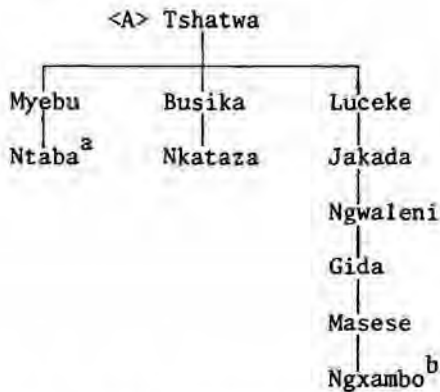
<In the genealogies that follow we have used the symbol A to indicate a relationship which is indicated in the original by a conventional genealogical descent line - eds.>



^a Younger brother of Tshatwa.

^b These four sons of Dole were all of one woman. Her name was Ma'ahlisa, a girl of the Emambilini people.

^c Manti was an *isibongo*.



^a His mother was a girl of the Emambilini people; her name was Mantite.

^b Mcotoyi's big *induna*.

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Zakwe ⁸	Bandhlwa
Mhambo	Lubanga
Mkwici	Sopoyiya
	Mgcagcama

'He was killed in the *izwekufa*'. *Izwekufa* is when the country was ruined by Tshaka.⁹

<21.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 62, pp. 6-22.

Also present: Socwatsha

6 Maziyana continues, Socwatsha present.

My father was born in the Tuli tribe. He was *authorized to put on the headring* by Mabona (i.e. Manti). He was of the same age as the uFasimba in Zululand.¹⁰ He was not recruited in the Tuli tribe, for in those days there was no recruiting in these territories. Mniini, however, *formed amabuto* later on. I was born about two or three years prior to Tshaka's death in 1828, and shortly after *the mourning for Nandi*, when the order was given that people could bear children again.¹¹ I was born on the Bluff side of the Mlazi, low down. We drew water from that river.

'Masdirik' ['Maastirik' is the exact pronunciation] is the pronunciation of the name of the first European I know of who came to Port Natal. [I cannot imagine who this can be.] He was followed by Febana.¹ 'Masdirik' merely called and then went on. It was in Tshaka's reign. He then went off. This ship came from eBayi [Algoa Bay]. 'Masdirik' was an Englishman. I did not see him but I heard about him. [Could this have been Capt. W.F.W. Owen in the 'Leven'??]¹³

When Febana arrived he found no fires burning anywhere on these hills except on the Bluff. They, seeing smoke there, crossed over. Matubane was then in charge of the Tuli tribe.¹⁴ Febana asked the cause of there being no people. Matubane explained this was due to Tshaka. On further inquiries Febana ascertained Tshaka's whereabouts, and asked Matubane if he would conduct him to T. Matubane agreed. Men were furnished by Matubane to carry things to Tshaka's kraal. Matubane took the white people to Magaye (Cele chief). Messengers were sent on to Tshaka to say, 'Here are some *strange beasts (izilwane)* who have arrived.' Tshaka then directed that Matubane was to bring the white people on to him. They went. The things carried were presented to Tshaka. He then gave them presents of cattle, and gave an order to the Zulu people to the effect that the white people could help themselves to a beast wherever they might put up for the night.¹⁵ Febana then returned and cut down trees and built his establishment and called it Isinyama. The site of it is where the court-house at present stands. Those who had hidden away by ones and twos in the bushes about Port Natal came out of their places of refuge on seeing food available.

Mbulazi went across the Umzimkulu, finding the *Xolo people* and the

9 *Tshabeni* people.¹⁶ He returned with them to Esinyameni. The Europeans thereupon married native women. There were some of lesser rank than Farewell and Fynn.

After their arrival, Kamu Kengi [Captain King] arrived, accompanied by Mis Isisi [Isaacs], a young man afterwards called by natives *uDambuza m tabate, u zimema ze Ngome*.¹⁷ The occasion of his getting this praise was when he went to Zululand and was stabbed by the *Kumalo* people at the *Ngome* (up the *isikwebezi*).¹⁸ He had the wound in the thigh, in front; I do not know which thigh.

10 Kamu Kengi asked Matubane to take him too to the Zulu king. Matubane took him to Tshaka. Tshaka was glad to see him, presented him with cattle and with *plumes of the black finch*, and said, 'You are of the *Fasimba*,' i.e. belong to the regiment of that name. Kengi came back and built himself a house on the Bluff where Mr 'Bower' lived afterwards. Mrs 'Bower' is living there now. Her husband is dead. Natives called him *uMfitshane*. Kengi called his establishment *Esihlengeni*.

Tshaka asked Kamu Kengi to build a boat (*winkumbu*), for that he had come in had been destroyed. Kengi said, 'There are no people to help me.' T. said, 'Matubane has people.' The boat was built in due course, and its completion reported to Tshaka. T. then told Sotobe ka Mpangalala to take a favourite wife - Mbozamboza was Sotobe's attendant; he was a *mature man*; he was *his ipini* - and go with him *abroad*.¹⁹ Klaju went with him, Klaju ka Nomdayi ka Sinda ka Mtukuteli ka Ncindi ka Ndababa ka Mtembu of the *Ematulini* people but really of the *abaTanjini* tribe. He was the interpreter who went along with Sotobe.²⁰ Sotobe took his *dancing dress, war shield, assegai, headband* (with *crane* feather), and *oxtails* for (decorating) the arms. Sotobe took his favourite wife *Ntombintombi* of Zululand, and entered the ship.

11 Kamukengi took him to eBayi. He was kept outside. Communications took place, leading to Sotobe being landed there. He *put on his finery*. He said he was going *over the sea*. Klaju was directed to tell Sotobe that Tshaka's words would not be taken *over the sea*; they would go no further. Interviews took place. It was decided that letters would be sent forward to report the arrival of the messenger. He, Sotobe, had a house set apart for him. Whilst here he was frequently visited by '*great people*' (*amakosi*). For each of these visits he had to *dress up* and be interpreted for by Klaju. (Klaju had learnt English from Kamu Kengi for whom he worked inside the house.)

12 Later on letters came from the *Amazosa* country to say Tshaka's army was killing *amaXoza* and that therefore Sotobe had something to answer for.²¹ A force was got to resist the invaders. Sotobe was called and questioned. He said T.'s troops could easily be distinguished. The Europeans threatened to kill him when they returned if the men turned out to be Tshaka's. It was found the men were Tshaka's but they did not kill of *Matiwana* as supposed but by an European force.²² The remainder *konza'd Faku* of *Pondoland*. *Matiwana* was called there *Marwanqana*. Sotobe after this was well treated, taken all about the town, and put on board a two-mast schooner and conveyed back to Natal. S. went to see Tshaka, was presented with cattle, and shortly after, T. was put to death.

Kamu Kengi died prior to T.'s death. Some illness seized him. After T.'s death *Febana, Mbulazi* and others made off to the Cape. Mis

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Isis, Wohlo, Jana (Cane), Damuse, Diki Kingi were those who did not run away.²³

3 Shortly after Febana had left, Nqeto *deserted from the Zulu country* and went to Pondoland.²⁴ Febana returned overland although he had gone off by sea; he had a waggon with him. He found Nqeto at the Msi-kaba *in the Amampondo country*. F. *outspanned his waggon*. The people said, 'He is going to Zululand and will call on the Zulus to attack us.' They then killed him, for the waggons had not *outspanned at the homestead* but at a distance. Those on the waggons escaped. Febana had gone on a visit to Nqeto, where he had put up a tent. After this those with Febana came on to Natal to report his death.²⁵

Wohlo, Jana, Mbulazi, Mis Isis after this continued on at Port Natal.

Nhlamba said to Dingana, '*There are red-clothed people who recognize no chief.*'²⁶ Jana and Damuse went off to Dingana to *konza*. They found a *large number of men* had assembled. Nhlamba was absent. Dingana 14 said to them, 'Is it fact that *there are people who do not recognize a king, people with red clothes?*' Jana replied, '*Where has the king heard this?*' They denied the charge. D. said, 'Would you kill the person who says this of you?' They said, holding up their hats in the air, 'How did the king come to divine our wish?' Jana then said to Wohlo to call Nhlamba. Nhlamba came and was put to death by Wohlo. Wohlo was asked to send for him as he had not been to Dingana with the others and so no suspicion would attach to him. Dingana no sooner heard of this than he attacked the Europeans. They and all their followers fled to the Cape, leaving only Mnini and his adherents, who resorted once again to the forests.²⁷

Jana was the only white man who remained here. Mnini remained there 15 with only four kraals. Whilst here, Dabeka (Mqawe's father) *of the amaQadi people* and Mnguni ka Mtshiyana, chief of the Tshangase tribe, arrived here.²⁸ The Njanduna was also *killed in the Zulu country*, namely those made into a *buto* by Tshaka, (those) taken from the Cele.²⁹

After the arrival of these three sections of people, people emerged once more from the forests and there was peace.

Shortly after this the Boers arrived.

Klaju is the one who told me of Mas-dirik. This white man came prior to my birth but in Tshaka's reign. It is possible he may have come from the Portuguese at or near Delagoa Bay.

I know of Mpipi and Hasazi, but disagree with Maquza when he says they and not Matubane introduced the Europeans to Tshaka.³⁰ It is 16 unnatural that they could have done so, as Matubane was at Port Natal when the Europeans arrived. What probably happened was that the white men used to sleep at Mpipi's when on their way to Magaye and Tshaka - nothing more. The truth is that Matubane effected the introduction, and he returned with the cattle presented him by the king.

Febana built a 'camp', with an enclosure. He did not build a native kraal, nor did he marry native women. He built it of *umhluma* wood, to keep (out) *hyenas* and *leopards*. All slept inside, for there were no people or kraals about. The very first man who came to give his allegiance to Farewell was Jadilili ka Pudwa ka Ngozi ka Nyanise *of the Mfeka section of the Tuli people*, and Ndandane ka Mantiyane ka Ngamelwa *of the Mapumulo people*, (and) Mdhliwa ka Magoda *of the emakanyaweni (a people just across - north of - the Mngeni)*. Jadilili was

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actually the first arrival. The Mfeka people lived under Tusi ka Myebu near Pinetown.

- 17 There is a tradition to the effect that Europeans arrived at Port Natal in Dole's day. They were *driven away* by Dole because he was hostile and determined to do away with everyone here. Some of the Europeans, however, remained and intermarried with natives, and their children married natives. I have myself seen a man, Mpazima ka Boko ka Vondwe (an European) who was one of these Europeans' descendants. I saw him when I was about six or eight years of age [i.e. about 1834]. He was well advanced in age, about my father's age. He grew up in Mabona's (Manti's) reign. Mpazima was *light in colour* and it was clear to me that he was descended from an European. I could see this from his hair. His sisters too were *light in colour* etc. like him. His property was *inherited* by Wohlo. He said to Wohlo, 'I have no one of my people here; I am descended from a European.' Wohlo presented Mpazima's wife with two head of cattle on account of her daughter Nolinda whom he inherited. He did this after Mpazima's death. The girl was married to another person, Funwayo, who paid her *lobolo* cattle to Wohlo. Funwayo was son of Mpopomo of the Tuli people. Funwayo's heir - but not by this wife - was Ndhlela (deceased). Funwayo afterwards went off to Ozwatini [at the source of the Mdhloti, where Socwatsha's people left from to go to Zululand, when he had already married and had a child], so I lost sight of him, says Maziyana, and do not know his issue by Nolinda.
- 18

- I am sure Isinyama is the name of Febana's establishment. He had his own wife - European. Jana (Cane) took over this name, saying 'Esi-nyameni'. He built it at the Lovu. Another was built across the Umzinto, in charge of Nkayitshana; (it was) also called Isinyama. I saw Febana's Isinyama homestead when a young lad. It was then occupied by Jana (John Cane). Its position was exactly where the court-house now stands.
- 19

Mbulazi's kraal was Ensimbini; (it was) built at the Mlazi, near Mr Lamport [?]. He left there and built south of the Mzimkulu.

When Tshaka fought Sikunyana he called on Europeans to assist. They did so. Fynn went. 'USutu' cattle were seized. Mbulazi got a share of these and brought them back and established his Insimbi kraal with them.³¹

- When the Ndwandwe *impi* under Zwide invaded Zululand, Tshaka withdrew, burning and destroying everything as he went.³² The Mdadasa regiment under Lukilimba, however, came into conflict with Zwide's forces and was repulsed. Tshaka at a later date, having heard of this occurrence, was dissatisfied with Lukilimba's conduct, for by opposing the invaders and allowing them to make a feint on him, he thereby drew Zwide's forces onto the Zulus. Zwide was still living at this time. T. now said to Lukilimba, 'What were you doing, drawing the enemy on? Go and die in the wilderness, so that you will be removed from my sight.' (I.e. he would be destitute, and would be killed by anything that might chance to come in contact with him.) Lukilimba went off to eNtumbankulu, on the north side of the Mzimkulu, in the Port Shepstone magisterial district. He went off simply with the section (*isigaba*) of the Mdadasa which he commanded, not the whole regiment.
- 20

Later on Tshaka, who was obviously fond of the man, for he did not

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- have him killed - no doubt because he was a brave man - sent an *impi* south (*the Amabece campaign*). This *impi* came to hear of Lukilimba having built at the spot referred to, and reported the fact to Tshaka.
- 21 Tshaka now directed Matubane to go and fetch Lukilimba back. Matubane collected a force of his men together and proceeded to execute the order. Lukilimba heard of the approaching of a force and prepared to receive it. Matubane, not sure if the report to the king was correct, decided to send two men to spy and get necessary information. They did so, finding the *impi* collected as stated. Matubane now advanced, and as he came near, caused *the praises of Tshaka* to be recited in a loud voice, and when he had completed *praising* him Lukilimba realized that the expedition had come from the king and for no hostile purpose. He allowed Matubane to come in and eventually to seize him by the arm and carry him off to Tshaka. When they got to Tshaka he presented both Matubane and Lukilimba with a large number of cattle. Of his share,
- 22 Lukilimba took a portion and gave them to Matubane, saying, 'I would not have received what I have but for you.'³³

[Maziyana has no Lala accent. He speaks the ordinary Zulu dialect and does not even *tefula*. Mcoyoyi on the other hand *tekeza's* slightly, though the dialect he speaks is the ordinary Zulu one.]

<22.4.1905>

File 62, nbk. 63, pp. 14-24.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu

- 14 Maziyana says: I never saw Mbozamboza but knew Klaju. He *put on the headring* whilst we were still boys. He died subsequently to the Zulu war. He knew English well. I do not know what the Europeans called him. Klaju ka Nomdayi ka Sindo ka Mtukuteli ka Ncindi ka Ndababo ka Mtembu. Klaju was Kam' Kengi's interpreter.

Tshaka used to speak direct to Matubane and not through his *izinduna* as in the case of other people.

- 15 Klaju is the person who gave me the particulars regarding Sotobe's visit to Port Elizabeth. Klaju, after King's death, attached himself to a ship's captain and with him travelled to America, to England, to some 'French land', and to Portuguese territory at Delagoa Bay. When he left the sea he worked for Jemuse (a white man who was here prior to Beningfield's arrival).³⁴ He went with him on a trading trip to Zulu land.³⁵ When he got to Sigwebana's (ka Mudhli) kraal, probably on the Ndulinde,³⁶ he was informed that a young European boy called Jeke, who was an *isikonzi* at Ntonteleni kraal,³⁷ had plucked new mealies and eaten them prior to the Feast of the First Fruits, i.e. before the king had partaken of them. This matter Sigwebana looked on in a serious light. Jeke belonged to Jemuse's party even though he *konza'd* at Ntonteleni. Klaju acted as interpreter and duly impressed on Jemuse the gravity of the offence committed by Jeke, and as the king had already heard of this and was extremely angry, advised an immediate return to Natal. Jemuse, however, would not take the advice and decided on pushing on to see the king himself at Mgungundhlovu (Dingana was now reigning). On getting to the Great Place he outspanned. No one came anywhere near

them, and yet on ordinary occasions waggons were met by many long before actually arriving at the kraal. Presently two *izinduna* came, in company with *izikulu*.³⁸ The *izinduna* came bringing some old, injured cattle horns as well as eaten hides for purposes of barter.

- 16 These Jemuse refused to barter for. They behaved towards him in a lawless manner, practically blackmailing him. They each *bullied* him by making importunate demands for presents, demands which, under the circumstances, amounted to extortion. At first Jemuse resisted their demands but presently yielded, giving them a whole packet of beads.

It was after parleying that they caused Klaju to be lifted up and carried off in the direction of Kwa Matiwane (place of execution) to frighten him and the white man, so that on Klaju being brought back, he, as he had agreed with the *indunas* to do, recommended and induced J. to accede to their demands, whereupon J. gave the beads as stated. Klaju called J.'s attention to his warning when at Sigwebana's, and said this was a sign of the trouble he had anticipated. After the *izinduna* left, a girl from the *isigodhlo* came to the waggon, over part of which Jemuse had erected a temporary tent covering. *She forced her way in*. She pulled the cloth aside and *uncovered* him, and finding J.

- 17 crying with rage, shouted out that that was the case. Upon hearing her shouting there immediately collected a great crowd, which proceeded to loot the things from the waggon before J.'s eyes and carry them into their huts. Everything was seized, the waggon being left empty.

In view of what had happened, having had no interview with the king, J. decided to inspan at night and return to Natal. When all were asleep he inspanned and, driving his other stock ahead, trekked to Sigwebana's and from thence into Natal. From Port Natal he went away down the coast to the Cape Colony [Port Elizabeth] - eBayi - where he got into communication with Wohlo (who was, then at eRini [Grahamstown], learning from him that he and others of Tshaka's *white men* had fled from Natal on account of Dingana's hostility. Klaju asked leave to see Wohlo etc. This was granted, whereupon Wohlo said he was returning to Natal and Klaju must go with him. He advised Klaju, who was still with Jemuse, to *take leave* of his master and return with him to Zululand. Klaju did so, being presented by J. with a number of cattle as payment for his services.

As regards Jemuse's affair, no case was tried, no inquiry held, nor was compensation of any kind given. He, however, escaped not only with his waggon and oxen but with cattle he had been bartering for, these having been driven ahead of the waggon right on to Port Elizabeth.

- 18 I never saw Sotobe.

Collis (Kolise) arrived after Dingana had *scattered* the white people. Jemuse is therefore not Collis (James Collis) but someone else.

[Is not Jeke 'the boy John Ross' referred to by Isaacs in his book?]³⁹

Neither Jemuse nor Jeke ever returned to Natal, says Maziyana.

Nhlamba had his kraal (in Dingana's reign) at Kwa Mpofu (a large flat between the Mhlatuzana and Mlazi). The name of his kraal was eku-Weleni. Tshaka *allocated to him people of Magaye's place*.⁴⁰

Tshaka never divulged what Nhlamba told him about (what) the white people did and were. The only occasion on which he did so was when he

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9 directed Kam' Kengi to build a boat to take his people to go and see the white people's king (i.e. to see the people Nhlamba had been telling him so much about). Dingana, on the other hand, questioned the Europeans as already stated on a matter he obviously ought to have kept to himself, i.e. for Nhlamba's safety.

When Tshaka was assassinated, Dingana caused Magaye, Zihlandhlo, Matubane, and Sambela to be put to death, men who had ruled with Tshaka.⁴¹ Nhlamba then left from the other side of the Mdhloti and settled on the flat just referred to. His kraal there was known as ukuWela.

Sambela was a son of Gwabe. S. followed Zihlandhlo in age.

Nhlamba, on leaving the Mdhloti, left with his followers, given him by Tshaka, and settled on the flat in question close to - on the Durban side of - Lambode's old sugar mill [Lamport's?].

22.4.1905, 7.20 p.m. Maziyana, Socwatsha, and Nodwengu.

20 The Zulu impi which attacked Jana (Cane) at Port Natal was under the command of Zulu ka Nogandaya.⁴² [Correct: vide p. 247, ii, Isaacs.]

When Mpande left Zululand and came to Natal he visited the Boers at Kangelana.⁴³ They wanted to know if he had really left Zululand and was not deceiving them. Mpande was conveyed to Pietermaritzburg, where he saw the principal Boer chief. The Boers said, 'We'll see if what you say is true, because there will be fighting between you and Dingana.'

Zulu ka Nogandaya came into Natal with Mpande. Wohlo said to Zulu, 'I shall hide you; I shall give you help. Go to Gagamela ka Jojoza, chief of the Ndwalana tribe, at Faku's in the Mpondo country, because you finished off the people at Ndongakusuka' (a battle fought near the country of the whites).⁴⁴

21 In the Ndongakusuka battle, Nondinisa ka Mabangwini ka Njabuza of the Tuli people was wounded. He belonged to Jana's (Cane's) impi. He was wounded at the back of his neck. He afterwards, as Socwatsha says, lived at Zwatini. Some of the tribe paid tax in Greytown; others at Mapumulo.

Zulu then went off to the Amampondo. And when Smith brought forces to Natal he accompanied Smith.⁴⁵

Tshaka went twice south - two campaigns.⁴⁶ On the 'amabece' campaign the Zulu were cut up by the Mpondo, for three Zulu units (amabandhla) were finished off. But the Zulu got the better of them and succeeded in seizing some of their cattle, but not many. Tshaka did not accompany this impi. This force got to the end of their cattle (meat supply) and suffered from hunger. They were obliged to eat melons (amabece) and wild plants. The melons were eaten at the Umzinhlamvu, this side of the Umzimvubu but high up from the sea.

22 This force's object was to 'fetch' Madikane, the Baca chief who had run off south from Natal and Zululand. He had been living at Emkambatini (Table Mountain) near Pietermaritzburg. The army crossed the Tukela into Natal well above Greytown (say opposite Msinga) and travelled right under the Drakensberg - they skirted along the Drakensberg range. The force travelled southwards, sweeping round,

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slightly entered Pondo territory, and made its way along the coast back to Zululand, crossing the Mzimkulu in the neighbourhood of Port Shepstone. They failed to find Madikane, as he had taken refuge among the Amaxoza far inland. The force then entered Pondoland, coming to Manci's territory (a Pondo *induna*). They merely effected an entrance and made a slight seizure of cattle. The Pondos came to the attack. The Pondos *sika'd*, i.e. *stabbed* (the word *sika* is used in this way by Pondos, not by Zulus) three regiments. Seeing this, Mdhlaka reinforced the three regiments being defeated by *youths* and got the better of the Pondos.⁴⁷ After this the Zulus came back homewards. *Faku used supernatural forces to set hyenas of the forests on to them.* The *hyenas* ate the Zulu cattle as well as the members of the force, and followed the force until it got to the isiBubulungu and across the Tukela into Zululand.

It was on this return journey that Lukilimba was found to be residing at the Mzimkulu [see preceding notebook].

When the *impi* got back *its experiences were related* before Tshaka, who directed Matubane (Tuli chief) to go and *spy in the Mpondo country*. He went, and returned with one beast - a black heifer. He went with a force. On his way back he came across two Pondos from the *Ngutshana people* (Pondo tribe) going further south into Pondoland, driving this black beast. Matubane, desiring to have tangible evidence of the fact that he had been into Pondoland to spy, lay in wait for the two men, swooped on and killed them, and drove back the beast to show Tshaka. The beast was taken to Tshaka in support of the statement to be made by Matubane regarding his journey. It was some months after, when the rivers had all gone down, i.e. in winter time, that the *ihlamba impi* left to attack the Pondos.⁴⁸

The *amabece impi* was under the command of Mdhlaka (commander-in-chief), Mpangazita ka Mncumbata (Fasimba *induna*), Nomapela of the *Ndwandwe people* (Nobamba regiment), Klwana ka Ngqengelele (Mbelebele regiment), Manjanja ka Nhlambela (regiment?), Mvundhlana ka Menziwa ka Xoko of the *Biyela people* (the *Ntshangase*) ka Mamba of the *Zulu people* (regiment?).⁴⁹ This *amabece campaign* took place prior to the arrival of the white people at Port Natal.

22.4.1905, 8.25 p.m.

File 62, nbk, 64, pp. 1-4.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu?

1 Maziyana continues.

The *melons* referred to were found on old habitation sites of the Pondos. The men were so hungry (famished) that they ate them uncooked.

Tshaka's tactics were to *attack unexpectedly*, says Socwatsha. Any *induna* coming back and reporting that *so-and-so had remained behind, so-and-so had remained behind* (i.e. deaths) would cause the king to be very angry and kill the *induna*.

When the *amabece campaign* took place, Natal had been already denuded of inhabitants, north as well as south. Mmini and his small following alone remained about the Bluff.

Tshaka himself did not accompany the *amabece impi*. Mdhlaka was in supreme command. Mdhlaka's sons are Febana, of the *Nsele section*

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(*isigaba*) of the *Ngwegweni* regiment, living at Kwa Magwaza under Chief Ndube ka Manqondo; Mbonypansi, living, of the *Emgazini* tribe at the place of *Masipula* - he pays tax in Paulpietersberg; Mahlahlana, dead.

Mlokotwa ka Febana is able to *recite the praises of the emGazini notables*, *Masipula*, *Mdhlaka* etc. Febana could give names of all the *izinduna of the army* etc.

.... <Praises of *Mdhlaka* omitted - eds.>

S. thinks Febana was called after Farewell.

In the *hlambo campaign*, Tshaka commanded in person. He crossed the *Mzimkulu* and took up a position there whilst the *impi* went on ahead under the command of *Mdhlaka*. Faku directed his men not to attack but to allow the *Zulus* to seize cattle. The force accordingly proceeded far away south as far as *Esikaleni se Nyoka in the country of the Bomvana people*. On their way thither the *Pondos* made no attack at all on them; they did not molest in any way. Tshaka himself stayed in *Mbulazi's kraal* a short distance across the *Mzimkulu*. The *impi* seized cattle and returned with them. The *Pondos* kept out of sight. Faku went off to the *Drakensberg*. His own cattle were not seized. He took off his father *Ngqungqushu's* cattle too. The cattle taken were those of his people, *light-brown ones (ezimdubu)*. Tshaka remained with the *Nobamba* regiment at the *Mzimkulu*. There was also a regiment of girls, the *uNkisimana*. There were also *girls of the king's mdhlunkulu*. The *Nkisimana* was *butwa'd* at *Dukuza*. The *Mcekeceke* and *Ntshuku* were collected in *Zululand*.⁵⁰

The name of the flat between the *Mhlatuzana* and *Mlazi*, *Kwa Mpofu*, is not derived from the fact that the *amaMpofana* people used formerly to live there or near there.

23.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 64, pp. 4, 6-20.

Also present: *Socwatsha*, *Nodwengu*.

Maziyana, *Socwatsha*, and *Nodwengu* present.

The *amaTuli* drove out the *amaMpofana* from this region. They also drove out the *amaNqondo*, *amaJali* (not *amaNtshali*), *amaNtshangase*, *im'Zindhle*, *amaKanyawo*, *imTwana*, *amaCi*. All these, among the *Pondos*, are known as *Abambo*, for they all went south to the *Pondos* when driven out by the *amaTuli*.⁵¹ These are said to have gone up (*kupuka'd*) to the *amaMpondo*, not gone down (*euka'd*), for *Zululand* is known as *umzansi*, i.e. below, or those below.

Socwatsha corroborates this about *Pondos* speaking of *Zulus* etc. as *umzansi*. 'Look at this fine person; he cuts to let the bad blood out; he even jabs into his mother's vagina, but still he can't get it out' - the latter an insulting expression. Those who in *Cetshwayo's* day came to *Durban* etc. and travelled to *Pondoland* to buy *genet skins* came back with these accounts.

6 These various tribes, says Maziyana, became amaMpondo. The Tulis *hatched an evil plot to overcome other peoples*, for wherever they found members of these tribes they *impaled them through the anus on the posts of the umuzi fences*. In consequence of this practice all the old tribes ran off.

The amaMpofana are those who were at the isiBubulungu, *at the 'ford'*. (People spoke of the Bay as having a 'ford' and still do, because ships come in and because persons crossed the Bay not far from Kangelana.) IsiBubulungu is an ancient name. I do not know why. The amaMpofana ate fish and caught them; *they trapped them by means of izintango*.⁵² These were ordinary persons, not specially *light in colour (mpofu)*. I have heard old people say Nomabunga ka Nkowane was their chief.

7 It was Dole who seized the Bluff from the amaMpofana, Dole ka Sivuba ka Zakwe etc. Mkokeleli married Matu, the daughter of Sivuba.⁵³ Matu was got from Sivuba whilst the Tulis were still at the amaTikulu. Sivuba, Zakwe, and Tshatwa are all buried in Zululand at the amaTikulu. I am sure Sivuba died at Matikulu. The Tulis did not, in Zululand, live on the coast and seashore as they did in Natal, nor did Myebu do so, for his territory lay about Pinetown and stretched away to the Mkomazi as far as the Ngilanyoni hill, on the north side of the Mkomazi.

Nodwengu observes that Ngilanyoni is the same name as Inhlazuka, the mountain opposite Mkunya.

When the Tulis came south they were accompanied by the amaMbili, amaKomo, Isicaka (of the Cele tribe),⁵⁴ uTshaba of Gwayi, uGwayimbili.

The amaMbili built south of the Mkomazi and *as far as the Mzimkulu*. The amaKomo *extended from the Ngilanyoni to Camperdown*. The Bacas were above them. The uTshaba people of Gwayi lived along the banks of the Mzimkulu, on the north side. These last are still living there. Tshaka *attacked* them. The Tshabeni chief (was) Kofiyana ka Mbengana ka Gwayi (Gwayimbili - i.e. showing union with the amaMbili). When T. *attacked* them he merely seized their cattle. They, like the Tulis, hid in the forests and retained possession of their lands. Fynn *brought out* all who were in the bushes, including the Tulis, the Xolo, and the Tshabeni. He brought the latter two tribes to Port Natal. Kofiyana was made an *induna* by Febana on the present site of Durban. He became *induna of eSinyameni*.

I know nothing of the Sivuku people. I do know of the abaLumbi. These were under the chief of the maZelemwini people. They, the abaLumbi, lived south of the Mdhloti.

The Gwayi tribe came from the Mbili one. The Mbili chief was Ngoyi ka Nomakwelo. The Gwayi chief was uMankafana ka Gwayi. Mankafana was of higher rank than Mbengana.

9 Zulu ka Nogandaya [father of my informants Mkehlengana and Mkotana] built on lands of the amaMpofana (chief Nomabunga ka Nkowane).⁵⁵ Lukilimba - prior to Zulu's coming - went and seized the (cattle of the amaMpofana), amaVundhile, Mgayi, Tshobeni (at the umZumbe river). He also crossed the Mzimkulu but the amaNgutshana tribe (Pondo one) defeated him. Lukilimba *built* his own *isigodhlo* after the fashion of the Zulu kings. This was the Lukilimba fetched by Matubane by Tshaka's

orders, as previously stated by me.

3.15 p.m.

10 AmaNqondo, alias amaNxondo. These people lived with the amaMpo-fana. I do not know their chief. They lived with, and as part of, the amaMpopfana, the latter being the principal people. They (the amaNqondo) may have had a chief of their own. They lived chiefly on the far side of the Berea but close to it.⁵⁶ They ate fish. They spoke a Lala dialect.⁵⁷ There are several who remained behind whilst the great majority fled to ebuNguni, Pondos, etc. etc.⁵⁸ Marawana is the only man of this tribe I know of. Only his sons are now living. He is under my chief, Mqotoyi.⁵⁹ Marawana's father is Mpahlo ka Mncomisa of the Nqondweni people. He was the age of my father. His only son now living is Mapinda (of Mqotoyi's age). Mapinda is living under Mqotoyi. I do not think he knows any more than I do of his old tribe, for I used to hear his father *bonga* when he *slaughtered a beast*. The amaNqondos did not cut the little finger joint. They *made incisions on the face* instead. They did what the Pondos do. The ama-Nqondos had already *been scattered* when Marawana was born.

AmaJali. I know of no member of this tribe in Natal. They fled to Pondoland where they have a chief of their own. They lived along the coast near the Ilovu and across the Mkomazi. Their chief in Pondoland is Maqutu; he may be dead by now. I do not know their *mark of identity*. They too were amaLala. [I notice there are amaJali under Mpikwa in Alfred County - Blue Book, 1903.]

11 AmaNtshangase - now living in Pondoland. They lived across the Mkomazi on the coast. Tshaba, i.e. the Tuli, *drove them out*. Their chief in Pondoland is unknown to me.

Imzindhle. I do not know their chief. They lived on this side of the Mzimkulu, on the coast.

AmaKanyawo - lived just across the Mngeni. Their chief in Pondoland is Nonhlanga (deceased). They were not *driven out* by Tshaka but by the amaTuli. Some remained and were dispersed by Tshaka. They were killed off in the neighbourhood of the Mngeni. Ndhlebende is a son of Mandala. They were amaLala. They bought fish from the abaTembu who lived on the site of Durban Berea; they lived as far as the lime (?) works near Kangela. The fish was bought with assegais. In those days iron-smelting took place all over, in every tribe. These Kanyawos did not come into conflict with the Tulis; they simply fled before them as other tribes did.

12 AbaTembu. These people were on the Berea and the site of Durban when the Tulis arrived. They were not dispersed. They *paid tribute* to the amaTulis, and continued to build and live with them. Mangete ka Mufo ka Msamane ka Gqaba ka Belezi ka Mtembu - that is where they connect with Klaju (previously referred to at length by me).⁶⁰ Their territory extended to this side (Durban side) of the Mngeni, as far as Kangela and on the site of Durban. These people caught (*trapped*) fish by building *fences of reeds*. The abaTembu used to fish on the north side of the bay, whereas the amaMpopfana fished on the south side. The amaMpopfana had the best fishing grounds. There was much more fish in the deeper water on the Bluff side. All kinds of fish were procured.

'Cwaneka' is to put in sticks, and toast; (they) last for a month (fish). *A person gets fat and sleek.*⁶¹

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13 There are no more Tembus left; they were killed by the Zulus in Tshaka's (day). The Tembus married a daughter of Mabona (*Manti*), and were on excellent terms with Mabona etc. When the Zulus attacked these regions, the Tembus were compelled to take refuge in the bushes. After coming out of them again they became subject to *bandits* that went about the country eating people, and who, when they found a well-cultivated garden, would kill the owner. In this way the Tembus were gradually killed off. Maqata is the name of a Tembu who was killed in the battle of the Tugela (when John Cane lost his life).⁶² I do not know Maqata's father. He left no sons.

When the Europeans arrived they found only two Tembu married women living near the Mngeni in hiding (near the waggon drift). Farewell took the women and they afterwards lived with him, both of them, and they eventually died at Esinyameni (Febana's homestead). They had no children. One of them married a Hottentot, Mehlela, and the other was married to a man named *Nonden*. The Hottentot, Mehlela, had arrived with Febana.

14 These Tembus at Port Natal had originally come from the Tembus who lived at the junction of the Tukela and Umzinyati rivers. The cause of their separation was a family quarrel (*umbango*).

Mangete had no son. I never saw him. He died at Port Natal in a bush on the Bay where Mangcingci's house was built.⁶³ Reuben Beningfield now lives there, near Sir John Robinson's house.⁶⁴ Mangete died in hiding. His kraal was on the north side of the road to Pietermaritzburg from Durban and on the Berea. Its name was eBalwaneni. It was owing to Tshaka's wars that Mangete took to the bushes and died there alone, his own men and women having been either killed or having run off to Pondoland. Mangete was older than Mhini. When Tshaka attacked Mangete etc. Mhini was still a boy.

*There were many people to whom Tshaka caused great sorrow, as (he) did by killing off people of various tribes.*⁶⁵

15 The Tembu chief who came from the northern Tembus near the Mzinyati was Gqaba. One of my father's wives was a Tembu girl, and it was from her I heard the story I now give.

The Tulus arrived at Port Natal shortly after the Tembus, but only shortly, for Gqaba and Dole appear, according to Maziyanana, to belong to the same generation.

My mother in question was still living when the *Izigqoza battle* was fought in 1856; also in 1873 (Langalibalele's war). She died shortly before the Zulu war of 1879.⁶⁶

16 The amaHlubi people are amaNtungwas.⁶⁷ They are those who used to say, 'Ofe, Mkozi!'⁶⁸ The abaTembu are not amaNtungwa - traders who used to go about the country selling tobacco (*gwayi*).⁶⁹ They were of the amaHlubi tribe and were *buta'd* by Tshaka, and he called them *iziYendane*.⁷⁰ (Tshaka afterwards killed them on the ground that they held back captured cattle). They twisted their hair like girls and *izangoma*. The phrase is *ukupot' umyeko*, to twist into tassels and let them fall over the face and ears (like the Baca women do). The Tembus did not do this. They sewed on headrings in the same kind of way that the Zulus did.

The Tembus on their arrival must have turned people out of the land about the Bay, but I cannot think which. I do not know. I know the

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Kanyawos, when the Tulis came, were north of the Mngeni, the amaNqondo on the far side (west) of the Berea, and the amaMpofana on the Bluff.

Socwatsha says: the aba kwa Mbonambi, aba kwa Sokulu, aba kwa Nibeya, and aba kwa Mfeka (kwa Mfekane) all eat fish. They live on the Zululand coast and they are *insulted* by eating fish.⁷¹

17 I do not know what people the Tembus drove away when occupying Port Natal, says Maziyana, for none of these regions was unoccupied in those days. They may of course have *konza'd* the amaMpofana, the strongest tribe then existing here, or they may have come to terms with the amaNqondo.

[But I, J.S., suggest, having regard to the fish on which people in these parts depended for their livelihood, it is not likely they got the land without a fight with some tribe. The amaMpofana of course had the best side of the Bay.]

The flat on which Durban, race course etc., stands is known as Kwa Malinde. I do not know when this name came into use.

18 There is another section of the amaMpofana living in the amaCi tribe in Harding Division. I once went to Harding with Mcotoyi (in Mhini's lifetime), after the Zulu war. We several times slept in a kraal not far from Harding which turned out to be one of a member of the old Mpofana people. This kraal belonged to the amaCi tribe. We stayed at it on our way to and from the office. They of this kraal told me they had been *driven out* by the amaTuli from Port Natal, and that there were seven amaMpofana kraals in all in that neighbourhood. They were living on ground which, I fancy, has since been laid off in farms. The kraals were under one man, *an old man*, Muzimuzi by name. Mabunu is his son and may still be living. The amaMpofana I slept with as stated told me that u(lu)Tshaba, i.e. uTuli, *had driven them out and impaled their children on posts*.

19 Imtwana tribe. These people ran off past the Pondos and Xozas and built close to the Europeans in Cape Colony. When wars broke out they left and went to the Mzimkulu, *to their old living sites*. They were driven from here by Europeans of Natal and went to the Mzimvubu, but finding no land, turned back *far up the Bisi* river near eNsikeni mountain, where they are still living. They pay taxes in the Cape Colony (at Kwa Madonela - Donald Strachan's).⁷² Their late chief was Banginyama (deceased). These people resemble the Pondos. They lived close to the Mzimkulu but across it (from) where Mtshwetshwe ka Magidigidi is now living with his tribe.⁷³

20 The amaCi lived near Ntumbankulu, a forest between the Mzambe and the Mzimkulu. They got permission from Sir T. Shepstone and moved to the Mzimkulwana near the town of Harding.⁷⁴ That is where they are still living but, owing to laying off of farms, have been pushed towards the Mtamvuna river. Their chief was Mbonwa (deceased). When driven out by the Tulis they went off to Pondoland and returned later on to Ntumbankulu. (They pay tax at Sayidi - Port Shepstone.) When driven out by the Tulis they lived north of the Mzimkulu. Mbonwa ka Mbusi ka Magoba - chiefs of the tribe.

I cannot call to mind the name Inyangesa (Nyangiza) referred to by Fynn [Bird's *Annals*, i, 73].

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When Dole arrived there were, I fancy, some Europeans in this part of the country. These Europeans lived at Emcakwini - where lime (*umcako*) is being made by Europeans - at Kangela near Durban. They afterwards left for the Cape by sea. I hear it was white people (whom) Dole saw, not merely their descendants. Several Europeans remained and led lives like the natives. I have conversed on these matters with Tshadile and others.

[The coming south of the Abambo, Xozas, Pondos. Who are abaNtungwa? AbeNguni? The Hlubi people.]

24.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 64, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu

Maziyana (Socwatsha and Nodwengu present).

My impression is that the abaMbo came from the direction of Swaziland.⁷⁵ It is the dialect they speak which causes me to think thus. Zihlandhlo was the Embo chief and was on very friendly terms with Tshaka. T. called him his *younger brother* (*umncane*).

- 21 Socwatsha heard that Zihlandhlo's people *originated* at the Manyane stream where it enters the Tukela on the Zululand side. The Manyane rises in the Qudeni mountains.⁷⁶ Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Mavovo ka Mkize ka Gubela.⁷⁷

.... <Praises of Sibiside, former Mbo chief, as given by Socwatsha omitted - eds.>

Socwatsha fancies they (Embos) were not ancient occupants.

The Abambo are amaLala, not amaNtungwa or abeNguni.⁷⁸ They say, not 'Wenzani?' but 'Wentani?' I am a Lala, says Maziyana.

Socwatsha says the Ngcobo tribe, to which he belongs, originally *tekeza'd*. The Ngcobos are not amaNtungwa; they are amaLala.

- 22 Bambata ka Tshabase of the Embo people, *induna* to Zihlandhlo at *Esimahleni* (Zihlandhlo's *ikanda*), escaped in Dingana's reign when Zihlandhlo was put to death by him. He came to live on the Mkomazi. Not many tribesmen followed then, but when Mpande crossed into Natal many joined Bambata. They, however, came with a chief, Siyingele ka Zihlandhlo, who became the chief of all. After Siyingele's death his son Ngunezi became chief, followed by Sikukuku, also Tilonko - two at this day.

Socwatsha says the Embo people lived at the Manyane and Mfongosi streams in the Nkandhla Division.⁷⁹ There are stragglers of the tribe now under the Ntuli tribe (chief: Mpumela ka Godide), others at Kwa Magwaza under Ndunge ka Manqondo, and other tribes of Zululand.

Nqume ka Nzangwini ran off to the amaXozas; he was afraid of Tshaka. He was chief of a section of the abaMbo. He had come from

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23 the Manyane in Zululand with these. He afterwards returned from the Xozas and settled at Ntumbankulu on the Mzimkulu.

Magidigidi ka Magaye afterwards settled near Nqume.⁸⁰ Nqume's sons quarrelled with one another and all died off - they poisoned one another. Some of his adherents are under Tomukana (ka Pobana), a *bastela*; others are under Mdungazwe (deceased) ka Fodo, paying tax at Madonela's or Kokstad.⁸¹

As Zihlandhlo was on intimate terms with Tshaka he was allowed to kill off and *rule*. He may have been attacked by Zihlandhlo <sic>.

I know of no *mark of identity* among the Embo people. They do not *cut the face*, nor *cut the little finger*, the little finger remaining uncut.

The Xozas proper are the amaNgxaleka - Hinsa's.⁸² Those further north-east are the abeNguni. The Xozas proper *originated* right on the frontier of the Cape Colony. I do not think the amaNgxaleka are abeNguni; they are *true amaXosa*.

24 The Xozas received accessions of all kinds of people from the northern districts of Natal, viz. Embos, Celes, Tuli, Tembus, Xolo, etc. - every possible variety seen in Natal.

It seems to me the Xozas went down south first and established themselves, then others at various periods settled among them etc. The Pondos followed later.

The Pondos seem to be descended from Embos, but then, judging from their language, they are hardly amaLala like Embos.

Socwatsha says that what does stick to people - more than their language can do - is their *isibongo*.

Mande was the one who *insulted* Tshaka by saying, '*The little Ntungwa with a penis-cover made from the tongwane tree; could he ever get here to our place at Emfakuceba?*'⁸³ He spoke of Tshaka as an umNtungwa.

Socwatsha says the Kumalo people are the real abaNtungwa, for they say 'Mntungwa' to one another.⁸⁴

24.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 65, pp. 1-12.

Also present: Socwatsha, Nodwengu

1 Socwatsha says he hears *the Nzimela people* speak to one another as 'Umnguni'; they live in Zululand. Zimema is their chief - in John Dunn's district.⁸⁵ Zimema is living. Manjanja, J. Dunn's great *induna* (he was imprisoned) was *of the Nzimela people*. Zimema took over Manjanja's people. Zimema lives from the Ngoye to the Mlalazi. The Emanzimeleni people are distributed all over Zululand and Natal. S. does not know the Manzimela chief. S. never hears Mtetwa speak of being abeNguni. They say, '*Nyambose!*'⁸⁶

B'ehla ne 'silulu or *b'ehla nge 'silulu*: the latter is the commonest expression.⁸⁷ The former is also used but is incorrect; e.g. *amaNtungwa ehla nge 'silulu*. (Not nge zilulu.)⁸⁸ Per Socwatsha and Maziyanana.

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[Nodwengu returns home.]

11 a.m. Maziyana and Socwatsha present.

- 2 They rolled by means of a grain basket (*ba ginqika nge silulu*), i.e. were all put into a basket which was rolled down, and when they got down it was opened and they came out and scattered over the country. That is the popular idea, but this popular idea is wrong, for there are such things as hills and rivers over which a basket could not roll. Moreover the expression refers to only one basket. Thus it seems the expression is merely a metaphor, not a statement of fact.

This means, of course, that they came from the north or upper country. Probably a body of people started from the far north and travelled south through district after district until they reached unoccupied lands where they settled and scattered over the land. That is, they made an exodus.

The abeNguni are not said to have come down by means of a grain basket, but Socwatsha thinks they must have done so, like the amaNtungwa, on the ground that the Qwabes and Zulus, who are really amaNtungwa, speak of themselves nowadays as abeNguni.

- 3 [One cannot say which arrived in these parts first, amaNtungwa or abeNguni, but as the Qwabes, who were Ntungwas, came to speak of themselves as Ngunis, so it seems to me that there was a settlement of Ngunis here prior to their coming, and it was these Ngunis who modified their Ntungwa (Sutu) dialect.]

Some Hlubis, at the time of the scattering of the peoples (*ngezwekufa*), i.e. in Tshaka's day, were broken up and were given protection by us. I heard from them that formerly in their tribe they said, 'Ofe, mkozi!' My belief is that the amaHlubi bartered the *ikatazo* plant.⁸⁹

Socwatsha says *mkozi* means my friend (*mganewami*). The Tongas use the same word to a person they are bartering with. The traders (*abarwebi*) [from *mweba*, to sell (*tengisa*)] used to sell, and use the word *mkozi* to any person they sold their goods to.

- 4 The amaHlubi are not abeSutu. Their chiefs are Sinepu (some say Siyepu - deceased) ka Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu ka Bungane ka Nsele. They are amaNtungwa. They lived near Matiwana ka Masumpa of the amaNdwane tribe. They were driven out by Tshaka from the Pongolo, where they originated. They left and settled at the Mtshezi.⁹⁰ T. attacked again and they went over the Drakensberg.

Even if the Hlubis separated from the Besutu they are related to one another. They wrap round in front with a softened skin, leaving the buttocks showing, the testicles and penis not showing at all.

The aba kwa Bomvana are in the Cape Colony. Between the Mpambanyoni and Mkomazi when the Tulis came they gave the country to amaMbili <sic>. AmaVangane is the name of Myebu's kraal. [See Shepstone's map.] Xoki ka Myebu lived in it. This kraal was this (north) side of the Mkomazi near where Mtambo (chief) lives.⁹¹

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Leaving of Tuli from the country of the Zulu.

- 5 I do not know what caused them to leave the Matikulu. After they left, the land they had occupied was built on by Pakatwayo.⁹² The chiefs in Natal *opposed* them. They *made a plan*. Dole said that *neck-rings* were to be *taken off* and handed to *izilomo* (warriors) of the Tuli tribe.⁹³ He then took these 'braves', with the *neck-rings*, his object being to pretend to pay taxes to the tribes, whereas he would set upon and stab them when they were near him. When he *crossed over* he became a *marauder in the country on this side*. He *impaled children on posts* and drove the occupants of the lands off. At this time Makanya (Qwabe) had not built south of the Tukela. The Tuli crossed first, then Mkokeleli, Makanya, and Mteli (brother of Pakatwayo), and occupied these regions.⁹⁴ I do not know the people who were *tricked* in this way. The *neck-rings* were of *brass* (*itusi*). The *itusi* was smelted by the people themselves, as well as other tribes. One *neck-ring*
- 6 fetched a beast. I do not know what *umdaka* is.⁹⁵ [Socwatsha says *ubedu = umdaka = mnaka.*]⁹⁶

I am sure it was Dole who acted in this way. Myebu crossed over at the same time as Dole. He was the principal chief. I am sure Tshatwa died in Zululand and that Myebu crossed into Natal.

Ntaba had sons. Ntaba was a *mature man* when he was *driven out*. Tusi fathered Ndomba (same age as Mabona, or Manti). Tusi was a small chief of the Tuli tribe. He was of the same age as Ntaba. I believe Ntaba was born in Natal.

Ifenya got its name because fish was eaten there; it was not the name of a hill.⁹⁷

People in olden times lived much longer than in these days. Both Myebu and Ntaba reigned a considerable time.

Lutuli and Nkomo were Tuli chiefs at the Matikulu.

- 7 The Tuli drove all the coast tribes before them, from the Tukela to the Mzimkulu, and across the Mzimkulu. They then came back and built where they fancied best. They fought with assegais. They did not hurl the assegai but retained hold of it.

The Tuli are neither abeNguni nor Ntungwas.

Ketshepi (Pakatwayo's daughter) *married* Funwayo ka Mpopomo (Tuli tribe).⁹⁸

Myebu's main kraal was Kwa Gobela (*the place of Ntaba's people*).

Myebu's sons: Ntaba, his *younger brother* (*umnawe*) Tusi, Nongwadi, Nguqe, Xoki, Ncwane, Mancamane. Hatshu is not the son of Myebu but of Xoki. Xoki's principal son was Mlahlekeli. Xoki fathered Mlahlekeli, Gcwalaza, Mtebele, and Hatshu.

Nguqe's son: Madhluma. Tusi's sons: Ndomba, Zililo (girl).

I do not know who Nongede is [given by Mcotoyi]. Sojuba [p. 261, Shooter]⁹⁹ ka Majoka ka Mtshayeni ka Bandhlwa ka Zakwe ka Dambela etc.

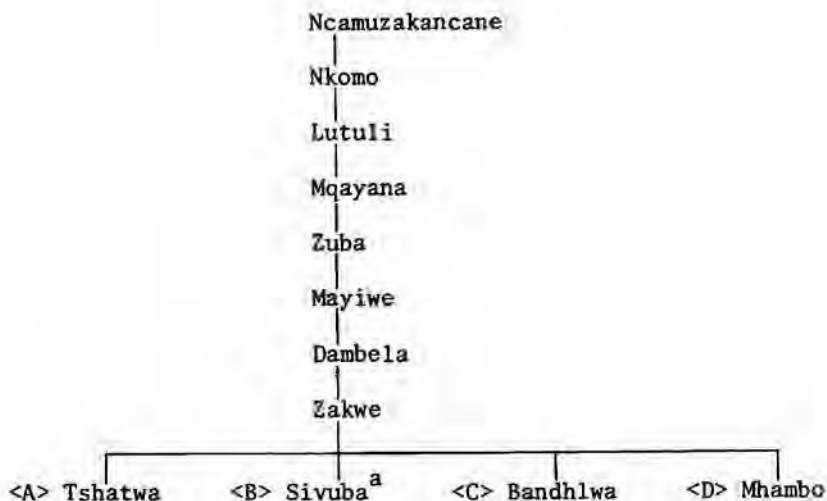
Nongwadi was Myebu's *son of the left-hand house*, and lived at the Mbubulu (where Mtambo lives).

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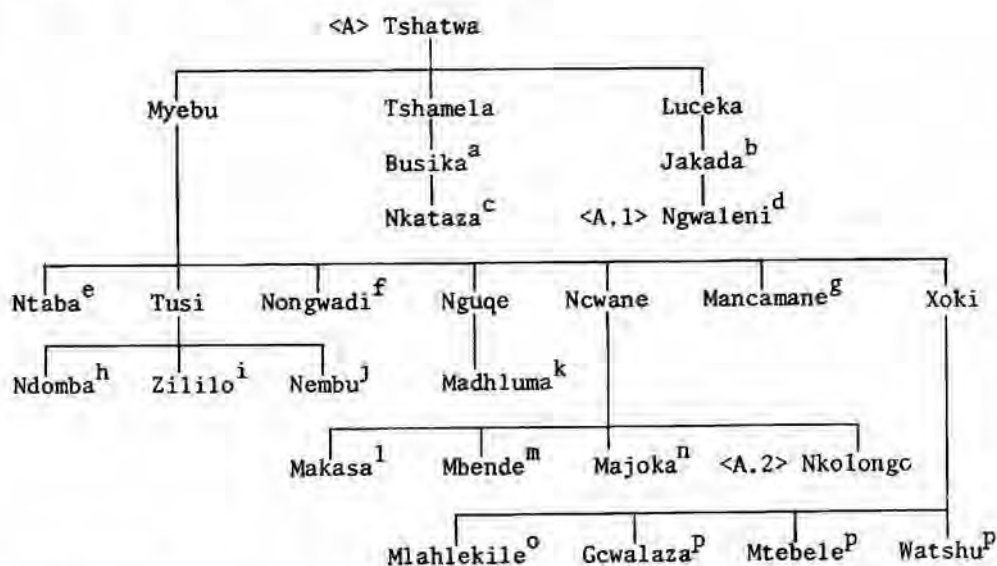
8-11

Genealogical tree: Tuli tribe. Per Maziyana, 24.4.1905.

<For typographical reasons the lineages given below cannot be set out in conformity with the style adopted in Stuart's original notes. Relationships between lineages are here indicated by the use of the symbols A, A.1, A.1.1 etc. Stuart's original notes are reproduced in the frontispieces to this volume - eds.>



^a Younger brother (umnawe) of Tshatwa.



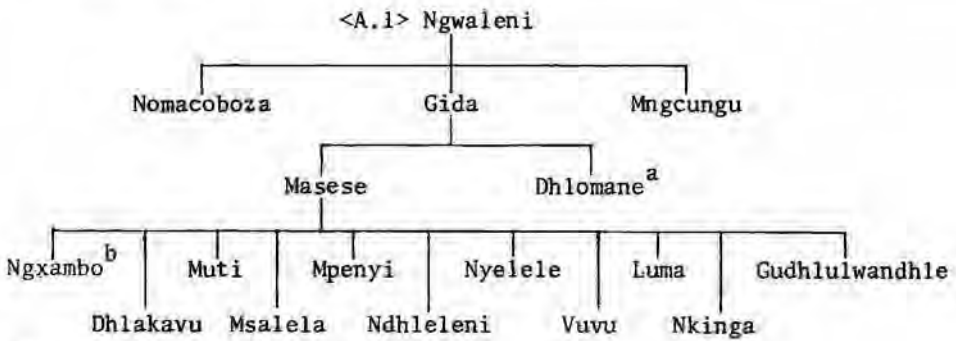
^a Only (son) I know of.

^b Know no further issue than Jakada.

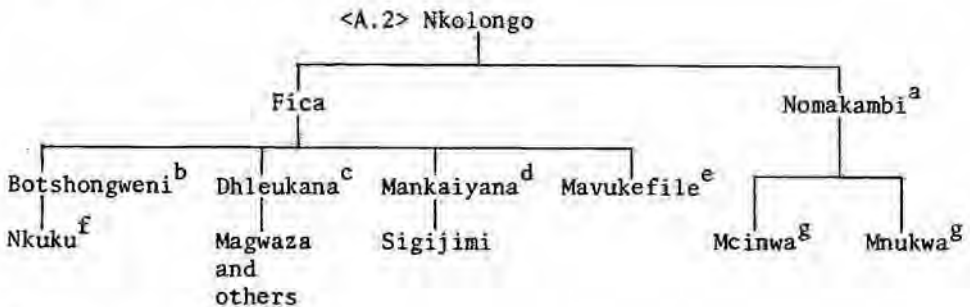
^c Driven out by Tshaka. Only (son) I know of.

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- d. Know of no other issue.
 e. Had issue but I do not know it. Tshaka killed off some; some went to other regions for refuge.
 f. I hear of no issue of his.
 g. I hear of no issue of his.
 h. (Issue) died during the time of troubles (*izwekufa*).
 i. Girl. Did not marry.
 j. No issue.
 k. Given protection by Lukilimba. Killed by Dingana. I hear of no issue.
 l. Chief son. No issue I know of.
 m. No issue to my knowledge.
 n. No issue.
 o. Chief son. No issue to my knowledge.
 p. No issue etc.

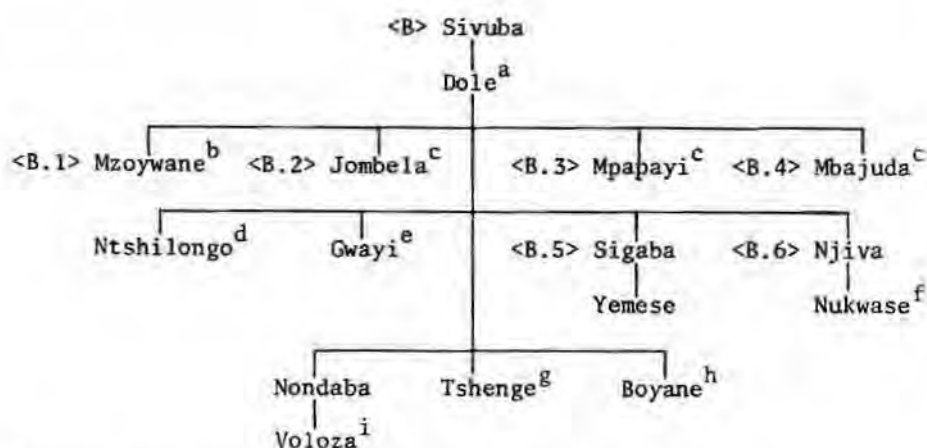


- a. No issue.
 b. Ngcambo. Mcotoyi's big *induna*.

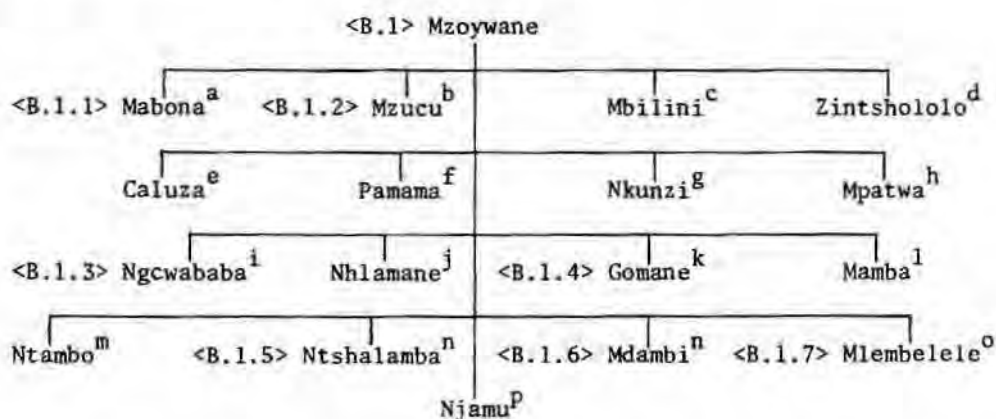


- a. Girl. Married Dubaza.
 b. Dead.
 c. Living with Nkuku.
 d. Dead.
 e. Living with Mcotoyi. Has issue.
 f. Living. Chief son. Just married. Lives under Charlie, son of Pobana, among the *lainkumbi* people.¹⁰⁰ Lives with Dhleukana.
 g. Both living.

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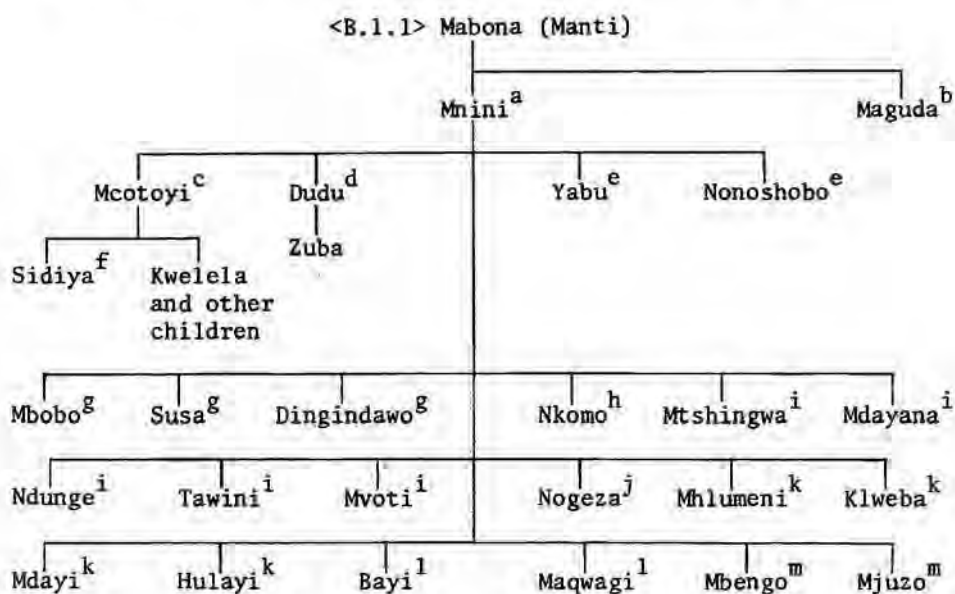
- ^a There were other sons than Dole. Their issue died out, so it has been lost sight of.
^b (Son of the) woman Manhlisa.
^c Of Mzoywane's house. (Sons of the) woman Manhlisa.
^d His kraal Kwa Zulu was at eMolweni, above Pinetown. I do not know issue.
^e I do not know issue.
^f Girl
^g Had no wife - busy with warfare, like others.
^h Do not know issue.
ⁱ No issue remaining.



- ^a (Alias) Manti. Chief son. At eMdhluka. (Son) of the wife Mabungane.
^b At eMdhlazi - name of a section (*uhlangoti*) of the kraal, viz. eMdhluka. (Son) of the wife Mabungane.
^c At eMdhluka. (Son) of the wife Mabungane. Do not know his issue.
^d Girl. At eMdhluka. (Daughter) of the wife Mabungane. Unmarried.
^e Left-hand house. Younger brother (*umkase*). Had issue but killed off by Tshaka.

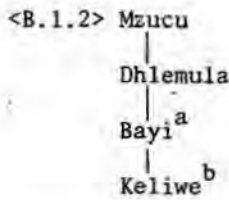
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- ^fOf the *isizinda* section. ¹⁰¹ Had issue; all killed off.
^gAt emFakatini kraal. Had issue; killed off.
^hAt emFaka. Had issue; killed off.
ⁱAt emFaka.
^jAt emFaka. No issue.
^kAt eNgeni kraal. (Son of the) woman Matshingo.
^lAt eNgeni kraal. (Son of the) woman Matshingo. No issue.
^mAt eNgeni kraal. (Son of the) woman Matshingo. Issue killed off.
ⁿAt eNgeni kraal. (Sons of the) woman Matshingo.
^oThe last at eNgeni. (Son of the) woman Matshingo.
^pAt eMdhluka, main kraal, but of small house attached to Mzucu. Had no wife.



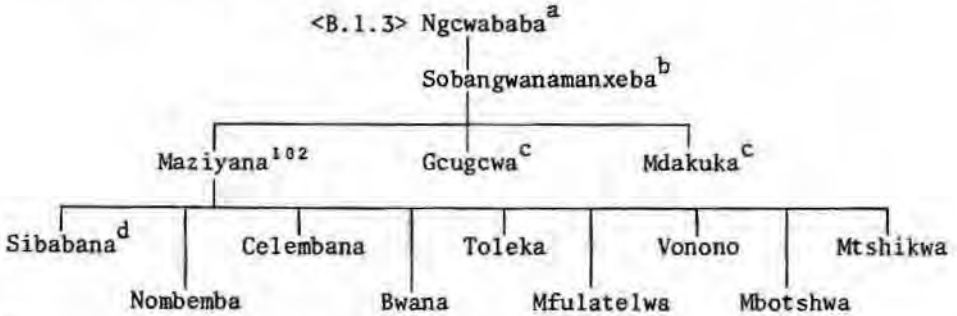
- ^aChief son. At eMdhluka.
^bGirl. Died in the time of troubles (*eswenikufa*), i.e. prior to Tshaka's death. Was older than Mhini. Married Mangete ka Mufo ka Msamane etc. No issue. *The country was destroyed before she had had issue* - i.e. in Tshaka's day. *She was eaten by hyenas; slept in rough shelters like others, and like many others died in the bushes about the Bluff.*
^cChief son. At oPapeni.
^dOf the place of the great wife. At oPapeni.
^eGirl.
^fChief son. Has a wife; getting a second one. Of eNgoba kraal (which) separated from oPapeni.
^gAt eKwaliweni kraal.
^hAt eNsangwini.
ⁱAt eMlinganto.
^jGirl. Followed in age by Mtshingwa.
^kAt oPapeni.
^lAt eMdhlazi.
^mDead.

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^aHas two sons - living.

^bGirl. Married into Embo tribe and has children.

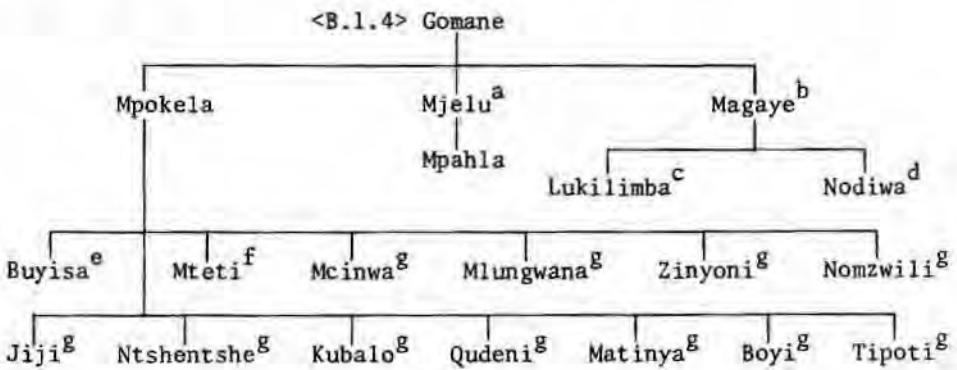


^aSons, killed off by Tshaka's *impi*.

^bMy mother. Married Mhlabeni.

^cDead.

^dChief son. Has wife, but still living with me.



^aGirl. Married to Nkondhlo ka Mabengu.

^bGirl. Married Nkabakazana.

^cDead.

^dGirl.

^eLiving. Sickly.

^fDead.

^gLiving.

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<B.1.5> Ntshalambo

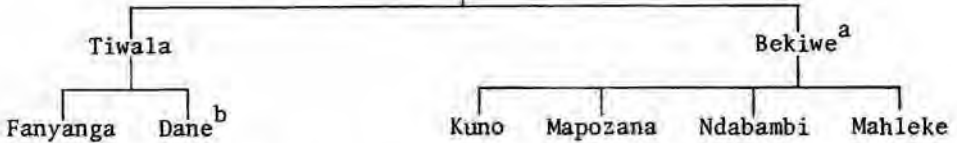


^a Girl. Do not know issue. Married Mahlatini in Harding Division.

^b Girl. Living. Married a Tonga after having been married to Tafeni. Do not know issue. By Tonga she had no issue. The Tonga's father was Mahoho, son of Makasane, the Tonga king.¹⁰³

^c Dead.

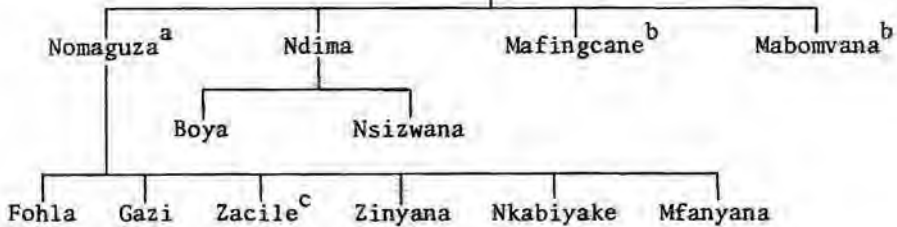
<B.1.6> Mdambi



^a Girl. Married Gezane.

^b Girl.

<B.1.7> Mlemebele

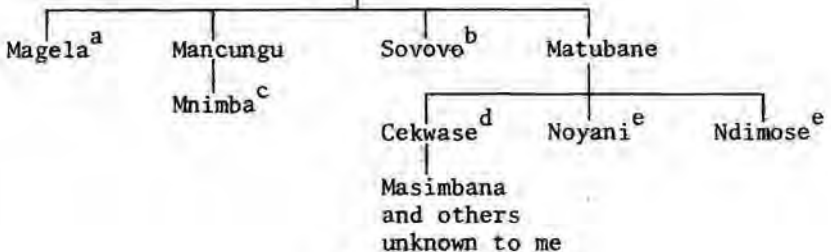


^a Alias Ngomane. Chief son.

^b No issue.

^c Alias Nojomba.

<B.2> Jombela



MAZIYANA

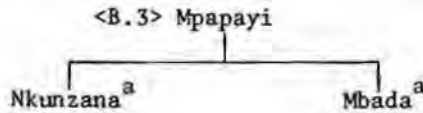
^aOr Magele. No issue.

^bIssue, killed in a civil war.

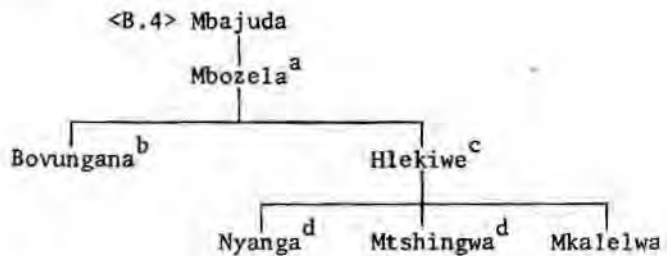
^cGirl.

^dGirl. Married Sihlanu ka Mgabi of the Nyuswa people.

^eGirls.



^aI do not know issue.

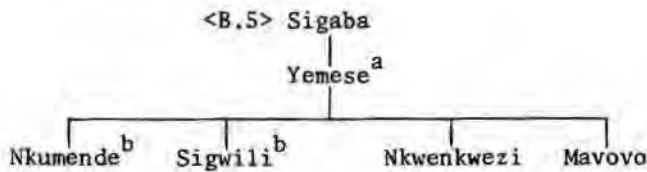


^aKilled by Dingana.

^bIssue died off. Had two sons. Both died natural deaths. Had no issue.

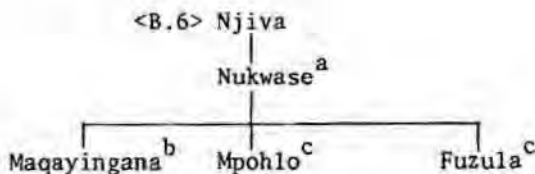
^cGirl. Married Zisonge ka Sondiyane of the eLangeni people.

^dBoys. All living at Mcotoyi's. Each has a kraal.



^aGirl. Married Nopata.

^bDead.

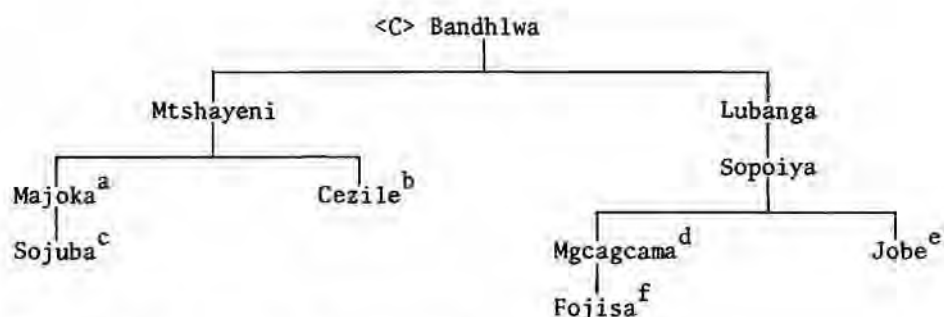


^aGirl. First married Nkuyane, then Nondeni.

^b(Son of) Nkuyane.

^c(Sons of) Nondeni.

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^a Do not know Majoka's other issue.

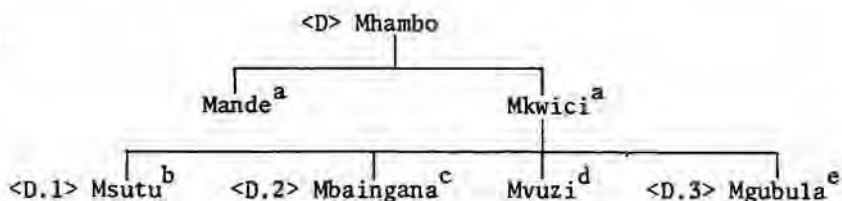
^b Do not know issue.

^c No issue. Killed off by Tshaka.

^d Know of no other issue.

^e No issue.

^f Sons living in Lower Umzimkulu Division.



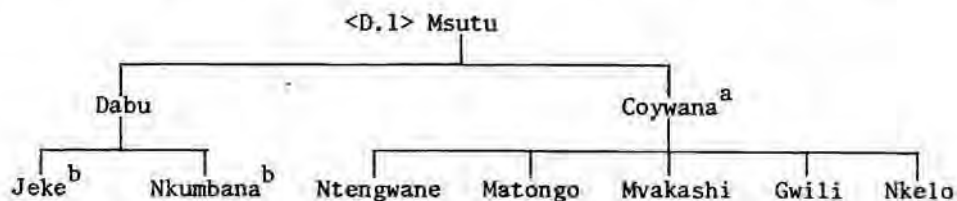
^a (Mhambo) had other issue - died off.¹⁰⁴

^b Chief son.

^c Of the *isizinda* section.

^d Younger brother (*umwase*). Killed by Zulus before having issue.

^e Of Mvuzi's house. Mgubula was the last of Mkwici's issue.



^a (Alias) Mrabula.

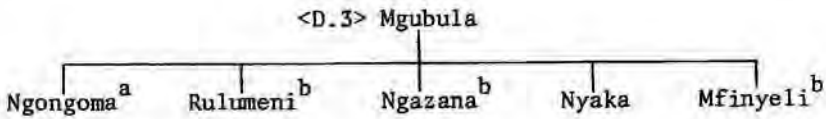
^b Dead.



^a Girl. Married Duma of the place of Mpišana among the Tuli people.

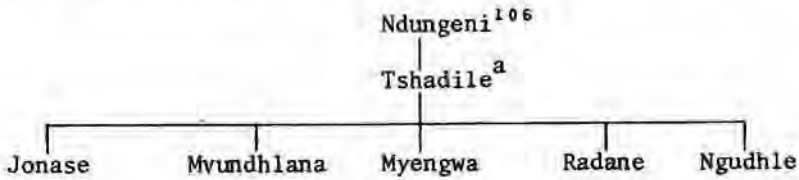
^b Born when Mpande crossed into Natal.¹⁰⁵

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^a Chief son. (Living at Mtamvuna, I do not know his issue. Is) living with Mbobo - son of Mnini.

^b All these now living at Mtamvuna. I do not know issue. Are living with Mbobo - son of Mnini.

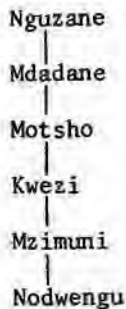


^a Well-known man - on Mnini's side vs. Botshongweni.

My informant's genealogical tree



(Genealogical tree of) my minor informant (Nodwengu)



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- 12 amaZuba - Mcotoyi's section is so-called. This name was so used when I was born. I do not think the word Zuba is derived from the name of a kraal but from some person.
- Dole's main kraal was known as Kwa Zulu. I do not know his other kraals.
- When children are hushed and kept from crying in the Tuli tribe, women say, '*Hush, Dambela, hush, Zakwe!*'
- I fancy that the ancient king Zuba must be the origin of the name amaZuba.
- Ntaba and Tusi *quarrelled*. Mzoywane *paid tribute* to Tusi. Tusi and Ntaba fought, and came as far as the Mbilo, when Mzoywane attacked and drove them back. Ntaba burnt Tusi's kraals. The amaZuba assisted Tusi and got them to reconstruct their kraals. They *held an ijadu dancing competition* with the Tusi people. The Tuis were known as uGwabalanda - the name of Myebu's kraal. Ntaba's people were spoken of as uGobela, *of the place of the people of the great one*.

25.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 65, pp. 13-21, 24.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 13 [Note on genealogical tree 3 pp. back.] Mhambo was the son of Zakwe but a minor and junior son. Mkwici was already dead when Tshaka *destroyed the country*. Mgubula was the very last child of Mkwici. This accounts for Zakwe to Ngongoma having only five generations, whereas Zakwe to Botshongweni, Zakwe to Mcotoyi, Zakwe to Fojisa's issue each have seven.
- The older generations lived much longer than nowadays. Many Tulis did not marry young because they would *lose vigour* and (be rendered) incapable of fighting. Some did not marry till they reached my age (Isangqu regiment); others not at all. This idea existed prior to Tshaka's reforms.
- Regiments were first recruited according to age by Mhini; formerly men and boys fought together. *Each umuzi had its own force (ibandhla)*, various ages being mixed together.
- Mhini's regiments: uZololo, uMkumbane, Imijiba, Totololo, Imdwayimba, Imbila (the Nkuku, and three others of the same name). He then died. Mcotoyi *buta'd* the rest.
- The first Imbila did not *participate in an unkosi ceremony*. Mhini *held the unkosi* with the Zololo, Mkumbane, Imijiba and Totololo. The Imidwayimba were mat-bearers. Ngoza, Somsewu's *induna*, took exception to Natal chiefs *holding the unkosi ceremony*.¹⁰⁷ He told Somsewu this and the *practice* stopped. The *unkosi* was discontinued about 1864.
- 14 The Imidwayimba did not *participate in an unkosi ceremony*.
- The first Imbila (Nkuku) are the same age as the Imbube, i.e. Mxapo, alias Hlwayi (Zibebu's age).¹⁰⁸
- 1 Imbila - *the great one*. Tongo was appointed to command.
 - 2 Imbila - *follows in age*. Mtengi ka Macayana was appointed as *induna*.
 - 3 Imbila - *follows in age*.
 - 4 Imbila - *follows in age*.
 - 5 Imbila - *follows in age*.

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6 Imbila - *the little one.*

7 Imbila - *the grown one.*

8 Imbila - young lads, or still growing.

Sidiya, Mcotoyi's chief son, is of the Imbila. There are two *companies (amaviyo)* after him. Sidiya is about Qalizwe's age.¹⁰⁹

Mcotoyi was advised to cease *butaing* Imbila but he says, 'No, my father said all, and even those unborn, are Imbila.' I do not know why this was done. Mcotoyi has not yet *buta'd* his own *ibuto*. He still calls them by the name given by his father.

- 15 I am of the Zololo regiment, but was *placed* there. So the *Great Zololo* are of the same age as the *Izingulube of the Zulu*. I am really of the *Mkumbane* regiment but was turned into the Zololo. It must be borne in mind that small peoples [like *Mnini's*, says *Socwatsha*] were not recruited strictly on the same lines as the *Zulus*, because, being so few, they were allowed to accumulate, and so one regiment included boys of two or three *age-grades (buntanga)*.

Matubane had a *company (viyo)* of men. They were simply called after the main kraal, viz. *Mdhluka*, i.e. *Mabona's (Manti's)* kraal. This is the *viyo* he *fetched* *Lukilimba* with as previously referred to.

- 16 When *Tshaka* *destroyed the country* *Mabona* was dead. He had died a natural death. He died at the *Mpofu*. His father *Mzoywane* had also died a natural death at an advanced age.

It was after *Tshaka* had *driven out the people* that *Matubane* took charge of the *umuzi*. He was the only one remaining, all having fled or been killed, so he *exercised authority* for *Mnini* because he was a boy. Those older than *Matubane* had been killed off or scattered, so it naturally devolved on him to assume guardianship.

He was killed by *Dingane*. *Dingane* killed *Magaye* first, then *Zihlandhlo*, *Sambela*, then *Matubane*, *Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo of the Dube people*, *Dube ka Silwane*. *Matubane* was killed before the *Boers* came to *Natal*. *Matubane* might have been killed about 1830. *Fynn* was still here. *Matubane* was not killed on the occasion *Jemuse*, *Wohlo*, and others fled to the *Cape* - all except *Jana (Cane)*, who took refuge with *Mnini* at the *isiBubulungu (Matubane being dead)*.

25.4.1905, evening. *Maziyana* and *Socwatsha* present.

- 17 *Dingane* killed *Matubane* because the king's cattle at *Kwa Ndabenkulu* had been eaten by *hyenas*. *Tshaka* first of all sent oxen to *Matubane* to look after for him. *Tshaka* sent the *Ndabenkulu* regiment down to cut poles for the cattle posts where the cattle were to stop and where people were to stay and look after them. This establishment was erected at the place of *Measimbana*. No sooner did the regiment construct the kraal than it returned to *Tshaka*, leaving *Matubane* to look after them with his own people. The regiment did not stop at all. They merely 'placed' the cattle and then returned. When this kraal was erected the *amaBece impi* had returned from its campaign.

The cattle were stationed at two kraals. One was on the *Bluff* near *Jelemusi's* (a European, still living there). *Matubane* built this cattle post (where the royal herdboys stayed). The name of this post was *Kayisa of the Ndabenkulu* - the latter part was usually added.

The following once happened. *Bambalele* was sent by *Gcamatshe*, who

18 was in charge of the *herdboys*, to report to Tshaka that the cattle were dying. One beast was not reported at once; there was a delay of about a year or so. Bambalele was with another. When they came to Tshaka B. said, 'I am reporting on the cattle of our place, of the place of Nansi.' T. asked, 'Who is Nansi?' B.'s friend said at once, 'Ndabenkulu.' They reported and returned home and told their friends, and congratulated themselves on their escape. Presently Matubane visited T., who said, 'Did you kill the fellows who spoke of me as Nansi?' M. (answered), 'I have not done so.' T. said, 'I've a good mind to kill the lot of you off.' M. thereupon sent a man to the person in charge of the cattle to say, 'Put this matter right,' meaning he was to kill him for his slip. The two were thereupon put to death, i.e. including the boy who had corrected the other.

It has to be remembered on behalf of the boys that they spoke a different dialect, and so had some excuse for making the slip; viz. *indaba* would be *indzaba*, *kulu* would be *kūlu*.¹¹⁰

[It must be remembered that Socwatsha, being of the Ngcobo tribe, is really a Lala, so his dialect must vary slightly, e.g. *amagxolo* instead of Zulu *amaxolo*.]¹¹¹

19 The other *cattle post* was Ndomba of the *Ndabenkulu*. This was of oxen only, no *cows*. Ndomba was the name not of the *cattle post* but of the oxen themselves. [Every *herd of royal oxen*, says S., had its name.] The kraal was near Mcasimbana's and was known as Ndabenkulu. These oxen were *herded* by married men who, when they came to the *cattle post*, left their homes, women, etc. behind. They had boys to help. At Kayisa unmarried boys *did the herding*.

When Tshaka died the 'boys' decided to take off the cattle to where they had come from. They thought as T. the *evil-doer* was dead they would be able to do as they liked, for Dingana would not do as he did. The boys drove the cattle, and when they got to the Mvoti they decided to halt, the sun having gone down. During the night *hyenas* attacked the cattle, eating off large numbers. Those remaining were driven on. The *chief wife at the Ndabenkulu umuzi* then reported to Dingana. A case was opened. D. became angry. The case was held.
20 Matubane then returned home. The men of the Tuli tribe advised M. not to return to the Zulu country as they would be killed. M. said, 'I intend to go there; it is fitting that I should die in the *manure-dust*,' referring to the *cattle enclosure at the great place of the Zulu*. Indeed he died there.

The case or inquiry was not completed; it was adjourned, M. being told to come back. It was then that his own tribe advised him not to return, whereupon he replied as above.

M. said the 'boys' had taken the cattle without his knowledge.

Dingane killed off all the men Matubane had gone with regarding the cattle. The *impi* was sent out and those at Port Natal were killed off as well. (Dingane) killed Matubane etc. at Nobamba. He had left Dukuza where Tshaka was buried.¹¹²

21 Tshaka's death. He was assassinated by Mhlangana, Mbopa, and Dingana at Dukuza.¹¹³ I do not know where the wounds were. There must have been many wounds.

They *hurled assegais* at him, says Socwatsha. He was not *stabbed at*

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close quarters (emahlanze), i.e. still having hold of the assegai.

- 24 Maziyana says: Matubane was present at Tshaka's assassination. The assassination took place at night-time when Tshaka was speaking to amaMpondo. He sat in an open space. *Torches* were alight. 'Leave me alone, sons of my father, and I shall be your merial,' said Tshaka when being stabbed. They, D. etc., said, 'Leave you, the evil-doer who kills the wives of men who are away?' - i.e. away on war (Balule).¹¹⁴

25.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, p. 1.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 1 Maziyana says: When the *impi* had gone forth to the Balule, T. caused a woman enceinte to be cut open in order that he might look and see what kind of position a child assumed in the womb. A wife of Gwabalanda ka Mnumgose was so dealt with. [Incorrect: see note under date 30.4.1905.]

26.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, pp. 2-13.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 2 Macala ka Nongalo of the *Emapepeteni* people, (who) was given protection by Mzobotshi ka Tambisa ka Magininda ka Madipa ka Ndelu of the *Ndelu* people, once dreamed that an *impi* was coming. Mzobotshi lived on the south side of the Ilovu, low down, and Macala was with him. The *impi* was sent by Mbulazi (Fynn). As soon as Macala dreamt, he set forth and told Mzobotshi his dream. Mzobotshi would not believe him, and yet an *impi* was on its way and arrived not many minutes after the dreamer had told his tale. Mzobotshi was killed; Macala escaped. The *impi* was from Port Natal - after Tshaka's death. Mzobotshi was one of Tshaka's favourites.
- Dingana, when he attacked Port Natal, sent down Zulu ka Nogandaya of the Hlomendhlini troops with the Njanduna to carry out his orders. Fynn fled south. Mzobotshi remained behind and leagued with the Zulus.
- 3 Fynn's cattle were seized. Fynn presently returned, went to D., and called for the return of his own stock, which had been seized along with that of other people at Port Natal. Dingana returned the cattle. When Fynn got back he collected an *impi* and attacked Mzobotshi and killed him at his kraal Kwa Novuza.¹¹⁵
- Macala told Mzobotshi that whilst still in his own tribe he dreamed of an *impi*, and the dream turned out true. Macala, at the time of his dream, was living in Mzobotshi's kraal. Macala escaped. Mzobotshi was a follower of Mbulazi, but when the *impi* (Zulu) came he turned informant against Fynn.

I do not know either Myebu or Ntaba's *praises*, nor do I know what either was like.

Tshaka in Natal. Before T. fought with the Ndwandwe he entered

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Natal and attacked Mande ka Dibandhlela of the Cele people and Duze ka Mnengwa of the Makanya people, killing each the same night. He at the same time killed Sokoti ka Mindi of the Amanganga people, Nkuna ka Mbedu ka Gwayi ka Nyapase of the amaSomani people, Mtinkulu ka Dibandhlela of the Mapumulo people [not Cele, remember], and Nzala ka Mangqatshu of the amaNdhlovini people (who) built at Esidumbini, at the Ivutwaneni stream (which) enters the Nsuze which enters the Mvoti.

After this Tshaka collected together forces of these various tribes and attacked further south in Natal with them. But he first of all made a colony of Natal by sending the Iziyendane, as well as some Mtetwa people, to live in the neighbourhood of the Mvoti. The Iziyendane were of the amaHlubi tribe. The Hlubis had previously run away from Matiwana (Zwide) and konza'd the Zulus.¹¹⁶ The Zulus did not fight with the Hlubis.

After Tshaka had administered his first defeat on the Ndwandwes he followed Macingwane (of eNgonyameni) who had fled into Natal to eNsikeni mountain across the Mzimkulu.¹¹⁷ During this expedition he found that the whole of Natal had been denuded of its former population. He accordingly asked his 'younger brother' (ummawe) Magaye who had depopulated these districts. Magaye replied that the Iziyendane had done so. T. then said, 'And what did they do with the cattle they seized?'

Magaye had a regiment called the uNjanduna. T. took a fancy to this name and said it sounded well if one were to say, 'The king is at Njakazi or Njanduna.' T. thereupon appropriated the name whilst Magaye's men assumed that of 'Rodi' - on T.'s instructions.

The Iziyendane, Mtetwa, amaNganga, amaPumulo etc. were those who attacked the tribes south. They adopted a Zulu chant, and if any stranger should hear them chanting thus he would dash off and jump into a swamp or other hiding place. These men therefore were transformed into Zulus and were regarded as such by the tribes south.

When Tshaka came back from eNsikeni he, on hearing from Magaye that the Iziyendane retained possession of the cattle they had seized from the Natal tribes, attacked the Iziyendane themselves and caused them to flee away south to the Nguni country. Others went off to the Sutu country, to Basutos.

It was the Iziyendane and the others mentioned that attacked along the Natal coast as far as the Mzimkulu - on T.'s behalf - and scattered all the tribes. They are the ones who, without special instructions, caused people to flee in the way referred to by Fynn, who in July 1824 found only a few kraals of Tulis on the Bluff.¹¹⁸

My father Mahlabeni never ran away from these parts. He always remained with Mabona, Mnini and Matubane. He was older than Mnini.

Mabona died before the Iziyendane began to attack here - Port Natal. I do not know the name of the kraal of the Iziyendane. Nonzama was their chief. When Nonzama was killed by T. he gave his cattle to Matubane on account of his konzaing.

Socwatsha says the name of the kraal of the Iziyendane was Eziyendaneni.

The Iziyendane lived on the north side of the Mvoti, Magaye on the south side.

When T. took a fancy to the name Njanduna he appropriated not only the name but the men who composed that regiment, leaving Magaye to

buta his own, who were by T.'s orders called Rodi.

After Mabona's death Dhlemula ka Mzucu was established as chief. Dhlemula only ruled on behalf of Mni, like Matubane, and when Dhlemula died, Matubane succeeded as guardian. Dhlemula went on the uBalule campaign and died there. Matubane did not go on this campaign. He remained with Tshaka.

The Iziyendane used to go out on their expeditions south by T.'s orders. They used to hand over the cattle to him, but many no doubt were stolen by izinduna before reaching the king. It was the fewness of the cattle received which caused T.'s displeasure against the Iziyendane.

8 Dhlemula was a mature man but not of Matubane's age. Before the 'Izwekufa', when the tribes were disturbed by the Iziyendane and others with them, Dhlemula was the acknowledged tribal guardian. Matubane, after the depredations of T.'s troops, konza'd T. T. took a fancy to him and gave his orders to him; he spoke to him direct and not to Dhlemula. As Matubane was in favour with T., so he superseded Dhlemula and became the de facto guardian of the tribe and responsible to T. for its good behaviour.

Dhlemula and others from Natal - Jadilili ka Pudwa ka Ngozi ka Nyanise, Mrabula ka Msutu, Ndandane ka Mantiyane of the Mapumulo people, Ngungwini ka Mnganu, Funwayo ka Mpopomo, Mruyi (alias Kofiyanana) ka Mbengana, Sipongo ka -- <sic> (who) was in charge of the Isihlenga company (viyo), i.e. Kam Kengi's, and others - went on this campaign to Balule, i.e. from Port Natal, from Esihlengeni (Kamu Kengi's kraal), Esinyameni (Febana's kraal). Europeans did not go on the Balule campaign. Ndandane was the induna of the two amaviyo sent from Port Natal to Balule.

9 When Fynn left esiNyameni he built on the north side of the Mlazi his eNsimbini kraal, and after having been driven away by the Zulus to Pondoland, he returned and built the Mpendu kraal at Isipingo, south of that river.

After the Izwekufa Matubane went with Dhlemula to T. to konza. Tshaka was attracted by Matubane, and spoke to him. T. said nothing to or about Dhlemula. He proceeded to negotiate with Matubane as representing the tribe. Matubane had been in charge some years when the Europeans first arrived at Port Natal.

When the amaBece impi went out, Matubane was already in charge of the tribe.

I cannot suggest who 'Enslopee' is, the man referred to by Isaacs as living on the Bluff.¹¹⁹

10 Myebu's great kraal was Kwa Gobela. I do not know the name of the kraal Ntaba may have separated off with. Tusi's kraal was Kwa Gwabalanda. Nongwadi's kraal was eKohlo (there may have been a special name but this was the one generally used.) Nguqe's kraal was Emnyameni, Ncwane's kraal was Emnyoko, Mancamane's kraal was eNyazini, Xози's kraal was eMavanganeni. I do not know Tshatwa's or Zakwe's or Sivuba's principal kraals.

Bandhlwa and Mhambo are of lesser rank than Sivuba. They belong to his, Sivuba's, section of the kraal, as Tshatwa was the chief.

Luceka was younger brother (umnawe) of Myebu. Tshamela was simply of the chief's house; he fell into Ncwane's section.

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Nongwadi was Ntaba's *umnawe*. Tusi was of the main house. He (Tusi) and Ntaba quarrelled and separated. Ntaba became the great chief and remained such. Tusi, however, went and established himself on this side of the Mhlatusane in the Pinetown district. Ntaba was on the south side of the Mhlatusana. Kwa Gobela was built between the Umlazi and the Umhlatusana; Kwa Gobela was the place of Ntaba's people, where he was born.

- 11 The son of the left-hand house (*ikohlo*) is the junior brother (*umnawe*) of the chief. The real *umnawe* was Tusi but, as he quarrelled, Nongwadi became the *umnawe*. Tusi thereupon became practically an independent chief and ruled over his own section. The descendants of Ngwaleni ka Jakada contended for or supported him. Tusi had a large following who strongly supported him. Ntaba's and Tusi's people were perpetually fighting against one another. Tusi was got the better of by Ntaba, who had a large force (*amabandhl' amaningi*), but Tusi was given the *amaZuba* people. Tusi established his independence and he and Ntaba lived apart until Tshaka came and drove them out.

Nguqe was a dependent of Ntaba, but he had his own people - up the *Mlazi*, on the south side in the bush country.

- 12 Ncwane was of the *eMkungweni kraal*, the name of the cattle which the chief had received when he was circumcised. When the chief is circumcised all his people present him with cattle. These cattle will be collected and remain in the chief's possession. When he gets married he *lobola's* with them, and the kraal is known as *eMkungweni*, the place where the chief is *kunga'd* when he is circumcised.

To *kunga* is to present a king or chief with cattle; the whole tribe does so, as when he reaches puberty, is circumcised, puts on the *headring*, and marries. Mcoyoyi was presented with cattle by the whole tribe when he put on the *headring*. These cattle were contributed by members of the tribe who were living considerable distances away, as at the *Mzimkulu*, *oZwatini* etc., even though these persons had *konza'd* another chief.

- 13 Ncwane was born where Myebu was *kungwa'd* on the occasion of his being circumcised. Ncwane had a district of his own, from *eNwabi* hill (Chief Ndunge lives there now) to the great *Amanzantoti*. He was independent of the chief Ntaba and ruled over his own people. Ncwane fought with no one. Mzoywane and Ncwane's *imizi* were next to each other; they did not fight. Makasa (Ncwane's son), however, after his father's death, fought Mabona (*Manti*), the latter getting the better of it.

Ncwane was in the favour of Ntaba - not Tusi. Ncwane did not quarrel (*banga*), only Tusi and Ntaba. In the next generation Mabona and Makasa quarrelled. Nongwadi and Xoki had occasional fights, fighting only out in the open; homesteads were not attacked. There was no fighting by the Tuli people with neighbouring tribes or those at a distance.

The Tuli had a reputation for ferocity inasmuch as they were always fighting. When Tshaka appeared on the scene all the domestic quarrels ceased and the various sections scattered. Some were killed during the general lawlessness that prevailed; some were eaten by *hyenas*; some (went) to the *Xozas*; some went to find protection in *Zululand*; and later on some crossed over into Natal with *Mpande*.

27.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 66, pp. 14-18.

Also present: Socwatsha

Maziyana calls himself a Lala - '*We amaLala*'.

- 14 [Socwatsha leaves early. Goes to Zibebu's during next moon on own affairs. To get selected two good men on Zulu tribal affairs and bring by train. Will refund fares. Bring an extra boy. Will give S. £2 on his delivering them here.]

Maziyana speaks.

In Dole's kraals Mzoywane was the chief. He was born at the eMdhluka kraal. Mabona was in authority at eMdhluka and Mmini was born there. There are three old sites of this kraal, all situated at Mpopu. A kraal that separated off from it was oJonezi - Mabona's *ikanda*. Mabona did not marry many wives. He ruled like the Zulu kings who did not marry, viz. Tshaka and Senzangakona's sons.

- Another of Dole's kraals was eNcetu. This was the one Mpapayi ka Dole separated off with. Jombela's kraal was eNjingini. Mbajuda separated off with the Isibumbu (Esibunjini). Ntshilongo was of the Zuba, another of (Dole's) kraals. Gwayi belonged to eMafakatini, Mzoywane's kraal. Its other name was eNhlambela. Sigaba belonged to this kraal too. I do not know of Njiwa. Nondaba's kraal was eMcacazeni, i.e. *the place of his people*, where he was born. Tshenge belonged to oJonezi; it was built not by Dole but by Mzoywane. Boyane was of the Emfaka. (Emfakatini is the name of a different kraal.)

Mpapayi was Mzoywane's junior brother (*umkawe*). I see this from the fact that he was the one who received the *umhlubulo* at the great place (at eMdhluka).¹²⁰

The *isizinda* kraal was eNdungunya, where Pamama ka Mzoywane lived. The *umuzi* of the left-hand house was Inhlazuka. Caluza was the principal of this. The Inhlazuka was built by Mzoywane.

I do not know *the umuzi of the left-hand house of Dole*.

Emdhlazi was one of the *flanks (uhlangoti)* of eMdhluka, on the right side looking towards the gate; it was not a separate kraal.

- Matubane went off from eMbango, his elder brother Magela's kraal, and built iSoka. Mbango was not the *isizinda*. Our chiefs did not build *isoka* or *nqwaba* or *ekwene* kraals as with the Qwabe tribe.¹²¹

The rule of chiefs is not everywhere the same, i.e. there is a difference between the Qwabe constitution and that of the Tuli.

The eNgeni kraal (Mzolwane's) separated from Emfaka. Gomane was born there. A kraal that separated from this was eMunywini, of the people of *Nhlamane ka Mzoywane*. This was simply a kraal which followed the great *umuzi* in age and separated off with sons of the house.

Our rule is each one should separate off with the *umuzi* of his own people, leaving the great *umuzi* behind.

Mabona did not build his own kraal; he ruled at eMdhluka and died there. This was because he objected to having many wives; his issue, for instance, was only Mmini and Maguda.

- 17 Mmini was born at eMdhluka, as well as his sister Maguda. Maguda was older than Mmini; she married prior to Tshaka's attacking the

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Tulis. Mnini's mother was a girl of the Emandhlovini people (Macevu - her father's name, a girl of the place of Nzala (chief) ka Mangcathshu. I do not know her proper name. A woman after marriage is called after her father.

When Mnini separated off he built uPapeni, where Mcotoyi was born. Mcotoyi had a kraal built for him by his father, called eNgoba. When Mnini died Mcotoyi was away at the Mtamvuna, living with his brother Mbobo there. The tribe requested the Government to allow Mcotoyi to return and take over the tribe. This was allowed. The Ngoba kraal was built for Mcotoyi whilst he was still at the Mgababa, where his father died. When Mcotoyi returned he amalgamated the Ngoba and the uPape and it continued to be known as oPapeni. He is now living at oPapeni; the eNgoba is part of it. This was done because he was alone; there is only Dudu, a son of the house to which he belonged and who followed him in age.

- 18 When Mhlumeni separated off, his kraal was called oJoeni (this name was revived). Mbobo is Mcotoyi's junior brother (umawe), living now at the Mtamvuna. He went to the Mtamvuna because land was set apart for him there by the Government. The land has since been turned into a farm. Mbobo is of Mnini's left-hand house (kohlo); the name of his kraal is eKwaliweni.

30.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 1-7.

Maziyana speaks.

- 1 I do not know Ntaba ka Myebu's praises. None of their people survived. They died during the iZwekufa, all of them, together with their chiefs. Nor do I know Myebu's.

.... <Praises of Dole, Mabona, and Mzoywane omitted - eds.>

- 4 Ticaka of the Cele tribe - he fathered Tshibane. He lived with the Tulis. He had followers of his own but decided to throw in his lot with Dole ka Sivuba. He abandoned (hlabuka'd) the Cele tribe. On the other hand there were Tulis who remained with the Celes in Zululand.
- 5 The Celes who came across with the Tulis were only Ticaka and his followers. The Tulis were near neighbours of the Celes in Zululand. When the Tulis crossed into Natal they came from the Amatikulu, but they had previously moved from the Mtetwa tribe to the Matikulu. The two Tuli chiefs who crossed into Natal were Myebu and Dole, not Tshatwa, not Sivuba. These were followed, after an interval by the Celes led by Mkokeleli. The Celes, according to what Melapi says, came across from the Ngoye.¹²² After the Tulis and Celes had left, the territory recently occupied by them was taken possession of and built on by the Qwabes. The older generation tell us that the Tulis originated down the ixiMfoloxi rivers. I judge from the fact that Dibandhlela ka Mkokeleli grew up in Natal - like Ntaba among the
- 6 Tulis - that the crossing into Natal of the Celes must have followed close on that of the Tulis. On referring to Dole's praises, it will be inferred that he crossed over as an old man, viz. 'the old, dried-up thing from the Mhlatuze'.

Mbende came to Mabona to ask him to send out a force on his behalf

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as his brother Makasa (chief son of Ncwane) was wanting to attack and kill him. Mabona *sent out a force to attack Makasa*, but he was not killed. In those days there was no killing off or eating up of cattle as was the fashion in later times. Makasa moved his kraals, going to live some way up to the iNwabi hill, south of the Mlazi. Mbende then *swept away the kraals and built where Makasa, his brother, had been*. The two brothers after this *used to hold ijadu dancing competitions together - the country now being in a settled state - until Tshaka came and destroyed everything*.

- 7 Xoki was one of Myebu's eldest sons, probably the eldest. Others followed, then Ntaba, followed by others. Ntaba was not the eldest; he came some way down.

[As Ntaba was born near Port Natal and had sons and daughters when killed by Tshaka's forces in 1820 or so, this gives some idea of Myebu's arrival here. Say Ntaba was 50 when killed, this would make his birth 1770 and one might then say Myebu arrived in these parts about 20 years earlier, say 1750 and not prior to 1740.]

1.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 69, pp. 11-15.

- 11 Maziyana speaks.

I have seen Bovungana, son of Mbajuda ka Dole. He was my age. I grew up with him. I knew his mother, Masicauzele. She was a descendant of Europeans who, when Dole arrived at Port Natal, were settled here. Dole arrived finding Europeans here. They *went home to their own country*. Several remained who bore *the mother of Bovungana*. B.'s mother was *light in colour, like some of our people*. Her hair was *loose, i.e. unlike native hair, i.e. not tightly curled like the hair of our people*. Masicauzele was *the offspring of a bastela*. Her maiden name was Mfelase. She died long ago at Pinetown, where she was then living. She had sisters and brothers. Mfelase had two sisters, one married *at the place of Bikwane*, the other to Magela ka Jombela. These two and their issue were killed off one night by the Zulus at the isiBubulungu. Mfelase had brothers; these too were killed off by the Zulu *impi during the iZwekufa*. Others were killed when Matabane was killed off in Dingana's reign. None of Mfelase's issue remains at this day. All Bovungana's kraal died off.

- 12 Mfelase was *ngerwa'd* by Ngcokwa of the Tembu people.¹²³ [Maziyana was reluctant to say anything about this, but, finding Mcotoyi had mentioned the fact, admitted it as true, and explained his reluctance by saying the fact was a minor one and that she was *ngena'd* not by a Tuli but by a Tembu man - by Ngcokwa.] She bore Nokuba. She *married up the Mngeni river, on the south side, among the Nyuswa people* (amaQadi). She is dead now. She had issue. I believe she has a lad,
13 living at this day. I do not know his name.

By Ngcokwa, Mfelase also had a son, Majiya, alias Malau. He is now living at Mcotoyi's and is of Mcotoyi's age. He had *put on the head-ring* but has no *head-ring* now.

I believe Sicauzele's father was a European.

Malau is an *invalid*. He has sons. He is just like an ordinary native.

By Ngcuza, Mfelase had Sesiwa, a girl. She married at the Mngeni. She married at oZwatini. I believe she is now dead. By Ngcokwa,

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Mfelase also bore Mayawa, a girl, who married away at the Mtamvuna to Bulu ka Sobandeka.

Thus by Mbozela, Mfelase had Bovungana and Hlekiwe (girl). By Ngcokwa (she had) Majiya (alias Malau), Nokuba (girl). (Mayawa, Sinukane and Fumani were Ngcokwa's children, but by another woman, an ordinary native.) By Ngcuza (she had) Sesiwa (girl).

14 Hlekiwe bore Nyanga, Bala, Mkalelwa, Mbikose (girl). I do not know Mbikose. [See Mcothoyi's version, 16.4.1905.] Nokuba was by Ngcokwa, not Ngcuza.

Sicauzele and Boko were next to each other in age. They were not one and the same person; their descendants have always been separate. Sicauzele and Boko were the sons of Vondwe, this man being a white man - he was not a half-caste.

I do not know who the other Europeans were present here when Dole arrived. The old European kraal sites said by Mcothoyi to be seen at the Mfume are no longer visible - overgrown. Only old traditions.

Vondwe's descendants only escaped Tshaka's *impi* because they were living on the Bluff.

15 It was Matubane who got the cow from Magaye referred to last night by Melapi as having been got to cause women to bear children. The beast was got from him because he was related; his grandmother was Sivuba's daughter. At this time there were no cattle here (all seized by the *impi*) and that is why Matubane went to Magaye. I heard the stomach contents (*umswani*) of the beast were drunk by the women.

When the Celes crossed into Natal they found the land open to them. The Tulis had chased them all off to the abeNguni (Xozas). The Tulis crossed first, followed by, not simultaneously with, the Cele. Then the Makanya came. The Makanya had not crossed the Tukela into Natal when we came over.

Ntaba lived between the Mlazi and Mhlatuzana. Tusi lived about Pinetown and then down the Mngeni towards the sea. Kwa Gobela kraal (Myebu's) was in Ntaba's district; this district extended to Ntshangwe (Inchanga).

I do not know what people occupying the lands which Myebu came to live on were evicted therefrom when the Tulis crossed over.

[Maziyana returns home. Paid 30s, to include fare home, viz. 2s 2d.]

Notes

¹The names given are those of the chiefs of a section of the Thuli people: cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 506. Mcothoyi was another of Stuart's informants.

²The isAngqu *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.

³Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 533.

⁴*Isibubulungu* is the Zulu name for Durban's Bluff.

⁵For Ntaba's position in the Thuli genealogy see pp. 263, 281 below; also Bryant, Olden Times, p. 506. The Mariannahill mission is situated near present-day Pinetown.

⁶Myebu was father of Ntaba.

⁷The reference could be either to the Ndunge who was chief of a section of the Cele living in the Umlazi division, or else to the Ndunge who was chief of a section of the Qwabe living in the Alexandra division.

⁸The names in these two columns are given as they occur in the original.

⁹These two sentences occur in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 24. *Izwekufa* is derived from *izwe*, nation, or people, and *ukufa*, to die, be destroyed.

¹⁰The uFasimba *ibutho* was formed by Shaka c.1816-c.1818 of youths born in the late 1790s.

¹¹Shaka was assassinated in September 1828. His mother Nandi died in August 1827.

¹²Francis Farewell, who led a party of British hunters and traders to Port Natal in 1824.

¹³Captain W.F.W. Owen conducted a survey of the south-east African coast for the Royal Navy in 1823. The journal of his voyage was published in 1833.

¹⁴Mathubane, who was closely related to the Thuli chiefly line, was at this time the chiefdom's regent: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 503, 506.

¹⁵Cf. the account of Farewell's first visit to Shaka in Fynn, *Diary*, ch. 5.

¹⁶Mbulazi (Mbuyazi) was Henry Francis Fynn.

¹⁷James Saunders King and Nathaniel Isaacs arrived at Port Natal in 1825. Isaacs's praise-name literally means 'the one who waddles; off he goes at speed; the echoes of the cliffs at Ngome'.

¹⁸Isaacs has left an account of this incident, which occurred in February 1827; see his *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 88 ff. The isiKhwebezi is a tributary of the Black Mfolozi.

¹⁹Sotobe of the Sibiya people was one of Shaka's chief *izinduna*. For an account of his embassy to Port Elizabeth in 1828 see Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 616 ff. An *iphint* was a low-ranking official.

²⁰According to Isaacs the interpreter who accompanied Sotobe was Jakot, or Jacob, a man originally from the eastern Cape who had taken service with Shaka. See Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 118.

²¹Shaka's forces attacked the Mpondo in mid-1828.

²²This sentence should presumably read: 'It was found the men were Tshaka's, but they did not kill off Matiwana as supposed; he was defeated by a European force'. Matiwane kaMasumpa of the Ngwane people invaded the Thembu country in what is now the north-eastern Cape in mid-1828, at the same time as Shaka's forces were attacking the Mpondo. His following was broken up by a combined force of Thembu, Xhosa, and British.

²³Wohlo was Henry Ogle; Jana was John Cane; Damuse was Thomas Halstead; Diki Kingi was Richard King.

²⁴Nqetho kaKhondlo, chief of the Qwabe, seceded from the Zulu kingdom soon after Dingane's accession in 1828, and fled with his following to the country south of the Mzimkhulu.

²⁵The murder of Farewell and his companions by Nqetho took place in September 1829. See Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 168-9.

²⁶Nhlamba, or Nhlambamanzi, was the Zulu name for the man Jakot iden-

- tified in note 20 above.
- ²⁷The incidents described took place in the period 1829-31. For variant accounts see Fynn, Diary, pp. 179 ff; Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 260 ff.
- ²⁸According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 495, Dabeka's section of the Qadi fled from Dingane across the Thukela in the late 1830s.
- ²⁹Maziyana later on relates that the iNjanduna was an *ibutho* originally formed by the Cele chief Magaye and subsequently appropriated by Shaka. See p. 294 below.
- ³⁰Maquza's evidence appears in the present volume.
- ³¹Sikhunyana kaZwide of the Ndwandwe people invaded the Zulu kingdom in 1826. For an account of Shaka's counter-attack see Fynn, Diary, ch. 9. On the 'uSuthu' cattle, cf. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 329.
- ³²Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, made at least two attacks on Shaka in the period c.1818-c.1819.
- ³³For further information on Lukilimba (Lukulimba) see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 525-6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 57-8; Fynn, Diary, ch. 16.
- ³⁴We have been unable to identify Jemuse. S. Beningfield settled in Natal in 1840.
- ³⁵In the original, Stuart has scored out a set of telegraphic notes which appear at the top of p. 15. We have omitted these as they appear in extended form in the paragraphs that follow.
- ³⁶Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 53, 673, gives Sigwebana as a son of Senzangakhona. The Ndulinde is a hill west of present-day Gingindlovu.
- ³⁷*Isikhonzi* means one who has *khonza'd*.
- ³⁸Stuart indicates that the next two sentences, which occur in the original on p. 16, should follow on at this point.
- ³⁹The book referred to is Isaacs's Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, London, 1836.
- ⁴⁰I.e. the Cele.
- ⁴¹Magaye was chief of the Cele; Zihlandlo was chief of the Mbo (Mkhize); Mathubane was regent of the Thuli; Sambela was brother of Zihlandlo.
- ⁴²Zulu kaNogandaya of the Ncwane people had won fame as a warrior in Shaka's time: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 101-2.
- ⁴³Mpande seceded with a large following from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839. Khangela (modern Congella) was a locality on the shores of the bay at Port Natal.
- ⁴⁴The reference is to a battle fought at Ndondakusuka on the lower Thukela in April 1838 when a force from Port Natal invaded the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁴⁵Captain T.C. Smith led a British force from the Mpondo country to occupy Port Natal early in 1842.
- ⁴⁶Shaka attacked the Mpondo in 1824 and again in 1828. He accompanied his army on the second of these expeditions.
- ⁴⁷Mdlaka kaNcidi of the emGazini people was one of Shaka's chief *izinduna*.
- ⁴⁸*Ihlambo* literally means 'washing', and was a term applied among the Zulu to the cleansing ceremonies which marked the end of a period of mourning. The reference here is to the campaign against the Mpondo in 1828 after the death of Shaka's mother Nandi in 1827.
- ⁴⁹Ntshangase is the *isithakazelo* of the Biyela people, who were

- closely related to the Zulu royal house.
- ⁵⁰The names given are those of female *amabutho* formed by Shaka.
- ⁵¹The Mpondo referred to certain peoples living to the north of them in what is now Natal as abaMbo.
- ⁵²*Uthango* (pl. *izintango*) literally means fence.
- ⁵³Mkhokheleli was an eighteenth-century Cele chief: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 544.
- ⁵⁴*Isichaka* means a poverty-stricken person, one without livestock.
- ⁵⁵The evidence of Mkhohlengana and Mkhothana will appear in a later volume of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ⁵⁶The Berea is the ridge overlooking Durban bay.
- ⁵⁷For discussion of the term Lala see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 7 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa*, pp. 120-32; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
- ⁵⁸By ebuNguni the informant probably means the Xhosa country.
- ⁵⁹Mcotoyi? The latter was chief of the Thuli in the Umlazi division.
- ⁶⁰For Klaju's ancestry see p. 265 above.
- ⁶¹The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 12. *Ukuchwaneka* means to place on a spit.
- ⁶²At the battle fought near the mouth of the Thukela in April 1838 a section of the Zulu army virtually wiped out a raiding force from Port Natal. See note 44 above.
- ⁶³Mangcingci was S.B. Beningfield.
- ⁶⁴John Robinson played a prominent part in Natal public affairs in the late nineteenth century, and in 1893 became the colony's first Prime Minister.
- ⁶⁵This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 14.
- ⁶⁶The iziGqoza were the followers of Mpande's son Mbuyazi, who was defeated by Cetshwayo, his half-brother and rival for the succession, in a battle at Ndongakusuka near the lower Thukela in 1856. Some of the followers of the Hlubi chief Langalibalele were involved in a skirmish with Natal colonial forces in 1873.
- ⁶⁷For discussion of the term Ntungwa see the works cited in note 57 above.
- ⁶⁸On this expression see also *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 176.
- ⁶⁹The syntax of this statement is not made clear in the original; we reproduce it with punctuation as given by Stuart. *Ugwayi* can also mean snuff.
- ⁷⁰*Isiyendane* (pl. *iziyendane*) is 'hair dressed so as to hang in long, twisted strings' (Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 712). The word was used by the Zulu as a name for the Hlubi and certain other peoples.
- ⁷¹Presumably what is meant here is that these peoples were insultingly referred to by others as fish-eaters.
- ⁷²Donald Strachan was a farmer and trader in East Griqualand, and magistrate for Adam Kok at Umzimkulu or KwaMadonela, 'the place of Donald'.
- ⁷³Mshweshwe was chief of the Cele people in the Alfred and Lower Umzimkulu divisions.
- ⁷⁴Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.
- ⁷⁵For discussion of the term Mbo see the works cited in note 57 above.

- ⁷⁶Qudeni mountain overlooks the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi from the east.
- ⁷⁷The names are those of the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefs. Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ⁷⁸For discussion of the term Ngumi see the works cited in note 57 above.
- ⁷⁹The Manyane joins the Thukela near present-day Jameson's Drift; the Mfongosi joins the Thukela a few kilometres upstream.
- ⁸⁰Magidigidi was chief of a section of the Cele.
- ⁸¹Phobana was Frank Fynn, brother of Henry Francis Fynn senior. *Bastela* is a corruption of 'bastard'. Fodo was chief of the Nhlanguini in Shaka's time.
- ⁸²Hintsa was chief of the Gcaleka section of the Xhosa from early in the nineteenth century to 1835.
- ⁸³Mande was a brother of the Cele chief Magaye.
- ⁸⁴Ntungwa is one of the *izithakazelo* of the Khumalo people.
- ⁸⁵I.e. in the south-east of Zululand. John Dunn was a hunter and trader who lived among the Zulu from 1857 until his death in 1895.
- ⁸⁶Nyambose is the *isithakazelo* of the Mthethwa people.
- ⁸⁷Literally, 'They descended with a grain basket', and 'They descended by means of, or on account of, a grain basket', respectively. For discussion of the historical connotations of these expressions see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467.
- ⁸⁸*Izilulu* is the plural form of *isilulu*.
- ⁸⁹The roots of the *ikhathazo* herb were used as a medicine for colds.
- ⁹⁰Or Bushman's river.
- ⁹¹Mthambo was possibly the man of that name who was chief of the Makhanya in the Umlazi division.
- ⁹²Chief of the Qwabe in the early nineteenth century.
- ⁹³*Isilomo* (pl. *izilomo*) means a 'man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king a foremost man at court' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362).
- ⁹⁴Mkhokheleli was chief of the Cele.
- ⁹⁵An *umdaka* (pl. *imidaka*) was a roughly made brass ring used for trade and from which ornaments were manufactured.
- ⁹⁶According to Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 27, 399, the *ubedu* (*ubhedu*) and *umnaka* were neck-ornaments of specific design.
- ⁹⁷According to H.F. Fynn (cited in Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 124), the Ifenya was the Bluff area of present-day Durban.
- ⁹⁸This note appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 7.
- ⁹⁹The reference is to J. Shooter, The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, London, 1857.
- ¹⁰⁰*IzinKumbi* ('locusts') was the name which H.F. Fynn gave to his adherents.
- ¹⁰¹The *isizinda* was the homestead which, after a father's death, was occupied by the son who had been delegated to take charge of, and care for, the dead man's establishment. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 418-19.
- ¹⁰²I.e. Stuart's informant. For his paternal descent line see p. 289 below.
- ¹⁰³Makhasane, chief of the Mabhudu Tsonga, died in the early 1850s.
- ¹⁰⁴It is not made completely clear in the original whether Mkhwici was the brother or the son of Mande.

- ¹⁰⁵I.e. in 1839.
- ¹⁰⁶This may be the same person as the Ndunge named in genealogy B.1.1 above.
- ¹⁰⁷Somsewu was the Zulu name for Theophilus Shepstone. The *induna* referred to was Ngoza kaLudaba of the Majozi people.
- ¹⁰⁸The umXhapho (imBhube, uMpunga, uHlwayi) was one of Mpande's *amabutho*. Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was chief of the Mandlakazi in the time of Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu.
- ¹⁰⁹Qalizwe was another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹¹⁰The word 'Nansi' used by the boy who aroused Shaka's anger seems to have been a dialectical variant of 'Nandi', the name of Shaka's mother.
- ¹¹¹This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 18.
- ¹¹²Nobamba and Dukuza were Zulu royal *imizis*, the former situated in the country south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi, and the latter, at the time of Shaka's assassination, near present-day Stanger.
- ¹¹³Shaka's assassins were his brothers Dingane and Mhlangana and one of his senior attendants, Mbopha kaSithayi of the eGazini people.
- ¹¹⁴The reference is to Shaka's campaign of 1828 against Soshangane near the Bhalule (Olifants) river.
- ¹¹⁵For other accounts of Mzoboshi's relations with Fynn and the whites at Port Natal see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 61; Fynn, Diary, chs. 15, 16.
- ¹¹⁶Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane people; Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe.
- ¹¹⁷Macingwane kaJama was chief of the Chunu people. Ngonyameni was the name of one of his principal *imizis*.
- ¹¹⁸See Fynn, Diary, p. 60.
- ¹¹⁹Enslopee is rendered as Mhlophe in modern orthography. The reference is to Isaacs's Travels and Adventures, p. 19. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 568, describes Mhlophe as 'Shaka's trusted spy'.
- ¹²⁰The *umhlubulo*, or rib of meat, was the perquisite of the *ikhohlo* or left-hand house. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 258.
- ¹²¹We have been unable to establish the precise connotations of the terms here used. They seem to refer to various sections of a chief's household, *isoka* probably meaning the left-hand house, *inqwaba*, a section of the great house, and *ekunene*, the right-hand house. It was a common practice among the Zulu and neighbouring peoples for the male heir in each section to establish a separate *umuzi*. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 418-20; Krige, Social System, pp. 39-41; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 119-20.
- ¹²²Melapi was another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹²³*Ukungena*, literally 'to enter', here means to take as a wife the widow of a deceased male relative in order to produce an heir for his house.

APPENDIX

LIST OF HLUBI CHIEFS

given by Paul Ngwenya

<The original of the list that follows appears on a loose sheet attached to the front cover of notebook 29, File 59, along with another sheet on which is recorded information on the genealogy of the Hlubi chiefly house given by Mabhonsa kaSidlayi, whose evidence appears in the present volume - eds.>

14.1.1909 File 59, nbk. 29, sheet attached to front cover.

Received from Paul Ngwenya, a 'deacon' or 'priest' of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America. I saw his credentials, issued, I believe, at Bloemfontein.

Kwabhekuzulu, Sept. 12, 1908.

The line of the great chiefs of the Hlubi.

- 1 Mhuhu^a
- 2 Ndhlovu
- 3 Muhlanga
- 4 Musi
- 5 Mtumkulu
- 6 Raḁebe
- 7 Ngcobo
- 8 Dhlomo
- 9 Mashiyi
- 10 Ngwekazi
- 11 Nsele^b
- 12 Bhungane
- 13 Mtumkulu
- 14 Mpangazita^c
- 15 Dhlomo^c
- 16 Langalibalele^c
- 17 Siyepu

^aGiven by Mabonsa to me as the last he can remember.

^bSon of Matshiyi.

^cSon of Mtinkulu.

APPENDIX 2

GENEALOGIES OF THE CELE CHIEFLY LINE

given by Mvakwendhlu Sivetshe, Mageza, and Dinya

<The genealogies and list that follow were recorded by Stuart on the page on which he recorded the Cele genealogy given by Maquza kaGawushane, whose evidence appears in the present volume - eds.>

13.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 46, p. 3.

Given by Mvakwendhlu Sivetshe, 13.2.1905. [See p. 16 for a probably better version.]¹

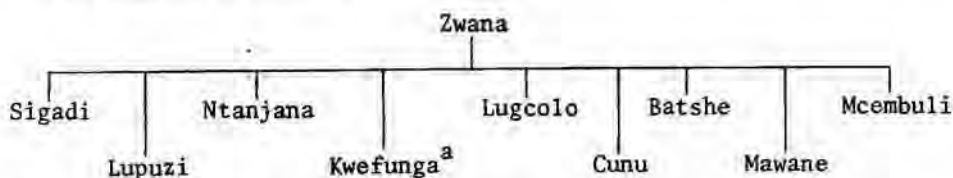
Nyambose
|
Cele
|
Lugogo
|
Nqumela
|
Maganga
|
Langa
|
Ndosi
|
Sodi
|
Mkokeleli
|
Dibandhlela
|
Magaye
|
Magidigidi
|
Mshweshwe

APPENDIX 2

18.2.1905

File 61, nbk. 46, p. 3.

Per Mageza, 18.2.1905.



^aKwefunga is father of Mageza, one of my informants aged about 70 (Tulwana).

18.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 46, p. 3.

Per Dinya, 18.4.1905.

More sons of Dibandhlela

Kinkwayo

Zonzoyi - killed at Balule in Tshaka's *campaign*.

Cezo - chief of Mkontweni kraal - Dibandhlela's. *Zonzoyi follows Cezo in age.*

(Mfaniswa) - chief of *oKlezeni*, Dibandhlela's kraal (*the inqwaba² at Momeni, at Mlungisi's place*).

Mcaciswa - *the younger brother from Momeni,*³ *oDingeni kraal.*

Mdhlodhlongi

Qokoya - father of Ndimindwane of eNkungwini.

Dinya says: Mkoceleli ka Langa ka Sodi ka Nqumela ka Maganga ka Cele ka Ndosi ka Nyambose. There may be a Lugogo.

Notes

¹The reference is to the list of Cele chiefs given by Mageza kaKwefunga. See his evidence as reproduced in the present volume.

²Literally *inqwaba* means heap or pile, but seems also to have been used as a term of reference for the members of the *indlwakulu*, or chief wife's house. See Dinya's evidence in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 119, 120.

³Cf. 'Momeni' in the previous line.

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Nqwanaza to pay hut tax. Nqwanaza refused. The 'amadoda' houses disagreed with Zambile (Dilemini) and said they ought to pay taxes, seeing they were far lower than those claimed by the British Govt. This difference arose in intensity. When Nqwanaza fled the 'amadoda' remained, Mapulha was appointed chief and the main body of the people very nearly elected their rightful king. Mapulha is to all intents and purposes now king over the Matabele people. The Brits have raised the taxes. It was the Queen Regent Zambile who stood out saying she had given her allegiance to the British Government (at Durban) and would not fail. I told Mapulha I did not think the Matabele people had taken proper ^{into} account the MacMahon Award of 1875. I explained so well as I could.

Mapulha says the allegiance of the Nation was tendered at the conclusion of the Zulu War of 1879. They act tends to show that the Tongas did not know anything about ^{the} MacMahon award.

The local Nqwanaza is now living in is called Gomphlweni, for the old local name has been preserved at the new site.

I told Mapulha not to be discouraged. The Boer War is nearing conclusion and there is a possibility that England will obtain possession of Zululand, when the MacMahon Award would vanish and Zambile and her son be restored to their proper country. This may not happen in a year or two, it may take time, but what is time in the history of a nation?

It is not known when the Tongas first came to Zululand. The people are called either Abengweni or Amanlungweni. One might glean particulars from the old people in the country.

I asked Mapulha if he thought he could get two or three old men to come down and stay here with me 2 or 3 months and educate me in Tonga affairs. He said he thought this could be done. Ndaba suggested Luhoko and Mapulha said Mapoye both about 67 years old. I said I would pay their railway fares to & fro and furnish ^{each} them with something on their return as well as find them food & lodging for them. Mapulha perceived I took a keen interest in Zululand & I warned him to be careful not to excite people. He was not to ask either Zambile or Nqwanaza for the people but might speak about the matter if he liked.