

BALENI KA SILWANA

10.5.1914. Sunday.

File 55, nbk. 1, pp. 1-22.

Also present: Mangqayi ka Mhanqwa of the Mpungose.

- 1 Baleni ka Silwana ka Ndhlovu ka Kuba ka Mnukwa ka Mpungose.¹ I am of the Mpungose tribe. I am of the Dhloko² regiment. I was born after Dingana had begun to fight with the Boers; I was born in Dingana's reign. I was born at the White Umfolozi in the Mahlaba-tini valley. My father was of the Siklebe³ regiment, i.e. of those who *defeated* the Ndwandwe. He died *in the struggle between Dingana and Mpande*. He was killed in battle at Maqongqo.⁴ I was a small boy when he died. I know about him. I do not know about Ndhlovu, my grandfather, except that *he was light-skinned*. I grew up near the Mfule river at Mtonjaneni.

I *kleza'd* at Ndabakawombe, one of Mpande's kraals. This kraal was at Mahlalatini and on the Mfolozi, i.e. on the north bank. Ndabakawombe kraal was lower down the White Mfolozi than Nodwengu and nearer Mlambongwenya.

- I heard most of my history from Siyongo *of the Kanyile people*. Siyongo was of the Sipezi⁵ regiment. My mother was of the Cenyane class,⁶ *living in the household at Nobamba*. My father had many children. The chief one was Gaozi, father of the present chief Mbango. Mbango is quite well. He says *'father' to me*. Gaozi was of the Ndabakawombe regiment. Mbango is of the Uve regiment.

Tshaka's father was Senzangakona ka Jama ka Bayeni ka Punga ka Mageba. I cannot give more. I am quite sure Bayeni was Ndaba's father. Nandi was buried at Mateku, Eshowe district. Tshaka was *dark brown*, not very *light*.

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

- 3 When among the Langeni, Tshaka was given *a milking cow which gored people*. Upon this he *stabbed* those who had given it to him. He then *left* and went to the Mtetwa. When he got there his father Senzangakona died. He then *left with high-ranking men of the Mtetwa who took him to Mahlalatini*. He accordingly went and *ruled at Mahlalatini*. He *entered upon his patrimony and became chief*.

After this Zwide *attacked* the Qwabe. The Qwabe *impi was routed*. The king was killed by *fear*. Tshaka said the Qwabe people were to be killed *because they liked stirring up strife*.⁷ After

the Qwabe had been broken up, the Ndwandwe impi took up arms and went against Mbelebeleni in the Zulu country. The amaPela regiment of Zwide went against Mbelebeleni. The Ndwandwe defeated the Mbelebele.⁸ Tshaka said, 'O! As they are so strong, let the food have skins put over it and be covered over with earth,' (to give the impression that there was no food),⁹ so that the Ndwandwe should starve and there should be a famine.

4 The Ndwandwe impi took up arms and came against the Zulu. Tshaka said that his army should clear the countryside and lure them on. Tshaka's impi left Nobamba and Siklebeni, then crossed the Umfolozi and came south, went up Mtonjaneni, crossed the Mhlatuze high up, and went past Mpandhleni, and on to the top of Nkandhla; it went round down to the Mvuzane. Tshaka was with it. He never stayed at home on such occasions. He had on his girdle of mongoose tails. Genet tails were not yet used.

After this his impi went down to the Mhlatuze. The Ndwandwe appeared on the Nkandhla heights, following in the track of Tshaka's impi. When he got to Nomveve, Tshaka hid his impi. In the afternoon the armies made contact through their spies. He unleashed his warriors. At dawn the next day he set them on with the Siklebe regiment in front. He was sitting close by, looking on. He was looking on at his warriors stabbing the men. He said, 'Stop throwing your assegais. Stab them at close quarters. Use only one assegai.' His impi defeated them and drove them up into the hills at the Mhlatuze. That was the day when his army finally defeated them.

5 On coming back from this campaign, he came to Bulawayo and said that the cowards should be picked out. (There is a bush there where cowards were picked out and stabbed under the arm.) The cowards were thereupon separated off. After this their left arms were held up and they were stabbed under the armpits like goats, Tshaka saying, 'Let them feel the assegai!' They were then stabbed. These men would then be killed as if they were cattle. Those killed were those who had used their assegais for throwing. For having done that they were accused of being cowards, i.e. afraid of coming to close quarters.

When Tshaka decoyed Zwide as stated, he did not cross the Tugela. Tshaka came down by the Nhlababo or Dhlabe ridge and the Mvuzane stream, after coming down the Gcongco. Nomveve is the name of a ridge leading from Entumeni towards the Mhlatuze. That is where the battle took place.

6 The (saying) 'kisi fighting' originated among the Cunu. The Cunu people fought with my grandfather Ndhlovu's people. They threw assegais at one another as if they were boys. Such a manner of fighting was said to be that of 'kisi', for as one was about to fling his assegai he would shout, 'Kisi!' at his foe, and so the foes shouted at their assailants. 'Kisi' was a saying. 'We shall fight this afternoon and tomorrow', i.e. the two parties agreed in that leisurely style. After fighting, they would both go off and eat and then return and resume operations. I don't know how the word arose.

It was Tshaka who forced all the less significant peoples¹⁰

BALENI ka SILWANA

to submit. His father Senzangakona did not do so. After conquering them, he caused them to fight for him.

7 If, when a battle was on, Tshaka happened to catch sight of a shield in the midst of the fray, he would ask whose shield it was he had seen. This would then be evidence of the fact that the man was a hero, upon which he would be given a number of cattle. The king would see from the shield turning that *he was fighting with a man of the other side.*

The great warriors in Zululand were very numerous. Among them were Nomfihlela, Vukuza, Nomnanzi, Silevana, Mahanqwa. Outside,¹¹ Mcengeni, Jaja, Ngonela, Ngalo, Jubane, Siyunguza, Mafolokholo, Mabanikazi, Sikunyana, Sibindi, Nzwakumbana, Mhlahlo, and Ngongoma were among the warriors of the Mpungose tribe. Mapita, Mkanyile, Ntshingwayo ka Marole, Vumandaba, Dazukile, Tshoko, Diyikana and Nkabana were among Tshaka's great warriors.

At the Ngome, when Beje and his people were attacked by the Zulus, my uncle Nomnanzi entered Beje's stronghold after the whole of the Zulu had attempted and failed. He, however, entered and succeeded in killing two men. Tshaka's impi entered the stronghold on the following day and saw the men dead.

8 My grandfather Ndhlovu secured victory against the Cunu. He was fighting for Tshaka. Ndhlovu was of the Nobamba regiment, i.e. one of the very first regiments (Senzangakona's). The impi (Cunu) had set a trap for them and had defeated Tshaka's men, when Ndhlovu succeeded in killing three Cunus. What happened was this. The Cunus first repulsed the Zulus on one day, but on another day or the next day, Ndhlovu, being with the Zulus, killed three of them, and the Cunus were defeated. This happened at Taleni.

Ndhlovu was in the habit of going out alone to fight. He would be stabbed in all directions but he would return with a number of cattle he had succeeded in capturing.

9 My father Silwana began the fight at Maqongqo. Mvundhlana ka Menziwa of the Biyela people led the attack against the Ndwandwe. Magidi ka Menziwa of the Biyela tribe also led in the attack on the Ndwandwe. (The same is true of Myakayaka ka Ndosini of the Mahayi people, of Ndosini ka Nondumo of the Nzuza people, of Mpezeni ka Gala of the Biyela, and of Manqondo ka Mazwana of the Magwaza tribe, who started the attack at Nomveve in the action with the Ndwandwe.) Sikunyana ka Becwa of the Sikakana tribe opened the battle in the Swazi country when Mpande attacked there. I was present on the last-named occasion. The Swazis were observed by one company of Zulus driving a number of cattle. The Swazis had three companies. Nkunga ka Sitayi (Mbopa's brother) was a leader in the attack at Nomveve. Nkunga was of the Sipezi regiment. Kayisa ka Kleza (father of Dubuyana) began the battle at Maqongqo with Dingana.

10 All these men were acknowledged to have led the fighting after the plan of battle had been discussed in the ordinary way. Nongena ka Nngogc of the Nzuza people was in the vanguard at Maqongqo against Dingana. Zulu ka Nongandaya of the Izimpohlo regiment also led at Maqongqo and at Nomveve.

Mandhlangampisi, Putile and others were made to submit by Tshaka.

BALENI ka SILWANA

Tshaka used to be liberal in giving food. He would not allow anyone to speak of himself to another (mention his name). He would say, 'What did you want to mention my name to another behind my back for?'

He would not allow a man to put a feather into his ear and turn it round and round. The person who had done so would be asked what he meant by that and be killed. (The man turning the feather round in his ear would be asked,) 'What is it you are imitating?'. The implication was that he likened the sensation to having sexual intercourse, and he would thereupon be put to death. It would be said of a man who used the feather thus, 'He's got something on his mind.'

- 11 Mxamama of the Sibisi people told Tshaka that *tears did not come* from the eyes of certain people when Nandi died, upon which they would be put to death. It was said, 'They are being defiant,' as no tears flowed from their eyes.

We used to say Tshaka was the *king* for he did not kill his father's sons. Dingana was a bad king for he killed his own relations. Mpande escaped Dingana as it was said, 'He is a *little fool*.' Dingana killed off all the others.

Tshaka did however kill those of the Mtetwa tribe who had *bullied* him whilst he was a young man. Tshaka also killed those who, at his mother's kraal among the Langeni, gave him a *cow that gored*. I know Tshaka also complained of *curdled milk* having been given into his hands (to be held) there until warm. Tshaka was wrong in killing off those who had *bullied* him, as he said, in his young days. They had done him no harm. It was not sufficient to kill his relatives because of their giving him *curdled milk* to get hot in his hands.

- 12 These are the characteristics of the Zulu tribe - they are of an angry, vindictive disposition.

Is there a *chief* that says, 'The birds are hungry', and then has people killed for them? This was done by Dingane, not Tshaka. Dingane did it at Kwa Matiwane.¹² When a man was seriously ill Dingana said, 'He is afflicted; go and finish him off.'

Tshaka caused people to be killed to see if the *Tatiyana donga* would not fill. This donga is near Dinuzulu's Usutu kraal. In that part of the country there was Gqikazi, Mpande's kraal, and Mbelebele. It was portion of a regiment that was killed and pitched into the donga. People of course *konza'd* at these two *military kraals* and so were numerous enough for Tshaka to make the foregoing experiment. Those killed were not members of any particular tribe but a mixed lot of people.

- 13 Even *warriors* were killed by Tshaka. For when (a man) had repeatedly been given presents of cattle and these had multiplied, people would come and say he had enormous herds and accuse him of overshadowing the king. Upon this he would be accused of being an *umtakati* and then be put to death and his stock seized.

The Mgungundhlovu kraal was first built at the Vuna and was close to the Gqikazi and Mbelebele *military kraals*. It was then close to the *Tatiyana donga*, but later Mgungundhlovu was built at the Mkumbane and so was far off.

Mbelebele was built on the north bank of the Vuna and under

BALENI ka SILWANA

the Ingwegwe hill. Mgungundhlovu was below the road and on the south bank of the Vuna - this in Dingana's day.¹³

- 14 Rev. Owen's homestead was at the upper end of the Matiwane ridge and on the east side of Mgungundhlovu, but was not so high up as to be opposite the *isigodhlo*. [That is probably where Gardiner drew the kraal from.]

.... <Heads of topics discussed below omitted - eds.>

Names of Tshaka's kraals¹⁴

Bulawayo (Gibixegu) - Tshaka's own kraal
Mbelebele - Tshaka's own kraal
Kangela - Tshaka's own kraal
Dukuza ka Nombalo - Tshaka's own kraal
Siklebeni - Senzangakona's
Sipezi - Senzangakona's
Nobamba - that is the *kraal where the nation was born*,
Senzangakona's great kraal
(Ndabenkulu and Njanduna were names of regiments.)
eBaqulusini - Mnkabayi's kraal
uMkandhlu - one of Tshaka's kraals
uMgumanqa - one of Tshaka's kraals
Intontela - one of Tshaka's kraals
uMlambongwenya (uMahambehlala) - this was Senzangakona's
kraal. This kraal *separated off from Siklebeni*. Songiya
(Mpande's mother) was 'chiefess' of the kraal.
eZembeni - Langazana's kraal
eNkonjeni - Langazana's kraal
eNdhlwayini - Langazana's kraal
eNtoleleni - Langazana's kraal

15 List of regiments¹⁵

uNobamba
uSiklebe
iSipezi
uMbonambi
amaWombe
iNtontela
uMbelebele
uBekanya - *incorporated into the Izinyosi*
uMkandhlu
uBulawayo
uKangela
Izinyosi (Ingcobinga)
Dhlambedhlu
Imkulutshane - *the great one*
Ndabakadengizibona (Imkulutshane)¹⁶
Ihlaba
Ndabakawombe (uKokoti)
Dhlambedhlu (Ingwegwe) - *formed by Mpande*
Izingulube
Isangqu (amaTshitshi)
Amapela - *incorporated into the Sangqu, Nobamba,
Ndabakawombe and Mbelebele*
Inkonkoni

BALENI ka SILWANA

Ndhlonhlo
 uDhloko
 uMxapo (Dududu)
 uMbonambi
 Nokenke
 uMcijo (Kandempemvu)
 iNgobamakosi
 uVe
 uFalaza
 iMbokodwebomvu
 [Per Gezindaka ka Nomaqongqoto, 2.1.1908:¹⁷
 Felapakati
 Dakwa (Dakwaukusuta)
 Cijimpi (Ntabingenaliba or Mavalana)
 Vukaibambe
 Ingobolwane - only *mat-bearers*]
 uHayelwengwenya
 uDakwaukwesuta

- 16 The house of Mpungose *originated* at Nhlazatshe. My mother married my father when living *within the Nobamba kraal*. Our *inkosana* was Mbokojwana, and he was at Nhlazatshe. One kraal, the Qwata, *separated from Mbokojwana* whilst (he was), at Nhlazatshe. This Qwata kraal was built at the Mfule. Silwane's *separated* from the Qwata kraal. Kuba *fathered* two men and one girl. When the Qwata kraal was at the Mfule, my father's *separated* and Sinuku's *separated*, i.e. Sinuku ka Tetemana ka Kuba. The girl, Ncita by name, *married a Zulu man*, viz. Nceni ka Nomanamatela.
 Kula died after his *inkosana* Sinuku was born. Ndhlovu had eight sons and six girls. The sons were Silwana, Mfihlela, Vukuza, Nomnanzi, Nkwali, Boya, Msutu and Dwabiyana (of the Nkonkoni regiment).

The name Mpungose was the name of an ancestor of ours. The tribe we sprang from is that of Zungu, but we are very intimately associated with the Zulu tribe as the following story will tell.

- 17 In Senzangakona's day, there was fighting, as there was always fighting among the tribes, the cause of it being dispute to heirship. The faction fighting against Senzangakona succeeded in putting his lot to flight. So suddenly were they driven out of the Nobamba kraal that Senzangakona's daughter was left behind there. My ancestor Kuba happened to go to Nobamba and, discovering the infant there, carried it away from danger and brought it to Senzangakona. So delighted was Senzangakona with this highly friendly act that he said, '*You are of our people, truly one with us.*' Upon this a real and lasting alliance was cemented between the Mpungose and the Zulu tribe which has lasted to the present day.

Mkasana ka Jama is the one who was fighting with Senzangakona over the succession. After Kuba rescued the girl, he threw in his lot with Senzangakona and, with the assistance of Ndhlovu (my ancestor), succeeded in defeating Mkasana and putting him to death. This happened at the Sihlungo near Babanango. The Sihlungo is a hill.

- 18 Kuba had a kraal quite near Nobamba. He *konza'd* Senzangakona. At that time Senzangakona had no followers. Senzangakona

BALENI ka SILWANA

decided to fight the amaCunu, so he *directed* Kuba to get a *force* together, including his son Ndhlovu, and go and *subjugate* them. Ndhlovu went and defeated the Cunu, upon which he was given a tract of country at Taleni. He was also given the people who were living there. After this, Senzangakona *attacked* Xabatshe of the Xulu people. Ndhlovu again joined in this attack. Xabatshe was defeated, upon which Ndhlovu was given the territory and people that had belonged to the deceased. After this, Senzangakona died; so also did Ndhlovu.

When Tshaka became king my father fought for him. It was the capacity of the Mpungose people to get angry in wartime that caused so deep an alliance to spring up between them and the Zulus. By 'angry in war' I mean so staunch, brave and absolutely true to the Zulus.

19 It was the Mkasana affair that began those just enumerated. The child of Senzangakona that was saved by Kuba had just become able to walk, though still an infant (*beginning to toddle*). I do not know her name. She was not Senzangakona's first child. I do not know her mother.

After Mkasana turned Senzangakona from Nobamba, it was expected by Kuba and others living near that Mkasana's *force* would come to Nobamba, but they did not. It was then that Kuba went to the kraal and, hearing the child crying, *put it on his back*, and took it to Senzangakona who had *run away to the Pate*, below Mtonjaneni. It was in consequence of this act that the Zulus declared that the Mpungose were one and the same with the Zulus, 'for you have joined an alliance with us. You are henceforth one of ourselves.' The child was not found in a hut but *in the yard* of the kraal.

Baleni says: I was so called because my mother bore me not in a hut but outside. She simply sat down and I was born where she was - *ebaleni*.¹⁸ Hence my name.

20 Senzangakona's children¹⁹

Sons:

Ndunge - killed by Dingana

Mhlangana - killed by Dingana

Dingana

Tshaka - killed by Dingana

Mpande

Nzibe - died during Sotshangana expedition

Gqugqu - killed by Dingana

Sigujana (Mfokazi)

and others

Daughters:

Ziwelile - *married* Jobe, Matshana's grandfather

Nomanqe - *married* Mlandela of the Mtetwa

Ntikili - *married among the Mtetwa*. [Mangati says she *married* Mayanda, father of Somkele.]

Nomcoba - *married* Siyezana ka Tshangane ka Mbiya of the Mtetwa

Matenjwase - *married among the Mtetwa*

Sikaka - *married* Diyikana ka Hlakanyana of the Mbata people

BALENI ka SILWANA

Nomzinhlanga - married in the Mtetwa tribe
Mtembazi - married a man of Masipula's people in the Mgazini tribe
Maqukazi - married among the Mtetwa
Mantongela - married Njakaisuke ka Sokufoca of the Butelezi
Zayi - married Nhlaka ka Madikane of the Mdhlalose and others

- 21 Senzangakona's wives
Langazana ka Gubetshe of the Sibiya people [not of the Nzimela as Bryant says] - mother of Gququ
Songiya ka Ngotsha [Mangoya, at Hlabisa, says 'Mponswa', but Baleni insists it is 'Ngotsha'] of the Hlabisa people - mother of Mpande
Mpikase ka Mlilela of the Maqungebeni - mother of Dingana
Nozibuku of the Nxumalo of the Ndwandwe - mother of Nzibe. [Hoye says, 16.9.1921, Nzibe was the younger 'own brother' of Mpande, and therefore his mother was Songiya. Nozibuku was the mother of Hamu and therefore Mpande's wife. Mkebeni agrees.]
Nandi - mother of Tshaka
Ngcaka ka Mncinci - don't know her *clan-name*
Magulana ka Ntshongolo of the Qwabe
Bibi ka Nkobe (Sompisi) of the Ntuli
and others [See p.35* of Bryant's Dictionary.]

I do not know of Fudukazi, except as the wife of Mpande. Mzondwase I do not know of. [See Bryant, p. 36*.] I do not know who Sigujana's mother was.

[Mnkabi ka Sodubo of the Nzuza was another of Senzangakona's wives, according to Mkungu. See my talk with that chief on 7.1.1914. Baleni, however, cannot call the name to mind.]

I know that *brass*²⁰ *neck rings* were worn at the royal kraal. On one occasion one of Tshaka's wives died of the effects of wearing them. She *developed a sore on her neck*. Water was always applied, for the metal burned a hole in the throat. Because of this death, Tshaka got together some of the *neck rings* that were being worn and had them buried near a small stream that flows into the Mandawe. This incident took place at the Kangela kraal. *Brass arm bands* were also thrown away.

After the *neck rings* were thrown away, others were *manufactured* afresh later on and worn, being looked on as ornaments.

I remember seeing the *arm bands and neck rings* in the hole or place into which they were thrown near Kangela.

- 22 Per Mangqayi: There was a locality near Kangela, and indeed all other *military kraals*, known as '*the place of the weapons*', where assegais were thrown on the owners' dying. They were thrown into a place which either was or became a *thicket*. The idea was not to bury them with the owner as by so doing the *departed spirits* would or might use them for *stabbing* the living. A complaint, for instance, having its seat just below the ribs, was said to be owing to *one of the spirits* having got such an assegai. Hence assegais were thrown away. Boys used to get some of these and

BALENI ka SILWANA

use them after burnishing them.

Baleni continues: It was into such a place that the *arm bands and neck rings* were cast by Tshaka. There were not many pieces thrown away. These ornaments were worn in Dingana's and Mpande's reigns.

(All *neck rings burnt*; those thrown away were not discarded because they were made of any particular metal, but simply because they burnt.)²¹

I know of no *neck rings* that were thrown away at Bulawayo.

12.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 1, pp. 23-37.

Also present: Mangqayi

- 23 *Umdaka* was the metal of which *ingwota*²² was made. *Umnaka* was the completed article for wearing round the neck. The *umdaka* was the metal in its rough form, i.e. long pieces, brought from Tongaland. It was carried up in large quantities by *the Tonga*.²³ I saw the *umdaka* at Siklebeni and at Nodwengu, where the copper work used to go on. I heard the hammering, 'Nke! Nke! Nke!' Masoko ka Manqelo of the Masuku people was the great coppersmith. He made *ingwota and umnaka*. They used to be rewarded with cattle for their pains. They did their work outside the kraal, but near the *isigodhlo* (i.e. upper side of kraal), and *there* at Mapotweni. The Mapotweni kraal, of seven huts, was just outside Nodwengu. It was there the *amakosikazi* used to stay, and at night come and sleep *in the isigodhlo*.

- 24 Cetshwayo's great kraal was Ondini. (Cetshwayo had small kraals, like Mapotweni, outside and above his main kraals. That at Qwageni was called Zinhlendhleni.) There was another called Zinkimbini at Ondini; another was Nketa at Babangibone; another was Maqeleni at Ndasi; another was Madonovaneni at Buseni. These small kraals were attached to Cetshwayo's kraals. The women *bore their children* at these kraals. Cattle were also milked there. The cattle *for milking stood there*. The king used to go there on short visits. In these kraals *the king's grain was stored in the ground*. There were either one or two of these kraals. I do not know the names of those of Tshaka. I know that Dingana's at Mgungundhlovu was called Beje. I do not know of more than two of these kraals being attached to any single royal kraal. Gates opened out towards these kraals from the *isigodhlo*.

The kraal of this kind attached to Mlambongwenya kraal was Vemvaneni. Mlambongwenya was Mpande's kraal then, though originally built by Senzangakona. Attached to Bulawayo kraal was the Cele kraal, i.e. Tshaka's private quarters. Attached to Zwangendaba (Mpande's kraal) was Mkovini kraal, i.e. the small one. At Ndabakawombe was Sihlaveni, *the kraal of the king's grain*.

- 25 I, Baleni, was both an *induna* and an *inceku* to Mpande. I was an *induna* in Cetshwayo's day. In Mpande's day I was an *induna of the Dhloko regiment*. The big *induna* was Ndungundungu ka Nokokela of the Zulu. I was next in command. There were also Fokoti ka Mapita,

BALENI ka SILWANA

and Fokoti ka Mgulugulu of the Magwaza people, and Fokoti ka Siwangu of the Mtetwa.

Other *indunas* of the Dhloko: Tshemane ka Ngwadhlá; Hoye ka Mqundane; Mbonambi ka Didi of the Biyela; Bantubensumo ka Klwana of the Butelezi; Magwala ka Mqundane of the Zulu; Makubalo ka Nhliziyo of the Mbata; Manqandela ka Nkabana of the Zulu; Fokoti ka Dhlegebene of the Sibiya; Madhlohlongwane ka Jaja of the Dhludhla; Nhlanganiso ka Nyokana of the Dhludhla; Mbúne ka Somapunga of the Ndwandwe; Mswazi ka Ntokontoko of the Zulu; 26 Mahlapahlapa ka Nombobo of the Mancwabe; Tshovu ka Magula of the Xulu; Tshemane ka Nyati of the Mgazi; Nhllokotshane ka Ntshiba of the Qwabe; Sidubele ka Makedama of the Ntombela; Hoye ka Madwala of the Tembu; Balisa ka Mqundane of the Zulu; Mlamba ka Ntanta of the Zulu; Marwanqa ka Nkayitshana of the Ntshali; Fada ka Mapita of the Mandhlakazi; Zibebu ka Mapita of the Mandhlakazi (of the Mxapo regiment, but he was promoted to be *induna* of the Dhloko regiment and then *tunga'd*).

I was an *inceku* responsible for milking for the king, at 27 *Nodwengu*. I used to fill the *milking-vessel* twice only; the cows would then be allowed to go and be milked by the boys. There was never a third bucketful taken. The pail had a cover of wood made for it, ornamented with different colours. If there was a storm imminent there was no milking. The reason was lest *lightning should strike the pail. It was feared that the lightning would get into it.* Cattle were milked about breakfast time. I used to take the milk *right into the isigodhlo, to the royal hut used by the girls where meat, the king's food, beer, and milk vessels were kept.* There were two small milk vessels. These were about eight inches high, and always filled. I used to *drain off the whey, but not drink.* I did not drink because I *belonged to the army.* If I drank I would be debarred from fighting. The king allowed us, the *izinceku*, cattle whose milk we put into our own vessels. Of that *whey* we drank, and of the *curds*. It was only the *whey* of the king's vessels that prevented our going to war.

Those who were charged with the duty of washing the king were given beer and meat after the king had taken what he wanted; i.e. they would be given as it were from the royal table, but we other *izinceku* might not have such food, as to partake thereof would prevent our taking part in war. There were many who washed the 28 king. There was a *company* of them, just as there was a *company* of those, like me, who *milked* and fetched water, and another *company* of men *incekus* who *skinned slaughtered beasts* and attended the king *in the men's assembly*.

Mpande's great *izinceku* were Vumandaba ka Nteti of the Biyela, Mfinyeli ka Nguzalele of the Xulu, Mzwakali ka Sicazana of the Mtimkulu, Pakatwayo ka Sogodi of the Kanyile, Mvunyelwa ka ...?...<sic> of the Dhladhla, Sijulana ka Mcikwana of the Butelezi, Mzilikazi ka Ngqengelele of the Butelezi, Magamudele ka Klwana of the Butelezi, Nomnombela ka Mfaba of the Dunge, Dazukile ka Dhlakadhla of the Sibiya, and many others.

Mpande's doctors: Dibanto ka Mdhluli of the Makubalo; Becwa ka Matshoni of the Sikakana; Ntuto ka Vumbi of the Sikakana;

29 Nondo ka Mrotshane of the Sikakana; Jiyane ka Mqalana of the Butelezi; Ntuku ka Nondumo of the Nzuza; Manyelindhlela ka Kondhlo of the Mazibuko; Manembe ka ...?... <sic> of the Dumisa; Mqedi ka ...?... <sic> of the Nkwanyane; Magonondo ka Kondhlo of the Mazibuko; and many others.

The big doctors were Dibanto, Becwa, Jiyane, and Manyelindhlela. These were the ones who *carried the calabash*.²⁴ (They were used) for *doctoring the army* and also the *king himself*.²⁵ These and the foregoing were all doctors *who treated with medicine*.

Mpande's *izangoma*: Mpezulu ka Ntshona of the Magwaza; Nongwaleni ka Msindo of the Gabela; Siyotwana ka ...?... <sic> of the Masuku; Juba ka Mkulutshana of the Gabela; Puzi ka Mahawana of the Mpungose; Nondhlovu ka Nodhla of the Vilakazi; and many others.

30 Mpezulu was the smartest and most famous of the foregoing. He was the one who, after other witchdoctors had been at work and failed, would come and at once ascertain the truth and come to a decision.

I remember a *smelling-out being held* at Nodwengu. All the *izangoma* were called. Madhloedhlongwane ka Jaja of the Dhludhla was ill. All doctors came and *bula'd*, but Mpezulu excelled them all because he found out the truth of the matter. Mpezulu contradicted the other doctors who were smelling out different people. Mpezulu said, '*They speak falsely; those of the house are alone harming one another; they are contesting the patrimony*' (i.e. the sons who aspire to the succession). This indeed was the case. The person above mentioned then got (well),²⁶ for he was not being killed by *abatakati* as asserted by the other doctors. It was simply a *dispute*, for the one *who was asserting his claims provoked* Madhloedhlongwane and so caused his illness. Hebe was the one who was *asserting these*
31 *claims*. This man was not killed; he is still living, and is of the Tulwana regiment. Mpande would not have killed any of those who had been *smelt out*. All *escaped death*. Madhloedhlongwane got well almost at once. Hebe was a *favourite*²⁷ of *Cetshwayo*. Mpande did not have him killed, as he, Mpande, was afraid of *Cetshwayo*. This happened shortly before Mpande's death (say in 1871).

I was present at the *smelling-out*. Our regiment was there; so was the Tulwana regiment. We had gone to *provide a hearing*. A *circle was formed*, the doctors being *consulted* being in the centre. The *smelling-out was held on a hill*. Doctors were called one by one. Siyotwana, Juba, Msindo, were each called separately. One doctor entered at a time. He would strut about, *sniffing out* with his nose. He would then call on them to *strike and bula*. They would *strike the ground with short, heavy sticks*, and dust would
32 rise. He (the doctor) has his *assegais* and is standing. He says, '*Tshayani!*' (and they respond, '*Izwa!*'²⁸ And as soon as he *smells out* the person, he leaves *the circle* in a hurry and *runs away*. Then the other doctors come. One doctor is quick in coming to a decision. Another may be cleared out; it is said that he is *talking nonsense*. He then leaves without coming to a decision. When one comes to a hot point, people shout out, '*Izwa!*' very loudly, for then he has got to the truth. Another doctor is in *the circle* a long time before deciding. Sometimes two doctors entered *the circle* at a time, and *bula'd* as separately as possible there. But sometimes a doctor refused to go in with another. This

putting of two in at a time was done if there were many doctors.

33 When a *smelling-out* was coming on, the doctors would be summoned at great distances. On their way to the royal kraal they would *slaughter* a beast wherever they slept, of so great importance were they.

The doctor who *smelt out* and ran away would be afraid of being stabbed by the person he had *smelt out*, who might of course be in the assembly.

The *smelling-out* was held about 1 p.m. and would go on till sunset. The king would not be present, but at home. He sent us *izinceku* to listen and report as to where the *izinyanga* pointed, i.e. to which of the regiments that were present at the *bulaing*.

Mtonga's mother was Nomantshali ka Zigulana of the Ntuli. [Illustration of Nomantshali in Colenso, *First Steps of the Zulu Mission*, p. 115.] Her father lived at *Mgabi's kraal*, where Mabinati's son Matendeka lives. Mgabi was *chief of the Langeni*. Nomantshali was very beautiful, yellowish in colour, tall. She was Mpande's *favourite wife*. She used to live at Nodwengu. Nomantshali poisoned the mother of Cetshwayo, Ngqumbazi ka Mbonde ka Tshana of the Zungu. She caused a *tuft of hair* to grow over Ngqumbazi's right eye, on 34 her forehead. Nomantshali was killed by Cetshwayo along with her son Simpoiya. She was killed at Mdumezulu. A *force* was sent out. It was to kill Mtonga and Mgidhlana, but both these *escaped*. They came to Natal. They were fetched from Nqutu. They were brought back, but after a time Mtonga returned to Natal. Mgidhlana remained.

When Mtonga was at Nqutu, four men were sent to put him to death. When they got to the neighbourhood of a kraal which was near Mtonga's, a mist came on. They then shouted to ask the way to the kraal. They were presently led to it. On being asked where they were going they said, 'To Ndengezi's kraal', a little way ahead, that being the place where Mtonga was. They said they had been sent there by the king and wanted Mtonga. These people then told the four to clear out. They went off and after they had gone, warning was sent to Mtonga, who immediately escaped and fled into Natal.

35 Cetshwayo sent a *force* to Nomantshali. He gave Ziwedu orders to send it. It went, but Mtonga escaped. The *force* killed Nomantshali and Simpoiya. After this, suspecting Mtonga had taken refuge at Nodwengu, the *force* under Mnyakanya ka Mandondo of the Xulu came in search at Nodwengu. Mpande was there. 'What is it you want, Mnyakanya?' said Mpande. 'I am searching for Mtonga,' said Mnyakanya. 'Come in and find him then.' Mpande went on to say, '*Mnyakanya, is it you who are doing this, coming to seek Mtonga from me? For you too it will not go well.*' They looked, and failed to find him. Some little time afterwards Mnyakanya broke his ankle - snap! - which was regarded as having reference to what the king had said.

Nomantshali had a temper. She used to *alarm people with her rage*. Nomantshali was killed because she was the mother of Mtonga whom Mpande was appointing as his heir. Mtonga's mother was Nomantshali; Mgidhlana's (mother) was another woman of Nomantshali's house.

36 Mdumezulu was Mtonga's kraal; it had *separated* from Siklebeni. Nomantshali went to Mdumezulu with her son. Nomantshali did not

BALENI ka SILWANA

come to Natal or to Bishop Colenso.

Nnyakanya was *induna* at Mangweni. He took with him the *impi* of that kraal. *The impi assembled at Bazeni, under Ziwedu.* The Bazeni kraal was north of the Black Umfolozi, near the *Tatiana donga*. After gathering there the *impi* went to Mdumezulu.

Nomantshali was originally one of the *umdlunkulu* and had been presented to the king by her father. Mpande then married her. She was a very great favourite. (We *izinceku* used to carry meat and beer for her from Nodwengu to Mdumezulu, even though a storm was on.) And we were ordered to hide the food in *baskets* so that people could not see what kind of food it was. The object was that Mpande's other wives were not to see what was being sent.

37 Another sign of her being a favourite was that a special beast used to be sent to her, as well as to her son Mtonga, by Mpande. These cattle were driven, with others, by us *izinceku*. We took them along the streams etc. so as to be out of sight as much as possible. There would be only the two beasts; the other cattle were simply used for the purpose of facilitating the driving of the two. After handing over the cattle, the others were driven back.

Nomantshali wore *neck rings* as well as *arm bands of brass*. Only the king's wives wore *neck rings*, not all the *isigodhlo*. This would have been the case in Dingana's time too.

Dingana had no wives. He had only concubines and these were called the Beje. They had a *kraal* built for them *on the upper side*.²⁹ These girls would not have worn *neck rings*, as still being unmarried.

Dingana had no children. Girls who did not bear children were called *imvoko* - named after the men's regiment *Imvoko*.³⁰ Such girls were the Beje.

It was only in Cetshwayo's days that girls were *made pregnant*;³¹ formerly people were far too much afraid to do so.

13.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 1, p. 38.

Also present: Mangqayi?

38 Baleni says one of the *izinduna* that went up with *Tshaka* from the *Mtetwa* was Sandanezwe ka Mbango of the Mpanza. *Tshaka's* great *induna* was Mdhlaka ka Ncidi of the Kanyile of Langa. Mdhlaka had his kraal at the Nsuze. Its name was Nhlonga. Another of his kraals was Kwibi. Both these are still standing. Mdhlaka's principal son was Ndwandwe of the Ndobakawombe regiment. Ndwandwe is dead. He left sons who are still living [but Baleni does not know their names].

14.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 1, pp. 38-48.

Also present: Mangqayi

Nobamba is the oldest of the Zulu kraals; originally it was quite a small one, for the Zulus at first had no adherents. Ndaba, Jama, and Senzangakona all belonged to Nobamba. There are about

59 five sites of this kraal, all in one and the same locality. Hence it differed from other royal kraals which were often re-erected a long way off the original site. I feel certain Nobamba was originally erected by Ndaba whose father was Bayeni. I do not know the names of either Punga's or Mageba's kraals. In former days the Zulus were quite a tiny tribe. In later times the following clans sprang from it: the Gazini, the Mandhlakazi, the Mataka, the Fakazi.

The head of the Fakazi section in Senzangakona's day was Mkasana, referred to (above). They lived at Sihlungo hill near Babanango. The foregoing four sections of the Zulu tribe all came or sprang from Nobamba. The Mataka section is one to which Mkanyile and Mbopa ka Sitayi belonged, though the latter two are spoken of as Zulus. But Mataka himself was of the Gazini section of the Zulus. Mkanyile was the son of Zivalele ka Jama. Mbopa was the son of Sitayi, which was another name for Zivalele. Mataka was also a son of Zivalele. Mapita was the son of Sojiyisa ka Jama. Masipula was a member of the Gazini section, which again is related to the Biyela. *The Ntombela are one with the Gazini and Biyela.* The Ntombela people originally lived with the Zulus at Mahlabatini. (Zwana was father of Lukwazi of the Ntombela tribe.) The Biyela are also an offshoot of the Zulu tribe.

40 The Zulus speak of themselves as abaNguni,³² and they speak of us Mpungose as being amaNtungwa as we *originated* at Nhlazatshe along with the Zungu tribe.

I can give no idea as to where the abaNguni came from. The abaNguni do not refer to ever having descended from the north; they say they *originated* here, i.e. in Zululand. The amaNtungwa, however, descended from the north *ngesilulu*.³³

The Zulus had a characteristic of killing cattle, and people of other *communities*, seeing the meat, went to *konza* them. The Zulus *were wealthy in cattle* and so were able to kill freely. I do not know how they acquired them.

The *ikatazo*³⁴ grows in the Zulu district, but I do not know of their hawking it about anywhere. Still, they may have been 'hawkers' and so acquired the cattle referred to.

41 The people who came to *konza* built their huts within Nobamba originally, it being a small place. In time they *separated* and built their own kraals. This building within the chief's kraal took place because *there was a need for people*. This scarcity of people caused the chief to admit his followers into his own kraal and swell it.

Mpande's wives

Fudukazi ka Ngomane ka Mqomboli of the Caya people -
inkosikazi of Bulawayo, with Simunu, mother of Sukani
ka Mpande

Nobelungu ka Dingiswayo of the Mtetwa
Nomtobo ka Somangqepu of the Qwabe
Madhlamvuse ka Manqondo of the Magwaza
and others

It was Dingana who said that vultures had come to *attend the men's assembly* and must therefore be given food (i.e. corpses of human beings). He too said that a man who had been ailing for a long time must be put to death - *his illness was now making him*

suffer.

Nandi's death. I do not know the cause of death. (Mretsheni ka Mkiwane said to me, says Mangqayi, that Tshaka had himself caused the death of Nandi and insisted on others crying. They could not cry, knowing he had killed her.)

.... <Notes on a potential informant omitted - eds.>

- 42 Tshaka once said, '*Let us see how a child lies in the womb.*' This was done. The woman of course died.

Mpande's great *imbongi* was Magolwane ka Mkatini of the Jiyana people. He was killed at his kraal at Ntabankulu. He used to call out to the king, '*Weh, Mpande! Weh, Mpande! The cattle are leaving you!*', meaning by that *that there should be war.*

An *imbongi* might *bonga* at night. Or he might get up with the dawn and *bonga*, leaving off only for meals, and go on all day long till sunset. He would *bonga right at the upper end of the cattle enclosure* and close to the *isigodhlo*. The *imbongi* repeatedly *bonga'd*. And when given cattle he would *bonga* those. He would *bonga* till his voice failed.

When cows came back to be milked one of them might go on lowing persistently. This caused *warriors* on both sides of the kraal to dash into *the cattle enclosure and do a war dance at the place of assembly* (not too near the *isigodhlo*), and there they danced in great numbers. Later the king might attend and *war be discussed.*³⁵

- 43 The lowing of the cow would remind them of war. '*We fought to the death for them in that place,*' they would think. They would shout out, '*Bellow, cow of the Zulu, you who will never leave this place!*' If an ox bellowed the men might shout, '*Hear the matter! Something is going to happen.*' This would be followed by *war-dancing*, for those dancing imagine that *war will break out* somewhere. The ox has heard something. It was only when a cow or an ox bellowed persistently that *dancing* followed, not in the case of a bull.

Mabanikazi ka Ndomba of the Nseleni people was a great hero. During Mpande's reign he was with a few spies in Swaziland, about an *iviyo*³⁶ of them. They saw some Swazis (also about an *iviyo*) and decided to attack them. He said, '*I pick the insota shield*' (dark brown, speckled slightly with white), referring to the colour of one that was showing. A conflict occurred in which Mabanikazi succeeded in killing one of the enemy. The Swazis were chased off. Seeing them run, Mabanikazi found the man running away carrying the shield he had selected. He made after him. The two had hand-to-hand combat. The Swazi stabbed Mabanikazi over the right eye, which caused blood to pour out and almost blind him. In the scuffle their assegais dropped. Mabanikazi was thin, owing to privation, whilst the Swazi was fat and strong. They rolled over and over. Mabanikazi gradually worked his way to an assegai he had seen on the ground. At last, hardly able to see, he got it and stabbed his assailant. The other Zulus in the meantime had gone off after the other Swazis, so Mabanikazi was left to fight or die with his

- 44

assailant.

Cetshwayo's great *imbongi* was Manxele of the Butelezi of the Mangweni. He was a great *imbongi*, but not equal to Magolwana.

Magolwana was killed simply because he was the possessor of so many cattle, given him for the most part by the king. Mpande had him killed. As soon as the force had surrounded him at his kraal on this side of Ntabankulu, they found him in his hut. He said, 'Please leave me to eat before I go. Move off, you scoundrels, and sit over there.' A large fire was thereupon made and the flank of an ox roasted. Upon this Magolwana began to eat. A vessel of beer was brought to him and he drank. When he had had what he wanted, he said, 'I have finished'. They said, 'Well, are we going to kill you inside the hut?' So they went outside. He said, 'Kill me quickly. Do not tie me up.' He went outside and they shot him with a gun. They seized his cattle and took them to the king. His people were then allotted cattle taken out by the king. They were expelled from their lands at Ntabankulu and came here to Gaozi. They remained here, subjected themselves to the king, and became favoured dependants.

<It seems that the following was supplementary information given by Mangqayi - eds.>

He also asked permission to lie with his wife. His wife, a daughter of Mangena, refused. She said, 'Has anyone already claimed by death ever said such a thing?' He also asked if he might recite the praises of the king. This he proceeded to do at great length. He continued until near sunset, when his voice gave out and he said, 'Now you can kill me,' upon which the man in charge of the force said, 'It is because your father so orders. If it had depended on me, I would have let you go'. Had Mpande himself heard him bonga he would have spared his life. He was then put to death.

Magolwana was of the Bekenya regiment at Dukuza (built at that time at Mahlabatini). Magolwana, however, used to stay at Nodwengu. He was of medium height, dark brown, and had grown fat. He was well on in years when killed.

[The above story is told by Mangqayi. Baleni does not know the precise reason why Magolwana was killed. Nyaka was Magolwana's son, but is dead. Cengezi, another son, also dead, had an excellent memory. There is another son, Mtshayankomo, living under Mlokotwa.]

Baleni says: I was present when the Tulwana and Ngobamakosi fought. It happened on the day of the *umkosi*, at Ondini. This occurred when they were leaving Ondini on their way to the king at Nodwengu. The Ngobamakosi and Tulwana were stationed at the same barracks at Ondini. Orders were given that the Ngobamakosi were to leave and proceed to Nodwengu, but they did not stir out of their huts. Upon this the Ngobamakosi and Amamboza (Tulwana) armed, went out, and entered the cattle enclosure. The Ndi, or Tulwana, left first. No sooner had they got outside the kraal than the Ngobamakosi regiment left, and they threw themselves at each other company by company. They fought in front of the kraal. The Ngobama-

BALENI ka SILWANA

kosi drove the others back to the kraal. Before they had entered, the main body of the Ngobamakosi charged the main body of the Ndi (Tulwana). They fought round the gate; then both forces went outside the kraal. When they were outside, the Tulwana unfastened the bands on their forearms and took up their assegais. Hamu³⁷ gave the order for them to take up assegais and stab their opponents. They armed and went outside. The Ngobamakosi went out, and crossed the Ntukwini stream, which enters the White Umfolozi, on their way to Sitshwili to prepare themselves. The Tulwana followed them, carrying assegais. They stabbed them and stabbed them, and carried on stabbing until the sun went down. The Ngobamakosi came back and put up at the Gqikazi kraal. They did not go to the umkosi.

48 When the Tulwana stabbed them they drove them into the king's oxen. The king's oxen stampeded and came back to Ondini. No sooner did the oxen turn home than the Ngobamakosi also turned round and followed the Tulwana. They chased them, overtook some, and took their assegais and used these on them. This went on till dark. On the following day the Ngobamakosi did not go to the umkosi, but remained in the hills.

Many were killed on this occasion. Nearly all were of the Ngobamakosi regiment. This happened about 1878, shortly before the Zulu War.

The Ngobamakosi turned the Tulwana out of their huts, saying it was they who should sleep there. All the Zulu said that it was Cetshwayo's fault for letting the boys (i.e. the Ngobamakosi) sleep at home, at Ondini, and not making them build shelters at the river. That is what the young regiments used to do. This was the invariable rule. A military kraal would be built for them when they were adult. All the Zulu said it was due to Cetshwayo's favouritism, i.e. allowing the 'boys' to sleep at home.

The regiments were latterly only called up when there was an umkosi. Owing to the Zulu War coming on there was no further gathering. After the above-described conflict the regiments dispersed, and the few Ngobamakosi that used to stop at Undi went there, as also some of the Tulwana.

14.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 2, p.1.

Also present: Mangqayi?

1 Senzangakona was dark and not very tall. He did not put people to death. He had a kindly nature.

Tshaka was illegitimate. He was born in his mother's home among the Langeni. Nandi was subsequently married to Senzangakona. This is Zulu custom for girls to bear children (before marriage, e.g. Dinuzulu, Kambi (Hamu's son), Madakavana (Hamu's son), and Manzolwandhle). Manzolwandhle's mother, Mfumuta ka Qetuka of the Magwaza people, was a girl who had been presented to the king. Cetshwayo cohabited with her during his captivity and she bore the son. Mfumuta had been placed in the indhlunkulu at Cetshwayo's kraal.

Dinuzulu's mother, a daughter of Msweli, belonged to the king, for she was forcibly possessed when her father Msweli was killed at Mangweni. She was taken to the isigodhlo at Mangweni, and became pregnant there while still an unmarried maiden.

15.5.1914

File 55, nbk.2, pp. 2-20.

Also present: Mangqayi

- 2 I lived most at the royal kraals of Nodwengu and Gqikazi. I began at Ndabakawombe, then (went) to Gqikazi, then to Nodwengu. There are several sites of Nodwengu, but all are at Mahlabatini. It was Masipula ka Mamba of the Mgazini who was the first to use the name Nodwengu for one of his own kraals. Mpande then told him he was going to take over the name and Masipula was to discontinue using it. Masipula discontinued accordingly. *Nodwengu* means to make extraordinarily wide.... [The root idea is doing the thing over handsomely, larger than really necessary, lavishly, with profusion.] <Stuart's detailed linguistic notes omitted - eds.>
- I *klesa'd* at Ndabakawombe, then built at Mahlabatini. Msiyana ka Mhlane of the Xulu people was *induna* of that kraal. There were very many huts indeed in the kraal. There was an *isigodhlo*. The *inkosi-kazi* was Gudayi ka Mqomboli of the Mdhletsheni people. She was Mpande's wife. The Izingulube regiment, and also the amaPela, were housed at Ndabakawombe, and also of course the Ndabakawombe regiment.
- The big *induna* of the Izingulube was Mahwanqa ka Tshekimbuya of the Sibiya people. The big *induna* of the amaPela was Diyikana ka Hlakanyana of the Mbata people.
- I was a number of years at Ndabakawombe. I grew up there. We cadets of the Dhloko regiment were known as the Inyati. I can assign no meaning to the word Dhloko [but, says Mangqayi, there is a snake known as *udhloko* which rises on its tail and *chases people*, so that no one any longer goes up that way. This snake is yellow-brown in colour and has horns on its head. This is the *indhlonhlo* or *udhloko*].
- When I *klesa'd* my father was already dead. My mother at this time was living *at our home* at the Mfule.
- 4 We used to *drink milk from the udders of the king's cows*. We used to sleep in huts *nga kwesikulu*, i.e. on the right side going in, and near the gate of *the cattle enclosure*. There were very many indeed of us. The cadets of the Dhloko (Inyati) *klesa'd*, of course, at all the royal *military kraals*.
- We *drank from the cows* at midday and at sunset, for there were two milkings. What happened was this. The cattle would all be driven into the great cattle kraal. Those for the king's or *isigodhlo's* use were driven to their accustomed spot, a little way up the enclosure, whilst the main lot stood below. After a time, the *king's milk pail* would emerge from the *isigodhlo*, carried by the *inceku*, who would whistle out loudly. This whistle would be heard and responded to by several in different parts, who would shout, '*Zi jubekile!*'³⁸ Upon this, whilst the king's or royal cattle were being milked, we cadets would make for the main herd and proceed to *drink from the cows*.
- Mangqayi says: I am of the Mbokodwebomvu regiment. We never *klesa'd*. I never saw *boys drink from the cow*. I *herded cattle* at home. Dinuzulu *buta'd* this regiment. Dinuzulu called the regiment 5 by this name. He said, '*Imbokodwebomvu ka qonda buso.*'³⁹ This

BALENI ka SILWANA

regiment faced the *Mandhlakazi*. This was the regiment that succeeded in routing Zibebu, and this routing occurred at Ndunu. It was the Mbokodwebomvu and Falaza that defeated Zibebu at Ndunu. I, however, belonged to people south of the Mhlatuze, and so was on the Government side.

I remember Cetshwayo's installation by Somtseu in 1873. I remember also the death of Mpande.

Cannibals. There used to be a saying as the sun was setting, 'Oh! *It is going to be devoured by cannibals*', for the impression was that *cannibals* lived to the west.

Nonqeta ka Silwane of the Mpungose tribe is a well-informed man, with a better memory than Baleni, but he is somewhat sickly. He is of the Dhloko regiment. He is a brother of Baleni. He knows a good deal of Tshaka. He does not require to think of things, as Baleni does.

6 (Baleni continues.) Anyone who sees *the milk pail* come from *inside the isigodhlo* might shout, '*Zi jubekile!*' There would be one, two or three boys to *drink* at one cow, for they stood all about in *the cattle enclosure*. There would be no rushing at the cattle, for the cows had all been appropriated. The calves would be let out on the above signal being given. All the cattle which the *boys of the kraal drink from* are king's cattle. They are all herded by these boys. The oxen were kept separate; they were herded separately in the field by *men*. These *men* used to be given *the foreleg of the animal* on a beast's being killed. Many boys herded the cattle (cows). Those for the *isigodhlo's* use grazed separately. They were herded by two boys.

The cadets used to collect firewood (and thornbush for the *isigodhlo*). The thorns are very painful. *The thornbush would surmount the isigodhlo fence*. Cadets also *hoed the fields, carried the amabde when it was being reaped, and threshed it*. That was about all.

7 They used to perform war dances at the meeting-place in the *cattle enclosure*. They would do this alone. They have no assegais, only *sticks and small- and large-knobbed kieries*. They also *practised stabbing at plant bulbs while herding at the river*. They used to eat *lung*. The fat on top of (a beast's) heart is *ubedu*. This was eaten only by the *leading herdboys*. The *ubedu* was cut up into *small pieces, until it was finished*. Those who were not *principal herdboys* ate the *lung*.

Cadets *kleza'd* for two or three years, when they were *butwa'd*. They would have *their kraal* built. They would be given a name. When first *buta'd* they would go to the king's kraal to *attend the men's assembly*. This would last only one day. The king would present them with cattle which they would take off to their *military headquarters* and there slaughter. It would be after that that they would come together and build their kraal. The giving of these cattle is to *make them mature; they are given meat*.

Practices such as these took place in Tshaka's day, also in Dingana's.

It was Tshaka who proclaimed that only one assegai was to be carried by each warrior. He said that there was to be no *throwing*,

8 but every warrior, was to *stab at close quarters*. All his troops accordingly carried only one assegai, viz. the *isijula*, with a nine-inch blade and about a 14-inch haft. Should a man break his assegai when in conflict, he was to grip the other with his arms and *fight for the one* carried by his assailant.

In Dingana's day a number of assegaes were carried by each warrior. This was due to the fact that it was *another king who now ruled*. Dingana ordered that all were to *carry assegaes* and to *shower* their enemies with *izinti* (i.e. with assegaes having long hafts. The *isijula* haft was quite short.) He, Dingana, said *they should attack them with a flight of assegaes*, i.e. a kind of volley, or simultaneous throwing, *distract their gaze*, and whilst the enemy were busy *warding off these assegaes* (i.e. those being thrown), they were to rush in and *stab them at close quarters*. (*When they have got up to the enemy, the man who fights at close quarters is a man who does not let go of his assegai but stabs with it, still having hold of it.*)

9 In Mpande's day the assegai was handled as in Dingana's time. Dingana's and Mpande's wars were only with people with whom Tshaka had already fought. It was Tshaka who first conquered the whole and brought them together. I think Tshaka's method of having only the one assegai was the most effective.

After *klezaing* for two or three years, I was *butwa'd* with the rest of the Inyati at Gqikazi. The king was at Nodwengu. The *induna* of Gqikazi at that time was Madwala ka Sotshingose of the Tembu; the *inkosikazi* was Ngqumbazi ka Mbonde ka Tshana of the Zungu (mother of Cetshwayo). Gqikazi was the kraal assigned to us and there we lived as a regiment. It was from here that the king *removed me to go and milk the royal cows at Nodwengu*. I accordingly went and *milked the cows of the king at Nodwengu*. I *led the oxen and tilled with an ox-drawn plough*. I was taught to plough by 10 Nzimela, i.e. Rev. Robertson. He taught me at Nodwengu; he had come there on a visit.

I was many years at Gqikazi before I went to Nodwengu. Our regiment went from Gqikazi once to *attend the men's assembly* at Nodwengu. The king saw me with others of my regiment and said, '*Come, you will milk my cows.*' I gave praise.

Our regiment frequently visited Nodwengu. Some time after we had been *butwa'd*, it was proclaimed, when we were drawn up in *circle* formation at Nodwengu, who were to be *izinduna*. I was made one of these. The *induna* called out the names on behalf of the king. The *induna* (smaller one) was Mfinyeli ka Nguzalele of the Xulu people and was the one who called out. The 'bigger' *induna* was Ndungu-ndungu ka Nokokela of the Zulu. All those who were made *izinduna* afterwards gave the king an ox as thanks for having been so appointed.

I do not know how I came to be appointed an *induna*. All I know is that my grandfather Gaozi's people were mine;⁴⁰ hence it was 11 proper I should be an *induna*. My brothers were Mswazi, Nkuna, Sigonyela, and Ngengema, but these were not *izinduna*. Mswazi and Nkuna were made *izinceku* responsible for *milking the cows at the upper end of the enclosure*.

I was appointed an *inceku* after being appointed an *induna*. I

BALENI ka SILWANA

used to come out with the bucket from the *isigodhlo*. It was kept covered with another small, carved vessel. This is a sort of cup, ornamented by being burnt with an assegai or iron. The king's pail was about 18 inches high by eight inches in diameter at the widest part. This pail, as well as the two milk vessels previously referred to, used to be taken along to any military kraal the king happened to visit, e.g. Siklebeni, Dukuza, Bulawayo, Mlambongwenya, Mdumezulu, Ndabakawombe. These were the ones visited. Mpande used not to visit Gqikazi. That was too far north of the Black Mfolozi. The king's cattle (milking) were also taken to the military kraals.

- 12 The pail was placed in a food basket when travelling, and this again was covered over with another basket. There was only one royal milking pail. It was of *unqwanya* or *umncaka* variety, i.e. of one or other of these trees.⁴¹ When the pail had been milked into and milking was over, it was carried back to the *isigodhlo* at arm's length above the head, so as not to come into contact with any filth or impurity. Before milking into the pail, one was obliged to milk a little onto the ground, i.e. the first-coming milk. This was the constant or invariable practice. The same applied to cooked meat. The first pieces cut off were invariably thrown onto the floor, i.e. when the meat was being cut into small pieces. It is the practice of kings.⁴²

- 13 The king's meat was cut up in his cattle enclosure at the upper end and out of sight of the ordinary public. After skinning, but before cutting up, those skinning will cut off a small piece of flesh from the chest and, a fire having been made nearby, will proceed to roast a strip (it was cut into strips), and forthwith consume it. This was done for fear that anything should have been done by *abatakati* to the beast. It was a precaution. The flesh was then cut up and passed through the gates into the *isigodhlo* on wooden trays. The king may be looking on whilst this cutting up or skinning is going on. He might there and then present any of those present with a piece of the meat.

Water was given to drink to the king by the calabash being held by the *inceku* to the king's mouth. The king would drink without in any way supporting it with his hands. After finishing, the *inceku* must take care not to let any of the water fall on the king; were he to do so it meant that he would have to pay a forfeit of a beast for spilling water on the king.

- 14 I used, with others, to fetch water for the king from the river. At Nodwengu I used to get it early in the morning and a long way off, from a patch of bush. We had to dig for it in the bush. Once it was known the king's water was got there, no one was allowed to walk on that hillside.

Water for the king to wash with is drawn by men who do not participate in war,⁴³ and they use an earthenware pot about 12 inches high and 15 inches in diameter for the purpose. The king's drinking water, however, was got in calabashes. These calabashes were very fine ones, so if one by any chance got broken one would have to go a long way to one or other of the military kraals to get another. They were grown by Langazana at the river. She had a beautiful variety. The ordinary kinds were not good enough for the king.

Drinking water was fetched daily. There were three gourds, one

BALENI ka SILWANA

an old one for actually drinking from, the others newer and not drunk from until *the pulp*, i.e. the inside soft stuff, had all come away and the vessel had ceased to smell. The *isigodhlo* girls drank ordinary water. That water was fetched close by. Girls used to get it for themselves.

- 15 Men were strongly prohibited from entering the *isigodhlo*; they were killed if they did so. I have seen very many of them killed. They used to meet in stealth with the girls by the river or elsewhere, and be seen sooner or later by someone or other. I remember these as having been killed: Ndabezimbi ka Paqa, Makanjana ka Manyosi, Fokoti, Ntshumayelo ka Notshwilo, Fokoti, Dundu, Nkonzo, Mtetiwamanga, and many others. Many of the *isigodhlo* girls, too, were put to death if caught contravening these regulations.

- Ndabezimbi was accused of *lying with girls of the isigodhlo* at Siklebeni; the same (happened) to Makanjana ka Manyosi. As regards Ntshumayelo ka Notshwila of the Dhloko regiment, he had connection with *girls of the isigodhlo*. He was observed by *izinceku* near the upper end of the kraal. He entered the *isigodhlo*. Fokoti ka Mgulugulu went wrong at Gqikazi. The girl of the *isigodhlo qeta'd*⁴⁴ by leaving and going to him in the huts of the men in the lower part of the kraal at Gqikazi. The girl had been shut into the *isigodhlo* in the ordinary way, but got out at night. She must have gone in this way a number of times, but was eventually found out. Either 16 she was observed by the guards at the *isigodhlo*, or those with Fokoti felt they were being *implicated* and so told tales as to what was going on.

Those *lying with a girl of the isigodhlo* were beaten to death or shot, and their bodies thrown into the river.

People were killed at Kwa Nkata in Mpande's day. This was near the Pate and overlooking the White Mfolozi, to the east of the wagon road. The place is simply bush country. There is no cliff, but it is close to the Umfolozi. It was *abatakati* who were killed there, or any ordinary person sentenced to death. The place was quite close to where the Pate stream enters the Umfolozi. *Vultures and hyenas* used to gather there to eat corpses. To this day the spot is strewn with bones.

Cetshwayo used, when at Ndhlayangubo,⁴⁵ to kill at Kwa Ndongande. That is a bush area with small *dongas*. Cetshwayo had Nkonzo ka Mazamelele, Mkokwana ka Nomo of the Mtetwa, and Novela ka Nkomazana killed when he was at Mahlabatini.

- 17 *Isigodhlo*. The girls wore *girdles of ububendhle leaves*⁴⁶ about six inches long and nicely cut; also beads round the loins above the girdle; also large red and green beads round the loins. They also wore *ulembu* after having their courses.⁴⁷ The *ulembu* might also be worn, if they liked, on other occasions. They wore *single isongo rings* on the arms. The *neck ring* was worn only by the *amakosikazi*, the wives of the king. The *amakosikazi* also wore the heavy armband, on the right arm, not on the left. Round the neck girls of the *isigodhlo* wore beads of various sizes.

The *imfibinga* was given to the *amakosikazi*, and was not worn by the girls.⁴⁸ The *imfibinga* was of two kinds, (a) of beads, (b) of

BALENI ka SILWANA

brass rings. The beads were of a pink colour. The *rings* were marked like the *heavy arm band*, only not so heavily (deeply). Such *rings* were worn by the *amakosikazi* and girls that were liked by the king.

18 The girls had bright green or black blankets to wear on cold days. *The amakosikazi wore skin skirts*. These stopped just above the knee. (They wore *bands of beads* in white or other colours round the head.) *Brass rings* were worn on both arms, i.e. on the upper left arm, or, in the absence of the *heavy arm band*, on the forearm of the right arm.

All their ears had been *pierced*. They might wear *beads or thread* in their ears, i.e. put through and through the hole of the ear.

They wore *fibre belts*. *The breast cover of duiker* or goat skin was put on by *betrothed or newly married women*. (The *cowhide skirt* was also worn.) I do not know of the other kind of *skirt* worn for instance among Embo people in Natal.

The king's favourite wife wore only what the others wore. There were formerly no *ubusenga rings*, not in Mpande's day; they appeared in the time of Cetshwayo. All girls and women *smear*ed themselves with *fat*. All the women wore similar ornaments. The chief wife wore just what the others did.

19 All the women slept in the *isigodhlo*. All the gates were shut up at night, the inner and the outer ones. There were many *guards*. Their huts were close to the gates of the *isigodhlo*. They were outside the *isigodhlo*, not inside. They looked after what went in and what came out of the *isigodhlo*. The king was the only male in the *isigodhlo* at night time. I know this well. On winter nights we *isinoeku* might be called into the king's hut to talk to him and while away part of the long nights. When this happened the women would be sent away to sleep in their respective huts.

Cowdung candles were used, i.e. mixed with hard cow fat. These candles were about one and a half or two inches in diameter, and about ten inches high. It would be stood on a *potsherd* and in the *hearth*. It *smouldered* slowly.

The king used to sit on the left or women's side of the hut. He sat on a *reed mat* rolled up and up to make a bundle some 15 inches high. The floor was very slippery and shiny, for it had been rubbed over with fat. There were *cockroaches* in the hut. Only small things were put at the *back*, such as mats.

20 Any women who slept in the same hut with the king would carry their mats off in the mornings, leaving only the king's things there.

16.5.1914

File 55, nbk.2, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Nkantolo ka Situlumana, Manqgayi?

The *isigodhlo* girls used to occupy themselves by making beer and food. They brewed the beer. This beer would be drunk by the king and by *other people*, i.e. those called to the king's hut or those seated at the *men's assembly place in the cattle enclosure*, having perhaps just arrived.

The girls *cultivated their fields*, also those of the king and those of Mpande's children. They *wove sleeping mats and threaded*

beadwork. They also made *eating mats*, and *moulded earthenware pots*.

21 It may so happen that when a beast has been killed and its meat is being eaten in the *isigodhlo* by the *amakosikazi*, the king would come along and, remembering some little thing that had been done by one of the women for which he wanted to reprove her, he would proceed to address her in the presence of the others, blaming and censuring her. She, like the others, might be in the act of chewing a piece of meat. This she would stop chewing, or refrain from swallowing any juice in her mouth, until all present had finished eating (for it is contra bonos mores to spit out before the others whilst eating). Then she would spit it out, her reason for not having swallowed being that had she gone on eating and swallowing after being found fault with, it might so happen that, on a later occasion, the king would find fault with her, when (if she had formerly swallowed the meat), she would be regarded as being contemptuous and daring, and would be killed outright. Thus the piece of meat would be retained and be spat out long after, when all eating was over.

22 The king was sometimes *scolded* by one or other of his wives. She would have some cause for grievance, and she would lash out at him in the wildest manner and aloud, the reason being that she wanted him to consort with her. (She had not been 'called'.) He, unable to face this, would go out to the men and, quickly finding fault with them about some trifle or other, have someone put to death on the spot. This sort of thing was due to intense jealousy; others were 'called', she not. She might in her fury even say, 'Let the king take me and put me to death on the spot.'

The *amakosikazi* each had her own *clay pot* to drink from. Quarrels often arose among the women at a beer drinking. One might accuse the other of *insulting* her. One woman might say she was not liked by the king. The other would flash up. The king, perhaps present, would not utter a word, but lie quite low.

I have often seen the *amakosikazi* *quarrelling*. I remember Nomantshali quarrelling with another *inkosikazi* at beer drinking. 'You shelter yourself behind your husband's love for you, do you?' They feared nothing, these women. Nomantshali could say nothing, as the fact that she was a favourite was true. This happened at Nodwengu, before Nomantshali had her Mdumezulu kraal built.

23 Nkantolo ka Situlumana, who is present, says: Even with two wives, an ordinary man has great jealousy to contend with, and has to be very circumspect. If the husband has been away, the two watch where he enters, i.e. which woman's hut, and, if he has brought a *titbit of meat*, which person it will be given to. So acute is the feeling.

Baleni: The *amakosikazi* passed the time doing absolutely nothing in the *isigodhlo*. The girls cooked food for them. They also had *izinceku* who waited on them.

On entering the *isigodhlo*, one did so *stooping* until one actually got to the spot where to sit down. The *izinceku* also stooped but they did not go on all fours. Everybody who was called in *stooped*, even men of high rank.

At Nodwengu, Mpande had only one hut he used to live in - a very large one - but there were others in the *isigodhlo* as large.

BALENI ka SILWANA

The king washed in his small cattle enclosure, on the left side of the cattle kraal looking towards the gate. The king used to go there to wash on alternate days. That was his practice. He had two men who washed him. One poured on the water and the other rubbed him over. He was rubbed over with white clay. It was taken from the river. There was no soap used, on the ground that it 'smelt'. It was blue mottled soap that was in use in those days. This was used
24 by the *isigodhlo* girls.

17.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 2, pp. 24-46.

Also present: Mangqayi?

Inkata yezwe.⁴⁹ This, in Mpande's day, used to be kept at Langanana's at Siklebeni. It was about 15 inches or 18 inches in diameter, and circular. It was woven with strings made of *umviti* grass, i.e. grass that commonly grows on cattle paths. The *inkata* was made by men, i.e. *izinduna*, like Masipula and Ndhlela. It was woven by *izinduna*. A beast would be killed and the *inkata* would be formally presented with praises to the ancestors in the cattle kraal.⁵⁰

The *inkata* never left Siklebeni. The *inkata* was never thrown away. For instance, Dingana would have inherited and used that of Tshaka, Mpande that of Dingana, and Cetshwayo that of Mpande. When Cetshwayo came to the throne, the *inkata* was removed from Siklebeni to Ondini [or Elundini, as Baleni says]. The reason it was moved was that it was now going to his own place. Cetshwayo's mother was at Gqikazi. She had a kraal called Emangweni. It was to this latter that Cetshwayo went and stayed, and it was from there that his Undi, Qwageni, Babangibone, and Bizeni kraals separated off.
25 The Undi was his own great kraal, hence the place to which he belonged. All this time Cetshwayo's mother remained at Gqikazi where she eventually died. At Ondini the *inkata* stayed in the chief hut. It was burnt by the Europeans. This occurred in the Zulu War.

In Dingana's day the *inkata* stayed at Nobamba. In Tshaka's day the *inkata* would have been at Bulawayo, i.e. at the great kraal. The *inkata* in Dingana's day was at Nobamba because that was his own place. Cetshwayo's own kraal, Undi, separated off from Emangweni whilst his father was still living; hence it differs from Mgungundhlovu, which was built after the builder's father's death. Dingana's own kraal did not separate off from Nobamba; it remained there. Senzangakona's *inkata* must have been at Nobamba.

The *inkata*'s purpose is to keep our nation standing firm. The binding round and round symbolizes the binding together of the people so that they should not be scattered.

The king did not wash standing on the *inkata yezwe*. Mpande did not wash on top of it, nor did any other king. Mpande used to stand on a mat of rushes rolled into a large roll. It was on this that he sat whilst being washed. The water fell on it, but it was shaken out when he went off, washing being done.
26

The *inkata* was suspended from the top of the great hut, at the back. It was never taken down, but always stayed there. Mpande's so remained, at Siklebeni.

It is quite wrong to say the Zulu king ever stood on the *inkata* when being washed.

BALENI ka SILWANA

The *inkata* was not brought out on the occasion of the *umkosi*, nor even when war had broken out.

27 The *inkata* was often added to, and in this way. When the king intended attacking some foreign people or tribe, orders would be given for the regiments to assemble at the royal kraal, viz. Nodwengu in Mpande's day. A day would be fixed for them to perform *ritual vomiting*. Two holes would be dug under superintendence of the doctors, close to each other. Into each of these would be placed grass which the doctors had taken from a large number of huts in the principal royal kraal, i.e. drawn out of the grass at the top of each doorway (a few straws here and there), that which people rub against when passing in. Medicine (liquid) would be given to the troops to vomit with; what drugs it was of I do not know. Only very little was partaken of and therefore the *vomiting* was of very slight duration, simply a bringing up of a mouthful or two of the liquid, and all was over. Thus every man vomited into one or other of the holes, and so onto the grass that had been placed there. After all was over, the doctors took the grass and gave it to the great *izinduna*, by whom, in Mpande's day, it was conveyed to Siklebeni where the *inkata* was. The great *induna* would then carefully bind up this grass with the rest of the *inkata* and again restore the *inkata* to its proper position at the back of the *great hut*.

This *ritual vomiting* took place whenever an *impi* was about to leave on a warlike expedition, i.e. on the king's initiative. When the Zulus themselves were attacked, this ceremony was not observed, e.g. just before the Zulu War (1879).

The *ritual* did not last the whole day. After it was over the regiments would go off to eat the meat of a bull *cut in strips*.

28 The Siklebe kraal was Senzangakona's kraal. When he *separated off from Nobamba* he built that kraal. The Siklebe did not exist in Jama's or Ndaba's day. I am quite sure Siklebe was Senzangakona's and not Jama's or any other king's kraal.

The medicines used for vomiting with, as above referred to, stood on stones where this purification was going on. They did not stand on *izinkata* but on *flat stones of the river*. The two holes referred to were on either side of the stream, viz. the Ntukwini, and not as far as where that stream enters the White Umfolozi; they were near *the ruins of the old Siklebeni*. The holes were only five or six yards off the stream on either side.

There was nothing whatever done with the *inkata* beyond what has been mentioned. It was not used when killing beasts for *the spirits*, or when eating cattle slaughtered for *the spirits*.

29 Assegais were made at the Black Mfolozi, also among the Cube people, also by Mlaba of the Nxumalo and by Ntunisa of the Cube. Mlaba lived on the Black Umfolozi near where the present waggon road goes to Nongoma. He was on the south side of the Black Umfolozi. He made for all the regiments. Assegais used to be made and brought in a large bundle at a time, and handed over to the king, who would distribute to the regiments. The smith used to be given say three beasts each time he brought a bundle. Mlaba got the iron from near where he was. Nombamba ka Gamede became a smith in Cetshwayo's reign. He lived where Chief Mkungu is now.

The metal for brass ware came from the Tonga.⁵¹ It was not

BALENI ka SILWANA

mined for in Zululand. This applies to *umdaka* which is only the *unworked metal* in the form of long bolts.

Whenever the king ordered *brass neck rings* to be conveyed as a present to any man of importance, the carrier would be given a beast by the man to whom he had brought it. The beast was for the carrier, not for the king.

- 30 Burial of Mpande.⁵² I was at Nodwengu when he was buried. When he was about to die, I was sent, along with Sinkwasomsutu ka Man-yosi, by the *induna* Mundula to go and report to Cetshwayo that his father was very bad and there was no hope of recovery; *he was now very weak*. We went to Undi kraal which at that time was at Ndhlayangubo.⁵³ Cetshwayo, who was at the upper end of the cattle kraal when we arrived, received us there. We delivered the message. '*Ndabezita! Amanga!*',⁵⁴ we said. '*It has now come upon us.*' Cetshwayo expressed his sorrow, and asked the position more clearly. He then, finding there was no hope, said to me, 'You must not leave the kraal or I'll kill you.' *Why was it that people who buried the king used to be killed as part of the purification ceremony?*⁵⁵ He went on to direct that the boys of the regiment known as Mcijo were not to *leave, but stay there at Nodwengu*. Were they to do so, *the people would become disturbed*. He went on to say we were to look after the girls of the *isigodhlo* and see that they did not run away.
- 31 When we got back we found the girls *outside the kraal and becoming alarmed. We turned them back.*

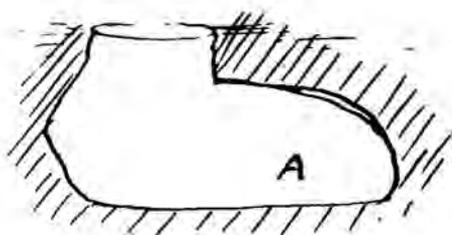
After a few days the king died. As soon as he had died, the fact was reported to Cetshwayo. A beast, a *young red steer*, was killed and its skin was used to *wrap the king's body in*. After the body had been tied up in the hide, the king was buried. After the burial, Cetshwayo directed that a *small herd of oxen should be slaughtered* in order that those at Nodwengu might partake thereof. The cattle were slaughtered, consumed, and finished.

After a time Cetshwayo moved from Ndhlayangubo to build his Undi kraal on a hill in the Mahlabatini valley. The first Undi was a small kraal; the second was one of vast dimensions and became his capital. The Zulu nation *gathered* there at the new Undi in due course, and two kraals, Zinhlendhleni and Landandhlovu, *separated off* and were erected at the same time.

- 32 Mpande had not quite died when I went to *report*. He died a few days after my return. There was no crying or lamentation on the death of the king. Such a procedure was in accordance with custom. *A king is not mourned for.* (Nandi was the only one who was *mourned for*.) The women, i.e. Mpande's wives, *shaved their heads*, and cattle were killed for them to eat. There were no *praises offered to the spirits*. The women did not leave the kraal. There was no *purification ritual*. Cetshwayo said there was to be no killing. '*Must people be destroyed?*' he exclaimed, bearing in mind what had happened in Nandi's time. Although the king was dead, *there was singing* and people called out, '*Here is the great one*', *even though he was no longer there*. It was the custom to conceal this great fact. And it was done to enable the new king to *establish himself* before the information became public. Such concealment was practised to *mislead the people*. It is the duty of those at the kraal *where the king dies*, though knowing the king is dead, to

pretend that such is not the case. There was, however, a lot of whispering that the king was dead, the various inmates of Nodwengu secretly informing their relatives, but, being kept secret, it did not matter.

- 33 Mpande was buried *above and outside the cattle enclosure, between it and the isigodhlo*. He was buried within the site of Nodwengu, *there at his home*. I and a number of others were spectators at his interment. Ntinto ka Mavama of the Xulu people, Mundula ka Nomansala of the Ndwandwe, Mvubu ka Gwazindhlu of the Xulu, Kwabiti ka Tiwana of the Sibiya (same man who used to live near Mahlabatini magistracy), and Mpezeni ka Gala of the Biyela were the five (the only ones) who buried Mpande. No people were put to death on that occasion. He was buried shortly after sunrise and on the fifth day after his decease. The smell of his body was by that time observable. Those who buried him *wore old loin-coverings. They shaved themselves*, but that was done after the burial. A number of people deserted from Nodwengu when the king died, as they were afraid of being killed. On this account there were but few at the kraal on the day of burial, and of those no one but the principal people knew the burial was to
- 34 take place when it did. There were very few spectators and these consisted only of the *izinceku*. The shape of the grave was like this:



It was seven or eight feet deep. The body was handed from above to those who were already standing in the grave and it was put in that section marked A above. It was there *propped up with stones*, these about one foot square each. (Then) the grave was filled in with soil to the top.

The king's grave was dug and completed in a day. I did not assist to dig because it was my duty to *carry the king's pail* and I was therefore disqualified *from digging*. The digging was done by means of hoes whose hafts had been let into short lengths of small poles.

- In ordinary, everyday graves, a *frog* is inserted if the digging of the grave has not been finished on the day on which it is begun.
- 35 On resuming digging the following day, the *frog* is taken out. This was not done in Mpande's case as the grave was begun and finished the same day.⁵⁶

As soon as the soil had been filled into the grave, the grave was *fenced off with branches and poles*. This was very thoroughly done, the branches and poles being put close against one another in the strongest manner. And this work was extended well beyond the actual grave and so prevented anyone getting at it.

BALENI ka SILWANA

It so happened that one night a man attempted to get to the grave. The dogs followed him up and caught him. I, with others, gave chase and found the man, who entered a hut high up on the left side of the kraal. On lighting a *grass torch* we saw the man. '*It is this fellow!*', we remarked on seeing him. '*So it is you.*' Mngqongqo of the Nzimela people was his name. Mbopa ka Ngotsha ka Wolizibi helped him escape as dawn was breaking. He went back to Mbopa's kraal at Hlabisa. As a matter of fact he could not at that time
36 have been killed for Cetshwayo had not then arrived at Mahlabatini. He must have been going to scoop up some earth to poison people with. The king's dogs caught him. They gripped him by the bottom as he was entering the hut. This man, it turned out, used to be smelt out by doctors in his own tribe, and on that occasion or those occasions Mbopa protected him.

The ceremony of the assegai being held at the side of the grave was not complied with. *Who was to carry it?* Cetshwayo was the only one who could have done so, but he was at Ondini, at Ndhlayangubo.

Those who got into the grave, three of them, viz. Mundula, Ntinto and Mvubu, were naked, but they had their *iminowedo*⁵⁷ on. All five were *amakehla*.

The king's personal belongings were buried with him. They were all thrown into the grave, except his assegais which were thrown into a hole among the rocks in the river. They were not buried with him, for they would be used by Mpande, when a spirit or snake, to stab
37 people. Four assegais were thus thrown away. They were thrown away at the cliffs at the Ntukwini.

The things buried with the king were mats, blankets, and loin-covers. Calabashes were burnt and pots were buried in the ground outside the kraal. The king had four chairs, two made by a Zulu and two made by Bishop Schreuder (Mankankanana?). All, as far as I know, were burnt. The man who carved the two chairs was Mtomboti ka Mangcengeza of the Mlaba people. He lived on the south side of the Black Umfolozi, near the assegai-smith Mlaba. The wood used was red ivory. He was presented with cattle for carving these chairs. I don't know where Mtomboti got the idea of carving the chair, which was all of a piece.

A large quantity of property was buried with Mpande. Arm rings and arm bands were buried with him, and beadwork.

An ordinary headringed man has his ring cut off when dead; that of Mpande was not removed. He was buried with it.

The red skin referred to was tied round the king with rope, I
38 think of *umviti* grass. His head, however, was not covered by the skin. Nothing was said by an *induna* or anyone when the king was being buried.

I was not present when Cetshwayo was buried. I was at home, near the Mhlatuze. Nor was I present when Dinuzulu was buried.

Isigodhlo continued. There used to be jollification to a great extent inside the *isigodhlo* for there were many rows of girls who would sing as they performed the hut dance. This was done with the moon at the full. They also performed other dances. The spectators were the *amakosikazi*. The king, however, did not go.

There was a white and a black *isigodhlo*. The former bordered on

BALENI ka SILWANA

the huts of the other inhabitants. The arrangement was:



39 A and C were the white *isigodhlo*; B was the black. The black used to be occupied by the king and the *amakosikazi*. The white *isigodhlos* were each presided over by *amakosikazi*, the 'mothers' of the king. The girls all slept in the white *isigodhlo*. In the black used to sleep not only *amakosikazi*, but *umdhlunkulu*, that is, the girls who carried the king's food. The king's food, his meat, milk vessels, and beer, used to be kept in the huts of the girls, not in the huts of the *amakosikazi*.

Mpande was spoken of by his women as *inkosi*, and that only. They called the root of anything when having occasion to refer thereto in ordinary conversation as *ingxabiyo*.⁵⁸

The performing of the hut dance took place in the respective *isigodhlo*, not all in one place.

Mpande was able to sing. He also danced. I saw him dance at *Siklebeni*. A dancing competition was being held, with very many there.

40 The first Nodwengu site was at Nhlungwane, the next at Ntukwini, the next near *Siklebeni*, another near *Siklebeni*, then back to near Ntukwini, then four more times about or near the Ntukwini. He died at the ninth site. After his death, Cetshwayo had a kraal built where the kraal was when the battle of Ulundi took place. Mpande was buried on the left of the road going to Nongoma and not far from the store.

The girls used to urinate in clay pots. It was the little girls that used to go out and empty this. The pots were kept in the *isigodhlo* but outside the huts. The girl used to sit on the pot. All in the *isigodhlo* used pots. The king, however, urinated into a calabash. The small girls used to empty this.

41 When a woman got pregnant and her time of delivery approached, she retired to the little kraal above the main kraal and had her baby. Other women attended her confinement. The king used to express his pleasure on hearing that any of his women had had a baby, saying, 'She has laboured well!' A beast might then be killed for her. There were four men at Mapotweni. Their huts were at the gate. When pregnant women went there, they slept there instead of retiring to the *isigodhlo*. There were girls who always stayed at Mapotweni to look after and wait on *amakosikazi* who came to lie up. The woman who had had a baby would stay at this little kraal until the baby had grown up a bit and was able to walk about. She would then go back and live with it in the *isigodhlo*.

The girls used to leave the *isigodhlo*, three and four at a time, to cultivate the fields. When there was *amabele* to be carried from

the gardens one might see a large number of girls going out to fetch it. They used to be accompanied by say one *inceku*. I never accompanied them. My work was to *milk, cultivate, and draw water*.

There was never any dancing in the main kraal at night time. There used, however, to be singing by the warriors etc. in their respective quarters, where people gathered together, but there was no big festive gathering of a night.

42 That was a splendid mode of government. I was delighted when the king gave me cattle. Or I might go out and shoot *guinea fowl*. On coming back with what I had shot, the king might allow me to drink beer from his *clay pot*. I used shot in killing the birds. The king did not eat *guinea fowl*, only *partridges*. I used also to kill *partridges*. There were very many about there.

Mpande was very stout indeed. He had *breasts*, so fat was he. He was about medium height. He had an ordinary voice. He sometimes *tefula'd* but that was done wilfully. He was very well up in *bongaing*. He used to *bonga* when beasts were sacrificed to his ancestral spirits. His dogs had a beast killed for them; there were many of these dogs. Some of these were kept in the *isigodhlo*, and one or two in his own hut. Some of these would bite people.

43 Mpande spoke easily; even when angry and excited he did not speak hastily. He ornamented himself to a great extent. He had many *imiqubula*, in which he would be completely covered.⁵⁹ He would have on a small *umqubula* about his neck, as also *ox tails*, and these things were so profusely put on as to cover him from sight. He wore a *crane* feather, one, about two feet long. The feather would be stuck in the *head band* in front, with a *loury crest* on either side of his head. He also had a *bunch of black ostrich feathers* falling down the back of the head.

He carried a white *war shield*, with a single patch about nine or ten inches in diameter. He had his four *assegais*, all *long-bladed*. Below the knees he wore white *ox tails*. He had on, hanging from the head, *strips of monkey skin*, falling so as to touch the top of his chest; but these extended from where the *head band* was fastened at the back to the top of the chest. These *tassels* at the temples were of about normal size, and also of *monkey skin*.

Leopard skin was not worn by him; it was worn by *izimbongi*. Mpande had no *leopard skin loin-covering*. Nor did Cetshwayo wear *leopard skin*. Some *izinduna* wore *leopard skin*.

44 Mpande did not wear *sheepskin* or eat (mutton), nor did Cetshwayo eat it. *The Zulu do not eat mutton*. Cetshwayo used, however, to wear *sheepskin - a girdle of lambskin strips*.

Mpande did not wear the *skin skirt*. This was worn only by *izinduna*, viz. Mfusi ka Manyala, Silwane ka Sikakana, Mbokojwana of the Mpungose people. These were big *izinduna*. Only those who had been allowed by the king to wear the *skin skirt* might do so.

Mpande wore a *head band of otter skin*. He wore an *arm band* on the right arm, with four *arm rings* on the left upper arm. There would be no *rings* on the right arm. The *arm band* burned; the burning was kept down by water being poured in. *Pieces of softened cowhide* were inserted between the metal and the arm so as to allow the arm to 'cool'. These were not inserted until the dancing was over.

The king carried no *knobkierie*, only a little stick. Nhlanguano ka

BALENI ka SILWANA

45 Kabayeka of the Ntuli used to *shave* the king.⁶⁰ He used to *shave* him whilst standing; the king was sitting. This might be done whilst the king was speaking to people, only one motion at a time, to await a suitable opportunity every time. This shaving took place every two months or so.

When walking from one *military kraal* to another his shield (for shade) would be carried in front of him. The carrier, if the king was sitting, might get sleepy with holding it. When going from one *kraal* to another the king would (not) leave without having partaken of food (for no food is eaten *outside, in public*).⁶¹ *The king's milking cows* (about 40) would be driven ahead; then beer in *baskets* followed in the rear, and should a shady tree be found the king might sit for a time and partake of his beer.

46 Should a bull *mount* any *heifer* kept for meat, it would be *slaughtered*. If such a *heifer* was *covered*, it would not get fat. The object was that it should simply get fat for killing. Should the bull of any person approach the king's heifers, it would be seized and *castrated*. Should a man's bull get among the king's *beef heifers* and *mount* them, the king would not be told because he would then order the whole of that man's stock to be seized. *The heifers intended for eating* were kept apart at another *kraal*. The *udder* of the *heifer* was eaten by the king.

18.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 2, pp. 46-8.

Also present: Mangqayi?

The king's *snuffbox*, black like all others, used to be carried in a *small basket*. It was carried by an *inceku*. The *basket* is covered by another, with the *snuffbox* inside. The boy *pours* the *snuff* in his own hand, when wanted, and then *pours* it in the king's hand. This boy, when the king is *sitting in the men's assembly*, will sit to the *side*, quite close to the king.

The king's *headring*, used to be rubbed. This was done by the man who shaved him and was done *in the men's assembly*.

The shield, for shade, was always carried so that the shade fell on the king, particularly when walking. When sitting, the king might have a cloth on him, thus:



47 that is, tied round at A-B, and the shield (would not be used if the sun was not hot), as in winter. The man holding the shield constantly shifted his position according to the motion of the sun. When walking in front of the king, he moved in a sideways fashion, with neither his face nor back fully to the king. When a shield-bearer got tired, he would beckon with his eyes and face, not speak, to

BALENI ka SILWANA

the one who was at hand to relieve him, for there were two of these men. The stick might have been pressed against the stomach or body of the holder, had he desired, but he usually carried the stick, which was long, free of other contact than that of his hands. The stick



marked A, that projects beyond the shield, is about four feet in length. No *fur trimming* is used at B; nothing at all is put there. The stick does project. The whole shield is black, jet black, with no *mark* of any kind. No other-coloured *war shield* was carried. It was *slit* just as other shields were.

The king never *drank* or ate in public;⁶² he ate his food in his quarters. Those who have been given food and drink, do drink etc. in the king's presence. The food would be brought to *the men's assembly by izinceku*; girls don't come there. It would then be partaken of, and as soon as finished there would be a general exclamation of '*Bayede!*',⁶³ all raising their arms.

48 When the king was sitting with *the men's assembly at the meeting place in the cattle enclosure* there were none of his wives there. *They did not come.* Nor did the *chief wife* or king's 'mothers' attend. It was contrary to practice for them to appear even in the *isigodhlo* when men had been summoned there by the king. As soon as men came they left the hut.

The king never *courted* a girl. He would simply take a girl and *marry* her.

Isangoma. These were either men or women. The latter would be called too when a *smelling-out* was held. They too *stood* when they entered *the circle to bula*. The beating of the sticks would be on the ground. There was no clapping of hands. They, however, shouted, '*Izwa!*' as they beat the ground. *Dust rose.* The *isangoma* would enter carrying his *shield and assegais* in the left hand. In the right he would hold up an *assegai*, *say a large-bladed stabbing assegai*, or any other variety. He would move about smartly and urge them all strongly. '*Vumani! Vumani!*',⁶⁴ he would say. He has a *goatskin cloak* round his chest, *gall bladders*, and *python and mamba skins* - these drag along the ground. The skin of the *python* is very long. *The man wears a buttock-covering, with ox tails on the forearms and lower legs.*

18.5.1914

File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 1-3.

Also present: Mangqayi?

1. As soon as the *isangoma* has finished, another is sent for. They are all out of sight of the place of *bulaing*. *They are hidden and do not see one another.* Those who have *bula'd* do not mix with those who have not done so. There is no offence in singling out the wrong,

BALENI ka SILWANA

man. If an *isangoma* points out the wrong man, an innocent man who does not *takata*, he may be made to pay reparation for having libelled him. His cattle may be seized.

The *isigodhlo* girls have no chance of consulting the *isangoma*. No *bulaing* took place in the *isigodhlo*. It was done outside, and not in the dwelling place. Something might and did occur in the *isigodhlo* necessitating *bulaing*, but (the *bulaing*) took place outside the kraal, not quite so far off as where a *smelling-out* was held. Matters *bula'd* about were *sickness*, i.e. if anyone was ill in the *isigodhlo*. The girls too might be smelt out. Only the *izinceku bula'd* for any matter in the *isigodhlo*. The girls, though greatly concerned, did not attend. The doctors thus smell out a girl who has not been present even to hear the charge. This practice whereby only *izinceku* attended, instead of the girls most concerned, was established by the king.

At a *smelling-out* an *isangoma* might dance or make sport for the company. He might leap about; another *isangoma* might not do so.

The *inkundhla* is the whole inside area of a cattle enclosure. The space marked A where cattle stand is also the *inkundhla*.



The *isangoma* threatens the people *bulaing* with the assegai in his right hand. He does this repeatedly. The woman *isangoma* also carries a shield and assegais, and threatens the company with an assegai just as the men do. The woman *isangoma* has on a skin skirt but she too wears tails at the biceps and just below the knees. Round the ankles she has seeds of the lala palm; these sound as she moves. These also may be worn by the man.

The younger *isangoma*, men and women, smear their faces with red ochre, but the elderly ones do not do this. Those my age (75) would not do this.

3 I remember seeing Mbuyazi. He was tall. He was dark brown in colour, with hair in the small of his back. 'Elephant with a tuft of hair' - this was a praise-name, not an insult. Cetshwayo was very dark in colour. He was of medium height. Mbuyazi wore dress made of monkey and genet tails.

There may have been girls of spirit in Zululand, but they were afraid to show their spirit. They were afraid of the king.

Notes

¹This is the line of the Mpungose chiefs. See Bryant, Olden Times, p.29.

²Formed c.1858; age-group born c.1838.

BALENI ka SILWANA

- ³Possibly formed c.1816 by Senzangakhona. The informant's father would thus have been born c.1790. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645, and Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 240.
- ⁴Early in 1840.
- ⁵One of several regiments formed between 1821 and 1827; age-group born c.1801-7.
- ⁶Formed c.1823; age-group born c.1800.
- ⁷The original Zulu, which Stuart has underlined, reads, '*...ngoba ba tand' umbaso*'. Literally this means 'because they like fire'. For 'Zwide' in the first sentence of this paragraph read 'Tshaka'?
- ⁸Mbelebeleni was the headquarters of the Mbelebele regiment. This sentence in the original could also be translated as, 'The Ndwandwe destroyed the Mbelebeleni kraal.'
- ⁹This parenthesis appears in the original as a marginal note.
- ¹⁰The word used in the original is *amankengana*, which has the derogatory connotation of inferior, poor, low-class outsiders.
- ¹¹Presumably outside the original Zulu chiefdom.
- ¹²The hill of execution at Mgungundlovu.
- ¹³In a marginal note in the original, Stuart draws attention to evidence given by Tununu, another of his informants. This will appear in a later volume.
- ¹⁴Slight modifications have been made to the original structure of this list and of the list of regiments that follows in order to present them in a standardized form. Stuart's renderings of these names have been retained throughout.
- ¹⁵This list includes regiments formed by members of the Zulu royal line from Senzangakhona to Dinuzulu. A marginal note in the original indicates uncertainty as to the order of the first eleven names.
- ¹⁶Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 207 and 329, distinguishes between the umKhulutshane (pl: imikhulutshane), the isiKhulutshane, and the isiGulutshane. In his list of regiments subsequently published in Olden Times, pp. 645-6, he distinguishes between the umKhulutshane and the isiGulutshane, but does not include the name 'isiKhulutshane', which in all likelihood was simply his corruption of 'isiGulutshane'. In Olden Times, p. 645, he identifies the isiGulutshane with the Ndabakadengizibone, and in his Dictionary, p.207, he describes it as having been incorporated with the umKhulutshane.
- ¹⁷The five regimental names given by Gezindaka appear in the original as an arrowed insertion.
- ¹⁸Literally, 'in the open space'.
- ¹⁹Modifications have been made to the original structure of the three following lists in order to present them in a standardized form.
- ²⁰The word used in the original, *itusi* (*ithusi*), may mean brass or copper. To avoid clumsiness in the translation we have used the former sense throughout.
- ²¹The grammatical construction of the original is faulty and its meaning obscure. Our reconstruction may be misleading.
- ²²Heavy metal band worn on the lower arm by warriors as a mark of royal favour.
- ²³The word used in the original is *amanhluwenga*, which has the derogatory connotation of 'worthless foreigners'. It applies particularly to certain peoples living to the north of Zululand.
- ²⁴i.e. the ones who prepared the medicines for strengthening the king at the *ukweshuxama* ceremony which preceded the *umkhosi* celebrations.

- ²⁵Marginal note in the original.
- ²⁶In the original the word is 'ill', but from the sense of the rest of the passage it seems clear that it should be 'well'.
- ²⁷The word used in the original is *isilomo*. Bryant describes the *isilomo* as men favoured at the royal court though holding no special office (Zulu People, p. 463).
- ²⁸'*Tshayani!*' ('*Shayani!*'), literally, 'Strike!', was the *isangoma*'s call to the people participating in the 'smelling-out' to beat the ground, or *bhula*, with their sticks. They would respond, '*Izwa!*' ('*Yizwa!*'), literally, 'Smell!'
- ²⁹The Bheje *umuzi* was attached to Mgungundlovu.
- ³⁰According to Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 682-3, *imvoko* is used for 'persons who are not their own masters' and for 'children born of the Zulu king'.
- ³¹i.e. without the king's permission to marry.
- ³²Stuart notes Baleni's use of *abaNguni* rather than *abeNguni*.
- ³³The literal meaning of this phrase is 'by means of or on account of the grain basket'. Its historical connotations are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 20-2, and Dictionary, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467. A possible meaning may be that the Ntungwa came down carrying their provisions with them.
- ³⁴A medicinal herb.
- ³⁵The original does not make it clear whether it was a specific campaign or war in general that was discussed.
- ³⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 682, gives *iviyo* as a company of men about fifteen or twenty in number.
- ³⁷Half-brother of Cetshwayo.
- ³⁸Literally, 'They have been set apart', i.e. to be milked for the king.
- ³⁹'The red grindstone of him who keeps his face to the enemy.'
- ⁴⁰At the beginning of his statement of 10.5.1914, Baleni referred to Gaozi as a brother, and gave his grandfather's name as Ndhlovu. This anomaly adds further confusion to an obscure statement.
- ⁴¹Wild plum and red ivory respectively.
- ⁴²These practices were carried out for the ancestral spirits.
- ⁴³See also under 12.5.1914, where Baleni distinguishes between those of the king's *izinceku* who may participate in war, and those who may not.
- ⁴⁴We have been unable to establish the meaning of this word. In a marginal note in the original, Stuart writes: '*qeta'd* - this is the word for what girls did'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 534, gives *qeta* as 'to sit at ease' in Zulu female style.
- ⁴⁵The name of an *umuzi* founded by Shaka. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 757.
- ⁴⁶The *ububendle* is a species of shrub the white underskin of whose leaves was used for making fringed girdles.
- ⁴⁷*Ulembu* is the name for any fine, soft material, e.g. linen, cloth, cotton gauze as originally traded by the Tsonga, spider's web, or river moss.
- ⁴⁸The *imfibinga* was an ornament of beadwork or metalwork.
- ⁴⁹An *inkata* (*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 national emblem.

BALENI ka SILWANA

- ⁵⁰In our interpretation of the original Zulu sentence we have followed Samuelson's account of the rituals connected with the making of the *inkatha*. See Long, Long Ago, p. 401.
- ⁵¹As note 23 above.
- ⁵²In a marginal note, Stuart refers to the evidence of Ndwandwe ka Masipula in another notebook. We have been unable to locate this evidence.
- ⁵³See note 45 above.
- ⁵⁴*Ndabezita!* (*Ndabezitha!*) is a term used when addressing royalty. *Amanga!* indicates, 'I beg your pardon.'
- ⁵⁵It is not clear in the original whether it is Cetshwayo or the informant Baleni who poses this question.
- ⁵⁶Authorities whom we have consulted about Zulu tradition have been unable to shed any light on this custom. Stuart, File 74, p. 98, records the following statement made by Zulu on 19.12.1898: 'Should a man fall into a trance, be taken for dead, have grave dug and come to after the grave had been dug, a toad (frog?) would be got and thrown into the grave, which would then be partly filled up.'
- ⁵⁷The *umncwedo* (*umncedo*; pl. *imincedo*) was the cover of leaves worn over the end of the penis.
- ⁵⁸The word *impande* means 'root'. The women's use of the word *ingwabiyi* when referring to a root is an example of the *hlonipha* custom of showing respect by avoiding the mention of words containing the radicals of the names of persons of rank.
- ⁵⁹The *umqubula* (pl. *imiqubula*) was the dress for dancing, consisting of three girdles made of monkey tails. One was worn over the buttocks, another about the waist, and a third over the shoulders, thus covering the body from neck to knee.
- ⁶⁰i.e. the circular patch of hair inside the headdress.
- ⁶¹The word 'not' in this sentence was omitted in the original.
- ⁶²cf. Baleni's statement, 17.5.1914, that the king, when moving from one military headquarters to another, 'might sit for a time and partake of his beer'.
- ⁶³A form of salutation used only when addressing the king.
- ⁶⁴For '*Izaka!*' see note 28 above. '*Vumani!*', literally, 'Agree!', was the call made by the *isangoma* to the assembly to answer his divinations.