

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)*.

- 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. Mboto was *taken under the protection of Mtwana*; he lived at the Mzinto.¹³ It happened in this way. Mboto's father and mother were killed at the Mpafane (Mooi) river for preventing rain; they were killed among the amaNtolweni tribe.¹⁴ Mboto *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). Mboto *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 amaMboto people sprang from Mboto. They live at eHluku near Harding.

On getting to the Mzinto where the Imtwana lived, Mboto 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 Mboto 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 Mboto and his sister were the cause of it. When discovered, Mboto 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 Mbasu, together with amaNdelu, amaLanga, amaDhlala, 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. Nombeu, 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 amaNwane*, 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

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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 Nhlungwini 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 Nhlungwini 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 Nhlungwini. (Madikane was dead, having been killed by abeNguni, *beyond the Mbatshé river.*) Nombeu was on this occasion put to death. The Nhlungwini *observed the mourning ceremonies and remained settled where they were.* They however *spied about,* the idea of the Nhlungwini 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 Nhlungwini 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 *mahlunkulu.*

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 *Lwambaso* 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 *umnumacina* 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 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.
- 22

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 Mandelata'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.

- The Bacas were *insulted* by the Inhlangwini people, who called them amaZotsha because of their *headrings*. (I explained this yesterday.)
 11 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 Qwabes. 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 Cinso, 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 amaMboto 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 *mkandhlu* 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.

21 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 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 *mentals* take the thick *curds*. When the time comes for pouring out the *whey* 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.>

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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 *indhunkulu* 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 *indhlunkulu* 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.

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
6 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.

About 12 to 15 take part in the race. After going four or five miles several fall back. The remainder proceed, *jostling one another*
7 *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 esiDumbini. 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, *Ntanonde'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.

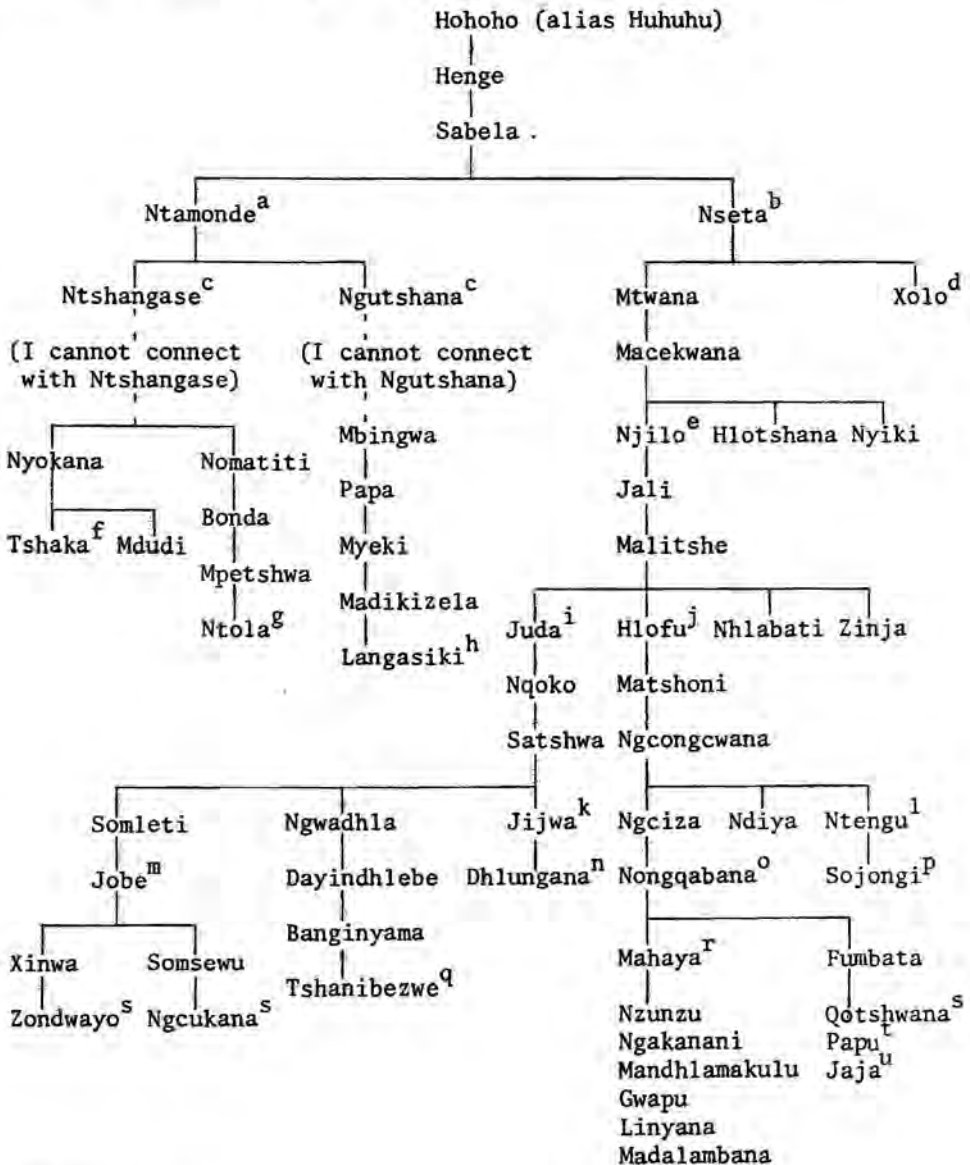
13 Jali is buried at Ntumbankulu. Njilo was buried at the Mhlungwa, i.e. at the Mtwalume. He had come to be here on account of the *cattle post* already referred to. He had quarrelled with the amaXolo and followed after them. This quarrel arose between Mtwana and Xolo on account of this same *post*. 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 *mdhluwukulu*. 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.



^a Chief son.

^b Of the isizinda section.

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^cThese 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

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 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.

- 19 The amaTshezi (descended from the Tembus) settled at the Mtwalume long after we Imitwana got to Ntumbankulu. The amaBomvana is another 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 *umkosi* ceremony - and gave it to his *induna*, Tshengu ka Mambamba of the *Tshezi* 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 *amaZelumu* 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 amaMpfana. 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

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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, amaMboti, 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; amaNgcingweni, living at the Qura, which enters the Mtwalume; the amaNtozakwe; the abeTshawu, living on the other side of the Mhlabatshwana up the Mzumbi, near Highflats; the amaCi; the amaJali; 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 *konzang 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 Mehlwamyama; Juda died at Mehlwamyama 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.

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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
4 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.

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 (Ntimbankulu) 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. Dhlozi 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 mwabainja*'.
- 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 umKhoNyana 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.