

## MTSHAYANKOMO KA MAGOLWANA

&lt;10.1.1922&gt;

File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 8-19.

Also present: Mabedhla ka Makuza

<The testimony reproduced below under date 10.1.1922 is recorded in the original immediately after praises of Mpande given successively by Mabhedla and Mshayankomo. Stuart does not indicate which of the two informants provided this testimony, but internal evidence leaves little doubt that the principal informant was Mshayankomo - eds.>

- 8 Notes in regard to Magolwana's bongaing. [To be read with those in preceding notebook.]<sup>1</sup>

*When he was about to begin praising, my father Magolwane would cry,*

*Now hear!*

*The elephant smashed everything; there was nothing left!*

*The elephant smashed everything; there was nothing left!*

*The branches of the trees were broken, there was nothing left,*

*There were only the uprooted stumps to be seen,*

*They were turned upside down!*

*As they were overturned, so men died!*<sup>2</sup>

*That is what he cried out when he was about to begin bongaing, after having finished tetaing.*<sup>3</sup> [See preceding notebook.] He used to begin with the most ancient kings and come down in order, ending with the reigning king. At the end of each king's praises, he would say, *'The elephant has swallowed him! You are the silent one, great lion! You are the silent one, great sky above! That, then, was So-and-so!'* e.g. *'That, then, was Mageba!'*

Hamu was the son of Nzibe (or, as Mtshayankomo calls him, Nziba), for Hamu's mother, Nozibuku, was *ngemwa'd* by Mpande, hence Hamu is Nzibe's son.<sup>4</sup>

*Tshonkweni was the son of Tshaka. Mpande ngena'd a 'wife' of Tshaka's (umkaTshaka), Masala (I don't know her father or isibongo), and she bore Tshonkweni.*<sup>5</sup> *Masala was an ingodosi of Tshaka's; she had not yet had a child.*<sup>6</sup> *Masala and others had had to remain as izingodosi, and had not had children. Nozibuku and Masala had their*

- 9 *own imizi; their husbands left them after they had built them.*

*Magolwana did not pause for rest before he had finished the praises of a particular king. When he had finished he would cry out, 'The elephant has swallowed him!'* (where elephant refers to the king

who has just been *bonga'd*). 'You are the silent one, great sky above! You are the silent one, great lion! You are the silent one, great leopard! You are the silent one, great elephant!'

Just after finishing a king's eulogies, he says as above, and as he utters two or three such phrases he *stamps* on the ground with his feet, as if *giyaing*, but *stamps* on the same spot, and hard, so that the whole of his dress tosses to and fro. He is dressed in his finery. He then stands still, draws himself erect, looks towards the king, and then begins with the following king's praises.

He puts on a great deal of finery and is a great size when dressed up. He walks about as he *bongas*. The king is listening with his assembly the whole time, and every now and then whistles his approval, but says nothing. No one else dare whistle, for fear of being killed; not even Magolwana, the *imbongi* himself, may do so.

10 If he is praising the king from Mgungundhlovu,<sup>7</sup> he cries, 'Hail, now, bewhiskered one from Mgungundhlovu! Hail, now, bewhiskered one from Mgungundhlovu! You killed the Boers and brought harm to the Zulu country! You brought harm; did you not bring harm to yourself? This great boldness? Boldness as great as this?' The king would then whistle, and point his finger, arm raised up, at him three or four times quickly in approval. Magolwana would then proceed at great speed. Mpande would become annoyed.

Magolwana would be given 20 or 30 cattle after *bongaing*, i.e. on the next day cattle would be apportioned to him. He had no sisters. His 'sisters' were the kings themselves (i.e. they, his *bongaing* of them, was his source of income).<sup>8</sup>

Magolwana used to *bonga* Dingana completely before Mpande, even though they had fought together. Mpande liked to hear Dingana's praises, for he was no longer alive. Mpande refused to allow Magolwana to go to his home; he wanted Magolwana to remain with him all the time.

When Magolwana was about to begin the praises of Mpande, he would cry, 'Go and report to Mapita and to Tokotoko and to Nzobo that the wild animal has come up from Mgungundhlovu' (referring to Mpande).<sup>9</sup> He said this because this *umuzi* was now Mpande's, for he had put Dingana to death. Mapita and Tokotoko would then block their ears, for he would call this out in their presence. They would hear no more until he began to praise Mpande.

11 When he had finished Mpande's praises he would cry, 'Hail, now, butt of the jests made by the *amaduna*' (all those who had been killed, many of them).<sup>10</sup> 'They did not like you; you overthrew them with *assegaïs*!' He would then stamp hard on the ground. He had on his finery.

Mpande used to sit in his waggon and be drawn along by a man.<sup>11</sup>

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

The king used to hold up his finger approvingly towards a notable warrior. Only such warriors *giya'd* before the king.

The rectum (*umdididi*) of Ndhlela.<sup>12</sup> [Used in Kulumetule.<sup>13</sup>]  
The people of Sensangakona, i.e. Mpande and others, said that those who had not gone off to the Swazi country with Dingana and Ndhlela after they had been defeated by the Boers were 'the rectum of Ndhlela'.

That is when the name Bekowahlulwayo arose.<sup>14</sup> Those who had remained behind were put to death; they were called the Bekeyahlulwa people. They were put to death by Mpande on his return from the Amaqongqo.<sup>15</sup> This was done even though Ndhlela had given assistance to Mpande, and had been killed by Dingana for intervening to save Mpande.<sup>16</sup>

12 After that the wives of Ndhlela no longer ate the lower intestine of a beast, even if it had been slaughtered at home, for they used to be insulted by people who said, 'Here is the rectum of Ndhlela; the rectum of Ndhlela did not cross over the river to go to the white people.' People known as 'the rectum of Ndhlela' were to be found throughout the Zulu country; this was the term for a person who had not crossed over with Mpande and had remained behind with Dingana.<sup>17</sup> He (Mpande) said, 'Why is it that they have not gone over either to my elder brother or to me?' The Bekeyahlulwayo people were then put to death. They were stabbed in their huts, and their children also; nothing remained. Others broke away and crossed the river into the country of the white people. Many of the Mbata people crossed the river high up and made for the iLenge and for the Indaka.<sup>18</sup> Their chief, Lukwabiti ka Nkomo, was killed; he was killed at the iSihlalo, at the Umhlahlane, which enters the White Mfолоzi. Lukwabiti was killed by Diyikana.<sup>19</sup>

The insult was directed at Ndhlela, who was the one who had warned Mpande to cross the river, as he was to be put to death. But even though Ndhlela had sent the warning he had not crossed over with Mpande; he had remained with Dingana.

The drought of Mbetе.<sup>20</sup> [See p. 20.]

13 It happened that in the month of the inyatelo, six years after the fight at Ndondakusuka, a steenbok made its appearance.<sup>21</sup> It is said that it ran about wearing a piece of spotted red cloth. It came to Nodwengu.<sup>22</sup> The king ordered that it was not to be killed, or the country would be destroyed the same day. When the buck came in at the double gate, Masipula called out, 'Here is a strange omen! People of Nodwengu, let the umpakati come forth! Here is a strange omen!'<sup>23</sup> We came out and surrounded it, there inside the cattle enclosure at Nodwengu. It simply stood there. Then the king came out in his cart, seated in it, drawn along by Notekwane. He ordered us to give way. 'Give way, so that I may see this omen.' At once we drew back and made way. He ordered us to sit down so that he could see it properly. We did so. The king's dogs were held back; on catching sight of the buck they had wanted to chase it. The king cried, 'Ha! This is the death of the country! Our country dies today. Disperse, and go back to your huts. This omen will destroy the country.' The king and his izinduna remained looking at the buck. After a while the cart was pulled back to his hut.

14 At this point the cattle returned home. The buck went out, passing the cattle, and made off. The king ordered Ntshingwayo ka Marole to watch where it was going.<sup>24</sup> It went out and made for the iNtendeka, a hill where Diyikana had built, together with Mgidhlana ka Mpande and Magwendu ka Mpande, and Mtonga and Sukani and Mgqotsheni ka Mpande.<sup>25</sup> It went up-country, all the time making for the iNtendeka. Orders were given that it was to be followed, but on no account to be killed. It passed the place of Diyikana ka Hlakanyana and the place of Mqandi ka Mtshana of the Sibisi people at Nhlazatshe.<sup>26</sup> It passed

the place of Manqandela ka Sitayi of the Zulu people on this side of Nhlazatshe, at the iTaka. It headed for the place of Seketwayo ka Nhlaka of the Mdhlalose people. It travelled slowly. Then it crossed the Mzinyati river and they left it.

It was said that the buck had been sent by Somsewu to hold back (godhla) the people of Mpande.<sup>27</sup> It was said that Mbuyazi was still alive.<sup>28</sup> It was said that this strange event had been caused by Somsewu, and that he had caused it on behalf of Mbuyazi. This was said by Masipula. He said, 'He will destroy the land,' and cried. But for their part the izikulu said that the buck had been sent by Dikida ka Mgabatshi and Mazungeni ka Mtezuka, both of whom lived in the Mdhlalose country at Nqutu on the Ncome river. (These people had brought lungsickness into the country, where it had not been known before. After that had come smallpox.)<sup>29</sup> It had been sent by Dikida and the others because the king had followed them up for making off with royal cattle. 'Did they not have Dingana's cattle? Did not Tshaka leave the cattle for them to kleza with? Did he not "bind" the people by letting them kleza?' An impi was sent out, and fetched the cattle. It was gone a long time.

15

After this the land was destroyed by hunger. The cattle died from lungsickness. There was a great drought; the rivers dried up completely. Izinongwe plants were dug up and eaten, together with uboqo plants. Wild figs were picked, pounded up, and dried.

The month came for the umkosi to be held, the month uMasingana. Then four dwarfs (izicwe) were seen to have arrived. It was not known where they had come from; they were simply seen to have arrived at Nodwengu. They reached to a man's waist in height. They were males. If a person asked them, 'Where do you come from?' they pointed to the sky and said, 'Where was I when you saw me?' The king ordered that they were to be left alone and not harmed. Food was to be given to them, but they did not eat it. The next day they had disappeared, nor could it be seen whether the food had been eaten or not. It was reported to the king that the strange persons who had been in his home were no longer there, and that the food was no longer there.

16

The king then summoned his diviners to come and bula, and his healers to come and sprinkle medicine. They came, and the diviners said, 'This strange omen will destroy the land. We do not know where it has come from. It has not been caused by human agency. This is the death of the country.' On hearing this the king belched. He demanded of Masipula and Ntshingwayo, 'Where did you get the idea that this came from Somsewu and Mbuyazi? Are you making fun of me, you who caused me so much grief and suffering? Here are the diviners contradicting you. Did my sons die, only to come to life again? You too will die, Masipula; you will die the day that I die. They will kill you.' He ordered him to return home and sacrifice cattle to the ancestors. He did not want to kill him.

That is the end of the story. The butaing of the Kandempemvu took place at that time. The king said, 'This is the drought of Mbete.' Magolwana ka Mkatini said, 'You are butaing the Kandempemvu, "the awl that is bunubunwana, that is sharpened at both ends". 'Today I have buta'd the Drought of Mbete.' [Goes on p. 20.]

17

Per Mabedhla and Mtshayankomo.

Hamu used to go about with his izinceku, the latter carrying bows

(*imicibitsholo*) with which they shot arrows at people who walked along towards him without paying sufficient attention to observe he was a prince, and a great one, almost as great as Cetshwayo himself, for he was the son of Nzibe, whose *ingodosi* had been *ngenwa'd* by Mpande. On being shot at, the victims would run away, afraid of being killed, and perhaps run with an arrow or two sticking in them, though not to such an extent as to kill them. In addition to the bow, *knobbed sticks* were also used, offenders being severely struck therewith for not paying proper respect to the prince.

[I have been listening attentively to Mtshayankomo *bongaing* Cetshwayo, the night before last, 8.1.1922, and tonight, 10.1.1922. He shouts the first syllable of each group of four or five lines in a high and loud voice; then follow the lines of each group in quick succession, the words uttered rapidly and the voice falling as his breath gradually gives out; off again on a high note at the top of his voice, on the next group of four or five lines, dealing with them in the same way. Thus he seems to utter as much as he can in each long breath, not being always particular to confine himself to associated lines (associated in sense). Indeed the object seems to be to keep going, also to be rhythmical. This loud preliminary shout keeps on occurring at the same pitch, even though a couple of hundred lines may be recited. He is very fluent, but he frequently repeats himself, though when he does it is often combined with some small variation of one or two fresh lines. Action follows certain lines, e.g. when he refers to birds beating wings together he beats hands together, as if to mimic them. The king he really *bongas* is Cetshwayo. He also knows about 100 lines of Mpande, and a few of Tshaka and Senzangakona. Beyond that, he is poor.]

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

What Magolwana did was this. He would dress up in a very lavish manner [as described in preceding notebook]. When about to begin on some formal occasion, with the king present, and the *assembly*, he would start by *tetaing* or apostrophizing the king in terms already indicated [in preceding notebook]. This would go on for a few minutes, say five or so. Then he would stop, remain silent, draw himself up. Next followed the exordium or introduction to the praises proper. [The terms of this exordium are given on p. 8 herein.] As soon as that was over, for it was quite brief, he would begin with the eulogies proper, and go on and on until his memory or voice gave out. If the king *praised* happened to have a comparatively short number of lines, he would conclude by saying [vide p. 8], '*The elephant has swallowd him,*' where *elephant* refers to the king he has just finished praising, and he would add the name of the one he had just finished praising, e.g. '*That, then, was Tshaka!*', adding, '*You are the silent one, great lion! You are the silent one, great sky above! You are the silent one, great leopard!*', though not necessarily all of these praises, implying that the elephant has gulped down all that the *imbongi* has uttered, but, as there is much more that might have been said, so he causes forgetfulness of some of his praises; hence this is an apologetic expression for not doing complete justice to his memory.

- 19 As soon as the king praised is finished, the *imbongi* stamps firmly and resolutely on the ground, giving the appearance of *giyaing*, though not that. This goes on whilst apologizing as just stated for not having uttered more of his praises than those offered. The stamping continues half a minute or so. There is no applause. The king alone whistles and signifies approval by lifting his arm high and pointing as it were over the *imbongi*, the finger not stiffened, and gently moving his held-up arm as he points beckoningly and approvingly towards the herald. After a pause of, say, half a minute or so, the *imbongi* starts off with the exordium of the next king, this being based on the king's characteristics [as in re Dingana as shown on p. 9 etc.]. He then plunges into the eulogies proper, ending off in the more or less stereotyped conclusion already given. The exordium and conclusion were not set in metrical form. The former is a kind of exhortation or invitation to listen to what is to follow. The former is spoken in a loud voice, and the 'a' of 'Izwa-ke' is dwelt on for quite four or five seconds. Neither exordium nor conclusion are stereotyped in any way, like the eulogies themselves. The phraseology is the *imbongi*'s, though it conforms to certain undefined standards and is marked with appropriately dignified and apposite phraseology. The eulogies themselves vary slightly here and there, though the sense of the lines is maintained. One man phrases a thought or incident in one way, another in another way. There is no fixed standard, though there are thousands of stereotyped expressions or phrases.

11.1.1922

File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Mabedhla?

- 20 Mtshayankomo. *The drought of Mbete*. [See p. 12.]  
*There was a drought; it was called the drought of Mbete. The land was destroyed. The king ordered people to be sent to ask for rain from Langalibalele ka Mtinkulu.*<sup>30</sup> *Langalibalele brought Mawewe ka Mtinkulu, who was of great seniority in the ruling house. (He has died only recently, there at the place of Mlokotwa.*<sup>31</sup> *There are two of his kraal-sites.) Langalibalele told the four men who had been sent by Mpande to hurry back, travelling by night and by day, so as to avoid being cut off by the Tukela and the White Mfolozi when these rivers came down in flood. Indeed they crossed the Tukela with the rain following close behind them. It rained as far as the Ndaka.*  
*Langalibalele asked, 'Do you know Ngoza ka Ludaba?'*<sup>32</sup> *They replied, 'Nkosi, we do; he is of the Qanyini people. He is of our people, an old man.'* *He said, 'Tell them, Mawewe, that the rain will reach as far as Ngoza's at the Ndaka. It will go no further. When you arrive, Ngoza must send a man on horseback to Langalibalele to say that they have passed on; they passed on the day before yesterday.'* *Ngoza gave them six black oxen. They travelled by night and by day for twenty days. One of them became exhausted at the place of Mqandi's people at Nhlazatshe. His limbs swelled up. Langalibalele had said that ten*  
 21 *days would pass. The second ten days was taken up with going back to report that they had passed on; they had done so in the night. 'What did he give them?' 'He gave them six oxen.'* *'What colour were they?'*

'They were black, with no markings.'

When they arrived back at the king's place they said, 'The rain has come.' Mpande answered, 'I hear it said that the Tukela is in flood.' Langalibalele had said, 'Let the beasts be slaughtered when they arrive. It must be done at dusk by a man who is dark, not light, in colour. The meat will not be cooked before the fire is put out by the rain. By the time dawn comes all the rivers will be full.' Indeed that is what happened. The rain came in the night, and as day was beginning to break Mawewe arrived. The Mkumbane filled up. It filled up first, then all the other rivers came down in flood.<sup>33</sup> The people went out to hoe their fields. Everywhere they did this. The king refused to allow Mawewe to leave; he said that he should remain until the *umkosi* ceremonies had been held. So he remained. Then cattle of the king were set aside, black ones, eighteen of them. The rain continued. Eventually Mawewe left. The crops ripened throughout the land, the country revived; the people were well off. The crops ripened; the *amabele* flowered; the cattle regained condition. It was Mawewe who rescued the Zulu country.

22 .... <Praises of Cetshwayo omitted - eds.>

23 Mtshayankomo's evidence. Piet Retief's massacre.<sup>34</sup>

As Magolwana told the story, the king had come to feel that these people would surround his kraal and shoot him. He felt this because soon after dark they had tried to surround the kraal; they were measuring its size while the people were asleep during the night. He had given them food for their horses; they had been fed at the gate, outside the kraal. Soon after dark they had tried to surround the kraal; he saw this from the fact that there were horse droppings at two places outside the kraal. There was a broad path made by the horses; it did not seem as if they had simply been grazing there. When it was fully dark the king went outside the kraal through one of the small openings at its upper end, at a place away from where the Boers were. He saw it all for himself. He then told his *izinduna*, and ordered them, 'Go while it is dark, and look out at the openings to see if these people have come with good intentions. I see that they intend to seize me. They have not come with good intentions after all.' He then called the warriors at *Mgungundhlovu* and said, 'Look at what has happened.' His *izinduna* said, 'The horses were being ridden; they were not simply grazing. You must dance, you must dance for the Boers,' etc. etc.

24

[The above seems to me to correspond closely with what Tununu said re the man *Msongane* being set up as a figurehead to represent him on this occasion, for if *Dingana* left the *isigodhlo* to sleep elsewhere, then it is not improbable he appointed someone to represent him, as stated by Tununu.]<sup>35</sup>

Now hear! *Ndwandwe* of the tall ones!  
The *isihlopeside* tree of the *Gumede* people!  
*Gumede* ka *Ndaba*, *Ndaba* ka *Punga*;  
*Punga* ka *Mageba*!<sup>36</sup>

This is a form of introduction to *Senzangakona*'s eulogies.<sup>37</sup> [The adjective 'de' occurring three times in the first two lines seems to me to throw some light on *Bayede*.]<sup>38</sup>

MTSHAYANKOMO

<The list that follows appears to be an itemization of matters on which Stuart desired information. We have marked with an 'x' an item which has been scored out in the original - eds.>

Describe the *mkosi*, including the cattle used in dancing. *The jubaing of girls.*

Fight of Tulwana and Ngobamakosi (at oNdini).

*The occult powers (imilingo) of Manembe.*

Mqalana.

x Senzangakona's visit with Nkomo to Dingiswayo.

*The praising of the amadhlozi at the place of the kings with cattle of the spirits.*

*Proverbs.*

11.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 1-10, 28-36, 14.

Also present: Mabedhla

<Stuart departed from his usual practice by not recording the name of the principal informant at the head of the testimony which we reproduce below. Internal evidence leaves little doubt that the informant was Mshayankomo. In this notebook, no. 28, Stuart interleaved Mshayankomo's testimony with that of other informants, hence the discontinuous pagination of the statements made by Mshayankomo under date 11.1.1922 - eds.>

Practice followed by Magolwana.

Magolwana used to declaim the praises of those to whom presentations were made of war-shields, cattle, dancing apparel (*imiqubula*), and loin-covers made of notched strips of sheepskin, red and black and white in colour. The presentations were made to the uTulwana, iSangu and iZingulube regiments.

If a man unable himself to *bonga* wishes to *bonga* for what the king may have given him, he would go to Masipula or Ntshingwayo (who did not go to stay at their own homes). (The latter would say, 'Here are So-and-so and So-and-so. The king has made them presents, but they cannot *bonga*. Go and *bonga* for them before the king, for they are incompetents (*amadhliwa*).' He would say this to Magolwana. He would then put on his finery, and go up with them. They would be numerous, for the presentations had been made by sections (*izigaba*) of a regiment, company (*iviyo*) by company.

The king would then come out in his cart, which was bright green in colour,<sup>39</sup> and was drawn by Notekwane ka Silimela. It would come to a standstill and they would salute, calling, 'You of the elephant! You of the elephant! Bayede! (first) 'e' lengthened to three or four seconds). You of the leopard! You who grew mighty while others were loitering! You of the innermost circle! Elephant which devoured other elephants!' They would stand in a row, two deep. The king would say, 'Let them turn round.' (So that he could see that their *imitsha* were in order.) Those in front would retire to the back, and the others would come forward. They too would do the same. The king would then order them to *giya*. They would *giya* one by one until they had all done so. My father would then *bonga*; they would mean-

while be sitting on the ground. He would be the only one standing. There would be complete silence. He would then proceed to bonga  
 2 Mpande alone. When he had finished, they would salute, shouting, 'Bayede!' The king would then turn about and go back into the isi-godhlo. He would tell my father to go down with the people. They would go to their huts, and the izinceku would approach, carrying baskets of beer. They would shout, 'Here! Magolwana!' (shouting loud). They would put it down at the screen of his hut, and then go back to the upper end of the kraal. He would then help himself to the beer. In the afternoon he would take the beer baskets back to the upper end. Dawn would break and he would still be calling out, still holding forth with the praises of Mpande. At sunset he would still be doing this. He would cease when it got dark.

Those who had received presents from the king would pay (kipela) Magolwana with goats for his services. Each one would give a goat which he had obtained from his home.

Magolwana, instead of being the 'mother' (unina) of the izimbongi was the 'father' (uyise) of the izimbongi. [Tununu used the former expression in 1903; Mtshayankomo prefers the latter.]

Mabedhla.

When a child sneezes one says, 'Xo! Yeti, child!' This is said by the mother who bore it. She is addressing it kindly, encouraging it to grow. If it is a boy she says, 'Grow, my young man (nsizwa)!' If it is a girl she says, 'Grow, my girl, so that you can fetch water for me, and fetch firewood for me, and grind meal for me, that I may eat!'

Re 'Bayede'. The great one stands above the others (this 'standing above' signifies tallness. Cf. 'The wild sorghum plant which stands above the tallest white men'.)<sup>40</sup> He is saluted. Why is this done? It is done when the izintelezi medicines are used, when the gourd is to be eaten, when the etshwama ceremonies are to be held.<sup>41</sup> He will sit on a seat, and thus be above them. He will be given ingqulwane reeds, those which are used for weaving (of which grass mats are  
 3 woven); they are called induli reeds. The mat will be rolled up, like a sleeping mat, to the height of a chair. This will be when the king comes into the assembly.

Mabedhla.

On the occasion of the king's installation, he will be saluted; they will shout, 'Bayede!'

We think that 'Bayede' might well have come from Bay' estide [as J.S. suggests].<sup>42</sup>

We Jiyana people are of the Mpembeni people, for we originated among the Ntombela, at the place of the people of Manjanja ka Nhlambela.<sup>43</sup> There is no Mpembeni nation left now. The great chief of the Jiyana was Kondhlo of the Ntshali people.<sup>44</sup> Kondhlo's son is unknown to me. Mkatini (my grandfather) took over Kondhlo's land.

'Cakel' uMistuwedi amakosi', i.e. to blurt out the eulogies of the Zulu kings to Mr Stuart.<sup>45</sup> This phrase was used by Mlokotwa ka Mpumela on the occasion of his sending Mtshayankomo ka Magolwana

and Mabedhla ka Makuza to Mr Stuart in accordance with the latter's request, to give him Zulu kings' eulogies.

4 *Mtshayankomo. The unkosì ceremonies in the Zulu country in the time of Mpande.*<sup>46</sup>

The unkosì in the Zulu country began in the month of the inyatelo; that was the little unkosì. The month in which the inyatelo was held was uZibandhlela.<sup>47</sup> It would be the younger warriors who assembled; the more senior ones would remain at home. It would be the Mbonambi regiment that would assemble (Mgidhlana and others),<sup>48</sup> even if incompletely, even if only two companies (amaviyo) were present, or even only one. The regiments that would be assembled would be the Kandempemvu and the Ngobamakosi; they were assembled to gather firewood in the bush country of the White Mfolozi. The wood would be for burning the bull. This bull would be fetched from foreign parts. It would be stolen from the grazing grounds. It would be a fighting bull, pitch black in colour, a big, old one, that would rip out people's innards. One had to have its tendons slashed because it overcame all the warriors, until we Ngobamakosi were set on to help them. We blocked it off in front.

The bull was eaten by the young boys, those who had not yet reached puberty, the carriers of mats and blankets. Older youths, those who had reached puberty, did not eat it. These younger boys were called into the enclosure of the isigodhlo, where the king was nqwamba'd and the bull burnt.<sup>49</sup> The king was treated with protective medicines. He did not partake of any food until the next day; he took only medicines. The boys were not allowed to leave; they were shut up in the king's washing enclosure until the next day, without being allowed to defecate or urinate. At dawn the bull would still be burning. The fire was fed continually and the bull was burnt, the flames crackling. Strips of meat as long as one's arm were continually cut off. It would burn for two days, that is, for a day and a night. The king would stand on a rush mat and be treated by izinyanga of the Sikakane people, Nondo ka Mrotshane, and Nongogo ka Fana ka Mnteli of the Cube. On the third day the burning would be over.

Then followed the ceremony of asking for rain at the place of the kings, Senzangakona, Ndaba, Punga, and Mageba, there where they were buried. A small herd of royal oxen, black in colour, without markings, and which were not to be touched, was driven along. These cattle would be driven by the regiments, all those from the Emahlabatini country.<sup>50</sup> The men who drove them went dressed in the finery which they wore at the time of the unkosì. Only their ox-tail decorations were left in the huts. These were not worn as they would get wet. There was no thunder; only a drizzle fell. When they left the sky was clear; there were no clouds, for it was very dry. They passed Bulawayo, Ndabakawombe, crossed the White Mfolozi, passed Siklebeni, and crossed the Mkumbane.<sup>51</sup> There they broke into a chant. They halted. All the regiments came up and stood together in one place, with the cattle grazing in front of them. They broke into the great chant (irubo), which went,

O ye, iye he yiya! Ha! O hu yiya!  
Ha! O ho hu. Oye iye! Iya! Ha o,  
Hi i ya! Ihi.

Then the great imbongi Magolwana, standing in front, cried,

Now hear! Sommandi ka Ndaba!

You have never even kissed the mouths.

6 Now hear! Sihlopeside tree of the Gumede people!

The buffalo which goes leaning over the river crossings,

The hunter of the place of Mamfakane's people,

He does not forget his shield,

Even though the old men have forgotten theirs,

The one of variegated colours waters him with tears,

The ubenyane grass of Ndaba breaks his ribs.

The persecuted one of Ndaba!

The obstinate one who refuses to listen to whispers.

And so he would continue, i.e. with the eulogies.

The imbongi was not alone on that day. Also present, and also declaiming praises, were Masipula and Ntshingwayo ka Marole. They would continually take up the praising from Magolwana. They would stand; he for his part would walk about. He would turn to the left and to the right. As he did so, a cloud was seen above Tshingana's kraal,<sup>52</sup> there where the assegais of the kings are thrown away, at the Mbilane, at the confluence of the Mbilane, Mpembeni and Mzi-nhlanga. There is a hill there (the hill of the assegais), near the EziGezeni kraal, beyond the Nobamba kraal.<sup>53</sup>

7 Then it began to rain. The regiments performed the ukuketa dance, first this way, then that. We chanted as we danced. The warriors were dressed up in all their finery. Some were wearing grass bands (imiqila) on their faces. The chant went,

Ha! O ho o. Hi hi.

Then two oxen were picked out, as the king had ordered, and taken to Nobamba. Two others were taken to Siklebeni. (We passed it on the way back.) They were taken in at Siklebeni and slaughtered. We passed on with other oxen. When we left this place we got wet in the rain, but it had not yet begun to fall in the rest of the country; it had not yet reached Nodwengu either. As we were about to cross the White Mfalozi the rain caught us.

8 The kings were buried at one place, at Nobamba and esiGezeni and at Siklebeni. At all these graves the people would form a circle at a distance; no one would go close. A clump of trees grew on each grave; no one would go into the trees. We formed a single circle surrounding all the graves. On one side, to the west, was Nobamba; above Nobamba was iNgwegwe; on this side of iNgwegwe was Dukuza; and then there was iSiklebe.<sup>54</sup> That was all the kings - Sensangakona, Jama, Ndaba, Punga, Mageba, and Nkosinkulu. The regiments which had come from Nodwengu would be to the eastward of the graves, on the side from which they had come. They would halt, and join with other regiments to form a great circle; they would be facing to the west. On the westward side would be other regiments, the Nobamba, Ngwegwe, Dukuza, and Siklebe. These regiments would be facing to the east. We who came from Nodwengu were close to the Siklebe. The Tuluwana were close to the grave of Mnkabayi, near esiGezeni (Mtembase ka Jama - her kraal).<sup>55</sup> The Nobamba would be standing near the grave of the king who had been buried on that side, and so with the Ngwegwe,

Dukuza, and Siklebe.

When this was done the regiments began to do the ukuketa dance. Each one danced, section (isigaba) by section - all of them. We sang,

Come (asking for rain),

Come, then; come here; come, then; come here.

That is how we sang, all the while moving backwards and forwards. We moved backwards; we did not turn round. We were carrying a single stick each; we did not carry assegais, nor knobbed sticks. Every man carried a small shield (irawu) only. As we danced we held our shields out in front. We danced as girls do when they dance (sina). We made as if to beckon the kings for whom we were dancing. We were calling them.

Then we went off in a body. We crossed the Mkumbane at the gate of Siklebeni, and went into the kraal. We then did the ukuketa dance inside. As we went in we divided up by companies (amaviyo), some going to the uhlangoti side, others to the isikulu side.<sup>56</sup> We danced in the presence of the oxen which we had brought with us to ask for rain. Then we left, chanting as we did so. Two of the oxen remained behind; they were to be slaughtered to ask for rain.

We went off, crossed the White Mfolozi, and went into Nodwengu, chanting as we did so. We were wet with the rain which we had gone  
9 to ask for. We chanted and chanted, and did the ukuketa dance within the kraal. Then we dispersed.

The Nobamba regiment returned to its kraal with the two cattle which were to be stabbed. The Ingwegwe went off to the Dhlambedhlu kraal; it had no oxen with it. The Dukuza went back to its kraal. It did not have to cross any rivers. It too had no oxen with it. The Siklebe too went back to its kraal, Siklebeni. Then we too, those of us from Nodwengu, went in; we followed them.

The remaining oxen were taken off by us; they were brought to Nodwengu. Two of these were taken and stabbed. A number of oxen were taken from the cattle of the spirits there at home, and put with these two. Six oxen were taken, and put with the two that had gone to ask for rain from the kings. Then praises were addressed to the kings, to all of those whose graves had been visited - Jama (5), Tshaka (3), Dingana (1), Senzangakona (4), Mnkabayi (2), Punga (7), Ndaba (6), Mageba (8).<sup>57</sup> There was no king whose praises were omitted when the cattle of the spirits were sacrificed. Even a king who had been buried in a foreign country would have cattle of the spirits sacrificed to him, and be addressed with praises. Nzibe too had praises addressed to him.<sup>58</sup> The ruling king was not praised.

Nzibe was a chief, who had a kraal, Kwa Mfemfe, and his own territory. He was the 'father' of Hamu, who was fathered for him by Mpande, who ngena'd Nozibuko, mother of Hamu. Cetshwayo used to make oath in Nzibe's name. When angry, Cetshwayo used to exclaim, 'By the bones of Nzibe in Sotshangana's country!' No one would dare answer. The sky too would cloud over. He would spit, take up his cloak, throw it over his shoulder, and exclaim, 'Let the country become dust this moment!'  
10 The men would look shamefaced, and cast down their eyes. Their peniscovers would fall off. Nzibe was the senior son of Senzangakona, who appointed him to a certain place. Cetshwayo never went to Kwa Mfemfe. He never set foot there, for it was clear that Hamu was another king.

He would not put a man of Hamu's people to death. Mpande too would not do so, for Hamu was another king. Nor would Mpande 'eat up' cattle from Hamu's people. Neither Mpande nor Cetshwayo would give a man land in Hamu's country, for Hamu would drive him away. Hamu had an isigodhlo. All the men from Kwa Mfemfe would kleza there at Kwa Mfemfe. He had his own izinceku and izinduna. At the time of the unkosi, Hamu would summon his people. They would go to his kraal, Kwa Mfemfe, in their companies (amaviyo), dressed in their finery, together with their izinduna. [Go on at p. 28-36.]

28 [From p. 10.] Mtshayankomo speaks. *The unkosi ceremonies in the Zulu country in the time of Mpande.*

After the little unkosi was over, the senior regiments dispersed to go and fetch their equipment, that is, their ox-tail decorations and their war-shields. They would go and wash the ox-tails, repair them, and put them in good order. New ox-tails would be cut, and shields would be repaired. The new moon had appeared, and had now become full. When it was full, all the peoples from the distant parts of the country set off, like the Mdhlalose and the people of Mapita, the Mandhlakazi.<sup>59</sup> They came dressed in their finery, with girls carrying grass mats on which their ox-tail decorations were placed. When the unkosi was over the ox-tails were placed back on the mats, for they used to cause severe chafing of the wearer's neck. They would arrive with them at their respective amakanda in the vicinity of Nodwengu, and hang them up in the huts. From then on no fires were made in the huts, nor would any one go in there.

The men from Siklebeni, Ngwegwe, Dukusa, and Nobamba would arrive on the day that the unkosi began, travelling in columns. The country was white with people coming in. These were the first to arrive at the king's place. Then came the people from Gqikazi, on the other side of the Black Mfolozi river. Then came the people of Mfemfe, with Hamu, all of them, dressed in their finery. Then came the abaQulusi, also from far off. Then came the people from ekuBuseni (an umuzi of Mpande's), and the Mbelebele. Then came the people from emanGweni, down-country, together with the people of Somkele ka Malanda.<sup>60</sup> They arrived to find the assembly (unkosi) forming and the place filled with people. Not yet arrived were the Ndabakawombe, Zwangendaba, Bulawayo, Sangqu, Tulwana, Mlambongwenya, and Mdumezulu (Mbonambi). These amakanda were close to Nodwengu. They arrived to find Nodwengu packed with people. They entered in columns, dressed in their finery. They made their way to the upper end of the kraal where the king was. The king pointed, calling out, 'Make way there!' An opening was made, and the Ndabakawombe entered and made their way right up to where the king was. Then came the Bulawayo, the Sangqu, and the Zwangendaba, the older men alone, the 'white' regiments, carrying white shields that no other regiment might carry. Then came the uMlambo-nwenya, the isibaya esikulu of the Zulu.<sup>61</sup> Then came the uMdumezulu, and the Tulwana, together with Cetshwayo. All the 'black' regiments, the younger ones, were ordered to stand back. The 'white' ones, whose members wore crane feathers in their headbands,<sup>62</sup> were brought forward closer to the king; it was these who encircled him. The black ones stood back, making way for the Tulwana. After this no other regiment was allowed in. We Ngobamakosi and Kandempemvu were outside.

All those assembled stood up; they stood up on the arrival of

30 Cetshwayo. Everyone stood up; no one remained sitting. Then came the iSiklebe, the Nobamba, the Dukusa, and the Ngwegwe, who were the first to stand up; they had left from their places during the night, for they had a long way to go. Then in came Cetshwayo, and with him the Tulwana. Upon this the king, Mpande, climbed down from his cart and cried, 'Ima! Ima! Ima!', dancing as he did so.<sup>63</sup> In his right hand he carried a black stick (we did not know whether it was simply a stick or something else - an isimiso of kingship);<sup>64</sup> in his left he carried a war shield with a single marking below the cross-strips (it looked as if it had been smeared on, but it was a marking on the hide). The Ndabakwombe, Bulawayo, Siklebe, Dukusa, Ngwegwe and Mbelebele - the older men - also carried white shields. All of them wore crane feathers.

As for the king, he could not be seen. He cried, 'Ima!' Then Seketwayo, Masipula, Godide and all the other izikulu who had been standing with him moved off,<sup>65</sup> crying, 'They hate him! They hate the king!' They sang this. Then the Tulwana, the last of the 'white' regiments, moved off. The 'black' regiments cried, 'They hate him! They hate him! They hate Punga and Mageba!' Then the white regiments cried in their turn, 'Ima! Ima!' This meant that the king should continue to reign. This practice was not simply Mpande's; it had existed in the time of his elder brothers, and before them. It was the practice under all the kings.

31 Nothing else was done. This continued until the afternoon, after the time when the cattle return, when the king ordered that it should cease. He ordered that the men should disperse and go to their homes. They took off their ox-tail decorations and placed them on the grass mats. Women carrying food had arrived. The girls were in their regiments; they went in columns to all the amakanda. They were not as numerous as the men's regiments. Young wives, too, had come to attend the umkosi. There remained at home those who were looking after the cattle and the children; only a few remained. Some kraals would find that the cattle had caused damage; they destroyed the crops in the fields. They had slept in the fields because these girls had not stayed to look after them; they too had wanted to see the regiments, and the king, and their young men. They did not want simply to hear about the umkosi from other people. A great crowd would gather at the gate at Nodwengu; people came by every path. That is how it was.

The king's great imbongi did not bonga on the day of the umkosi. He bonga'd early in the morning when he went to fetch the king from his hut, together with the amakosikazi of the umkosi. Magolwana would stand near the king, there inside the kraal at Nodwengu.

32 The gourd was fetched from Dhllokweni, where the Tukela enters the sea. It was fetched by the izinyanga, Nondo ka Sikakane and others. Seawater was also fetched; it was fetched on the same day. The water would bubble over and spill out. When they were crossing the rivers they would take water from each and fill the containers. They crossed the Amatigulu, iNyezane, uMlalazi, Mkukuze, Mhlatuze, and White Mfo-lozi. The izinyanga did not go near people's kraals when they were fetching the gourd. No one was supposed to set eyes on them as they went on their way. They took their own food with them. Indeed they were not seen. If someone came across them unexpectedly he would on no account say that he had seen them. They would arrive at the king's

place after dark. They would not go in at the gate used by the cattle and the regiments, but would enter at the upper end of the kraal through the opening used by the king. They would then doctor the king, and prepare him for the ceremony. He would enter into a state of rage.

None of this was seen by the people. We would realize that the gourd had been fetched when we were ordered to go and fetch fire-wood. The king would be dressed up so that he could not be seen. He would no longer go to the assembly. Not even matters of importance were reported to him.

At the initial inyatelo ceremonies, a bull had been caught. Now, with all the people assembled, the iNdhlonhlo regiment (they had come from Nobamba) caught another bull. They caught a black bull. It too was from foreign parts, only the king knew where. When the bull  
33 ripped out men's innards the king called to the Mbonambi regiment, 'Go and help!' They went and headed it off in front, standing in a densely packed mass. A bull that did not gore was not fetched. Its horns were as sharp as awls - like thorns. It would impale anyone. In my opinion its horns were deliberately sharpened.

The bull would then be carried up to the top end of the kraal. The men would break into a chant,

Ha! O-o-hu! Hi. Hi.

Ha! O-o ho! We heyi iyeyi, iya ehe.

They walked very slowly, scarcely moving. They held it by all four legs. When it had been skinned it was carried into the king's washing enclosure, where it would be burnt, and where no one was allowed to go in. They would put it down and leave. The izinyanga then chopped it up and burnt it on the fire. Rain began to fall, and the fire went out. That was the end of it. The boys did not sleep in the enclosure on this occasion, nor did those who had done so before, the izinyanga, for they were too numerous.

On the third day the king would come out to go and wash off the medicines, so that he could dress in his finery. He would no longer be under the influence of 'black' medicines; he would be doctored with cleansing medicines.<sup>66</sup> He would then be fetched by the regiments.  
34 No sticks were carried. As each man came out of his hut he cried, 'Come! Come, then! Come here! Come! Come!' The king would then go out by the gate, the one used by us regiments, by the ordinary people, and by the cattle. It was not known where he would go to wash. We called continually as we went out through the gate, following him. He went out ahead of us, with the amakosikazi, a dense crowd of them from all the amakanda, those who no longer bore children, those who came to the umkosi. The king went out with the amakosikazi alone.

We did not know where the umuzi grass covering - bright green in colour - which the king wore was to be thrown off. He came out carrying the gourd. The izinyanga ran with it, in front and behind. The izinyanga were the first to go out of the gate. When the sun came up, the king had already washed and had already squirted medicines. He was the first to sip the medicine, and to squirt it out. The gourd was thrown before the sun had come up. By the time the sun came up the king was already dry after washing. We, for our part, washed after him.

## MTSHAYANKOMO

After this we returned to our huts to cook food. Then those regiments which lived there would perform the *isiqubulo* dance. The others began their journey to their own places. There were no further ceremonies.

35 No proclamations were made, except for girls to put on the top-knot and for young men to put on the headring. Other laws were proclaimed at the *inyatelo* ceremonies. That is when laws were made.

If a proclamation was to be made, the announcement would be, 'Let such and such a regiment put on the top-knot!' (They would begin with girls.) At the *inyatelo* ceremonies the order would be given that such-and-such a girls' regiment should not cut its hair. Then, at the great *umkosi*, the girls of this regiment, the one that had been given the order at the *inyatelo*, were told to put on the top-knot and to proceed to take husbands. A girl who remained without putting on the top-knot would be food for the vultures. The following year the next regiment in age would be given the order.

Girls would be given the order at the *inyatelo* ceremonies. When the order was given, i.e. for them to prepare to put on the top-knot, the men of a particular regiment would also leave off cutting their hair, for the order permitting it to marry was to be given at the *umkosi*. Those youths who followed this regiment in age would also leave off cutting their hair, for their lovers had now put on the top-knot.

A girl who was putting on the top-knot would cry, for she knew that she could no longer go to her lover; she was bound to take a husband among those men who were putting on the headring. Their mothers too would cry; they would cry at the river. They would cry for their daughters, whose lovers had not received the order to put on the headring. There would be great lamentation. Some people would take their daughters and cross the river to the white people's country.  
36 This is what caused people to cross over. This is what destroyed the country.

Mtshayankomo speaks.

For our part, we were buta'd by Mpande; we were 'the Nomzimana of the red walls'. We attended three *umkosi* ceremonies; at the fourth, Mpande died. (The king was said to be indisposed - *ukudunguzela*; he was said to be ill - *ukugula*. This was said even though he was dead.) Cetshwayo did not hold the *umkosi*; he had not yet held an *umkosi* ceremony. The *umkosi* ceremonies were ruined because the Tuluwana regiment attacked us. No further *umkosi* ceremonies were held.<sup>67</sup>

14 Mtshayankomo speaks.

I was told by Keke ka Manqe ka Jama ka Ndaba of the Zulu that Mageba and Punga were sons of the same man. Keke was of the *uDhlokwe* regiment, of the age-grade of *Tshingana*. But, adds Mtshayankomo, Zulu *izimbongi* etc. always say, 'Punga ka Mageba'.

.... <Praises of Langazana kaGubeshe omitted - eds.>

12.1.1922

File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 25-9.

Also present: Mabedhla

- 25     *Senzangakona and Nkomo visit the king, Dingiswayo.*<sup>68</sup>  
*In what was to become the Zulu country there were many chiefs, each ruling on his own. Each lived separate from the others, including Senzangakona. The Mbata, Butelezi, Ntombela, Mtetwa, Ndwandwe, Qwabe, eLangeni, Mpungose, and eMbo, together with the people of many other territories (izifunda) all lived separately. Some chiefs, like Senzangakona of the Zulu and Nkomo ka Tshandu ka Ndaba ka Mbungela of the Mbata had konza'd to Dingiswayo.*  
*One day Senzangakona, together with his wives, went off to visit Dingiswayo. He met up with Nkomo ka Tshandu of the Mbata people, who was also making for Dingiswayo's. They arrived at Dingiswayo's place together. Senzangakona went to go and sleep. Then all the youths from Dingiswayo's place were summoned, and were brought into the hut where Senzangakona and Dingiswayo were. Dingiswayo said to Senzangakona, 'Point out the one who is your own son, of these youths who have been brought in.'<sup>69</sup> He replied, 'He is not among them.' Then another group was brought in. Again he said, 'My son is not among them.' Tshaka had been hidden among the youths. The second group went out, and another was brought in. The question was put, 'Which of these is your son, then?' Senzangakona replied, 'There is my son,' pointing to Tshaka. The amakosikazi, Tshaka's mothers, then called him. They kissed him. But one of the amakosikazi did not do so. This woman, who was an injinjikazi, and liked by the king, did not kiss him, but simply looked at him. This inkosikazi, the injinjikazi, was Bibi ka Nkobe, the sister of Ndhlela.'<sup>70</sup>*
- 26     *Tshaka then left the hut, and went to Dingiswayo in the isigodhlo, for the latter had also left and gone to the isigodhlo. Tshaka said to Dingiswayo, 'This njinjikazi did not kiss me. She refused to do so, the one who is liked by my father.' Dingiswayo answered, 'Well, boy, what do you want done?' He answered, 'Let the king make me some medicine.' Dingiswayo said, 'Leave now, boy; I shall speak to my izinyanga.' Dingiswayo duly spoke to his izinyanga. They came to him when it had got dark. Tshaka was then summoned to Dingiswayo's hut. The izinyanga then pounded up medicines, the liquid from which was stirred up into foam. Dingiswayo then told his inceku, 'Take it outside.' Tshaka also went out; he went with Dingiswayo's inceku, who was carrying the medicines. It was now dark, and Senzangakona and his wives were asleep. Tshaka then climbed up onto the hut where his father and the amakosikazi were sleeping. He thrust a stick through the thatch above the place where his father was sleeping. The inceku passed the medicine up to him. He took it, pulled out the stick, and proceeded to wash himself with the medicines there on top of the hut. The water ran down through the hole made by the stick and dripped onto Senzangakona as he lay asleep. Senzangakona was startled. He exclaimed, 'Hau! What is this water on my covering? Go and look about outside.' They opened the door and went outside. They looked up at the sky, but found that*
- 27     *it was clear. They went back into the hut and reported this. Senzangakona exclaimed, 'Hau! What is urinating on me, then?'*  
*Early the next day the matter was reported to Dingiswayo. It was reported that Senzangakona was in pain. Dingiswayo said, 'Weu! It is*

bad that this should have happened to the chief when he is on a visit to me. Weu! Let the diviners be consulted.' He sent people to go and consult the izinyanga. The people went off, and on their return they said, 'Wo! We have been to the izinyanga.' Dingiswayo asked, 'What did they say?' They replied, 'They said that what has been done has been done by the ancestors; it has been done deliberately.' Cattle were brought in, and oxen were slaughtered. Then Dingiswayo addressed the ancestors, saying that he wanted to appease them, as it had been reported that they had acted deliberately. He requested them to stop causing Senzangakona pain, and that they should assist him to get to his home. The next day he was still in pain. He said, 'Wo! Dingiswayo, I am now leaving. I shall make my way home.' Dingiswayo said, 'I hope you go in good health, and arrive home safely.' A number of cattle were set aside and given to Senzangakona. They were driven off. Senzangakona then went off, he and his people left together with Nkomo. He duly arrived home with the cattle.

Dingiswayo then sent a man up-country to follow Senzangakona, who had gone off in ill-health. He went to spy, to find out how Senzangakona was. He returned to report that Senzangakona was indeed ill. This man was repeatedly sent there to find out how Senzangakona was.

28 Finally he returned to say, 'He has died.' For a while neither Tshaka nor Dingiswayo took any further action, then Dingiswayo caused Tshaka to be sent up-country and installed as chief of his people. After this he sent another man to find out which people were opposed to Tshaka. This man investigated, and then went to report to Dingiswayo. Then Dingiswayo told Tshaka, 'Send a force to go and kill those people who are opposed to you.' It happened a number of times that men were sent to find out who Tshaka's opponents were, and to report on them to Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo would then say, 'Go and tell Tshaka that he must kill them too, these people who oppose him.' This happened many times. People were looked in the eyes to see if they supported Tshaka. If they were seen to be badly disposed towards him, if they cast down their eyes and looked away, the man would go and tell Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo would then say, 'Go and tell Tshaka to get rid of this thing, to kill these people.' Tshaka would do so. He destroyed the minor peoples who were close at hand, those who lived in his country. Then his fury increased and he attacked bigger peoples. He attacked them with the smaller groups which he had broken up, and which he had informed on to Dingiswayo. Then, when he was king, he went on to make war against all the nations.

Nkomo still used to go on visits to Dingiswayo. He put to death people of Dingiswayo who had been sent to ask if there were any other chiefs as important as he and Dingiswayo. Nkomo put them to death, but

29 Dingiswayo did nothing. Then Nkomo appeared; this was a year after he had put these people to death, during which time Dingiswayo had done nothing, and Nkomo had not visited Dingiswayo. On Nkomo's arrival, he was well received. Dingiswayo greeted him with the words, 'I see you, Nkosi.' Then, on the day Senzangakona left, Dingiswayo summoned his warriors. After Senzangakona had left, and Nkomo had also taken his departure, together with his amakosikazi, Dingiswayo sent his warriors to conceal themselves on the road ahead. Nkomo was startled to see the warriors approaching from in front, and forming a circle round him. Dingiswayo said, 'Do not put Nkomo to death. Simply form a circle

## MTSHAYANKOMO

round him and beat on your shields.' They did this so that he should be overcome with fear, for he was a chief. Nkomo sank to the ground in the midst of Dingiswayo's army, there in the circle of men. Then Dingiswayo approached and stepped over him.<sup>71</sup> Upon this Nkomo was overcome by fear, and died. The cattle which Dingiswayo had deceptively given him were headed off and brought back. Only the amakosikazi were allowed to go; they were not killed. Nkomo was the only one to die.

Nkomo was the great chief of the Mbata. His chief son was Lukwabiti. Lukwabiti fathered Nhliziyo, who fathered Makubalo (who was killed by Zibebu).<sup>72</sup> Makubalo lived at the isiHlalo, at Nhlazatshe, at the Mhlahlane (enters the White Mfolozi). Lukwabiti was killed by Diyikana ka Hlakanyana ka Tshandu.<sup>73</sup> Diyikana was not a chief; he became one after he had killed his own chief.

14.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 15-18.

Also present: Mabedhla

15 Per Mtshayankomo ka Magolwana, 14.1.1922.

'Wa u kwelene no mlozi!' means 'You were dealing with a ventriloquist,' as expressing a conviction that Tshingana, in regard to Zulu affairs, was very well informed indeed.<sup>74</sup>

Mtshayankomo speaks. *The throwing away of the assegais of the kings.* [Not included in Zulu readers.]<sup>75</sup>

The hill of Ndaba, where the assegais of the Zulu kings were thrown away [see Hlangakula, p. 109],<sup>76</sup> was in front of the site of the old Nobamba kraal, where the iNdhlonhlo regiment was butwa'd. The assegais were thrown away in a forest. They were simply put down there, and eventually rotted away. No hunting was allowed there, and no one lived there; only Tshingana lived there. A dead man's assegais are not buried with him; they are buried elsewhere. The grass was not burnt there; the grass round about was burnt off to keep fires away. The grass would become dry and fall over, and the following year it would sprout again. This was done every year. Eventually trees grew up there; they were not cut down. The place was called the hill of assegais. If a buck ran into the place it was allowed to escape. If dogs caught it there they were allowed to finish eating it. Only

16 assegais were thrown away at the hill of assegais. Other articles were buried with the kings. A man's assegais, together with his shields, were buried to the side. The things that were buried with him were his cloaks, although new ones, that he had not yet worn, were not so buried.

This hill of Ndaba is to the east of the Mkumbane, not far from the site of Mgungundhlovu kraal. Going from this side, one does not have to cross the White Mfolozi to get there.

These assegais of the kings that had been thrown away formed a heap. When a king died, a heap of assegais was thrown away. These would be assegais that had been made by his own izinyanga, assegais which had not been given out to the regiments.

When a king went out from his kraal to another ikanda, his assegais, ten or twenty of them, were carried by the boys who carried

his mats.

The king's own assegais (they would not be numerous, perhaps two, perhaps one), together with the one used for stabbing the cattle of the spirits (a large, broad-bladed one), would remain with his chief son so that he could defend the land.

When the king paid a visit to, say, the Mlambongwenya kraal, or to Ndabakawombe, or to Bulawayo (where Mpande often went), there were assegais which were carried by the izinceku, five at a time. There were perhaps ten of these izinceku. These then were the assegais which would be thrown away at the hill of assegais when the king died.

- 17 A man's assegais are definitely not placed in the grave with him; they are placed elsewhere. This is done so that when he is a spirit he shall not become angry and use them to stab people who are still alive, and wound them, causing them to become ill, so that blood comes from their mouths and they die. That is what people were afraid of. Assegais would never be put into the hands of a dead man, lest he use them to kill people with, his own family included. It was feared that he would kill them off, and his wives too. He might also stab a beast; when it was being skinned the wound would be discovered inside even though there was no wound on the outside.<sup>77</sup>

The assegais would be taken from the dead man's hut and given to his chief son, who would stand with them at the grave. No other person, including a younger son, was permitted to carry them; they would be his alone.

When they were starting to dig the grave, the chief son would lay down the assegais, take up a hoe, and dig with it. He would be the first to dig, before the others had begun. When he had finished, he would move aside, take the assegais, and stand with them at his father's grave until it was finished. The digging would be done by his brothers, and by other men - ordinary people.

- 18 When the grave was finished, people would go back to the hut. When a king was to be buried, a man would be killed; this would be before the body had been taken out of the hut. The man would be 'placed down' for the king.<sup>78</sup> His body would be placed in the grave first. This would be done when the king had died at his own home. If he died in a far-away country none of this would be done, for he had been killed in foreign parts.

They would be finished before the body had been taken out of the hut to be buried, the assegais still being in the hut.

The articles of the king that were to be buried with him were put on by all his senior wives. They would hand them over to the chief wife, the mother of the chief son, who would put on the things which they had been wearing. Those which remained to the eldest son would be passed on by him to the one who followed him, the chief son of the left-hand house.

<15.1.1922>

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 21-7.

Also present: Mabedhla?

- 21 Mtshayankomo speaks. The death of Masipula.  
When we assembled at Mlambongwenya to dance in honour of Somsewu,

after the death of Mpande, we remained assembled from dawn until the time when the cattle return from grazing (dinner time).<sup>79</sup> After this the king said to Somsewu, 'Baba, could you pretend to shoot with your guns, so that the young boys from my place can see how it is done?' They fired off amalwapu (blank cartridges) at the river. Somsewu then returned to where his soldiers were, at the wagons. Somsewu's induna asked, 'Won't Cetshwayo's young boys get a fright, seeing that they don't know about guns?' Cetshwayo replied, 'No, they will not be frightened.' We were then given the order, 'Go closer. Do not be frightened. You will be given a demonstration. The chief is playing; he is putting on a demonstration for another chief.' Then they fired, 'Du! Du! Du! Du! Du!', all together. The cannon went, 'Qu! Qu! Qu!', firing blanks. We shouted, 'Iya! The wind; there is the wind!' We were frightened, for we were not used to guns.

Somsewu then said, 'Could you too show what you do among yourselves when you pretend to fight. Do not form your companies (amaviyo). Do not move from where you are.' Standing where we were, we sounded the ingomane on our raised shields.<sup>80</sup> The horses took fright; some leaped over the kraal fence, throwing off their riders; others jumped onto the huts. Somsewu was startled, for he had seen that we did not carry assegais and had expected us to dance. He exclaimed, 'Hau! Are you playing tricks on me? My child, are you trying to frighten me? What is this, Masipula? Do you wish to sit in the saddle? I too shall bring up my young men.' Masipula replied, 'No, Nkosi, this is our custom.' Somsewu said, 'Why, then, while you did not take fright, did our men have limbs broken by their horses? Did I not give you warning?' Masipula answered, 'Nkosi, we too were demonstrating a custom of ours. It is a sport of ours.' Shepstone said, 'I tell you, my child, I too shall bring up my young men in numbers as great as these of yours. You have startled me; you have unseated my men; you have knocked over my horses, torn their saddles, and broken everything.'<sup>81</sup> There was bad feeling between them.

Then they inspanned the wagons which carried the guns, and left for Nodwengu, where they were staying. No sooner had it begun to get dark than they left from there and ascended the Emtonjaneni hills.<sup>82</sup>

Then Mnyamana said, 'You have destroyed the country, son of Mamba.'<sup>83</sup> Do you think Mpande is still king? You ruled the country for a very long time under Mpande; now, under Cetshwayo, are you going to destroy it? Are you tired of ruling, then?' You have caused the white people to come into the heart of the country when they could have been stopped at Gingindhlovu.'<sup>84</sup> Masipula replied, 'Did he think he was coming to visit his child to tell him to pay tribute? Because we pay tribute in elephant tusks?'

We regiments slept there at Emlabongwenya - the Dududu, Iqwa?, Nokenke, Mbonambi (a regiment of youths), Kandempemvu, and Ngobamakosi. Regiments are eight, all consisting of youths, and these regiments are incomplete, not fully represented, i.e. are amahlakosi. People went to sleep with the quarrel unresolved, the quarrel between Masipula, Mnyamana, and Ntshingwayo ka Marole. Ntshingwayo sided with Masipula. Mnyamana was supported by Hamu and Mavumengwana ka Ndhlela.<sup>85</sup> We went to sleep in the knowledge that the izinduna were quarrelling. We went to sleep with Tshalimana ka Masipula, who was the induna of us Ngobamakosi. While we were asleep there was a noise of running. A large number of men came to look for Tshalimana and his people; they

came because of a serious occurrence. It turned out that Masipula was no longer in the kraal; he had been carried off by all his eMgazini people, all of whom had left the amakanda. When we awoke we were startled to hear a noise of wailing up in the isigodhlo; the women of his place who were members of the isigodhlo were wailing. The whole Zulu nation then cried. By the time dawn broke there was no one left. They had followed Hamu and his people; he was on his way home. Mnyamana too had left; he was on his way home with his people, following Hamu.

24 Hamu said to his brother, Cetshwayo, 'You shall never rule the country.' Cetshwayo then left and went to his mother's place at Gqikazi. He too was crying. Hamu said to Cetshwayo, 'So you are destroying the kingdom? You will never rule it. The unfired pots which the chief gave us yesterday have been knocked over. He does not know who we are, we sons.' For Mnyamana, Hamu and Mavumengwana had refused to allow the ingomane to be sounded. They had said that the horses would take fright and throw the white men to the ground. Indeed that is what happened. Hamu said, 'What is this, now?' Masipula and Ntshingwayo had sided with Cetshwayo and ordered the ingomane to be sounded. Mnyamana said as he left on his way home, 'So he is a good man, one who pisses with his legs apart; he plants one leg on the other side of the Thukela, and the other in the Zulu country!' Cetshwayo was startled to see that his 'father' was angry enough to have gone off home. He picked out a number of cattle and sent them after him, for he had not yet slaughtered cattle for him; he had done so only for his izinduna. Somsewu accepted the cattle, and crossed into Natal with them.

The death of Masipula took place in this way. When Cetshwayo went off to Gqikazi he was going to the place of Masipula's people, for Masipula was his 'father'. He consulted the izinyanga, who smelt out Mnyamana and Hamu. Nothing was done about it, for they had smelt out the chiefs of the land. Some time went by, and then beer arrived from Mnyamana himself; he had an umuzi close to the Mahlabatini country. Thirty pots of beer were brought; they were seen to be brought from the eMbekamuzi, from his kraal.<sup>86</sup> [See p. 27.]

27 [Goes in foot p. 24.] He proceeded to pour out beer; Mavumengwana, Hamu, and Mnyamana were all three of them in the hut. It had been carried in a calabash (igobongo). They were told to wash the dust from their throats as they were thirsty. When Masipula's beer arrived he served some to Mnyamana and Mavumengwana. They gave beer to one another. Masipula drank, and that was the end; he did not drink again. They saw him fall over there in the hut. They raised the alarm, crying, 'The ummuzana is dead; he has been killed by the igobongo!' It was reported to Cetshwayo that he was dead. He had been killed by the igobongo (a hollowed-out gourd - calabash in something like ukamba formation<sup>87</sup>).

24 That was when the split occurred between Hamu and Cetshwayo. Hamu said, 'You will never hold the umkosi ceremonies.' Cetshwayo was due to be recognized as king at the next umkosi.

25 After he had become king, a number of Boers came looking for Sirayo;<sup>88</sup> there were twenty-eight of them on horseback. Sirayo had stolen cattle, sheep, and white goats (of the type that had not yet appeared in the land) from the Boers. The Boers came to Nodwengu, saying that they were coming to see Masipula, as they had always done

when he was still alive. Cetshwayo said, 'Do you see that it is Sirayo, then?' They answered, 'We do. We see that it is Mehlokazulu, whom he sent.'<sup>89</sup>

Cetshwayo then summoned all his people to come when the new moon appeared, for the Boers had said they would come when the moon was new to fetch Mehlokazulu and Sirayo. Cetshwayo was to give them up to the Boers, who would take them both to fetch their livestock. Mnyamana said, 'I shall not come.' Hamu said, 'I shall not come. Go and tell this man Cetshwayo to give up those two persons. The country shall not be destroyed on account of a man of no rank; it shall not be destroyed on account of this fellow from the Qungebeni people. What is he, when the Boers are coming with an armed force?'

26 Upon this, Cetshwayo summoned us Ngobamakosi and Kandempemvu to the upper end of the Nodwengu umuzi. He asked, 'Do you agree that Mehlokazulu and his father should be given up to the white people?' The Kandempemvu cried, 'No, Nkosi! We do not agree. Is this their country then?' We Ngobamakosi also answered, 'We do not agree, Nkosi.' This is what the king was asking when Gininiza ka Seketwayo of the Mdhlalose people,<sup>90</sup> who lived next to Sirayo, arrived and said, 'Are you misleading the king, even though this man took the cattle, and we know where they are? You are misleading the king. Let these men be given up, and let them restore the livestock of the white people. They will not be shot. Are you misleading the king? Who will fight with the white people when by themselves they could defeat all of you? Mamo! Is the king no longer to rule us because you are destroying his authority? You have killed our father Masipula; are you now going to destroy the country? What is it that Somsewu said?'

The Kandempemvu cried, 'Let this little coward go away!' Gininiza said, 'The cattle are there. Let the king send people to find them.' At this point Cetshwayo said, 'I have heard that you refuse. But here are Gininiza's words; do not reject them.' Then a man of Mnyamana's, Mahetsheza, induna of the Ngobamakosi, induna at Mbelebeleni, said, 'You men say this. Do you want to destroy the country? Has there ever been a king whose country has been ruined before he has even begun to rule? Do you reject the words of Gininiza? Do you 27 reject the words of Hamu? Does this country belong to Sirayo, then?'

After this, one of Mehlokazulu's wives takata'd him. She escaped across the Mzinyati river. Mehlokazulu armed himself with a gun and went to fetch her from the other side of the river. After taking her back into the Zulu country he killed her, in front of the white people. Then all the white people who had trading stores fled up to the Mankane to sound the alarm and report that Mehlokazulu had killed a person in front of the government; he had spilt blood. That is when the country was destroyed.<sup>91</sup>

18.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 36-46.

36 [Mabedhla left for Zululand the day before yesterday, i.e. 16.1.1922.]

Mtshayankomo speaks. Boers force their way into the field of Diyikana with their horses.

After the unkosi ceremonies a number of Boers came from their

country to see how Mpande was. Diyikana ka Hlakanyana ka Tshandu [incorrect; see p. 68] of the Mbata people said that they had taken their horses into his crops. The king instructed Cetshwayo, who lived nearby, to investigate whether the horses had in fact eaten Diyikana's crops. Cetshwayo sent his izinceku, Bejane ka Nomageje and Gqibisambane, to do so. They went off, over the neck at the Mabedhlana hills.<sup>37</sup> They encountered Simukanaye, Diyikana's chief son. He said, 'Wo! You of the Great One's place; they have finished things off.' He was carrying some amabele plants in his hands. He said, 'Look at these. They were going along breaking them.' They said, 'Well, we have been sent by the inkosi. Let us go back with you.' They went back with him, and came to Diyikana's place. He took them to his fields. They inspected them. Hau! The horses had not eaten the crops; they had flattened them and broken them into pieces.

Cetshwayo had ordered, 'Bring back some of the crops that have been eaten. Cut them. It has been reported that the Boers stood their horses in the field of the umumzana, where they ate the crops, finishing them off.' But no; the Boers had been obstructed by the fence of bushes that had been erected to keep out the cattle. The field ended at a broad path. They had been going along in the darkness, by moonlight, and could not see. They went outside the fence. They came to where the fence ended, and went into the field, at a place where the crops grew well. They cut across the middle of it, heading for the path. Their horses did not eat the crops for the Boers were riding them, on their way through. The amabele were ripe and had dried up.

A woman cried out, and went to report to the umumzana, 'Au! The field is finished. There are tracks of horses everywhere.' The men of the assembly came out to see. There was the field below the umuzi, with the path across it, like a beaten track. The members of the assembly came up. They said, 'Hau! They were travelling along outside the kraal fence until they got to where the fence ends.' For the fence followed the path all the way; it went up alongside the path which led to the homestead. The umumzana said, 'I heard the dogs barking, running at them and then running away again.' They came to where the Boers had turned off the path and stopped. They had dragged away the fence to make a gateway, for the people used simply to climb over it when they came to it. It was to keep out the cattle and goats. They proceeded along the beaten trail, right into the middle of the field. Hau! No, none of the amabele had been eaten. They had simply been broken off. They continued further and came out at the path below. They came to the ford over the Emhlahlane (which flows into the White Mfolozi). The Boers had unsaddled at the ford and had some food. How was this to be seen? It was to be seen from bits of bread (pancake) and bones. 'Hau! This is where they ate.' They took the pieces of pancake which had been dropped. As they crossed the river at a point upstream, they said, 'There were others who crossed here as well.' There were two sets of four tracks. It could be seen that they had gone along until they reached the gate at esiBingeleleni (Diyikana's kraal). Now the people could see. 'They turned off there, and came here.' The main body had followed the two horses; they had not gone into the fields and trampled the crops.

Bejana said, 'So they did not eat the crops; they were obstructed

at the gateway in the fence. Is this so?' 'Yes, Ndabezita. They did not eat the crops; they trampled them. They destroyed them by trampling them.' He ordered that the plants which had been trampled should be gathered up and threshed. Diyikana said, 'Shall I reap them, when the chief's crops have not yet been reaped? The chief's crops will be destroyed by hail if they are not reaped.'

He then gave them beer, and they drank and drank. He then sent his people as well, together with his izinceku. They duly arrived. Bejana went to report their arrival. Cetshwayo was outside in the open space of the kraal. Cetshwayo said, 'No, my father speaks the truth; he has reported well. They have destroyed my field as well, and made a broad trail through it.' Bejana said, 'No, Ndabezita, they entered the field in scattered order; they did not make a broad path as in the field at our place.' Cetshwayo answered, 'Wo! No! I shall now go and  
40 report to the king. Let them be gathered up.' He said, 'Let the plants which have been trampled be harvested and stored, so that they will not be eaten by rats and doves.' He then sent messengers to Mpande. Mpande said, 'I shall tell the Boers, since they are coming when the moon is new. Tell Diyikana that the path must be opened wide, because they will come by the path again. Tell him that the leader of the Boers has said that they passed through the field before it had been harvested, while it still had amabele in it.'

Diyikana's people, the Mbata, had armed, saying there would be war. They opened up a passage, like one fenced off, all the way through to the bottom of the field. Indeed the Boers came, travelling along. Mpande then told them that Hamu had said that they had caused destruction to Diyikana's amabele.

There was great alarm; people slept out in the hills to hide from the Boers, for they passed by as the sun was setting. When they came back they came to Cetshwayo, to appease him. Cetshwayo sent Bejana with them, ordering him, 'Proceed ahead, and announce that they are coming. Let there be no people; let only Diyikana be there. They are coming to appease him.' The Boers came, and gave him an overcoat.  
41 They produced a blanket of the impisimpisi kind, and gave it to the woman who had cried out.<sup>93</sup> Diyikana then presented them with a beast; he gave them an ox. They gave thanks. The Boers said, 'We give thanks; we give thanks to Cetshwayo for sending Bejana, for we would otherwise never have come. We would have been afraid, for we saw that Diyikana would be angry and would fight with us.'

These events took place after Mtonga had been destroyed by Cetshwayo, after Mpande had said, 'The king is still among the calves.'<sup>94</sup>

[Boers, about this time, used to make many visits about this period to Mpande, and they came in fairly strong force, for they were afraid Cetshwayo would put Mpande to death and perhaps involve the whole country in warfare.]

*Ntanjana kills Sibiba with a gun during a hunt.*

A great hunt was organized at the Mhlatuze, at the Mandawe; it was organized by Cetshwayo when he was still a prince. The bush there was very thick. Ntanjana ka Kayisa of the Sikakane people, of the place of Gaozi's Mpungose people, saw the leaves of a tree moving. He aimed his gun, thinking that a bushbuck might be there. Even today only bushbuck are to be found there. He fired, and heard assegais and a shield go clattering to the ground. When he bent down

to part the bushes he found a man lying there stone dead. He thought to himself, 'I have killed myself! I shall stab myself to death.' He  
 42 took an assegai, intending to kill himself, for fear that he would be put to death by Cetshwayo. He stabbed himself three times in the chest, but the assegai would not penetrate. If his gun had been loaded he would have shot himself. Members of the hunting party seized him. The brothers of the dead man arrived and threw themselves on him, intending to stab him to death, but the hunting party refused to let them do so.

A report was sent to Cetshwayo there at the hunt. Cetshwayo said, 'Au! It was an accident. They shall on no account stab him. Let the matter be reported to his father at home, and let him hand over twenty cattle for the mourning ceremony. The people will eat medicines, and will wipe away their tears.' He ordered that assegais, knife, gun, and ropes should be removed from Ntanjana's hut so that he should not be able to kill himself. He was to be guarded by the older men. His father said, 'Let him be put to death,' but Cetshwayo refused, saying that it had been an accident. The body of Sibiba ka Magolwana was carried away to be buried at his home. Ntanjana was the eldest son and the heir in his father's household.

The vipers which killed people in the Zulu country.

Near eZimfabeni, where Ziweddu ka Mpande lived, there was a snake which prevented people from taking the path to Kwa Gqikazi, across the Black Mfolozi.<sup>95</sup> It blocked the way of travellers, and of people carrying loads; it blocked the way of people coming this way, and of people going that way. This snake was a viper (indhlonhlo),  
 43 a real one, a great and fearsome one. All people were told not to continue along the path, for the way was blocked by a monster (isilwane). Indeed, people no longer went that way; only recently has the path been used again. The viper killed many people - women, girls, and boys who carried mats. A person could escape only by running away into the bush country. This snake was of great length, and had a horn (upape) on its head and another at the end of its tail. The horn made a whistling sound, 'Mpe!', like the sound made by a police whistle. As a person was about to go out of sight it would rear up its head, catch sight of him, and follow after him along the path. A person might go a long distance along the path and then sit down under a tree, thinking, 'I have left it behind; I have been going too fast for it,' when all the time it was still following after him.

The king, Cetshwayo, ordered the people, 'Do not go along that path while the snake still chases people away. Let them turn off the path, for the snake always stays on the path.' For a person who turned off the path and ran into the long grass would escape. A person who turned off into the bushes would escape, for he would confuse it, and it would encounter a person who was coming along the path, and injure him. There were no kraals there; it was bush country inhabited only by wild animals.

This viper was eventually killed by the prince, Dabulamanzi. He  
 44 shot it with a double-barrelled gun loaded with shot. He killed it by blowing off its head with a charge of buckshot. It had been killing the king's cattle, the iNyonikayipwuli.<sup>96</sup> This was seen by the following occurrence. Cattle were found lying on their backs.

One was cut open, and its blood found to have clotted from its head to its tail. The cattle were removed, and sent to the open country up on the iSihlalo.<sup>97</sup> Dabulamanzi went off to hunt the snake with his dogs. They picked up its scent, for it smelt like a genet, and like a gourd. Then the dogs raced one another for it, for there was the snake up in an acacia tree. It was coiled up, and lying quite still, watching the dogs and every now and then spitting at them. It began to descend, while the dogs scratched at the tree. Dabulamanzi came close up to it by climbing another tree. It was descending, and had almost reached the ground when, 'Ka-a!', he shot it, blowing its head off. When other hunters (amapisi) came up it was lying in a  
 45 heap on the ground. It was carried off to the Mahlabatini country, where it was burnt by the izinyanga, who made isihlungu medicine from it.<sup>98</sup> It had caused much trouble.

Another one appeared at the Isikwebezi, at the place of Mnyamana's people.<sup>99</sup> This viper appeared in the garden plots. It prevented people from going to gather green maize at harvest time. This snake appeared next to the king's kraal at Kwa Gqikazi. Cetshwayo ordered that a watch should be kept to find out where it went in. Mnyamana's people saw that it went into a patch of old, dry grass, long grass that had turned white. A hunting party was called out at Mbelebeleni, at Gqikazi, and at ekuBuseni.<sup>100</sup> It was called to the place of Mnyamana's people at the Nsukazi. Mnyamana ordered that a watch should be kept on the weather, to see that the sun remained shining, for if the sky became cloudy the snake would spit, and the grass would not be burnt. Wo! The sun was hot. Grass was brought, and placed at the edge of the patch of long grass. But the snake had left; it was not there. There it was, up on the hill, above the place where it used to sleep. On seeing the people and their dogs, it came down, hissing loudly. As it came, it was worried by the dogs. It saw them when it was still far off, and hissed. Dragged by the dogs, it flung itself  
 46 into the fire. It bit one of the dogs, which died. The snake then flung itself into the fire and went into its hole. Its eyes burst, and it lay stretched out. The grass was burnt, and people went to harvest the green crops. That patch of grass had not been burnt because the viper had prevented this from being done. Even today a patch of grass where a mamba lives is not burnt; it is left to become dry.

These were events that I knew about that caused difficulties for the people of the king.

.... <Praises of Mkhungu kaMpande omitted - eds.>

20.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 47-54.

47 The spoiling of the girls who had been ordered to put on the top-knot and take husbands in the iNdhlonhlo regiment.<sup>101</sup>

When the king, Cetshwayo, ordered the men of the iNdhlonhlo to put on the heading, the girls said, 'The necklace is not long enough to fit round the neck.'<sup>102</sup> It was a girls' regiment that said this, the iNgcugce, which followed in age after the isiTimane, whose members had taken husbands among the men of the Tulwana regiment. They

said, 'It would be better if the uDhloko (Tshingana's regiment,) and the uDududu and the uMxapo (Zibebu's regiment) were to put on the headring.' The king ordered, 'You will take husbands among these men, the men of the iNdhlonhlo.' They refused to do so; they said they would not put on the topknot, for they wanted the uDhloko, the uDududu, and the uMxapo to put on the headring, as they were more numerous. Cetshwayo refused, and ordered them to marry men of the iNdhlonhlo and also of the uTulwana, for some of the members of the isiTimane had shaved their heads, and were also waiting for men of the uDhloko, uDududu, and uMxapo. The girls of the isiTimane shaved their heads and went to go and sleep at the river and in the hills. Others fled across the river. Others put up makeshift huts at the Qudeni and at the Nkandhla, and waited for the Tukela to drop so that they could cross over.<sup>103</sup>

Upon this the Kandempemvu, the Ngobamakosi, and the isAngqu (amaTshitshi) - three regiments - were sent out. We Ngobamakosi were sent to the Cube country (the place of Zokufa's people),<sup>104</sup> and to the Magwaza country (the place of Qetuka's people), and to the Ntuli country (where Godide was still chief). We killed the girls; we killed many of them; we killed them in their father's homes. We Ngobamakosi were twelve companies (amaviyo) strong. We killed thirty-one girls. We found them hiding among the people of their fathers; others were with their men in the forests. They were pointed out to us by their fathers, who said, 'Go to the Nkandhla, and to the Qudeni, and to the Kombe.' (That country was still Godide's at that time.)

We searched for them as it was getting light. We began with those of Lurungu, the brother of Sigananda. We found six of Lurungu's. We found those of Matambo, the younger brother of Sigananda's father; there were six of them. We found those of Mbango ka Matokolo of the Cube people; we found those of Lubiyele ka Nqapeyana of the Sikakane people (we found three girls there). There were five of Mbango's, and three of Matambo's. We found those of Jakuza, another younger brother of Sigananda's father; there were three of them. We found those of Magananda, Jakuza's brother, there in the Cube country as well; there were four of them there. We had been sent into the Cube country. We found those of Mfelafuti ka Sifuko of the Ngcobo people; there were two of them there. Six others had escaped; they had gone by night to their men. Among those of Matambo, another six had escaped and gone to find husbands in the Ntuli country and in the Magwaza country. We found those of Faku ka Pokwana, another younger brother of Sigananda's father; we found four there.

All those whom we found we put to death. We did not leave them; we shot them. We did not stab them. We finished them off with our guns. We did not use our assegais, for the king had said, 'Do not stab them with your assegais, for they will cry out as the assegai penetrates; they will cry, "Maye babo!"' For a person who was stabbed with an assegai would cry out loudly, calling down evil on people.

When we came to the place of Qetuka's people, we found that the girls had all gone off in the night to find husbands. Those of the Cube we killed on one day. We looked for those of Qetuka on the second day, but found that they had disappeared, for they had heard people calling, 'The impi has come!' They had left in the night to

50 go and place themselves with older men. For they had heard the king's word: 'If you find that they have married young men, put them to death, and the young men as well. If they have married older men, leave them.' O! Indeed they married older men. At the place of the people of Godide ka Ndhlela we found that they had also gone off in the night to marry older men. For Cetshwayo had ordered, 'They are to take husbands in the local district' (isifunda). At the place of Godide's people they took husbands in their own isifunda; those from Qetuka's place did the same.

The king had ordered, 'If you come across a girl travelling with a young man, put her to death right there in the path. Lay the body across the place where paths join. Do the same to the young man with whom she is travelling. Kill them both. When you have killed them, place the bodies together, face to face, so that other girls and youths will see them.' Indeed that is what we did. There were three who were killed in this way; two were placed face to face with their young men.

This is what destroyed the land. Hamu said, 'What is this that you are doing? My brother, you are destroying the land! It will die. Where has this ever been done? Did Tshaka or Dingana ever do this? Never did they do so!'

51 The Dhladhla people, the people of Mvunyelwa's place, pointed out where other girls were, saying, 'There are others at the Kombe; there are five of them; they have put up makeshift huts.' A force surrounded the forest, but they had escaped. They had fled across the Mzinyati to make their way to Ngoza ka Ludaba at the Msinga.<sup>105</sup> It was discovered that as they tried to escape they had been swept down the Mzinyati river and into the Tukela, together with their men. There were five girls and five men. It was found that the girls at the Qudeni, at the place of Mbuzo's people, had escaped.<sup>106</sup> 'There they are in the Mdhlalose country, at the place of Seketwayo's people!' Their men had hidden; the girls were travelling by themselves, four of them.

O! Then we Ngobamakosi returned. When we arrived back at Cetshwayo's, he asked, 'Where are the cattle, those from the places where you found the girls?' We replied, 'Wo! Nkosi, we found not a single beast. There were no cattle-kraals built; there was only grass growing there.' That was the end of the matter.

52 The Kandempemvu and the isAngqu went off up to the country of Mnyamana's people, Masipula's people, Ntshingwayo's people, Mago-lwana's people, Mkanyile's people; those peoples lived in one place.<sup>107</sup> The Kandempemvu and the isAngqu cleared out girls and cattle; they left them in the hills. They were away for five months. Eventually we were ordered to go and assist them, for the land was big; the districts (izifunda) were big. They were not able to finish them. They came back, and we met up with them. People were going to the unkosì ceremonies. We met up with them at the place of Diyikana's people, the Mbata, as they were returning. We turned back with them, and helped them to bring along the cattle and the girls. They had been bringing along other girls, and had found it difficult; there were sixty of the girls.

The king said, 'I have done wrong by sending the men of the Kandempemvu to their home country (nga kubo), where there were many of them.' The men of the Kandempemvu replied, 'No, Nkosi! It was done by Sitshaluza and Maboko ka Masipula (who was of the Kande-

mpemvu), and Sitambi ka Masipula; it was they who killed them.<sup>108</sup> After they had stopped speaking the king said, 'O! No, I give thanks to my father, Sitshaluza.' He gave him two oxen in thanks.

In Zibebu's country the king married the girls off. He married them off to men of the iNdhlonhlo, the regiment which they had refused to marry, and to the Tulwana. In Zibebu's country the girls were not put to death. In Seketwayo's country, too, no girls were put to death. In the country of Diyikana's people they were also married off, as also in the country of the people of Mbuza, and in that of Faku ka Ziningo. They were also married off in the Ntombela country, and in the country of the people of Lukwazi ka Zwana; in all that country they were married off.<sup>109</sup> In the country of Hamu's people, too, they were married off, as in the country of the people of Matshana ka Mondise, and in that of Mdhlaka ka Sonomo of the  
53 abakwaLanga people.<sup>110</sup> In other districts, too, they were married off.

The country which had done wrong was that of the Cube people, that of Zokufa, while he was still alive. It was the girls of his place who had really done wrong. In the whole of the country as far as Eshowe the girls married, that is, in the country of Nonzama's people, Hashi's people, Gaozi's people, and in the Biyela country.<sup>111</sup> Another region where the girls did wrong was in the country of Masipula, in that of Ntshingwayo, in that of Mqandi, in that of Magolwana, and in that of Mkanyile.<sup>112</sup> All this caused a great sensation and did much harm, so that two umkosi ceremonies were not held. This was because the girls had said, 'The necklace does not fit round the neck', when the uDhloko, uDududu, and uMxapo were not told to put on the headdress.

The first of the girls to refuse to take husbands were those of the Cube people. Those who cut off their topknots were the girls of Mnyamana's people, Masipula's people, and Mqandi's people; then it spread over the land. At my father's place two girls were killed; they were found to have married sons of Ntshingwayo ka Marole. They were killed right there.

The girls of the Tiyane regiment had also shaved off their topknots. To start with they remained quiet, then in the winter they cut off their topknots and fled with their lovers. The Ncome,  
54 Mzinyati, and Trukela rivers had little water in them, for it was winter time. Upon this, Seketwayo ka Nhlaka of the Mdhlalose sent a report to the king, saying, 'What is this? Does the king know that the people are scattering everywhere? Does he know that the young boys are running away with our cattle, and that we are going to get nothing?' The king replied, 'No! They will return.' He sent out no regiments. He ordered that there should be a 'rolling up' (andhlulula) of cattle. (This meant an 'eating up' of the cattle which remained, when a young man left his home, took his lover, and escaped in the night.) It became clear that these cattle were being eaten up at the place of the girl's people, and at the place of her lover's people. That is what to andhlulula meant; this was an ancient practice. If a man escaped across the river, this 'rolling up' took place. If he had no cattle, and the umuzi was not his, each person would say, 'Let me pick out my cattle, the cattle of our place, and let each other person do the same. The ones which remain will be taken off.' A man who had no cattle would have his hoe taken away.

21.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 54-63.

The building of the king's kraal among the Boers up at the iNgcaka on the other side of the Pongolo.<sup>113</sup>

The king ordered that a kraal should be built for him on the Ngwempisi, among the Swazi, on the boundary of the abaQulusi country.<sup>114</sup>

- 55 While temporary shelters were still being put up, some Boers arrived, twelve of them. They asked, 'What is this?' The induna, Sikobobo, of the abaQulusi kraal, answered, 'A kraal (itanga) for the king's cattle is to be built here.' The Boers said, 'What? Without permission?' Sikobobo replied, 'What permission? Can this place be yours when it belongs to Cetshwayo?' The Boers said, 'This country is not Cetshwayo's. We were given it by Mpande.' Sikobobo and the other izinduna answered, 'From the very beginning this has been Zulu country. Never have Boers lived in it.' The Boers said, 'Wo! We shall come tomorrow.' Sikobobo replied, 'If you come, you will be doing so in arms. You will be spilling blood.' They said, 'No! We shall not come in arms. We shall come to strip the thatch from this kraal and remove it.' Sikobobo answered, 'You will have to come in arms if you want to destroy it.'

Well! People went to sleep. Cattle were slaughtered. At dawn the Boers were on all the ridges; they were on horseback and fully armed. They were trying to occupy all the ridges. The abaQulusi, too, were on the ridges in large numbers. The Boers did not see part of the abaQulusi force, that from eBadeni; this was the advance guard (ikala), which went ahead with a brother of Diyikana, Gedhleza, its induna. The Boers did not see it; it was out of sight, and did not make fires. It arrived after darkness had fallen. The Boers made fires, but the force remained still, simply keeping watch. Then the abaQulusi force under Sikobobo made fires, upon which the Boers

56 began to investigate how far the fires extended. They stood as if they wanted to make an estimate of the number of abaQulusi and bring them all together to one side. While they were doing this they remained silent, then their leader came forward and asked, 'Are you building?' They replied, 'We have already built!' 'So you have slaughtered cattle of ours?' They replied, 'What makes you say that they are yours, when they belong to the king?' 'But look at the markings and the colouring of your cattle.' They replied, 'No. We don't see them.'

Then Sikobobo called up his impi, ordering it to arm and come to him. It did so; it was like the impi at Mngungundhlovu, the impi at the Mngeni, and the impi at the Pasiwe; it covered the whole country.<sup>115</sup> The force from eBadeni remained still, watching to see what would happen. It remained quiet at the river. The abaQulusi impi approached. Sikobobo ordered it to proceed with the building. The Boers said that it should not do so. Sikobobo ordered the building of the kraal to continue; grass was to be pulled up and the temporary shelters were to be thatched. The Boers said, 'We shall strip the thatch off and burn the kraal.' Sikobobo replied, 'You will be provoking the country to war. Cetshwayo has no quarrel with you. He wishes to build a kraal for his cattle.' They continued with the thatching. The Boers came up, closer and closer, then halted. Sikobobo said, 'Why are you armed, when we are not? Is Cetshwayo not in alliance with you?' They replied, 'No! We are not his allies. It was

57 his fathers who killed our people.' They said, 'Let the men who were born at Mngungundhlovu be picked out.' They replied, 'There are none here. There are only Cetshwayo's people here. There are none of Mpande's people here.'

At this point a number of Swazi approached, for the kraal was being built on the edge of the Swazi country.<sup>116</sup> As they approached, Sikobobo asked, 'What force is that?' They replied, 'Is it not yours? Are you not in alliance with the Swazi?' They came closer, a large number of them, on foot. The Boers said that Sikobobo should send to find out what impi this was. They replied, 'We are the people of Mswazi ka Sobuza.<sup>117</sup> We have heard that the king, Cetshwayo, is present.' They said, 'Where, then, are the cattle which you intend to present to him?' The Swazi replied, 'We saw a force of horsemen travelling through the night until dawn. We have come to investigate, for Cetshwayo gave us this place with orders to keep watch over it; it is a place for his cattle. What do these people want here? For Sikobobo told us this past month that a kraal (itanga) of the king was to be built for the cattle which sleep here.'

The izinduna replied, 'Wo! Remain here. The Boers are armed. They say they have come to pull down the kraal and burn it.' The Swazi replied, 'They will never do so! This country is the king's. We herd the king's cattle in it, those from eBadeni.' 'Let the izinduna come forward.' So the Swazi izinduna came forward, twenty of them, together with eight of their people. Wo! They came up to the armed force. The Boers said, 'What have you come here for?' The izinduna replied, 'We ask what you are doing here in Cetshwayo's land, when you know that the cattle from eBadeni graze here.' The Boers said, 'Let them be taken away from here.' The Swazi said, 'Why do you come to fight? When did you first come to this place?' The Boers began to move off, saying, 'We shall return in the afternoon.'

Just then a gun was fired by our people; they were shooting at a steenbuck. The Boers turned round, aiming their guns. Sikobobo went to pick up the steenbuck and held it up to show them. As they went off, the people from eBadeni, together with the Swazi, appeared. They appeared, and then went back. Then others of the Swazi appeared; they had been out of sight below. The Boers halted and exclaimed, 'So there is another impi! Larger than this one! And we are between them!' Some of the Boers came back, some of the older men. They said, 'Hau! Sikobobo, you were keeping your impi hidden. So it is a large one.' Sikobobo replied, 'Was I hiding it? Is this land yours, then?' Wo! Upon this they went off in a body. Sikobobo said, 'Do not come here. You will be provoking Cetshwayo.' They asked, 'This kraal that you are building, what is its name?' Sikobobo replied, 'It is called iNdhlabeyitubula,' for it had been built by force.<sup>118</sup>

59 After this the Boers stayed away. Cattle were slaughtered. The huts were thatched, and cattle were brought back. People went to cut branches at the Pongolo. They built the kraal; they finished it. The impi remained for a month, building the kraal, and then went off in a body. The people from eBadeni remained, those who watched over the king's cattle. The Boers did not return as they had said they would. That day there was nearly war.

When the Tlwana built a kraal at the Amabedhlana.<sup>119</sup>

The Tlwana were sent from the iziGodo region, at the emakosini,

at the Mkumbane, to go and build a kraal at the Mabedhlana; this was when they had been given permission by Mpande to put on the head-ring.<sup>120</sup> The uMbonambi (amaTshudu) and the Ndhluwegwe, two regiments from the place of the Tuluwana, went out to seize food from the ama-Ndhlovini people at the source of the Mhlahlane. It was a time of drought and great hunger, called the famine of Gubu (because the amabele gubuka'd, i.e. sprang up from roots in the ground as if they had been planted). [Owing to drought all the amabele withered, but when rains eventually came, they sprouted up.] The rivers dried up completely. They arrived to find an armed force there. The men of this force said, 'Don't you know that we are iziGqoza?'<sup>121</sup> That we remained with Mbuyazi? You will on no account take our food; there will be bloodshed.' They attacked with sticks and assegais.

For on the arrival of the regiment it had ransacked the storage huts, tied the grain into bundles, and gone off with it. Others had built fires at the gate, poured out curds, and eaten them. Au! Mpande! They had not even waited to ask for it. For the iziGqoza spoke first, saying, 'Not so! You will not do this at our place! You are plundering  
60 food. Don't you know that we are not of your people?' They paid no attention, simply calling, 'Seize it, friend. Seize it, bird. Scatter it about, friend. We know your father.'

The iziGqoza said, 'Do you not see that we are a different set of young men? Are we of your set?' The men of the Mbonambi said, 'Are we of your age-grade, you who have forgotten the curds of the calves?' At two other kraals cattle had been slaughtered. The men of the iNdhluwegwe, who were seizing grain, saw that cattle had been slaughtered at these two kraals. They saw that meat was being cooked. It was not yet done; it was still on the hearth. When they saw the regiment pouring in, the people left off cooking the meat.

Then they asked, 'What is that in the cattle enclosure?' They saw dogs being beaten there. They thought that there was beer there. They said, 'Ha! They are cooking meat! Seize it! Seize it!' As they took it off the fire, au! young men came out of the hut. Four of them came out, there where the beast had been slaughtered, fully armed with assegais and shields.

There where the men of the Mbonambi had begun, at the kraal where they had first gone in, two young men of the Tuluwana came out and attacked them. The men of the Mbonambi fled, leaving their loads  
61 behind. They ran off still chewing; they had been roasting maize. Those who had tied up bundles and gone were now far off; they did not know that fighting was going on behind them.

Then, wo! the forces which were at the kraals on the other side of the river (the Mhlangandhlovu; it rises at Nhlazatshe) proceeded to attack each other. They called out, shouting, 'Here is a force attacking us with assegais; they are iziGqoza! They are using assegais! Here, you men of the Tuluwana! Are you running away? Are the king's people to be finished off?' There were two companies (amaviyo) at those kraals. The men of the kraals drove them off; they were two amaviyo strong to their opponent's one.

Those who had been carrying loads did not hear the shouting, for they were running away. Those who were behind them did hear, while those in front ran away, shouting, 'We are being attacked from behind.' They ran off carrying calabashes used for curds; they wanted to use them for water containers. Wo! They launched into them, and stabbed

them, and hit them, killing three men.

Both Mpande and Cetshwayo became angry. They said, 'Hau! Are they beginning the war again? Does one man dare to stab another in the land of the king? Who gave orders for this man to raise his assegai?'

Mpande said, 'Masipula! Tell this man Mavumengwana that Cetshwayo is arming an impi to go and investigate whether killing has really taken place.' Cetshwayo then armed the Tulwana regiment, and it went off in the night. At dawn the fight began. The impi found its opponents ready; they knew that it was coming. They fought with their assegais. A man of the Tulwana died, and a man of the iziGqoza; a man of the Tulwana died, and a man of the iziGqoza.

62 The people of the kraals down below those where the Mbonambi had been challenged, those where people had been killed, were driven out by the Mbonambi. There were six of these kraals; they burnt them. Mpande said, 'Dogs! Why, after my sons have died, do they revive an old quarrel?' Wo! They burnt them.

Then the Mbonambi went up to those kraals where the two amaviyo were fiercely engaged with the Tulwana. Wo! They came up and charged them with assegais. They stabbed them, using war-assegais; they hit them; they finished them off. (At that time we were boys, there at the great place. I was a carrier-boy. The Kandempemvu were also carrying; they too were still boys.) They drove them back, into the eziBisini country, the place of Mqandi's people.

They returned, coming down a single ridge, and burnt the kraals, and 'ate up' the cattle and girls. These latter were not killed; it was women who took part in the fighting who were killed. For when a woman saw her husband or her son caught up in the fighting, she would throw herself into the battle, hitting about with a door-bar, and stabbing with an assegai. Eight women were killed there.

The impi then drove off the cattle; they were taken to Kwa Tulwana, to Cetshwayo's place. Then they went to report, 'The uSutu are finished! They have been finished off by the iziGqoza. Thirty-two people have been killed.' Mpande exclaimed, 'Hau! Have they finished it off?' 'Yes, Nkosi.' An impi armed. Cetshwayo and Hamu and Ziwedu headed it off, and it returned.

Cetshwayo then set aside two herds of cattle - only oxen were selected - and they were taken to the king at Nodwengu, together with eight girls. That, then, is what happened in the course of this important affair. It took place when the proclamation was about to be made that the Tulwana should put on the headdress. The whole country was in a ferment; there was no rest. The iziGqoza for their part suffered heavy losses. Those who survived fled across the river, many of them with wounds. These iziGqoza were of the left-hand house of the Mbata people; they were the people of Diyikana's place; they were the people of Ntuntumane ka Nkomo.

If the people who died then were to be mentioned in Cetshwayo's praises, two, three, four days would go by. But they are not mentioned in his praises, for until the ruin of the country in the war with the whites [1879], the names of people killed inside the country in the course of events would not be mentioned. They were mentioned when the cattle of the ancestors were being praised.

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

My father, Magolwana, was dead by the time the Tulwana built at

the amaBedhlana.

<In the list of questions that follows we have placed in parentheses items that have been scored out in the original - eds.>

Notes. (*Illnesses of the king; did Magolwana compose praises for the king? - explain; the doctoring - ukupumputisa - of the king; the heroism of Diyikana*); incidents in other famous men's lives; the dressing up of the regiments; songs; the inkata; the making of hoes, assegais and ingrota armbands; the battle of Isandhlwana; the putting on of headrings; (at the place where paths join - p. 50); Cetshwayo's eulogies; imlozi spirits; assegais.

(Listen to the proclamation! Listen to the proclamation!) Cetshwayo's attitude towards izimbongi. What izimbongi ate. For other questions vide p. 24 other notebook - dirty yellow. What other men do you bongqa? Heroes, stories of.

22.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 64-80.

64 Composing praises for the kings. [See light brown exercise book inside cover (front) for note.]

My father used to compose praises for the kings. Those which he composed for the king were numerous. They were distinct from the king's other praises. Magolwana would compose for him; he would make up powerful praises for him. He would praise him by making mention of events that had taken place in a way that no one else had done. He would surpass them in composing praises for the king. When the king heard them he would let out a whistle. When Magolwana had finished, the king would order him to repeat those which he had himself composed. The king would then say, 'Come closer, Magolwana. Come and speak at close quarters, for these praises are sweet to my ear. Speak softly.' He would proceed to do so, speaking softly, saying the praises to the king. None of the other izimbongi who praised the kings could compose such praises; he surpassed them all. The king would then present him with cattle, for he had composed praises for the king which none of the others had done; they did not know them. They were unable to compose praises for the king when he was preparing to send out the army. They would simply recite the names of the people whom he had killed.

Cetshwayo too had many of his praises composed by Magolwana. 'The wild beast which looks at its father's sons and they bow down': this praise was made up by Magolwane.

Mpande said, 'Hau, Magolwane! What emotions you awaken in me! I want to weep on account of my sons, who all died. Do you mean to rouse me by giving Cetshwayo the praises of those of my sons who died?' Magolwana replied, 'And you? Did you not kill the sons of your father? Have I not composed praises for you, Nkonzapi, about how, together with Mhlangana, you killed the sons of your father?'<sup>122</sup> When you crossed all the rivers, what was it that caused you to do so? Was it not I who caused you to do so? Who was it who gave you the praise, "You crossed all the rivers on your way to restoring yourself"? Was it not I? Who was it who gave you so many praises

when you had none before?'

The king said, 'Enough, Magolwana. Give praise now. Let no other men praise him, for I shall weep.' For until the death of Cetshwayo the praises of Mbuyazi, Tshonkweni, Mantantashiya, and Somklawana were not uttered.<sup>123</sup> Only my father gave praise, saying, 'The great bull that covered itself with branches at Dhludhluma'.<sup>124</sup>

When my father declaimed the praises of the kings he would stamp with his foot on the ground, *gqi! gqi! gqi!* [That is, stamp slightly with the feet alternately, and with the heel part of the feet.]

Mpande would not allow my father to go and live at home. He would allow him to go off in the winter for only two months; he would return in the third. Izinceku would come to take him back; he would travel by night with the izinceku. He would announce his arrival by calling out, 'Now hear! Here is Magolwana!' And didn't the king provide meat, now that Magolwana had returned! And beer too, for he saw that it would put him in fine voice. He did not drink water.

66 Our mothers used to be called to the great place. They would become pregnant. Others would be called, and so it went on.

Mtshayankomo says his brother Ngwegweni, who died shortly after Cetshwayo, was a very good *imbongi*.<sup>125</sup> He praised Mpande and Cetshwayo thoroughly, and could go on from morning to midday. He also praised Dingana, though not to the same extent. He, too, used to stamp the ground slightly, when praising, like my father Magolwane.

When one begins eulogies of Mpande he says,

*Listen, you who are calling out!*

*Listen, you who are calling out!*

*What is it that you are calling out?*

*You are mourning,*

*For what are you weeping?*

*You are weeping for the cattle,*

*You are weeping for those cattle,*

*Are they yours, then?*

*When they are those of your elder brother from Bulawayo?*

*Do you see that people have died?*<sup>126</sup>

No one will cough when Magolwana begins thus. He may repeat until there is silence, complete silence. Then Masipula may intervene to bring about silence. People were fined for not keeping quiet.

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

68 *Diyikana ka Hlakanyana ka Nkomo ka Zivalele ka Tshandu ka Ndaba ka Mbungela ka Matshana ka Matshotshoba of the Mbata people. They were all descended from Tshandu, i.e. he was the leading, though later, progenitor.*

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

69 *Diyikana ka Hlakanyana of the Mbata people, the king's great warrior.*

*Diyikana was fathered by Hlakanyana.<sup>127</sup> He was not the chief son; the chief son was Lukwabiti. Lukwabiti fathered Nhliziyo. Lukwabiti*

and Nhliziyo were of 'the rectum of Ndhlela'; they went with Ndhlela to the amaQongqo.<sup>128</sup> Diyikana came over to Mpande's side. They were sent for by Zokufa, the father of Sigananda. He sent for them because they were going to be put to death. None of those who were sent for by Zokufa returned; they remained there. Godide ka Ndhlela was also sent for by Zokufa. They were afraid to return as they were afraid of being put to death. On the arrival of Lukwabiti, Diyikana reported that Zokufa had returned with all the people. The king asked, 'Is Nhliziyo among them? Did he survive? Is Godide among them?' 'They are there, Nkosi.' He said, 'Go, and tell them to build. Did they bring cattle with them?' 'They did. There are not many of them.' But he was concealing the fact that they were like the grass in number. They had come with the chief son. He built a kraal, and they lived there.

Then Mpande summoned them, and they went off. They arrived, together with Godide; all of them had been summoned on the same day. The king then asked Nhliziyo (Lukwabiti was now an old man, who could no longer walk, and had to be represented), 'The cattle of chiefship that you took across the river: did you bring them back?' He replied, 70 'No, Nkosi. They remained with the boy, Diyikana.' The king was startled. 'How did this happen? Did Diyikana have the cattle?' He replied, 'He did, for he took them all and made off with them; they came to him.' The king said, 'How did they come to Diyikana?' Diyikana replied (for he was also present), 'How did they come to me? So you are reviving the quarrel of the sons of Senzangakona? When you crossed over with them, was I not going with the king? Were you not going with your own chief? Wasn't Mpande without cattle? Where would I have got them from, when Mpande had none? Did you not take cattle that were not yours, and go off in a body as 'the rectum of Ndhlela'?

The king said, 'Be silent now, while I mediate.' They remained silent. The king then called Godide and said, 'You Godide, did you return with cattle? Why did you not remember me?' He replied, 'Who was I to remember you, Nkosi?' The king said, 'Wo! Go, then, Godide, and build where you wish. Do not go to the sites of your father's old kraals, those of Ndhlela; they no longer exist. In summoning you, Godide, I have summoned for you a daughter of Manqondo, Vongoyi.' He said, 'Weu! See now, Diyikana, go and look for an old kraal site for Nhliziyo. The place is now yours; it is not his. He is now one of your people. Take for your own the cattle which he brought with him; 71 give him thirty of them.' Nhliziyo then said, 'Hau! Angasita!<sup>129</sup> Do you pursue me in order to have me put to death? When Diyikana's people have long desired the cattle of our place?' The king said, 'The cattle of your place: where used they to be?' He replied, 'He had no cattle. They are of our place.' The king then said, 'Go away. I no longer wish to see you. Do not come here again. Go, Diyikana, and put matters right.'

He went off. The king then asked Ntshingwayo ka Marole,<sup>130</sup> 'Did Nhliziyo not have a son?' 'He does have a son, Nkosi. It is said that he is at the home of his mother's people.' 'Is he the only one?' 'No, there is another. There are two of them. One of them is of the Tulwana regiment; he is the elder of the two.' The king said, 'Go and look for a place where he can build. But I see that you people will not live happily with him; he has a grudge.'

Nhliziyo went off; he had been driven away by the king. Then Masi-pula<sup>131</sup> said, 'Is the king trying to provoke them into a quarrel with

one another? For he still has a cause for dispute; that is why he is quarrelling. Let him go away from here and build in another country.' The king replied, 'But I have already given him to Diyikana, and told Diyikana to take all the cattle.' Masipula answered, 'He will not give them up, for the impi that he comes with is a large one.' The king said, 'I don't know, then. You will have to see to it. For my part, I have said that Diyikana must take him away.' That was the end of it.

72 Diyikana returned, and on his arrival summoned the impi of his place. It refused to come to him, and went off to Nhliziyo at the chief's place. 'Our chief has come; we have been looking for him. Now that he is here, what have we to do with that fellow?' Ha! Mamo! Diyikana rushed off to Masipula at Nodwengu. He said, 'Here is an impi coming to shut me in!' 'Did you give praise with the cattle to the ancestors?' 'No! It is war! They are standing in the way with assegais. They say that their chief has come. They do not know me.'

Masipula then went up with him to the king. The king then ordered, 'Let the Nodwengu go out and fetch those cattle, and bring them here. If he refuses to give them up, if he does not recognize me, he will end up in a donga.' Indeed, the impi was sent out. On its arrival he refused to give the cattle up. He had three companies (amaviyo) of men, one of which was the one that had deserted from Diyikana. The companies that went out from Nodwengu were two in number. Wo! The impi proceeded to eat up the cattle. Men came out to head them off. That was the end of it. The impi stabbed Nhliziyo. It killed Mhlanga ka Ntabi. It also killed Lukwabiti. The Mbata were thoroughly scattered. They crossed the two Mfolozi rivers, crossed the Mzinyati, and came to the iLenge, and to the Mzinyati, to the Qudeni, to Mbuzo's place. Three companies of them were scattered. After this some of them went over to Mbuyazi, the son of the king.<sup>132</sup>

73 Diyikana then took up the chiefship; he built a kraal, and was chief. (In Masipula's case, too, it was like that; but Mpande did not put Sitshaluza, his elder brother, to death.) Diyikana was now chief. When Makubalo, the chief son of Nhliziyo, grew up, Diyikana sent for him. He refused to go, saying, 'He is going to kill me. He will do to me what he did to my father, whom he deceived in order to put him to death.' He then lived at the place of Makoba, and was eventually buta'd into the uDhloko regiment. The king frequently asked about Makubalo.<sup>133</sup> He would say, 'Where is he?' The reply would be, 'He is at the place of his mother's people, at the place of Makoba.' Then the king died, and Masipula also. Makubalo returned at the time of the war with the white people [1879]; he returned with two kraals of his people.

Diyikana was of the iMpohlo regiment. He was buta'd by Dingana. He was a great warrior. He had three large wounds on the body. One was on the head, extending from above the right eye to the ear; another was on the chest, from above the nipple to the right shoulder; another on the stomach, to the side and round to the back where the ribs end. That one had to be stitched up with sinew; his intestines were thoroughly washed and pushed back inside. All these wounds were received on the same day, when Dingana's impi attacked Mzilikazi ka Matshobana at eSinqeni.<sup>134</sup> At that place there was a stronghold. They stabbed him in the stomach when they were letting the cattle out.

74 They first stabbed him in the chest when they were inside among the cattle. He was in the act of looking up, for they were rolling rocks down, when an assegai flung by a man in front of him hit him in the face. Diyikana proceeded to pull it out. As he was doing so, he was stabbed in the stomach, and the assegai that he was pulling out fell to the ground. As this happened he saw a man stabbing another man of the place of Diyikana's people, a man of the iMpohlo, and about to finish him off. Diyikana came up and stabbed him between the shoulders. He pulled out the assegai which had been used to stab the man, who was still alive. This man survived, and was able to make his way out with the others and with the cattle.

As they were going out, another impi attacked the stronghold above. The force which had been attacking Diyikana and the others down below withdrew. The womenfolk behind shrieked as our impi attacked. Diyikana and the others would not have escaped if another force of our men had not attacked above. The enemy who were attacking Diyikana and his companions withdrew when they heard the women shrieking and our men repeatedly shouting, 'Ngadhla! Ngadhla! Ngadhla!' <sup>135</sup> That is how they escaped. Diyikana came out with the assegai which had been used to stab his kinsman of the iMpohlo. They came out red with blood from their wounds, Diyikana having killed three men as they were going into the attack, before he had been wounded. The enemy force above

75 flung assegais at them and rolled rocks down onto them. When Diyikana died he still had this assegai from foreign lands in his possession.

Diyikana's kinsmen carried him away, together with others who were so badly wounded as to be disabled. They sewed up his wound. They tied it up with goatskin, after washing his intestines and pushing them back inside; then they sewed him up with sinew obtained from beasts that were slaughtered. That is how he survived.

There were many battles in which Diyikana fought, but the only wounds that he had were those which he received at eSinqeni. The Izimpohlo fought everywhere.

Diyikana was long-bodied, tall, with long legs. His children too are tall.

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

Magolwana declaimed the praises of Mageba, Punga, Ndaba, Jama, Senzangakona, Tshaka, Dingana, Mnkabayi, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Nzibe, Gqugqu, Mbuyazi, Tshonkwani, Somklawana, Dabulesinye, Mantantashiya, Mdumba (he would recite their praises all together before Cetshwayo after they were dead), Bibi, Nandi, Mpikase, Songiya, Langazana, Mtembazi (who built at Emakosini, at eZigezeni; it is said that she was fathered by Dingana; her umuzi is still there, in front of Kwa Nobamba; Mtembazi did not take a husband; she went out from Kwa Nobamba), Mfolozi ka Jama, Kutshwayo ka Jama, Ngquku ka Jama, Manqe ka Jama, Mfusi ka Jama. <sup>136</sup>

Magolwana used to begin with Senzangakona, then Tshaka, then Mnkabayi, then Dingana, then Mpande, then Nzibe, then Mfolozi, Kutshwayo, Ngquku and the others, ending with the amakosikazi. Cetshwayo he praised after Ndondakusuka.

76 The cattle of the spirits. Burial of Cetshwayo. <sup>137</sup>  
On the 'bringing back' of the spirits of the kings to their homes,

the cattle of the spirits were driven across the Mzinhlanga river, across the iNdhlovane, the Mhlatuze, and the eNgwegweni (which enters the Mhlatuze; it rises at the Little iTala).<sup>138</sup> They arrived at Kwa Nkomonye, the umuzi of Ndunge ka Manqe ka Jama (Sigolozza follows Ndunge in age). When they arrived there, the ancestors were addressed. The cattle then slept. At dawn they were slaughtered, two of them.

When the spirits were angry they would come and stay at Kwa Nkomonye. They would ask for food. They would come to 'fetch back' their brothers (those who had died). People from the whole Cube country would assemble, Sigamanda, Lurungu (they could not bonga), and Mgazi ka Mnukwa (who used to bonga).<sup>139</sup>

The spirits would stay at Kwa Nkomonye; they did not go to all the kraals. They stayed in a stone-built kraal. The womenfolk would go away to sleep in other kraals. Their clothing (their leather skirts and their coverings) would be taken to the river. They would cover themselves to show respect. The spirits would be fetched with twenty-four cattle. One could not point at them with the finger; one had to keep the hand closed. Nor could one walk there with a stick. Anyone who came there would salute, calling out, 'Bayede!' He would do so in a very loud voice, really shouting. People would make

77 salutation with both arms,



As the day dawned, cattle would be slaughtered.

Sigolozza, the younger brother of Ndunge, was the one who stood at Cetshwayo's graveside; because Dinuzulu was still a child it was he who did so. Cetshwayo was buried by Ziwezu, Tshingana, Dabulamanzi, Mahanana, and Ndabuko; all of them were present.<sup>140</sup> Ndabuko said, 'Since our elder brother Sigolozza is present, let him stand at the graveside.' (For his elder brother Ndunge was dead.) 'For my part, I would die soon, to be survived only by my spirit. I would father no more children.' Ziwezu replied, 'You speak the truth, Ndabuko, for Sigolozza is present, and will not be able to dispute the succession.' Sigolozza was then caused to rise (for the discussion had taken place while they were all sitting on the ground), and he stood by the graveside. He was told to take off his loin-cover. He did so. It was Ziwezu who required him to do so. He did not carry Cetshwayo's assegai; Ziwezu said that Ndabuko should fetch it from the hut. Indeed he did so, and gave it to Sigolozza. Then Dinuzulu was told to draw near, and observe. The king was buried in a coffin.<sup>141</sup> (His body had remained at the Entumeni, on the other side of the Mvuzane, at the place of Hatshi's people, for six months. There was a delay so that the amabele could be harvested.)<sup>142</sup> Dinuzulu did not stand at the graveside because it was said that he was still a child, and would not live to adulthood. In addition, at that time he had not yet reached the age of puberty.

At dawn the next day two cattle were slaughtered and a chant was  
78 sung, when the spirits were being taken away. It went,

Ha! There they are! Ho yi! They are sleeping!  
Zhi-i-ihhi.

There they are! Wo - hi. They are sleeping.<sup>143</sup>

While the singing was taking place, the spirits disappeared. Only the stone wall was to be seen. The cattle were slaughtered early in the day, but the spirits were no longer to be seen. They had disappeared in the daytime, with people looking on, though while the singing was taking place they were present. While we were singing we saw them; they were bright green in colour; with black and green spots on the neck.

As we were pointing with our sticks (we did not point at them; we pointed at Emahlabatini, where they had come from - all of us Zulu were dressed in our finery, with headbands and face-flaps), they disappeared. The singing began as the sun rose; it was done company by company. As the day dawned the spirits disappeared. Then the cattle were slaughtered. The sky then clouded over.

The meat would be taken off the fire in the afternoon, after it had begun to rain. There was no thunder, just rain. The cattle brought the rain with them as they went. They went to eSiklebeni and to Kwa Nobamba. They did not go to Kwa Nodwengu, to Mpande. They did not go there. They were the cattle of Kwa Nobamba and of eSiklebeni.

79 The ceremony involving the cattle of the spirits was distinct from the ceremony of going to ask for rain. Those cattle would go out from Kwa Nodwengu, and they would be brought back there, where they would be slaughtered. But those of Kwa Nobamba did not go to Nodwengu, nor did those of eSiklebeni, Kwa Dukuzi, and oDhlabhe-dhlwini.

There were two distinct ceremonies: (a) when the king's spirits were taken and brought back home to Nobamba and Siklebeni; (b) when rain was wanted badly, and oxen (black) were sent to the royal graves, where *ukuketa dancing* took place, and the kings were 'invited' to come, and give the rain. Those cattle were taken back to Nodwengu.

Both Mpande and Cetshwayo followed this procedure.

At Nobamba and Siklebeni, with the bringing-home-of-the-spirits ceremony, Tshingana and Ndunge used to address the ancestors. Masipula and Ntshingwayo and Mfusi ka Manyala were not present on such occasions.<sup>144</sup> But when rain was asked for they would go.

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

80 At the time of the Zulu war, when cattle were sent to the spirits, they went to ask the spirits to come with them, the troops. They were asked not to remain behind but to come with them. When Cetshwayo sent us to war, he told us and the Nokenke and the Dududu to go and sleep at eSiklebeni, and the Kandempemvu, Mbonambi, and Tulwana slept at Kwa Nobamba. No one went back from there.

Tshingana would praise the spirits in a very loud voice; he did not play about.

The king would leave his home with the *wmpakati*,<sup>145</sup> in the month of the ceremonies, and would travel about in his country, sleeping at kraals. The *izikulu* and the *izilomo* would bring cattle for him

and present them to him. Each would bring one beast. This was called the *pumputisaing* of the king.<sup>146</sup>

23.1.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 80-4.

<In the original of the account reproduced below, a number of emendations to the record of Mshayankomo's testimony were made by Stuart when he prepared it for publication in his Zulu reader *uTulasizwe*. (This was published in London in 1923; Mshayankomo's story appears on pp. 65-7). The effect of the emendations was to depersonalize the story by eliminating all references to the narrator. We here adhere to the informant's personalized account - eds.>

*The pumputisaing of the king on the army's return from war.*

I saw this take place on the day of our return from the battle at Sandhswana, and from the battle at Hlobane (at the stronghold of Rawane), at the source of the White Mfolozi.<sup>147</sup> I saw all those who had stabbed in battle going to the king at oNdini, before they had returned to their homes. We went early in the morning to *pumputisa* the king. We carried our guns and our assegais, everything with which we had killed. The older men, those who knew of these matters, said that no man who had killed, or who had finished off an opponent first wounded by someone else, should fail to go. 'Go with your assegais early in the morning; do not leave them behind.' We asked what else we should carry. They said, 'No, the king is *pumputisa'd* with the weapons with which we killed.'

We went into the enclosure where the cattle from the open veld (zo *mknqala*) were kept; it was at the top end of the enclosure, where the king used to wash. The companies (*amaviyo*) crossed one another's paths, one approaching from the east, another from the west. As we went, we exclaimed, 'By us! By us! By us!' Others said, 'What did we leave them? What did we leave them?' Others exclaimed, 'It is war! It is war!' 'By us! By us!' Each man shouted his own cry.<sup>148</sup> The king was now standing in his own enclosure, the one where he washed, and where the cattle which were used in addressing the spirits were slaughtered. He was in a rage; his visage was awful; he could no longer be looked upon. He came out, and passed through us, coming down to the main enclosure. His chair was brought, and he sat down. We then stood up and saluted, calling, 'Bayede! You of the elephant! You of the elephant! Bayede! You of the elephant! You of the elephant! You of the innermost circle! You who devour men! Black lion!' The king said, 'Speak now. Tell me what you have experienced.' He was still in a rage, and still not to be looked upon. Then the *induna* who had been present at the battle would come forward, even if he had not stabbed in the battle. He would speak, telling the king what had happened. The *induna*, *Sitshitshili ka Mngandi*, said, 'The army has been ruined, Nkosi. The *izinduna* ruined it. They sent it into battle. It was not sprinkled with medicines or treated with medicinal fumes. We simply went forward to fight by ourselves.'

At this point the *Kandempemvu* regiment arrived. It entered by the gate, and came up to where the king was. We *Ngobamakosi* slept there at home, there at oNdini. The *Kandempemvu* had come from their

place at the Mabedhlana. They were followed by the Nokenke and the Mbonambi. These regiments did as we had done. They stood up, and saluted. They too spoke up. Then that was the end, for the pump-tisaing of the king did not last long. The xoccing of the army was not done on that day; it was done on another day.<sup>149</sup>

- 82 The king then said, 'Disperse now, go to your homes, and take medicines (ncinda). You will return here in the second month.' Those who had not gone to war and had stayed to guard the king remained behind. So we went off to our homes. We picked out black cattle - males. We cut willow, and cut horns.<sup>150</sup> We threw away the imitsha which we had been wearing. We unhafted our assegaïs, and fixed new hafts to them. We then washed our assegaïs, and sharpened them until they shone.

The making of presentations (ukukungwa) to the king.

The king would go out from Kwa Tulwana and make for Kwa Ndhlaya-ngubo, at the Mandawe, at the emaTeku.<sup>151</sup> He would sleep at the place of his brother, Siteku, at eNtembeni. He would then go on with Gaozi ka Silwane and Siyunguza, and Mgitshwa ka Mvundhlana.<sup>152</sup> He would sleep at Kwa Kiyaza (an old umuzi of Tshaka's), and at Kwa Wambaza, and at eMkindini. The izikulu would accompany the king; they would bring cattle. All the people of those districts (izifunda) would do this. It would be announced one month that the king would be arriving, and would sleep at particular places. These cattle would be formed into herds (amaqabi), and taken to the hills; they would be placed in the care of izikulu. These cattle were males only; there were no females. This was the making of presentations to the king.

- 83 Praise Masipula, Ndhlela, Mnyamana, Ntshingwayo ka Marole. What other izimbongi do you know? - viz. Mahlangeni.

Magolwana (description of him).

He was short, of strapping build, with strong limbs and massive thighs, and small buttocks. A man similar in size was Ntshingwayo ka Marole.

My father's first-born sons were of the Amapela and Tulwana regiments; the girls were of the iNgootsho and uGudhludonga. My father's sons were 80 in number. These were the older ones; there were 23 younger ones [=103 in all, but see more accurate version below]. The girls numbered 47, hence there was a great majority of males [103+47=150].

The man Dwaba, to whom Magolwana fled, was son of Mpunzi ka Gwadi of the Zungu people.<sup>153</sup>

When the daughters, my sisters, make oath, they say, 'By my father at eZungeni!' i.e. she threatens to dig up his body.

Magolwana's sons:<sup>154</sup> amaPela, 8; Inkonkoni, 7; uTulwana, 10; Indhlondhlo, 17; Ludhloko, 8; Dududu, 10; Mbonambi, 10; Nokenke, 8; Kandempemvu, 16; Mtuyisazwe, 5; Nomzimana, 8; Ngobamakosi, 10; Uve, 12; Falaza, 9. They follow closely on one another in age [=138].

His girls:<sup>155</sup> Ingcotsho (married all the older regiments), 16; Gudhludonga (uGudhlane - married the Zingulube and the amaTshitshi), 12; Sitimane (Tulwana and other regiments), 30; Tiyane (married various regiments), 8; iNgcugce, 11 [=77+138=215].

Klwana ka Ngqengelele was a great *imbongi*.<sup>156</sup> He would begin as the sun was getting warm, and would finish when the cattle came back towards midday. He was not 'the bringer of dawn'; this was Magolwana.<sup>157</sup> He used to declaim the praises of Mpande. He was short, small, and light brown in colour.

84 I do not *bonga* Masipula ka Mamba. I hold Masipula partly responsible for the death of my father. I do not *bonga* Ntshingwayo ka Marole.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>The informant's father, Magolwana(e) kaMkhathini of the Jiyana people, was one of Mpande's principal *izimbongi*. The notebook to which Stuart refers is missing from the Stuart Collection. On the inner front cover of notebook 27, in which the evidence here reproduced was recorded, Stuart made the following note:

Note, made 11.4.1927.

Mtshayankomo seems to have reached me at Highbrae, Hilton Road, on or about 8.1.'22 (see p. 17). On that day and the next I would have taken Cetshwayo's eulogies from him in a note book immediately preceding this, but which has somehow or other been lost or mislaid. See reference to 'preceding note book' on p. 22; also (in pencil) in black notebook, p. 18 (under date 15.1.'22). On p. 18 of this black note book are notes to Cetshwayo's missing eulogies, whilst on pp. 22-23 of present note book and on p. 32 of pres. book are additional eulogies (Cetshwayo's). It is probable I filled a note book between 8.1.'22 and 10.1.'22; in any case, Mtshayankomo's main version of Cetshwayo's eulogies is missing - a great loss, especially as there would have been other information in that note book.

<sup>2</sup>The original reads:

*Izwa-ke!* (this 'a' is very much lengthened)

*Yati sikhli indhlovu, kwati nya!*

*Yati sikhli indhlovu, kwati nya!*

*Kwa puk' amagatsh' emiti, kwati nya,*

*U ya bona-ke izidindi ze miti,*

*Zi za u beka pezulu!*

*Zi ya uti zi penduka, be kuf' amadoda!*

<sup>3</sup>Stuart indicates on p. 18 of the original (see p. 110 of the present volume) that by *tetaing* is meant the preliminary apostrophizing of the king, and by *bongaing* the praising proper.

<sup>4</sup>Nzibe, a brother of Mpande's, died of disease on Shaka's campaign against Soshangane in 1828.

<sup>5</sup>On Shonkwani's (Tshonkwani's) paternity see also Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 188, gives *ingoduso* (*ingodosi*) as 'Betrothed girl, who has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding'.

<sup>7</sup>The reference is to Dingane, whose principal *umuzi* was emGungundlovu.

<sup>8</sup>The implication is that Magolwana had no sisters through whose marriages he could obtain *ilobolo* cattle for his own marriages.

<sup>9</sup>Maphitha kaSojiyisa was head of the Mandlakazi people, whose ruling house was closely related to that of the Zulu royal line. Nzobo

- (Dambuza) ka Sobadli of the Ntombela people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna* up to the time of his death at the hands of the Boers in Natal in January 1840. Tokotoko was a brother of Maphitha.
- <sup>10</sup>The reference is to the contempt in which Mpande was held by certain of Dingane's principal advisers.
- <sup>11</sup>Because of his obesity, in his later life Mpande was drawn about by his attendants in a small cart.
- <sup>12</sup>Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. On the expression *umdididi kaNdlela* see also Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 86; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 679.
- <sup>13</sup>The title of one of Stuart's Zulu readers, published in London in 1925. Mshayankomo's account forms the basis of the note on the *umdididi kaNdlela* which appears on p. 234 of uKulumetule.
- <sup>14</sup>*Bhek' owahlulwayo* or *Bhek' eyahlulwa* literally means, 'Look at the defeated one'.
- <sup>15</sup>Mpande came to power after his forces had defeated those of Dingane at the amaQongqo hills near present-day Magudu in January 1840.
- <sup>16</sup>Numerous traditions record that during Dingane's reign Ndlela intervened to prevent the king from putting Mpande to death.
- <sup>17</sup>The reference is to Mpande's flight across the Thukela in 1839.
- <sup>18</sup>The iLenge mountain (Job's Kop) is situated twenty kilometres west of present-day Pomeroy village. The iNdaka (Sundays) river flows into the Thukela twenty kilometres to the south-west of the village.
- <sup>19</sup>The isiHlalo hill is situated fifteen kilometres to the north-west of present-day Ulundi. Diyikana was a brother of Lukwabithi.
- <sup>20</sup>Stuart published the account that follows in uKulumetule, pp. 161-4. On the drought of Mbethe cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 43-4; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 71-2, 129, 139-40; Stuart Archive, vol. 3, pp. 158, 185-6.
- <sup>21</sup>The *inyathelo* was the preliminary 'first-fruits' ceremony, held in November or December. Ndondakusuka was the site of a battle between the forces of Cetshwayo and those of his brother Mbuyazi in 1856.
- <sup>22</sup>KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.
- <sup>23</sup>Masiphula kaMamba of the emGazini people was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*. The precise meaning attributed to the word *umphakathi* varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counselors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, Dictionary, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Dictionary, p. 481, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinduna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati"'.  
<sup>24</sup>Ntshingwayo kaMahole of the Khoza people was one of Mpande's *izinduna*.
- <sup>25</sup>Ntendeka mountain is five kilometres south-west of present-day Mahlabathini. Mpande's kwaNodwengu *umuzi* was situated fifteen kilometres south of the mountain. Mthonga and Sukani were both sons of

Mpande.

- <sup>26</sup>Nhlazatshe mountain is situated some thirty kilometres west-south-west of present-day Mahlabathini.
- <sup>27</sup>Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone, successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.
- <sup>28</sup>Long after Mbuyazi's death at the battle of Ndondakusuka (see note 21 above), rumours persisted in the Zulu country to the effect that he was living in Natal under the protection of the colonial government.
- <sup>29</sup>There was an epidemic of lungsickness in the Zulu country in the late 1850s, and of smallpox in the early 1860s.
- <sup>30</sup>Langalibalele, chief of the Hlubi in Natal colony, was a noted rain-maker.
- <sup>31</sup>The Mlokothwa here referred to was probably the Ntuli chief of that name who lived in the Nkandla area.
- <sup>32</sup>Ngoza kaLudaba of the Qanyini section of the Majosi people was one of Theophilus Shepstone's principal *izinduna*.
- <sup>33</sup>The Mkhumbane stream flows from the south into the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- <sup>34</sup>The Trekker leader Piet Retief and his party were killed at emGungundlovu on the orders of Dingane in February 1838.
- <sup>35</sup>Thununu's evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- <sup>36</sup>The original reads:  
*Izwa-ke! Ndwandwe wa kwa bade!*  
*usiHlopeside, sa oGumede!*  
*Gumede ka Ndaba; Ndaba ka Punga;*  
*Punga ka Mageba!*
- The names Ndaba, Phunga and Mageba are those of ancestral Zulu chiefs.
- <sup>37</sup>Senzangakhona kaJama was father of Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande.
- <sup>38</sup>The adjective '-de' means long, tall, high. 'Bayede!' was a salutation reserved for royalty.
- <sup>39</sup>'Green' is our translation of '-luhlaza', which can also mean 'blue'.
- <sup>40</sup>The original of this expression reads: 'Uqangabodwe o lu pumela kwa bad' abeLungu'. Cf. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 528, where he cites the expression *Umqangabodwe upumel' ekweneni*. He glosses this as 'the wild corn-plant rises up from amidst the thick growth of weeds - said of a tall person rising head and shoulders above the rest'.
- <sup>41</sup>According to Bryant, Dictionary, p. 135, the *ukweshwama* ceremony was 'the preliminary feast of the first-fruits', which was held 'about a month before the great annual festival of the *um-Kosi*'.
- <sup>42</sup>*Bay' eside* presumably derives from *isibaya eside*, literally a long cattle enclosure.
- <sup>43</sup>The informant here is Mshayankomo. The place of origin referred to was probably on the south bank of the Thukela upstream from Ntunjambili (Kranskop) mountain. This territory, once occupied by the Khabela people, was settled in Dingane's reign by a group of people under Manjanja kaNhlambela of the Ntombela people. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 491, 511-12.
- <sup>44</sup>The Jiyana were an offshoot of the Ntshali people.
- <sup>45</sup>Mistuweri was Stuart's Zulu name.
- <sup>46</sup>The account that follows forms the basis of the description of the *umkhosi* published by Stuart in 1924 in his Zulu reader uHlangakula, pp. 105-20.

- <sup>47</sup>The *inyathelo*, or *ukwestwama* (see notes 21 and 41 above) was the preliminary to the *umkhosi* ceremonies. The lunar month uZibandlela fell in the period October-November.
- <sup>48</sup>Mgidlana was a son of Mpande and another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in vol. 3 of the Stuart Archive.
- <sup>49</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 449, gives the verb *ukunqwamba* as 'Wind or hang over the shoulders and crosswise round the body a long string of something, as witch-doctors do the *imi-Nqwamba...*'. On the same page he gives *umnqwamba* (pl. *iminqwamba*) as 'Single strip of skin which...is worn...over the shoulders and round the body'.
- <sup>50</sup>The emaHlabathini country was the locality on either side of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi where many of the principal *imizi* and *amakanda* of the Zulu kings were situated.
- <sup>51</sup>The names are those of Zulu royal *imizi*.
- <sup>52</sup>Shingana (Tshingana) was a son of Mpande. The locality referred to lay to the east of present-day Babanango village.
- <sup>53</sup>EziGezeni and kwaNobamba were ancestral Zulu *imizi*.
- <sup>54</sup>The names are those of Zulu ancestral *imizi*.
- <sup>55</sup>Mnkabayi was a daughter of Jama and a sister of Senzangakhona. In the original the words 'Mtembase ka Jama' and 'her kraal' appear as later insertions.
- <sup>56</sup>'...to the *isikulu* side' is our translation of *ngakwesikulu*, which is probably a contraction of *ngakwesikulu isibaya*. The term *isibaya esikulu*, literally great enclosure, as used in Stuart's notes, is ambiguous in its connotations. On the one hand it is used to refer to the 'great house' (*indlunkulu*), together with its 'right-hand' or 'supporting' house (*iqadi, inqadi*), i.e. those sections of the royal household which produced the heir. (See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 416-20; Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago*, pp. 249-51.) On the other hand, the term 'is one applied to that section of a regiment that belonged to the kraal in which the king or chief lived' (Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 310, evidence of Lunguza kaMpukane). The quarters in a royal *umuzi* occupied by such a section of an *ibutho* were also referred to as *isibaya esikhulu* (see sketch plans accompanying Lunguza's evidence, Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 309, 340). Mshayankomo seems to be using the term in this latter sense. The term *uhlangothi* as used in Stuart's notes is also ambiguous, being used to refer either to a 'house' of the *umuzi* distinct from the main 'house', or else to a distinct part of the quarters in an *umuzi* occupied by the *amabutho*. It is in this latter sense that Mshayankomo here seems to be employing the term.
- <sup>57</sup>The numerals, which appear in the original as superscript insertions, presumably refer to the order in which the personages mentioned were praised.
- <sup>58</sup>For Nzibe see note 4 above.
- <sup>59</sup>For Maphitha see note 9 above.
- <sup>60</sup>Somkhele was chief of the Mpukunyoni people.
- <sup>61</sup>On the term *isibaya esikhulu* see note 56 above.
- <sup>62</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 123-4, entry for *indwa*, writes that the crane feather 'was presented to full-grown men by the king and was a preliminary sign that the recipients were about to be called to the honour of wearing the heading'.
- <sup>63</sup>'*Ima!*' literally means 'Stand!'
- <sup>64</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 388, gives *isimiso* as 'That which causes to

stand, endure, etc.; hence...medicine for preserving one from evil...'.  
 65

Sekethwayo kaNhlaka was chief of the Mdlalose people, Godide kaNdlela of the Ntuli. For Masiphula see note 23 above.

66 '...doctored with cleansing medicines' is our translation of *potulwa*, the passive form of the verb *ukupotula* (*ukuphothula*). Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 511, gives *potula* as '...purify oneself, cleanse away the defilement of "black medicines"...by rubbing, anointing or washing one's body in water or grease medicated with charms, and after which generally followed a completing dose of "white medicines" freeing the individual from all the restraint imposed upon him by the "black medicines"'.  
 67

In this paragraph the informant is referring to events some five years apart. Mpande died towards the end of 1872: the fight between the Thulwana and Ngobamakhosi *amabutho* took place at the *umkhosi* ceremony held in December 1877.

68 Nkomo kaTshandu was chief of the Mbatha people, and Dingiswayo kaJobe chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century.

69 Dingiswayo was here asking Senzangakhona to identify Shaka, who, some years previously, had found refuge in the Mthethwa country.

70 Ndlela kaSompisi (Nkobe) of the Ntuli people later became one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. We have been unable to establish the meaning of the word *injinjikazi*.

71 In order to assert his supremacy. For other references to this practice see also Van Warmelo, ed., *History of Matiwane*, pp. 19n, 105n; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 312, vol. 2, p. 178; Raam, *Social Functions*, p. 263.

72 Zibhebhu ka Maphitha was chief of the Mandlakazi in the later nineteenth century.

73 For Diyikana see also note 19 above.

74 Shingana kaMpande was another of Stuart's informants. See also note 52 above.

75 Stuart published five Zulu readers in London in the 1920s.

76 *UHlangakula*, one of Stuart's readers, was published in 1924. On 'the hill of the assegais' see also p. 116 of the present volume.

77 Cf. Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 702.

78 Cf. Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 729.

79 Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone (see also note 27 above), who visited the Zulu country in August-September 1873 to convey British recognition of Cetshwayo as Zulu king after the death of Mpande. The statement that follows forms the basis of the account published by Stuart in his Zulu reader *uHlangakula*, pp. 70-6.

80 Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 190, gives *ingomane* as 'Tremendous uproar or din, as of a great crowd in conflict or as made by a whole army beating and rattling their shields together...'.  
 81

In this sentence, as recorded in the original Zulu, the informant Mshayankomo deliberately substitutes the Xhosa *ndi-*, meaning 'I', for the Zulu *ngi-*, thus drawing attention to the Xhosa influences which affected Shepstone's use of the Zulu language.

82 The emThonjaneni heights south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi lay on Shepstone's route back to Natal.

83 Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi was to become Cetshwayo's principal *induna*. Mamba was the father of Masiphula; the latter had been Mpande's principal *induna*.

- <sup>84</sup> KwaGingindlovu was a Zulu royal *umuzi* in the south-east of the Zulu kingdom on the main route to Natal.
- <sup>85</sup> Ntshingwayo kaMahole was chief of a section of the Khoza people: see also note 24 above. Mavumengwana kaNdlela was chief of a section of the Ntuli.
- <sup>86</sup> The Mbhekamuzi stream rises west of present-day Mahlabathini and flows north-east into the Black Mfolozi.
- <sup>87</sup> Bryant, Dictionary, p. 290, gives *ukamba (ukhamba)* as 'Food-pot - a generic name for all or any of the various earthen-pots...used for serving food...and more especially the ordinary beer-drinking pot...'.
- <sup>88</sup> Sihayo kaXongo was chief of the Qungebe people who lived on the western border of the Zulu kingdom. In this region the 1860s and 1870s saw the development of an increasingly acrimonious territorial dispute between subjects of the Zulu kings and Boers from the South African Republic.
- <sup>89</sup> Mehlokazulu was a son of Sihayo.
- <sup>90</sup> Sekethwayo kaNhlaka was chief of the Mdlalose: see also note 65 above.
- <sup>91</sup> The incident described took place in July 1878, and was one of the pretexts used by Sir Bartle Frere for precipitating war with the Zulu in 1879. By eMankane is presumably meant emaNkamane, the hills where the settlement of Helpmekaar was located.
- <sup>92</sup> The amaBedlana hills lie ten kilometres to the west of present-day Ulundi.
- <sup>93</sup> Bryant, Dictionary, p. 505, gives *impisi* as '...woollen blanket or rug of a plain grey-brown colour...'.
- <sup>94</sup> Mthonga was a son of Mpande and a potential rival of Cetshwayo for the succession to the Zulu kingship. He fled to the Boers in the Utrecht district in 1861 after the killing of his mother Nomantshali by a force of Cetshwayo's followers.
- <sup>95</sup> KwaGqikazi was a Zulu royal *umuzi* near present-day Nongoma.
- <sup>96</sup> *Inyoni-kayiphumuli*, literally the bird does not rest, was the name of a prized herd of white cattle belonging to the Zulu kings.
- <sup>97</sup> The isiHlalo hill is situated fifteen kilometres to the north-west of present-day Ulundi.
- <sup>98</sup> For the emaHlabathini country see note 50 above. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 260, gives *isihlungu* as 'Venom of a snake...; antidote for same...; medicine supposed to cause that anything struck by a man who takes it, shall experience unusual pain or ill-effects, as though it had been bitten by a snake...'.
- <sup>99</sup> The isiKhwebezi stream flows into the Black Mfolozi south-west of Nongoma.
- <sup>100</sup> The names are those of Zulu royal *imizi*.
- <sup>101</sup> The events described in the account that follows took place in 1876.
- <sup>102</sup> The implication was that the men of the iNdlondlo were too few in number.
- <sup>103</sup> Qudeni mountain overlooks the confluence of the Thukela and Mzi-nyathi (Buffalo) from the north-east. The Nkandla region lies to the east.
- <sup>104</sup> By this time Zokufa was in his nineties, and effective rule of the Cube people was in the hands of his son Sigananda.
- <sup>105</sup> For Ngoza see note 32 above.
- <sup>106</sup> Mbuzo kaMngeni was chief of a section of the Ntuli in the Nkandla

- region.
- <sup>107</sup> Mkhanyile kaFusa was of the Zulu clan. The other persons mentioned are identified in notes 1, 23, 24 and 83 above.
- <sup>108</sup> Sitshaluza was a brother of Masiphula.
- <sup>109</sup> Lukwazi kaZwana (Mazwana) was chief of a section of the Ntombela.
- <sup>110</sup> Matshana kaMondise was chief of a section of the Sithole.
- <sup>111</sup> For Mavumengwana see note 85 above. Hashi was chief of the Biyela. Gawozi kaSilwane was chief of a section of the Mpungose. We have been unable to identify Nonzama.
- <sup>112</sup> Mnqandi kaMtshana was chief of a section of the Sibisi (eziBisini).
- <sup>113</sup> The incident recounted here probably took place in late 1877 or early 1878, when Cetshwayo was asserting his claim to territory north of the upper Phongolo river by establishing a number of cattle posts in the area. The account that follows was published by Stuart in his Zulu reader *uKulumetule* in 1925, pp. 198-201.
- <sup>114</sup> The Ngwempisi river rises north-west of present-day Piet Retief, and flows east into the Lusutfu. The ebaQulusini *umuzi* had been established by Shaka near present-day Vryheid: the people attached to it were regarded as personal adherents of the Zulu kings.
- <sup>115</sup> The informant is here harking back to earlier fights between Zulu and Boers.
- <sup>116</sup> The original reads '*...ngoba kwakiwa nje, kwakiwa na maSwazi, kweneikene nawo amaSwazi*'.
- <sup>117</sup> Mswati (Mswazi) kaSobhuza was king of the Swazi from the mid-1840s until his death in 1865.
- <sup>118</sup> In a footnote to the published version of this statement (see note 113 above), Stuart glosses *iNdlabeyithubula* to mean (in translation from the Zulu) 'It (a beast) was eating while they prodded it'. See *uKulumetule*, p. 201.
- <sup>119</sup> The amaBedlana hills are ten kilometres to the west of present-day Ulundi. The statements that follow were published by Stuart in his Zulu reader *uBaxoxelele*, pp. 197-200. The original Zulu is difficult to follow because of the lack of clear identification of the actors.
- <sup>120</sup> The uThulwana *ibutho*, to which Cetshwayo belonged, was given permission to put on the heading by Mpande in 1867. Emakhosini, literally 'the place of the chiefs', was the area of the old Zulu heartland to the south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi where a number of the ancestral Zulu chiefs were buried.
- <sup>121</sup> The iziGqoza were the adherents of Mbuyazi in his struggle with Cetshwayo for the Zulu succession in the mid-1850s: see note 21 above. Cetshwayo's followers were known as the uSuthu.
- <sup>122</sup> Nkonzaphi seems to have been a praise-name for Mpande. Mhlangana, a son of Senzangakhona and a brother of Mpande, was one of the men who assassinated Shaka in 1828. In 1843 Mpande was responsible for the killing of Gqugqu, another of his brothers.
- <sup>123</sup> The names are those of sons of Mpande who were killed at Ndongakusuka (see note 21 above) in 1856.
- <sup>124</sup> This was one of Cetshwayo's praises.
- <sup>125</sup> Cetshwayo died in February 1884.
- <sup>126</sup> The original reads:
- Lalela lo munt' o memezayo!*  
*Lalela lo munt' o memezayo!*  
*U memez' utini na?*  
*U ya lila.*

*U kalelani na?*  
*U kalel' izinkomo.*  
*U zi kalela lezo nkomo*  
*E zako ini na?*  
*Loku e zo mmewenu kwa Bulawayo na?*  
*U bona se kwafiwa na?*

- <sup>127</sup>Stuart published the account that follows in his Zulu reader *uKulumetule*, pp. 228-33.
- <sup>128</sup>On 'the rectum of Ndlela' see note 12 above.
- <sup>129</sup>Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 549, give 'Ngasitha!' as 'Name for Zulu royalty'.
- <sup>130</sup>For Ntshingwayo see note 24 above.
- <sup>131</sup>For Masiphula see note 23 above.
- <sup>132</sup>This dates the incident here recounted to before 1856, when Mbuyazi was killed at Ndondakusuka.
- <sup>133</sup>The original has Nhliziyo, but this is clearly a mistake.
- <sup>134</sup>Mzilikazi kaMashobana was founder of the Ndebele kingdom, which in Dingane's time was located first in what is now the south-central and then in the western Transvaal.
- <sup>135</sup>'*Ngadla!*', literally 'I have eaten!', was an exclamation uttered by a warrior on killing a man in battle.
- <sup>136</sup>The names are those of members of the Zulu chiefly house and of women who became part of it through marriage. The six names immediately before the first set of parentheses are those of brothers of Cetshwayo who were killed in the battle at Ndondakusuka in 1856.
- <sup>137</sup>The account that follows was published by Stuart in his Zulu reader, *uKulumetule*, p. 217, and pp. 222-4.
- <sup>138</sup>The Little iThala (iThalana) mountain lies fifteen kilometres to the north-west of present-day Nkandla village.
- <sup>139</sup>The Cube people lived in the Nkandla area.
- <sup>140</sup>Ndabuko was a full brother of Cetshwayo: the other persons mentioned were half-brothers.
- <sup>141</sup>Cf. Binns, *Last Zulu King*, p. 212.
- <sup>142</sup>The Mvuzane stream rises in the eNtumeni heights west of present-day Eshowe and flows north into the Mhlathuze river.
- <sup>143</sup>The original reads:  
*Ha! Naziya! Ho yi! Ba lele!*  
*Zhi - i - ihi.*  
*Naziya! Wo - hi. Balele.*
- <sup>144</sup>Mfusi (Mfuzi) kaManyala was chief of the Mdletsheni.
- <sup>145</sup>On the *umpakati* (*umphakathi*) see note 23 above.
- <sup>146</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 516, gives the verb *ukuphumputhisa* (*ukuphumputhisa*) as 'Make or cause one to grope', and glosses the phrase *ukuphumputhisa inkosi*, literally to *phumputhisa* the king, as 'to make the king grope or 'be in the dark' - a term applied to the administration of certain medicines...to the Zulu king at the time of the *uku-nyatela*'.
- <sup>147</sup>The informant is here referring to battles fought in the early stages of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. Hawane of the Zwana(e) people lived near Nkambule hill in the present-day Vryheid area.
- <sup>148</sup>The original reads, '*Si hamba siti, "Ngati! Ngati! Ngati!" Abanye bati, "Si ba tshiye ini? Si ba tshiye ini?" "Impi! Impi!" "Ngati! Ngati!" Lowo utsh' okwake*'.

- <sup>149</sup>*Ukuxox' impi* literally means 'to talk about the battle'. For an account of this custom see the evidence of Mpashana in Stuart Archive, vol. 3, pp. 306-8.
- <sup>150</sup>After warriors had killed in battle they would make amulets of willow wood or horn to wear round the neck: see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 469; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 509; Stuart Archive, vol. 3, pp. 305, 317, evidence of Mpashana.
- <sup>151</sup>KwaNdlayangubo was a Zulu royal *umuzi*. The king referred to was Cetshwayo. The eMandawe hill lies to the south of the middle reaches of the Mhlathuze in the Eshowe region. The emaTheku stream rises to the south of the eMandawe.
- <sup>152</sup>Gawozi kaSilwane was chief of the Mpungose people (see also note 111 above). Siyunguza was a brother of Gawozi. Mgitshwa was of the Biyela chiefly house.
- <sup>153</sup>For accounts of the killing of Magolwane on the orders of Mpande see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 31, and also Stuart's Zulu reader, uHlangakula, pp. 132-42.
- <sup>154</sup>Mshayankomo is here giving the names of Zulu male *amabutho* and the number of sons in each.
- <sup>155</sup>Mshayankomo is here giving the names of Zulu female *amabutho* and the number of daughters in each.
- <sup>156</sup>For Ngqengelele see note 83 above.
- <sup>157</sup>The original reads, '*Wa ye nge yiy' indonsa, e dons' ukusa*'. 'The bringer of dawn' is our translation of the word *indonsa*, which also means the planet Jupiter. We have been unable to establish the precise connotations of the word as used in the present context.