

MAGIDIGIDI KA NOBEBE

5.5.1905

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

Also present: Dayi, Norman Nembula?

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

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

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

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

Magidigidi was born at Nobamba and there grew up.⁶

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

6.5.1905

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

Also present: Norman Nembula

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.5.1905, evening.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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chief. Godongwana's son was Mdingi.

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

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

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

The Cunus returned to the Zulu country, to Mahlabatini, saying they would not *konza amaLala*¹⁹ but preferred to *konza Zulus*. Tshaka then proclaimed that anyone killing any of Macingwane's late followers would be severely dealt with.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<6.5.1905>

File 62, nbk. 71, p. 3.

Also present: Norman Nembula?

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

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

7.5.1905, Sunday.

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

Also present: Norman Nembula

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

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

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

Pakade's regiments²¹

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

^aOf Pakade's own age

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

^cNamed after Macingwane's regiment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.1905, afternoon. Magidigidi alone.

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

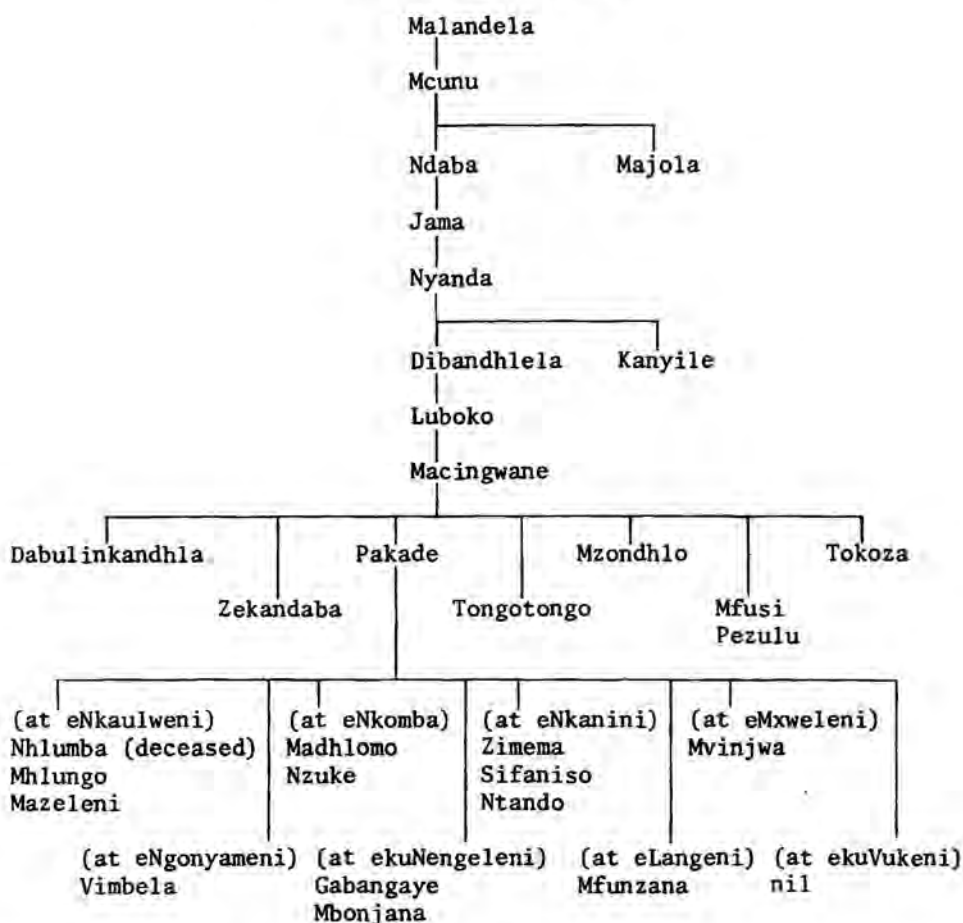
6 The Cunu tribe do not cut the little finger. They *pierce the ears*, wear *headrings*, and resemble the Zulus in every way. When, later on, Zulus *ran away*, they took refuge *among the Cunu*. There are very many who joined the tribe in this way during Mpande's and Cetshwayo's reigns.

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

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

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Cunu genealogical tree²⁹



Gabangaye's issue: Silwane (at eziTozeni)

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

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

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

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

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

Norman Nembula now present.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 Magidigidi alone.

I was born at *Nobamba umuzi* while *Tshaka* was still ruling. We had been given refuge in the *Zulu* country as our nation had been broken up. After a time *Nobamba* removed and was rebuilt on the other side of the valley: it was in a low-lying, waterless tract of country. The *Mqeku umuzi* remained behind. That is, when *Nobamba* was rebuilt, on a new site, the remaining site still continued to be occupied by a kraal then known as the *Mqeku*.³⁸ When I became almost old enough to look after cattle the nation split and we crossed over with *Mpande* with our chief *Pakade*. We came and lived at the *Tongati* in temporary shelters constructed of branches.

14 *Mpande* now went off to fight against *Dingana*. He met him at *Maqongqo*. These hills are simply knolls, not prominent, in a stretch of open country, and are without stones. These hills are near *Ntabankulu* and *Myati*, and close to the *Black Umfolozi* at its upper part, on the right bank facing the sea. The hills are insignificant as such. I was a *mat-bearer* in this fight. We were not yet carrying our own shields. I carried there for *Mdungunya* ka *Matula* of the *Izimpohlo*. Those *Izimpohlo* on *Mpande's* side were called *iziBawu*. At first *Mpande's* forces were defeated, being badly cut up by *Dingana's* *Dhlambedhlu*. The *iziBawu* came forward and then routed the *Dhlambedhlu*. The *iziBawu* were composed of various lots of *iziMpohlo*, not the whole of particular sections. Among the *Izimpohlo* were the following sections:³⁹ the *Fojisa*, *Ngqobolondo*, *Imfolozi*, *Dibinhlangu* and *Gibabanye*. The *Tshoyisa* was merely a section⁴⁰ of the *umuzi*, not a section of a regiment of men. This section was at *Mgungundhlovu*. The *iziMpohlo* had no kraal of their own; they were part of the *Mgungundhlovu umuzi* and were there stationed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.5.1905, evening. Magidigidi continues.

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

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

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

Njunju wo hlanga was a name for Dingana.⁴⁸

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

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

The Imvokwe was an ordinary regiment of Dingana's, and followed the *Dhlambedhlu* in age. (Magidigidi says Dingana, not Dingane: he says *amalala* use the latter expression. 'We *Ntungwa*', he says, 'speak with our tongues in a low position.') The *Izimpohlo* were made up of different sections: the *Gibabanye*, *Dibinhlangu*, *Fojisa*, *Imifoloji*, *Ngqobolondo*. The *Tshoyisa* was one of Tshaka's (*Dhlungwana*'s) regiments.⁵¹

Dingana's regiments

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

Dhlambedhlu - alias *Imgamule* (its *isitakazelo*).

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

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

Ihlaba - alias *uNomaraye* (its *isitakazelo*).

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

Insewane - under Mpande it became the *Dhlambedhlu*, *Ingewewe* and *Imdhlenevu* being its *isitakazelo*.

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

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

Tshaka's shield was once seized by *Sirayi ka Senzangakona*, T.'s brother. T. called for it, but *Sirayi* turned the inner side to T. so that he could not see the single white patch which always distinguished T.'s shield. S. refused to give it up, so T. said to him, 'Go! Die in the wilderness.' *Sirayi* then became a madman. This incident re the shield happened when *Zwide* was attacking the *Zulus*.⁵⁴ T. wanted to fight but his men would not allow him to do so.

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

Also present: Dayi

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

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recollection of the Dhlambedhlu being *buta'd*. The Imikulutshane and Izigulutshane were all *buta'd* together, the latter being simply cut off from the former. I do not know what the reason for this was. The Izigulutshane were not an independent and distinct regiment. They were merely distributed among the kraals Nobamba, Siklebe, Mbelebele and Mgungundhlovu. They were of the same age as the great *Imikulutshane*.

22 Egumeni and Egumaneni are names of Mbopa's own kraals.⁵⁵ I saw Mbopa. He was dark. (Another of his names was) Tubelisa. He was tall, say six feet, and stout. He lived on the south side of the Insuze river *below the Kombe, a forest which grows on the Qudeni mountain* in the Nkandhla district. He was killed by Dingana; I do not know why.

Tshaka, it was said, was stabbed the first time as well by Mbopa, and yet it was openly stated that Sikwayo of the Quabe people had done so, and forests were *encircled by men* in the hope of catching him.⁵⁶ Dingana caused M. to be put to death. As he said, '*This person has great daring. I too might be stabbed by him, for he stabbed a chief who had shown him great favour.*' Mbopa only was killed, not his whole house. I fancy he was killed *when the Imikulutshane were butwa'd* - about that year. He was killed at his kraal eGumeni.

Dingana then lived on Mbopa's land, building a kraal at Noyenda, where Mvundhlana ka Mpumuza, alias Gobinduku (his *isitakazelo*), of the *Qungebeni* people lived. This man Mvundhlana was of high rank and could have struck even Ndhlela or Dambuza in Dingana's presence, and the king would simply have turned, lifting his blanket, and gone off to his quarters.⁵⁷ This is not Mvundhlana ka Menziwa, alias Ndonga of the *Langwe* (I do not know if this is a hill or not), (whose praise is, '*I call and they answer*').

23 Kwa Noyenda was originally Mvundhlana ka Mpumuza's kraal, and was stationed at Taleni. Mvundhlana was killed by Dingana, and D. took over his establishment. Later on D. put Mbopa to death at Mbopa's kraal eGumeni, stationed as above-mentioned. Dingana now caused Kwa Noyenda kraal to shift from Taleni to the lands built on by Mbopa. I lived at Noyenda after the death of my mother at Nobamba. I removed there when the iHlaba was being *buta'd*. I am sure of this. *It was here (in the umdhlunkulu) that the members of the royal family were brought up.*⁵⁸

Evening. Magidigidi alone.

At Noyenda great numbers of goats were kept, belonging to the king. The goats of anyone killed would be seized and placed at this kraal. When the Noyenda left Taleni for Mbopa's territory, the goats were left at a kraal at Taleni. '*Noyenda, the umazi of the goats.*'

24 Dingana called those 'Izimpohlo' who were Tshaka's regiments.

Amaqalampi, i.e. the regiment that opened the attack, the other regiments being held in check still.⁵⁹

Pakade ka Macingwane and Mpande were on bad terms. Pakade killed Mpande's doctor, Lukunikazi ka Benya of the *Majola* people. This doctor *treated Mpande and strengthened him for the chieftainship when he began his reign.* Mpande sought out Lukunikazi whilst M. was still in Natal near Tongati in temporary shelters. Pakade killed

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this man during the Boer regime; the incident took place in Natal.

Zibolela, Mbonambi, Mgumanqa, Ndabenkulu, Ziyendane, Sipezi, Ntontela, Siklebe, Nobamba, Mbelebele, Kangela.⁶⁰

Isipezi (very old men) - Tshaka's first regiment. Zibolela, Intontela ('*the eyes do not see him*' was its *isitakazelo*).⁶¹

Nobamba is the oldest Zulu royal kraal. I heard that Jama built this kraal, also the Inzimazana kraal. Nobamba, Mqeku, and Inzimazana had the reputation of being the oldest kraals. Mbelebele was so called by Tshaka *because he used it to harass (belesela) other nations*, but the name existed before T. came on the scene.

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File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 1-2.

1 Magidigidi continues.

I do not know the name of Mbelebele before the name was altered by Tshaka.

Nobamba was quite close to eMqekwini kraal, being the one which was in charge of the *graves of the kings*. The *graves* were at the *gate* of this kraal, close by. This was the kraal which *burnt off the grass round the graves so that fire would not reach them*.

Isipezi⁶²

amaWombe - Senzangakona's regiment, comes in hereabouts.

Zibolela - formerly the Mbonambi.

Dhlangubo - Tshaka *destroyed other nations* with these men.

Dhlangezwa

Mgumanqa

Fasimba

uHlontane

Dibinhlangu

Gibabanye

Ngqobolondo

Tshoyisa

Fojisa

Bekenya

Ndabenkulu

There were among the Isipezi those who had *been circumcised*. Tshaka *prohibited circumcision* because *it was harmful*; men should not be '*castrated*' like *cattle*. The *amaWombe stayed at Bulawayo*.

2 The Imvokwe regiment was *buta'd* before the Imkulutshane was.

The reason why Tshaka had so many regiments was because he conquered people in all directions, and so got regiments at a quicker rate, and more of them, than if he had reigned quietly like Dingana and Mpande. Tshaka reigned eleven years, so I was informed. Mdungunya, Kwezi ka Siguda of the Zulu, of the Gibabanye regiment, and Mabandhla ka Msingilili of the Sibiya, of the Gibabanye regiment, all told me this, that Tshaka *ruled* ten years, being killed in the eleventh. Dingana reigned nine and was killed in the tenth year.

Was the Jubingqwanga the uDibinhlangu?

Who *had their headrings cut off* and were told to *kleza*?

Where did Tshaka *put on the headring*?

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File 62, nbk. 72, p. 2.

There was a practice of *butaing* in Zululand under which, though men were *buta'd* all together, some would be cut off and *established*⁶³ in some kraal, taking with them a separate name, although they were recruited at the same time as the main body. So later on confusion arises as to whether they were an independent regiment or merely a section of one, e.g. the Dhlangubo.

9.5.1905, 10.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 3-4.

3 Prepared 9.5.1905 and 10.5.1905.

Regiments of Tshaka and Dingane arranged according to their ages - chronological sequence.⁶⁴

Tshaka

- Isipezi^a - Nongadi ka Dhlaba of the *Dhlahhla* people.
 Mbonambi (Zibolela) - Mpsi ka Mtiwensangu of the *Kubisa* people.
 Dhlangubo^b - Zembe ka Ngobe of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
 Dhlangezwa - Zaviyana ka Ndhlongo of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
 Mgumanqa - Ndwambili ka - <sic>; Gwalala ka Manyala of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
 Fasimba - Ndabana ka Mdhlopi of the *Gabela* people; Somfoca ka Dhlakaisuke; Mandanda ka Nhlambela of the *Ntombela* people.
 uHlontane
 Dibinhlangu^d - Kunyana ka Mlaba of the *Magubane* people; Rala of the *Ngobese* people among the *Qangebeni* people.
 Gibabanye^d - Kwezi; Mabandhla; Mfetshe, who was *induna*, the same age as his regiment. Gwalala and Mabandhla were of the same age, though Gwalala was slightly older. Sirayo and Zembe were about the same age.
 Ngqobolondo^d - Madeyana of the *Nzumalo* people was probably of this regiment.
 Tshoyisa^d - Mntuswa of the *Ndhlovu* people; Kundu of the *Gabela* people.
 Imfolozi^d
 Fojisa^d - Mdungunya ka Matula, for whom I carried mats.
 Bekenya^e - Sirayo ka Ngobe of the *Ndawonde* people.
 Ndabenkulu - Mtimbini ka Mdiyane of the *Ndawonde* people, who belonged to our section of the Cunu tribe.
 Njanduna
 Ingcobinga^f

^aT.'s first regiment.

^bI fancy this was a regiment but it may have been only a section.⁶⁵

^cGwalala was slightly older than Zaviyana, so (the Mgumanqa) is senior to (the Dhlangezwa).

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^dBecame Izimpohlo under Dingana. Are arranged according to ages.
(The Imfolozi and Fojisa) sections sprang up under Dingane at Mgungundhlovu.

^eThe great Ndabenkulu.

^fAlias Jibingqwangi. It became the Izinyosi under Dingana.

Dingana

Izinyosi^a
Dhlambedhlu
Imvokwe
Imkulutshane
Ihlaba^b
Kokoti^c
Insewane^d

^aIngcobinga under Tshaka.

^bIzigulutshane; Ndabakadengizibona.

^cCalled Ndabakawombe by Mpande.

^dBecame uDhlambedhlu under Mpande.

Magidigidi does not know the uPoko (both of them), or the Donqabatwa. The Izinyendane was a regiment of mixed men, of the Hlubi tribes. The amaWombe were Senzangakona's regiment; *in order of age they came after the Isipezi or thereabouts*. In addition to the above were the elderly men at Nobamba, Mbelebele, and Siklebe.

4 There was *the great Ndabenkulu* (i.e. the Bekenya) and *the little Ndabenkulu*, passing under the name of simply Ndabenkulu.

10.5.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 4-11.

Many used to refrain from being *buta'd* although of the same age as those going up. Their motive for doing this was so as to be among the bigger lads in the regiment about to be enlisted. This accounts for men of similar ages belonging to different regiments.

As regards the men Dingana called Izimpohlo, these were all *buta'd* by Tshaka. The names however were given by Dingana, who divided them up into sections at Mgungundhlovu. Dingana caused some of them, e.g. the Fojisa, to cut their headrings off and not to *consummate marriage with girls of their choice*⁶⁶ by having full intercourse, though they might have external intercourse with them. They were to *induce the girls to leave home and come to them, so making the girls izingodosi*.⁶⁷ The Inzawu was *juts'wa'd* for them on the terms stated.⁶⁸

Tshaka was called '*the wrong-doer who knows no Law*'.⁶⁹

5 My impression is that Dibinhlangu, Gibabanye, Ngqobolondo and Tshoyisa were names given by Tshaka, whilst those of Fojisa and Imfolozi were given by Dingana. One should say Dibinhlangu not Dubinhlangu, Jibingqwangi not Jubingqwanga, according to Magidigidi.

.... <Praises of Tshaka, and notes on supernatural phenomena omitted - eds.>

- 9 (Dingana died in 1840.) In those days mere boys did not herd cattle as became the fashion later on, especially in Natal.

.... <Further notes on supernatural phenomena omitted - eds.>

12.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 11-13.

- 11 My grandmother Mandhlela (her maiden name was Kabahle) lived at Noyenda; my mother was at Nobamba. I lived alternately at these kraals. My mother's name was uMasoga; her maiden name was uNomengqo. Soga⁷⁰ was of the amaNgadini people among the Qwabe. I never saw Soga.

- 12 Dingana objected to my grandmother being removed to Nobamba as it was she who looked after the long-haired goats whose skins were worn as clothing. She used to clean my hair of lice. She belonged to the amaNtungwa from up-country who speak with their tongues in a low position, not to those down-country. She belonged to the Mabaso of the Kumalo tribe. (Mncakwana and Ndabankulu were Mabaso.) The Mabaso people built at Ndabankulu near Nhlazatshe.⁷¹ That is where my grandmother came from.

'Ho! Ofe!' is equivalent to 'Ho! Wenzani!'⁷² and is said by the amaNtungwa when they head off anything. They had a separate dialect of their own, these Kumalo people. It was altered by Tshaka.

The amaNtungwa were said by the Zulu etc. to qotshamisa the tongue, whereas the amaLala were said to ratula or tekeza. We see then that 1) tefula, 2) tekeza or ratula, and 3) to qotshamisa the tongue were the three great dialects, viz. the uMzansi (alias uMaansi we nsimu), the amaLala, and the amaNtungwa or umuNhla.⁷³

The amaNtungwa or umuNhla used to say reza meaning deda, and wentani? meaning wenzani?, thereby corresponding with amaLala.⁷⁴

The amaNtungwa speak of themselves as being abaNguni. Tshaka however put an end to this as he said he was umNguni. He was addressed as 'Mnguni, Mnguni of our people!' The amaNtungwa thereupon became afraid of applying this word to themselves.

The amaNtungwa spoke of ugwayi as liqwayi.⁷⁵

- 13 I see that there is a dispute about the word abaNguni, but I cannot understand how it comes about. The amaNtungwa (like Zulus, Qwabes, and Cunus) have a keen desire to speak of themselves as abaNguni, whereas the name appears to have been applicable to some anciently resident people, already here when the Zulus and Qwabes arrived, but I cannot indicate those people. It may be that, as there is this contention, someone went from the south, where the abaNguni were, to the amaNtungwa and there married and settled down, so that the one people contend that they are abaNguni and not the others. Certain it is, whatever may be thought of this theory, that the name umNguni is a precious one to the people of Zululand, being used as one of the profoundest and most reverential salutations to the Zulu kings, who conquered all the tribes of these parts. Tshaka was the first to appropriate the appellation among the Zulu chiefs.

Among the amaLala chiefs the phrase umNguni is commonly used.

The great Nguni people are without doubt the amaXoza. The great bulk of the present nations in south-eastern Africa came from the north.

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Notes

- ¹The victory of Mpande's forces over those of Dingane at Maqongqo in January 1840 established the former as Zulu king. 'IzimPohlo' seems to have been used as a corporate name for certain male *amabutho* that were closely associated with one another from early in Shaka's reign. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 124, 645.
- ²Dinya was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in Stuart Archive, vol. 1. Stuart's estimate of the ages of the Dlambedlu and iziNgulube is corroborated by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646.
- ³For information on the Chunu chief Phakade see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 263, 271-2; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Chunu. John Shepstone, brother of Theophilus, was a prominent figure in the Natal colonial administration. He served as Secretary for Native Affairs from 1876 to 1884.
- ⁴For accounts of the separation of Zulu and Qwabe see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 19, 25; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 174-5, 208. For Nozidiya and the Qwabe see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 186-7. See also Bryant, History, pp. 132-3.
- ⁵The name Nkosinkulu (literally, great chief) does not appear in many versions of the Zulu chiefly line. See for example Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 32-3.
- ⁶Nobamba was one of the ancestral Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ⁷Cf. the Chunu chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 263.
- ⁸Ngwane is the *isithakazelo* of the Khanyile people. For the putative link between the Chunu and Khanyile see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 262.
- ⁹On the *insoyama* as a perquisite of the chief see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 267; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 119; Krige, Social System, p. 56.
- ¹⁰The iThala is a prominent hill between the sources of the Mhlathuze and Nsuze rivers.
- ¹¹For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ¹²The graves of the Zulu chiefs before Shaka are located about the Mphembeni and Mkhumbane streams, which flow from the south into the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. We have not been able to find the map referred to by Stuart among his notes.
- ¹³Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ¹⁴On the Zulu's once having been hawkers of medicines see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 29. *Umkwebi* (pl. *abakwebi*) is the Zulu for trader, merchant.
- ¹⁵Chief of a group of *kholwa* living at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg, and another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁶The Tholo (Tholweni, Zolweni) people lived on the upper reaches of the Mtshezi (Bushman's) and Mkhomazi rivers.
- ¹⁷Cf. the Cube chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 416.
- ¹⁸*Itusi* in the original.
- ¹⁹On the Lala see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 232-5; Bryant, History, index; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ²⁰Bryant, Olden Times, p. 271, records a tradition that Macingwane was eaten by Bhele cannibals near the iLenge hill in northern Natal.

- ²¹The list that follows has been restructured for the sake of clarity.
- ²²As used here, the term *amaboza* seems intended to designate the age-grade formed at the end of a chief's reign and renamed on entering the service of his successor. We have been unable to determine the derivation of the term.
- ²³The original reads, *it' inkos' ingena i buse ngo ka yise*.
- ²⁴The reference is presumably to a tradition recorded by Bryant in the preface to his Zulu-English Dictionary, published in 1905: see p. 42*.
- ²⁵Bryant, Olden Times, p. 687, gives the 'parent-clan' of the Majozi as the Cube and not the Chunu.
- ²⁶I.e. Table Mountain near Pietermaritzburg.
- ²⁷On page 7 of the original there appears Magidigidi's version of the Chunu chiefly genealogy. We reproduce this at the end of the account of the Matshana-Shepstone affair.
- ²⁸John Shepstone's action against Matshana took place in 1858. For further information see Colenso, The Story of Matshana, and The History of the Matshana Enquiry; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 261; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 302, 322.
- ²⁹In the genealogy given below, names grouped under the same descent line appear to be those of brothers.
- ³⁰John Shepstone.
- ³¹The Ntshakane joins the Mporana (Mooi) just below present-day Muden.
- ³²Theophilus Shepstone senior.
- ³³The Mthwalume river flows into the sea near the town of that name on the Natal south coast. For the place of Mahawule (Maraule) in the Mbo (Mkhize) genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ³⁴*Umsizi* is medicine burnt and ground into powder.
- ³⁵See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 198.
- ³⁶For further information on the *umsizi* connection see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 593, Zulu People, p. 519.
- ³⁷The names given are those of Mbo (Mkhize) chiefs. Cf. the chiefly lineages in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406, and Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118. Tilonko was chief of the Mbo section in the Umgeni division.
- ³⁸Bryant, Olden Times, p. 20, and Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 123, locate Nobamba, one of the ancestral Zulu *imizi*, between the Mphembeni and Mkhumbane streams. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 39, gives Mqeku (Mqekwini) as an *umuzi* built by Ndaba, the putative great-grandfather of Shaka.
- ³⁹The original has *izigaba*.
- ⁴⁰The original has *uhlangoti*.
- ⁴¹On the iziMpohlo see note 1 above.
- ⁴²The original has *isibay' esikulu*.
- ⁴³This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page.
- ⁴⁴I.e. the campaign against Soshangane in 1828.
- ⁴⁵Mnkabayi and Mama were sisters of Senzangakhona.
- ⁴⁶The original reads '*Mnkabayi had isizwe....*'
- ⁴⁷On the establishment of the ebaQulusini *umuzi* in the north-west of the Zulu kingdom see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181.
- ⁴⁸This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. The praise literally means 'sharp pain of the stem of the nation'.

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- ⁴⁹The *ihlambo* or 'washing' was the purification ceremony that marked the end of a period of mourning. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 708-9.
- ⁵⁰Ngqengelele kaMvulana of the Buthelezi people seems to have held high office under both Shaka and Dingane. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 134-5, 206; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index under *izinduna*. For further information on Klwana see Bryant, *ibid.* ; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 25, 190.
- ⁵¹Dlungwana was a common praise-name for Shaka.
- ⁵²Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 645, lists the isiGulutshane or inDaba-kade-ngi-zi-bone as a regiment separate from the umKulutshane.
- ⁵³This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page.
- ⁵⁴Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, made several attacks on the Zulu c.1818-c.1819.
- ⁵⁵Mbopha kaSithayi of the eGazini people was Shaka's chief personal attendant and one of his assassins.
- ⁵⁶Magidigidi may be referring to the assassination attempt made on Shaka in July 1824. Henry Fynn, who was present at the time, has left an account of this event in his *Diary*, pp. 83-6.
- ⁵⁷Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people and Dambuza kaSobadli of the Ntombela people were two of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ⁵⁸The original reads *ILapa kwa ku kuliswa abaNtswana (umdhlonkulu)*.
- ⁵⁹This sentence occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. A juxtaposed insertion reads '*kwa ku ngaliwana kwa ku impukane nomvemve*, for this bird will fly up at a fly'. In translation the first part of this sentence would read, 'There was lack of harmony, as between fly and wagtail....' We have been unable to ascertain the connotations of the imagery.
- ⁶⁰The names are of Zulu *amabutho*.
- ⁶¹The telegraphic form of Stuart's notes at this point make it difficult to give a definitive rendering of the original.
- ⁶²As is made clear on p. 3 of the original, the list that follows is of the names of *amabutho* formed by Shaka.
- ⁶³The original has *telwa'd*.
- ⁶⁴We have imposed our own structure on the original lists and annotations. Stuart does not indicate the significance of the personal names that follow the regimental names.
- ⁶⁵The original has *xiba*.
- ⁶⁶The original has *omakoti*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 373, gives *umakoti* as 'Bride, newly-taken young wife - freq. applied to a girl already *lobola'd*, just previous to the wedding....'
- ⁶⁷According to Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 188, *ingodosi* or *ingoduso* means 'Betrothed girl, who has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding'.
- ⁶⁸The inZawu was an age-group formed c.1829 of young women born in the early years of the nineteenth century.
- ⁶⁹*Itshinga e li nge namteto* in the original.
- ⁷⁰I.e. Magidigidi's mother's father.
- ⁷¹Ntabankulu is a mountain at the sources of the Black Mfolozi south-west of present-day Vryheid; Nhlazatshe is a mountain on the north bank of the White Mfolozi west of Mahlabathini.
- ⁷²I.e. 'What do you think you are doing?'
- ⁷³*Ukuqoshamisa*, literally 'to cause to squat', here means 'to keep

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the tongue low'. *Ratula* (*hadula*) means to 'use abundance of harsh sounds, as the amaLala' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 220). *Tekeza* and *thefula* are explained in the Glossary. *Umzansi* means a person from down-country, *umunhla* a person from up-country.

⁷⁴*Ukudeda* means to get out of the way; *wenzani?* means 'What are you doing?'

⁷⁵I.e. tobacco or snuff.