

MKANDO KA DHLOVA

9.7.1902, Wednesday.

File 70, p. 26.

Also present: Dhlozi? Mkando's wife?

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these latter we have been unable to locate - eds.>

- 26 Dhlozi arrives with Mkando from Mapumulo Division, a man aged I should think about 74, for he belongs to the Isangqu regiment and was a year or so old when Tshaka was killed.¹ I hope to get a good deal of information from him. He was born in the Nkandhla district, where Chief Nonzama lives, near the Mhlatuze river.² He is accompanied by his wife.

Per Mkando, 9.7.1902.

Dingana did not believe there were *abatakati*, so he once directed that persons were to sleep in the open round the kraal and to arrest and bring to him any *umtakati* that should be caught.

The *impi* sent to Pondoland by Tshaka was an *ihlambo* one on account of the death of his mother.³

Chief Matshwili is a grandson or great grandson of Dingiswayo.⁴

Girls used to carry mats as *carrier-boys* (*udibi*) did, in time of war (Tshaka's day).

10.7.1902

File 70, pp. 27-9.

Also present: Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 1-4 - eds.>

Per Mkando, 10.7.1902.

- 27 His mother was not *butwa'd*. Girls who had been *buta'd* spent some time after being placed in their class before being given the order permitting marriage.⁵ His mother was of the Cele people and has been long dead. The Cele people were scattered by Tshaka. Mkando's elder brother was of the Izinyosi regiment. Mande ka Dibandhlela was chief when his mother married.⁶

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The following is a full list of the classes of girls since Tshaka began to reign:⁷

- 1 uMcekekeke - first *ibuto* by Tshaka. Became *izingodosi* [i.e. a girl that is still at her parents but is being *lotsholwa'd*].
- 2 uNtshuku - were *izingodosi*.
- 3 uMvutwamini - these *married men of the uFasimba* regiment and were not *izingodosi*.
- 4 Icenyane - *married in Dingana's time*; they were not *izingodosi*.
[uNkisimana - per Maziwana, 22.4.1905. This is the class that took part in the *ihlambo impi* to Pondoland.⁸ It was *buta'd* at Dukuza.⁹]
- 5 Inzawu - Dingana's class. *Married men of the Izimpohlo*.
- 6 Ikwani - Dingana's class. *Married men of the Izimpohlo*.
[Imbabazane - per Ngidi, August, 1904.]
- 7 iSihlabati - these *married*.
- 8 Inkehlela-mncwedeni (-mncwadeni) - *asked for by men with cattle*.
- 9 Ingcotsho
- 10 Gudhludonga
- 11 Isitimana
- 12 iNgcugce
- 13 uTiyane
- [14 Isigqoko-si-ka-Kwini or Imbenge-ka-Kwini - per Socwatsha, 24.1.1904. No sooner did Cetshwayo so name them than the war broke out.]¹⁰

Mbonambi is the name of one of Tshaka's regiments. Its *praise-name* is uNdukuzibomvu. It *follows the uFasimba in age*.

The Izinyosi, Dhlambedhlu, Imkulutshane and Imvokwe were all *permitted to put on the head-ring* by the influence of the Boers.¹¹

Mkando's father and grandfather *put on the headring*. He, Mkando, belongs to the eLangeni tribe, and the old chief was Makedama ka Mgabi. Makedama *crossed over* into Natal: he returned with a horse and was afterwards put to death by Tshaka's order.

The *praise-name* 'Ndabezita', applied to the Zulu people, was a name of the Mbata people. The Zulus were known as Lubololwenja; Tshaka considered the word a bad one and changed it to 'Ndabezita'.¹²

Mkando did not *put on the headring* by direction; he did so on his own initiative in Natal after flying from Zululand. He *crossed over* when the Dududu was being *buta'd* and before Mpande died.¹³ He belonged to the iziGqozo that fought for Mbuyazi.¹⁴ He is of the Isangu or Amatshitshi regiment.

28 The Tswana were *married* by the Isitimana class. No sooner did Cetshwayo *begin his reign* than he *juba'd* the Ingcugce girls.

Mkando was born and remained until after the battle of Ndondakusuka in Zululand.¹⁵

He does not know what regiments Dingiswayo had. Amongst those of Zwide were the Amapela and Isikwitshi, and (among) those of Senzangakona, the Intontela and Amawombe.¹⁶

Regiments were mustered or collected according to age - *ngo buntanga* - and not on the basis of puberty (*tombaing*). For they *herded* cattle together as boys, and naturally those not *at the age of puberty* went with their companions when the order arrived from the king to muster up.

As regards girls, when directed to fall into a given class, there was no hard and fast line as to the ages and sizes of those included therein. The question as to whether they should belong to that class or not was left to their own inclinations; if they chose, they could wait, especially if they were young. One thing is clear, that only full-grown girls were *buta'd*, all of whom had, of course, arrived at the age of puberty. As a matter of fact no young girl cared to rank herself with others much older than herself.

The order to *put on the headring* came from the king, but, as in the case of the Isangqu regiment, the *izinduna* might hint or suggest the propriety of issuing such an order.

As far as Mkando's experience goes, there is nothing unusual in a lover proceeding to his sweetheart's kraal and there passing the night, and those in the hut going out, leaving the couple to themselves. The two would sleep in a *boy's hut*.

Ndukwana says distinctly that such a practice is totally at variance with what obtained among the people he lived with. Such an arrangement would never be tolerated. The plan was for the lover to agree with the girl where to meet, i.e. at what kraal, and she would steal away in the night to that place, after everyone had gone to sleep, and, after passing the night with her lover, return before anyone was up. It was not the custom to spend the night together in the field away from a kraal.

There is a term or word in Zulu called *bilinga*; this means what the Swazi word *guzela* means, i.e. forcible seizure of cattle without authority [trial?] of the king. This kind of thing happened among those many persons who *crossed over* with Mpande when the 'rope broke'.¹⁷

29 Lobola formerly took place with *hoes* and *brass beads*.

Mkando says he *crossed over* before having *put on the headring*. He was an isiGqoza and fought for Mbuyazi at Ndongakusuka.

It once happened that Cetshwayo, who had given orders for the killing of one Nomavovo - his orders being disobeyed - took a *bundle of assegais* and deliberately stabbed with his own hands ten men or so of the Usutu regiments.¹⁸ He did this on account of the regiments refusing to go; their refusal however was based on a fear lest Cetshwayo himself should be killed in their absence, for, it must be borne in mind, there was a strong belief that Mbuyazi was still living.

In Zululand there were very few *izirobo*. By *izirobo* was meant a girl who had allowed herself to be deflowered (*mekezisa*). There were, as a matter of fact, very few girls who, when *somaring*, could not take the necessary precautions guarding against the semen of the men passing into her - for she knew she would of course lose value when the amount of *lobola* was being fixed.

Izirobo were treated with great contempt. People spat at or towards them to show the disgust they felt for them. An *isifebe* was a girl who *hlobonga'd* with two or more men at the same time (during the same month) and had not been *mekezisa'd*, whilst an *izirobo* was one who had been *mekezisa'd* and was like a prostitute, though of course she did not

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sell herself for money or hire, such a proceeding being foreign to native ideas. [Inquire further.]

Litigation in Zululand was distinctly limited. Mkando never remembers a case of *lobola* coming before a chief. The parties always managed, in such matters, to settle between themselves outside any interference by constituted authority. Where a man had died, and his wives and daughters had scattered, going with children to others, the matter did become one requiring a chief's interference; (similarly) a case of dispute as to heirship.

11.7.1902

File 70, pp. 29-31.

Also present: Dhlozi

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 5-7 - eds.>

Per Mkando. The months are as follow (assisted by Dhlozi):¹⁹

- 1 uNcwaba - when the grass sprouts, and the land is good; brownness disappears, and the land looks fresh (ncwaba).
- 2 uMpandu or uMandulo - when the amabele are planted; the second name was given because the king was shown respect, i.e. Mpande.²⁰
- 3 uMfumfu - when the young maize plants are sprouting (fumfusa), when the flower is beginning to form.
- 4 uLwezi - when the ulwezi larva drops from the trees.
- 5 uZibandhlela - when the path (indhlela) cannot be seen because it is overgrown.
- 6 uMasingana or uNhlolanja - when people look for (singa) the pumpkins.
- 7 uNgcela or uNgcela-mkwakazi - when a man's mother-in-law goes to visit her married daughter to ask for (cela) maize. She does so because she sees that people are now eating new maize.
- 8 uNdasa - when people have plenty to eat and children leave maize cobs to burn on the hearth; when maize is plentiful.
- 9 uMbasa - when fires are lit (basa).
- 10 uNhlaba - when the aloe (inhlaba) which grows amidst the amabele is stabbed at; when there grows the aloe which is gathered by boys. 'I am going to pick the inhlaba (or umhlaba)' - both right, so this month may derive its name from the aloe.
- 11 the Little uluTuli or Little uNhlangu - the one which sweeps up (hlangula) the leaves of the trees.
- 12 the Great uluTuli or Great uNhlangu or Maquba - when all the twigs are shaken off; when dust (utuli) is raised (quba).

Izingodosi were given by Tshaka to the Isipezi regiment. They married and after a time returned to their fathers' places. Amongst Tshaka's regiments were the uBulawayo, uMgumanqa (dressed their hair up like the comb of a cock), uGubetuka, iziYendane (which defeated the Amampondo), Dhlangezwa, Mbonambi ('of the red sticks'), Fasimba, Izimpohlo (Dhlozi would be the son of a member of the Fasimba regiment),

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and Izinnyosi. Tshaka was about to *buta* the uDhlambedhlu when killed. The Dhlambedhlu of course was mustered by Dingana. Then there were the uMyehe, uMtshamate, uDhlangubo, and uPoko regiments. The iziMpohlo were made up of the Gibabanye, Ngqobolondo, Isitunyisa (*who were given the guns and horses of the Boers*).²¹ The AmaNkentshane was one of Dingana's *butos* at Emgungundhlovu.

The *izingodosi* were not supposed to be *deflowered* (*mekezisa'd*); some, however, went wrong; they were given permission only to *soma*. If any bore children, the latter were hidden away.

The amaGovu and iziBawu were *butwa'd* by Mpande.

Dingana *built in the Swazi country* with the Mbelebele and Nomdayana regiments, also the iMkulutshane (Dulela). [*Induna? No, a section (isigaba) of the regiment.*]

uSihlambisinye - *so-called by the Usutu; they said this of the Zulu who arrived on the day that Ndondakusuka was fought. They were of the Usutu section.*²²

- 31 amaGovu - *of the main section (isibaya esikulu) at Emlambongwenya.*²³
iziBawu - were put at Mdumezulu.²⁴

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File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 8-10.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 8 *Isigodhlo. Girls were sent up by people.*²⁵ No one was to go in - only *izinceku*.

I used to live at Nodwengu.²⁶

Ikanda beyond kwaNdhlangubo across the Umhlatuze, at oKula, present Lower Umfolozi magistracy.²⁷

My father, Dhlova ka Maqabi ka Vezi ka Mjomba ka Sodidi, lived at Entumeni, at the Mvuzana.²⁸

Girls of big people.

Ikanda called Esangqwini, at Kwa Relerele.²⁹

There was an *isigodhlo* of *wives and girls and women who were forfeit (isizi)*.³⁰ All *amakanda* and chief kraals had *isigodhlo*.

There were two *chief wives*: 1. Nozidhlokhlo ka Tandizwe, chief wife of Ndhlela at that kraal, mother of Mavumengwana; 2. Masakatayi, the *junior one, of the uhlangoti section of the umuzi*.³¹

There were 26 girls, all *isizi*. (When a man was killed, girls were taken, also cattle.)

The great *isigodhlo* at Nodwengu, Umlambongwenya, Emdumezulu, Esiklebeni.³²

- 9 Three *isigodhlo*: the great black one - no one goes there; the great white one; the white one - the huts of the wives. Where people enter is the *uhlangoti*.

The Kandempemvu killed only two girls *up on the Nkandhla*. Some were killed at Ondini, girl and man married to and put chest to chest. The Zulu people *were amazed at this*.³³

(Ndukwana) says no girl was killed at Ondini.

Girls were put to men at night and *married without canguzaing*.³⁴

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The Ngcugce girls' fathers married them off; a girl *would marry* at once at night *or by day*.

Girls were sent to *izikulu* to marry and get 100 or so cattle.

The isigodhlo became important in Tshaka's time.

Senzangakona had not many *imikuba*.³⁵

A beast that died was reported in Tshaka's day before being *cut up*, for it would be said he stabbed it or *puzisa'd* it with water.³⁶

10 The *isigodhlo* was at the head of the kraal.

The iBeja (iBeje) was the *mdhlunkulu of Dingana*. It was not an *umuzi* but *the great isigodhlo*.³⁷

The amaPoto *was the little umuzi* at the back of Nodwengu. *It was Mpande's; the precincts were held in great awe.* (There were) amaPoto at Nodwengu, Emlambongwenya, and Emdumezulu.

The *isigodhlo* was shut at night. (There were) huts at the gates of the *isigodhlo*. *There were guards; they ate the foreleg of a beast.*

12.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 10-11.

Also present: Dhlozi

I was born at Enhlababo hill on the Mhlatuze, this side, near the Nkandhla. My *isibongo* is Lutuli. My father had people - many.

The Amacunu of Macingwane ka Luboko built *on the upper Mhlatuze*. *They were scattered by Tshaka. They crossed into Natal and built at the Mgeni. They were again scattered, and lived across the Mkomazi - Tshaka again scattered them.*

11 I went to the eLangeni, *to the place of the people of Makedama ka Mgabi, Tshaka's maternal uncle*. I did not run away. Others of the Lutuli tribe ran away into Natal.

We hear that the Lutuli *originated* at the Empapala, where Mavumengwana lived.³⁸ Dhlova etc., my ancestors up to Sodidi, lived at the Mpapala.

We are not Amantungwa who *came down with a grain basket*.³⁹ We are Amalala.⁴⁰ We do not know where the Amalala came from. This name arose in Tshaka's time because they went about hiding and eating *imihlakanya* woodborers (insects).

Dhlozi saw the Emakabeleni (people) near Greytown eating *imihlakanya* after roasting. Amalala ate these - *those who said 'Ku tite'*.⁴¹

There is a rumour or tradition that we came from the north.

I *remained in the eLangeni country*, from which I was *buta'd* by Mpande.

13.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 12-16.

12 My father had four kraals and 80 wives. My mother was *asked for from Nomatshe of the Cele people* (my maternal grandfather). I had many sisters; some were of the Mvutwa and Inzawu (*amabuto*). My father's sisters were of the Ntshuku. My eldest brothers were of the Izinyosi. Buzi died at the Mkomazi *at the place of the people of Mncindo ka Tshoba* - he was an Innyosi. Guyeni (another brother) was of the Mkulutshana regiment. All my 'mothers' are dead.

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There was no *circumcision* in Tshaka's reign. I was borne by an *insokane* (those *circumcised*). The Amawombe (*ibutho*), I fancy, had not *been circumcised*. I say this because there was a member of the Amawombe among the Langeni who had not, as I heard, *been circumcised*. My father, however, *was circumcised*. My father was (of) the Sibubulungu of *Makedama ka Mgabi*.⁴² The Swazis have the reputation of *circumcising* a great deal. Tshaka ordered *circumcision* to discontinue. Zokufa ka Mtsholozha had *been circumcised* and was of my father's age-group.⁴³ Manqondo (father of Qetuka) ka Mazwane had also *been circumcised*.⁴⁴ Zokufa was of the Cube people at the Nkandhla. Manqondo was of the Magwaza people. Makedama ka Mgabi was a *chief of the Langeni people*.

Makedama's sons and wives were all killed by Tshaka. Tshaka killed him because he fed him with *hot curds poured into his hands*. T. had gone there as a boy. Nandi was of the *Langeni people*. Tshaka never went to the *Qwabe country*. The cattle of Nandi, *with which she married*, were given to Mababaza, the father of Nkomo who was at Bulawayo and *induna* to Tshaka. Mababaza's father is Nkayana ka Sonkomose. Mababaza was of the *eLangeni people*. Nandi *went away and bore* Ngwadi by Gendeyana (not Ngeyeyana).⁴⁵ Ngwadi was taken to Tshaka. He built a large kraal where Mvundhlana lived.⁴⁶ Ngwadi was known as '*The stick of the one who cuts down trees*' (*intonga yomgawuli*). He followed Tshaka in age. I do not know where Gendeyana lived but I think *in the Qwabe country among the Mbedweni people (an isibongo of their house)*. The chief of the Mbedweni was Mpunzi ka Vumazonke. *Nandi's marriage cattle were collected from the whole country*, and taken to Mababaza, Nandi's father (elder brother). But these were cattle '*of the tears*' (*izinyembezi*) - tears for Nandi - and were given to Mababaza.

Nandi died when I was very young. I was fed on the *izinyembezi* cattle. No one that year ate *curds* - only Mababaza. *Gourds* that year throughout were hidden *in the bushes*. The *izinyembezi* cattle were at the eNtengweni kraal of Mababaza; it was at the Nhlababo (hill) at the Mhlatuze.

I had a brother Mkelekehle, youngest of all my father had, and he was of the Mboza regiment. My father was killed by Tshaka.

Ngwadi was *killed* by Dingana.

I heard that Tshaka stayed at Ntengweni. He may of course have gone to stay with her at Gendeyana's,⁴⁷ but he was treated badly at Entengweni, and that is why he killed Makedama - for that *grudge*. I was nearly killed.

Isigodhlo. Tshaka was the first to build an *isigodhlo*. The girls of *isigodhlo* were presented as tribute (*isitulo*) to the Zulu king. The *izinceku* used to go out, and when they saw any good-looking girl they would report and the girl would be *taken*. The king would send for her. All persons of importance would *present daughters to the king*. All great men would do this. And whenever any person should be killed, all the children would be *taken to enlarge the isigodhlo*. Up to the Zulu War this practice obtained, and very large numbers came by it to be *in the isigodhlo*. When Mpande died he left Cetshwayo the *isigodhlo* which Cetshwayo inherited. This became the *inheritance of the great house*. The *isigodhlo* of all *amakanda* etc. broke up when Cetshwayo was captured. (Cetshwayo once *fetches isigodhlo girls from Zibebu*.)

The king wanted the *isigodhlo* for his wives. It was also a source

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16 of wealth, for the people used to *lobola* after he had *married off girls* to them. The *isigodhlo* was an attribute of authority. They were treated with great respect.

Izilomo who received presents gave tribute (*etula'd*).⁴⁸ A number who received presents did not *etula*. No ordinary person could go and *etula* to the king; he would have to be asked.

Those who would *etula* would be Sibonkolo ka Malitshi who gave two girls; Manqondo (father of Qetuka) who gave two girls; Myakayaka ka Ndosi who gave two girls; Sotobe ka Mpangalala who gave two girls.⁴⁹ These girls were all *fetched*. Mapita ka Jama had girls at Emlambo-nwenya; Mqundane ka Nobongoza also had girls *etula'd*, and Ludhlongo-lwana and many others.⁵⁰

14.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 16-21.

The *canguza dancing* took place in an *isigodhlo*, which no one saw. The king was not *married to these girls* and no *marriage party* came from the girl's home. Girls of the *isigodhlo* whom the king did not
17 care for he married out to people for 30 cattle, also 40 and 50. The princesses were *lobola'd* for 200 or so.⁵¹ Marwanqa *lobola'd* with 15 head for one of the *isigodhlo* girls; these cattle however were paid to her elder brother, Njwakumbana ka Nodade, by direction, and not to the king. Marwanqa was *induna* of Ndabakawombe. Mpande *juba'd* the Ndabakawombe.

Another girl was *married off to* Maronga ka Mgamanca of the *Ntuli* people, brother of Mavumengwana; she was *married off* by Mpande. She was *lobola'd* for 30 cattle. These cattle were taken to Ezingulubeni, i.e. where the Ingulube regiment lived.

The *isigodhlo* was very large in Mpande's and Dingana's reigns. Cetshwayo inherited (it from) Mpande's reign. *It was not dispersed.*

No girls were asked for from the *isigodhlo* with oxen, as were girls not *juba'd* who were living with their fathers. These girls were not made to choose a husband, or spoken to. They were treated with great respect. People would make way for them.

18 The *isigodhlo* girls were simply called the *wndhlunkulu*. No girls of these were *buta'd* or belonged to any class. The *isigodhlo*, at the *umkosi* ceremonies, would emerge with the king after he had been ritually strengthened. He would go to the assembly; he was summoned forth in the early morning.

There was no *jubaing* of these *isigodhlo* girls; they *married one by one*. None escaped from the *isigodhlo*. People used to be looked out for who had cattle, and the girls would be *married off* to them. These men would not ask, but be offered the girl, which of course he would accept and *lobola*. If necessary, he would be helped by members of his tribe.

Mpande did not *marry off* his daughters; they were *married off by* Cetshwayo. One was *married off to* Masompo of the *Mpungose* people; his father was Nqakaneni. He *lobola'd* with 60 (cattle), sending the cattle to Emdumezulu where the *isigodhlo* was.

19 The *izinceku* were at the *isigodhlo*. They stayed just outside the *isigodhlo*. Mpande's *izinceku* were Mfinyeli (dead) ka Nguzalele of the *Xulu* people...; Vumindaba (dead - killed by the Mandhlakazi at Ondini) ka Nteti; Dazukile (dead); and many others.⁵²

Cetshwayo's *izinceku* were Sambela (dead) ka Nkuku; Masekwane; Bejane

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ka Nomageje; Zeyize (dead) ka Mtendeka of the Langeni people; Mzuzu (dead); Mnjunju (alive near Eshowe).

People from Natal and Zululand came to fetch their girls who formerly formed the *isigodhlo* the instant the British Government directed them to be returned, which happened after the Zulu War when Sir M. Osborn was at Nhlazatshe.⁵³

The *isigodhlo* was at every *ikanda*, even a small one, even though the king never visited there. Mpande latterly only visited at Mdumezulu.

20 The *isigodhlo* had no distinguishing mark about them. They went along paths ordinary people did not use. They did not enter by the gate but through small openings at the upper end of the *umuzi*.

14.7.1902, Monday afternoon. Mkando.⁵⁴ *Umjadu* dance; put forth the foot; we *konza'd* with the body; clapping.

21 We work. Why suffer so much? Roads for Government - no one stays at home, all go for *isibalo*.⁵⁵ No one picks medicine herbs for children to drink. We complain of being in trouble, do not manufacture money. His *mabele* are taken. There were favourites in Zululand who were not given trouble. We give praise because of the fighting; approve not calling us out to fight; we never attacked (you) because in difficulties. We went out to fight. We *konza'd* and *konza'd*. We do suffer hardship. We remain alone at home. Mere immature boys enrolled on roads. When will the roads be finished? Come from *isibalo* and find children dead etc. This is a great grievance. We did not fight, we *konza'd*, therefore should be treated with more consideration. We are afraid of speaking out and telling our troubles. We at first were proud to belong to the white people but ere long found our troubles grow. No *hunts*, no *imjadu* dances, no *guba* dances, no dressing up, no nice shields.

15.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 5, p. 21.

Also present: Ndukwana?

I once entered the *isigodhlo* at Nodwengu, being called by the king. I went into the place of Magulana, the chief wife's huts, where food was being eaten.⁵⁶ The king ordered me to be given some beer. Seketwayo ka Nhlaka tried to interfere, saying the *beer pot* was too big for me, but Magulana interfered and said the king had given the beer.⁵⁷ (Seketwayo was a *thickset* man). I did not go into the principal hut but remained seated outside. I entered about 10 a.m. Ntshingwayo ka Marole was there too.⁵⁸ Ntshingwayo's son and heir now living is Zinceku.

I do not know how the *isigodhlo* passed their time and amused themselves. They cultivated *amabele*. Any person having illicit intercourse with the *mdhlunkulu* girls would be killed. Mrabalala, an *inceku* at Dukuza in the Zulu country just below Emtongjaneni, was killed by Mpande because he lay with a girl of the *mdhlunkulu*.

Ngqumbazi, Cetshwayo's own mother, stayed at Kwa Gqikazi. Ndukwana once entered and spoke to Ngqumbazi herself, asking for food whilst keeping watch over the *amabele*. This *isigodhlo* was known as Engonyameni.

Mapepu was the great *inceku* of Dingana, and Mtwendi ka Sitibeni was an *inceku* of Dingana.

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File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 22-3.

22 Barter. If a person purchases a beast and it dies at the vendee's within a year it has to be replaced. In *lobolaing*, a year elapsed before the contract between the parties was considered to be over. Although a girl had married, 'her' cattle remained with her father at the risk of her husband, who had to replace any dying. A year, and a good long one, was the limit within which the father could claim a refund of a beast dying. For in those days cows in calf were reckoned as two, and the year was therefore fixed on to allow the cow to calve. And so, the bride dying before bearing a child, her father must either find another girl or refund the cattle. If she was barren and died, the cattle must be returned, but they could not be claimed whilst she was still living.

A beast was bought with *amabele*, *goats and hoes*. If it died, an action would arise, for he would say, '*They have brought me no good.*'.
23 If it had borne a calf there would be no claim, for *now the calf would count*. If a pregnant beast calved and the calf died, he would go and report it, for (i.e. in re *lobola*) it had been counted and must be replaced.

Spoons would be asked for. *Milk buckets and assegais* were bought with goats. A *knobbed stick* would be asked for. *Shields* were asked for. *Headrests* were bought or asked for. The goat was the chief medium of purchase. There were also *sheep (izimvu)*. These were of higher value than a goat.

Dingane said all fowls were to be killed off, but all as a matter of fact were not quite destroyed, for I saw some at Emlambongwenya and Nodwengu before the battle of Ndongakusuka. Fowls were eaten by boys, not by men.

23.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 5, pp. 23-4.

Hlonipa. Women cover themselves in the presence of their fathers-in-law, and slightly in the presence of the mother-in-law. If a father-in-law's name is like any word used, that word is altered. The wife's mother says *usebele* or *my umlingani* to the husband's parents.⁵⁹ A wife's
24 mother treats her son-in-law with respect, but not his father, whom she addresses as *umlingani*. The husband's mother will however assist the wife as midwife.

Hlonipa is very prevalent among natives. *Old women hlonipa their old fathers*. A husband will not go to the side of the hut his mother-in-law is on. A mother-in-law would put on the *umqwazi* (head ornament of beads) over her head and cover her breasts. A mother-in-law does not call her son-in-law by name.

29.7.1902. Silverton Road - <evidence given 27.7.1902>

File 71, pp. 70-4.

Also present: Ndukwana, Dhlozi

<The statements given below represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 1-9 - eds.>

70 29.7.1902. Silverton Road. Conversation with Mkando, Ndukwana and Dhlozi.

I called on the three men (on Sunday 27th instant) one after the other to point out how they consider natives should be treated by Europeans (English, Dutch, Portuguese), who have, of course, come to South Africa to stay. Europeans are anxious to hear from natives what they have to say. What is it then natives think and feel? What about Asiatic immigration?

Mkando says: I regret that we native people have no fit spokesmen, for there is no unity amongst us. What we want is to live a comfortable existence. Long we have *konza'd*; we at the very outset *konza'd*. When we came into Natal there were no farms. Now we are in trouble. We are *the calves of Tshaka*, a man who *konza'd* to the English through Sifile and Sotobe.⁶⁰ When Tshaka died he said the white men would overrun the land; *the whole land would be white with the light of the stars; it would be overrun by 'swallows'*. We are your dogs. *You do not reciprocate our konzaing*. Why do you trouble us? *We are not comfortable (neibilikile)*; we do not feel as if we were at home. *You make a law; we obey it*. Again you *make a law* and we accept and obey it. Over and over again you promulgate fresh laws and we abide by them cheerfully, and this sort of thing has continued until we have become old and grey-headed, and not even now, advanced in years as we are, do we know the meaning of your policy. We cut away the wild forests for sugar plantations and towns; we dig your roads. When will this digging of roads cease? We are made to live on farms and pay rent, and are imprisoned if we cannot pay. You chase our wives out of our homes by facilitating divorce. How is it you come to treat us thus, seeing we are your people? Where is that government or king that owns no land? Why are individuals able to oust government subjects from the soil? Why are we put to trouble in respect to farms, with the numerous regulations in connection therewith? We have, in fact, finished all the roads. We have to go out leaving no one in charge of our homes and children behind. Where shall we run to? When you went to fight Cetshwayo, you called us to help; we did so, and marched off with you to fight as allies. Had you called on us in the late war to fight we would readily have done so, but no demand was made for our services. How can you tell that we do not belong to you? What is it we do that bars and negatives our belonging to you?

71 Our children go off and become converts. We have no control over them. We are in trouble. Our children *lose contact with their homes*, and we lose that wealth which according to ancient custom is vested in them. Let that land which is government land appear, and let us black people build and dwell thereon, and enjoy some security and rest. *The natives belong to one ruler*; they may not be owned just by everyone and anyone.

Dhlozi follows and says: We never heard much of the Portuguese at any time. But we came into sharp contact with the Boers. They were our enemies. War began and continued until the English arrived on the scene. Peace smiled on the land, and we rejoiced on getting what we thought were 'sweet' people. From Zululand, far and near, came refugees to the English. As each arrived, he exclaimed, *'How glad I am!'* We black people never at any time fought against the English. It was the English who came and fought with us. Not Natal natives, but the Zulus fought

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against the English. The Englishmen directed us to *pay up*, viz. *they imposed taxes on us*. We *obeyed* and *paid* as ordered. After a while taxes were raised to 14s; we did not demur, because they were people we respected, even though the tax weighed heavily.⁶¹ At first we did as we liked with our children, following ordinary custom, but the English objected and we agreed. We were told to dig roads on all the hills and mountains of the land. We complied. Then many *governors (Rulumenis)* arose; the land was *divided* and cut up into islands (*iziqingqi*), i.e. locations. On this a great grievance arose. For when you built on a white man's land you would have something claimed from you by the European in respect to what you had built. You feel *pulled* from both sides, (a) the government, (b) the owner (European) of the farm, the result being you are puzzled as to which side you should turn. Thus we remained on top of a coal of fire, having no place to go to. The white man, as often as he found his wish uncomplished, orders us to quit his farm. Seeing we are unprovided with wings, we are therefore unable to fly off into the sky and build in regions perchance to be found there. The ground is hard or we would have dug ourselves away out of sight, for we would run away and hide ourselves, they being our *chiefs* and we afraid of them. We are *oppressed (cindezela'd)*, and shut in (hemmed in) by the sea. Had not this been the case we would long ago have fled from this land, but you have come upon the bucks all cornered in one spot; you *overcame* them, they consenting the whole time to be suppressed. We do feel in trouble here in Natal. You refuse to let us build on the land. Long ago would we have gone off to other regions if we could, to see what the life to be got there was like. You seize our small herds to satisfy debts that ought never, in the first place, to have arisen.

Ndukwana follows, saying: I agree with the foregoing speakers. The foreigners (the coolies etc.) are forced in among us. It was as friends that we received you. Cetshwayo, it is true, fought, but, if you remember, it was not he who began the war. You Europeans are always bent on quarrelling. Cetshwayo did not *make war* in Natal. He willingly allowed the Englishman to live in and occupy Natal, although it was well known the land was part of Tshaka's dominions. After this we imagined we lived, and were to continue to live, on friendly terms.

We are in trouble about the farms. A man comes along and says the land is his, and yet he does not even live on it; being an absentee even from quite another part of the country. How can we *give praise*, seeing that practically the whole land is in possession of various individuals who have purchased it with money? To whom shall the subjects living on such land belong, seeing the government has allowed itself to be ousted from there?

If there was any land, if the sea did not exist, long ago would people have gone off, leaving the white man behind. We look on it as a mere empty phrase to say, '*The governor is the father of the land,*' for people *fall into difficulties under him. His word is not heard*, i.e. as to how he is governing, how he endeavours to meet and deal with the various grievances. The land belongs to isolated and independent European individuals. There is no one who is prominent among them. If a man *presents* himself and complains of being turned off the land, the magistrates merely say he must quit, and such counsel is given without indicating where he is to go to.

72 We have no *mbuzeli*, no protector of our interests, *no one*. We are

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simply in a sea of trouble.

We do not object in any way to paying government taxes; we do not find these too heavy or irksome. What we do feel is having no place to build on.

To the above statements I replied. I said the English have affection for the natives. They do what they consider best. They must impose their civilization on them, seeing they hold that the truest. They give of their best. They appear to oppress; this is done only to drive them into learning. Purchase of land by individuals is a very ancient system, and it is not natural to suppose it shall be abandoned for the sake of the natives; besides, no native is prohibited from buying land. The European is anxious that the native should labour, and in order to get him to do this expedients are adopted which press heavily in other directions, and the influence of such action is misunderstood by natives.

Dhlozi goes on: Yes, but we do buy farms. We pay instalments on them. After paying for some time, inability to pay arises and the farm falls in again to the government. This is a matter bearing directly on polygamy, for under monogamy a man can afford to accumulate wealth and buy land. No one, it is true, is disallowed to buy. It was the Queen herself who *threw us away*.

Mkando continues: There was no *paying of taxes in the Zulu country*. People were simply *taken in (tola'd)* and assigned to some chief or headman. The Tongas did not *pay taxes*, for *the skins of wild animals were asked for, not paid as tax*. Tongas brought ivory to the Zulus as presents, and were given cattle in return. Taxes are paid even for dogs, under English rule, when they serve no service worth taxing. Bucks may not be killed. On any public occasion chiefs will not permit anyone to *state grievances etc. (pendula)*, being prejudiced on account of the stipend they draw year by year. Chiefs and others are afraid of speaking out what they feel.

74 Dhlozi continues: Fences (barbed wire etc.) are a source of great annoyance to the people. One is obliged to go a long way off the path he has been used to. We cannot go and find goldfields of our own and *manufacture* money, or we would have done this and bought land.

It will be seen neither of the speakers could suggest a policy; they contented themselves in stating their grievances in a more or less forcible manner.

29.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 9-10.

Also present: Ndukwana

9 *The 'breaking of the rope'; we do not see how the rope lies - Mpande's secession, and when people were dispersed; a dividing up of a nation, splitting up.*

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

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The rope (*igoda*) used to be made to measure the king's kraals. Mkando knows this: such ropes of grass were so called.

*The famine of the piece of cloth; the drought of Mbete.*⁶²

10 Mbete built at eDlokweni on the Tukela.⁶³ He went to Zululand to make rain but he made the sun shine and caused the rain to hold off. *On the buck was a piece of cloth. When it ran, the cloth fluttered. Mbete escaped and died in Natal.*

Spies were caught. Mbete was at Kwa Gqikazi. Ndukwana knows him. N. went and asked for medicine from him. I had not put on the headring. It was shortly before Ndondakusuka [1856]. Mbete was a doctor but one for making rain. Mbete was supposed to have given the buck a cloth which fluttered in the wind as it ran.

To say, '*The rope broke,*' is merely an expression. The expression only had reference to the flight of Mpande from Dingana, not to the breaking up of the Zulu people by giving up their own habits to accept European ones. Mpande *split off with his following (isizwe)*, and in that way the rope broke.

Amakolwa say to those 'undressed' they are *amaqaba*.⁶⁴

31.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 11-12.

11 Mkando ka Dhlova ka Maqabi ka Sodidi ka Vezi ka Mjomba *of the Lutuli people, of the Mtshibe (Ntshibe?) people.*⁶⁵ My father Dhlova was buried at Kwa Bulawayo by Tshaka. The site of Bulawayo was at the Mandawe (little river), where Mkungo is now living - *overlooking the Mhlatusze river.*⁶⁶ Maqabi was buried at the Enhlababo *overlooking the Mhlatusze, overlooking the Nyawutshane and Vungwini* (where Nonzama's people now live).⁶⁷ Vezi was killed by the *eLangeni people* at the Vungwini *below the Nkandhla.*

Our chief was Makedama ka Mgabi [should be ka Mbengi] ka Mhlongo. Mgabi's grave is near H. Osborn's (Matendeka). I don't know where we came from. I hear we used to live at the eMpapala where Mavumengwana's people now live. I am quite unable to give any back history, i.e. over say a century or so ago.

I do not know where Mjomba died - it would be at the eMpapala or near there.

Sigananda (chief - living) would know old history, seeing he lived with Zokufa, a very old man (lately died).⁶⁸

12 It was Tshaka who *broke up the old order (indulo)*. Only war was talked about in the Zulu king's time; *there was no discussion of back history.*

Mkando says: We belong to the Amalala section.⁶⁹ '*The Amalala farted on the mimosa tree, and it dried up.*' When the Mtetwas are praised (people) say, '*You of the umganu tree; you of the sky; you of the lower country; you of the place of Nyambose.*' I do not know where the Amalala came from.

Dhlozi is an iNtungwa.⁷⁰

People of the Langeni kraal belonging to Makedama speak to one another as 'Mnguni', i.e. in addressing one another, and this Mnguni reminds one of Angonis.⁷¹

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

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When Sotobe *crossed the sea* (in Tshaka's time), he went with his wife Ntombintombi, also with Mbikwana ka Mgabi of the eLangeni tribe.⁷²

1.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 13-14.

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

- 13 *The hunting party of the umsenge-leaf skirts* - (so-called) because women are invited too; they dance the hunting dance whilst the assembly sings. Any man might call a hunt - join with others, not asked for. He liked calling up an *umjadu* dance party to dance before him.

Anyone could kill bucks, even buffalo. A big impi was called to kill a lion. When killed, it was reported, whilst others remained in charge of it. The king then sent *izinyanga* who skinned it and burnt the carcase. The skin would have pieces cut off it; i.e. the whiskers, eyebrows, etc. would be cut off and taken to the king. The claws were taken and given by the king to men of importance. No one dare conceal the fact that a lion had been killed.

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

- 14 Ngqengelele used to look after the children, and cooked at the place of the wife Mtaniya (wife of Senzangakona).⁷³ Ngqengelele's father was Mvulana. He was an iNtungwa and of the Butelezi people. He was brought to notice by Tshaka. He lived and died in Dingana's reign and died a natural death. KwaGociza, Emantungweni, Emantungweni (2), eNsukaze, eMahlabaneni (where Mhlangana was killed) - these were Ngqengelele's kraals.⁷⁴ These were near the Mbekamuzi river. Ngqengelele came from esiKlebeni. The Emantungweni kraals are both very old kraals. [N.B. Have they any connection with Amantungwa?]

2.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 14-16.

<The notes that follow appear to be heads of questions that Stuart intended to put to Mkhando. We have placed in parentheses those items scored out in the original - eds.>

(Dingana's kraals)

(History of Zwide)

The killing of a beast and giving out of parts

Witchdoctors

Amadhlozi - creator - days of week

(Did your father pierce his ears and put on the headring?)

Dingana's kraals. [Cf. Socwatsha notebook p. 8.]⁷⁵

Mgungundhlovu

Embelebeleni

Mqekwini - on the White Mfolozi; upstream.

Kwabulawayo

Dukuza

Ezinnyosini

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Emvokweni - *opposite the uMbizankulu, a low cliff on the White Mfolozi.*

oDhlambedhlwini - two kraals, the oluNkone and the Mbayimbayi (*the main section - isibay' esikulu*).

15 Tshaka's kraals. [To add to Socwatsha's.]

Intshamate

uBekenya

Esiyembeni - at eNtumeni past the *kolwas* near Zakaliya.

Zindela - near Marwanqa's location.

uQekete

Iziyendane

My father did *pierce the ears and put on the headring*, for all in his day *did so*. Tshaka too *pierced the ears*.

.... <Praises of Zwide kaLanga omitted - eds.>

The Lutuli people.

Vezi fought against Mgabi ka Mhlongo [Mgabi ka Mbengi ka Mhlongo - as per Ngidi], chief of the Langeni. The latter *was defeated* and *konza'd* Vezi. The Langeni people *proposed an unjadu dance* with Vezi. Vezi agreed. The *dance was held*. The Langeni *danced first*. *War shields were taken* by the Langeni and hidden at night where the *mjadu* was to be. Vezi then went next day to *dance* with his *impi*, having no *war shields*. Mgabi, *chief of the eLangeni*, then *fell upon those at the dancing place*, killed Vezi, and seized the people and land. The people then *konza'd* Mgabi.

16 *Circumcising* went on in our tribe before Tshaka's day.

4.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, p. 16.

When any proclamation is made only one law would be given, and that in a very simple way. Then there would be the *jubaing* of girls.

[My object is to collect native custom so universally and thoroughly as to become an authority on it and compare that with existing legislation etc. etc. All will then be bound to come to my well to drink. Such work was never done in any country.]⁷⁶

8.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 16-18.

In former days when there was fighting, assegais were thrown. People sorrowed for one another if anyone was wounded. We practised circumcision (we Lutuli people). Temporary shelters were built away at the river for those being circumcised. They would remain till the penis had healed. They would return at night, see where the womenkind urinated, and then urinate there in order that their penises should heal.

17 They would then go and sleep at the *shelters*. No mention would be made of people who had died to those *being circumcised* until after the *cir-*

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cumcision was over. They would be kept from mourning. The *mtshwili* plant would be *dug up*, would then be *pounded up*, and then allowed to dry (i.e. the roots of the *mtshwili*); then it would be plaited and made into *strips* about 1½ feet long for *dancing dress*.

A man who had *been circumcised* would not wash in the presence of others for he would be afraid of being laughed at. '*Look at the penis-tip, all by itself.*'

I have never seen the ceremony. Tshaka put a stop to the practice. My father, I hear, had *been circumcised*. *Circumcised* people *put on the penis cover*. *Wearing of the penis cover* is done so that if the *front of the girdle parts*, the *penis* should not be seen by women. I think this was the only reason. Formerly a *piece of ox-hide* would be *sewn into a penis cover*; this practice was discontinued in Dingana's reign and the *stalk of the wild-banana leaf (inkananga)* used, i.e. the present-day *penis cover*, made of the *ingceba* (plants growing like bananas in bushes - edible fruit).

- 18 People taking *people being circumcised* food would sing some distance away from where they were so as to give the patients time to get ready to receive them. It was wrong to come on them unawares and see their nakedness. *Circumcised* people were known as *abakweta*, which is a word that seems to imply temporary segregation until the sores have got well. People who did the operation were experienced men; accidents occurred; people died from the effects, and their death would not be reported to the parents, and *circumcised* people would bury (them, themselves).

Circumcision would be done by *age-group*. It was done so that they should *be strong* and *be men*, not *be weak*. For they are '*castrated*' (*teniwe*) - made strong. *Insokane* are those who have *been circumcised* (*soka'd*).

9.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 18-20.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana

The word *abakweta* refers to the old custom in Zululand. *The foreskin was cut so that the tip of the penis appeared*. Dhlozi does not know if his father *was circumcised*. People were called *amasoka*.

Dhlozi says they were called *abakweta*. People *were circumcised* at flat stones. They don't *dress while their penises are still swollen*.

- 19 A man not *circumcised* was not a man (*indoda*).

Mkando never heard of girls *being circumcised*.

Cannibals.

Only fairy stories - there seems little reality in the matter. *Kwa Lupalule was a place of cannibals*; an *impi* was sent by Dingana there and killed the cannibals off, who were ordinary persons. A number of regiments went there - I do not know where.

(The isiBara was a section of the Izinyosi.)

Ndukwana knows of no fixed place in Zululand where *cannibals* were supposed to be, in the north. Tshaka *scattered the cannibals*, and (they) went north.

The Amamfengu were *scattered* by Tshaka like the *cannibals*.⁷⁷

Mazakaza lived near the Mvoti not far from Greytown. Mkando heard

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that this man, now dead, was a cannibal.

People who had gone to get *amabele* in far-off districts would be caught by cannibals and eaten. *Cannibals* ate men, women, and children.

20 History of custom - absence of information.

Ndukwana said: We found only *the wars* of Tshaka being spoken of, although there were men of great age.

Mkanyile (man) ka Zivalele (brother of Senzangakona).

Mataka (man) ka Mpsa (man of rank).

Mataka *fathered* Msebe, who was of the iMboza (regiment) and *induna* of the amaBunsumana *section* (*isigaba*) of the regiment. Mataka and Mkanyile, both very old men, were seen by Mkando. He saw them at Kwa Nodwengu. M. says though he saw them they spoke of the *wars*, Tshaka's and Mpande's etc. (They were) men of high standing, and had *followings* (*isizwe*). (They) were of the *amaWombe* regiment of Senzangakona.

Konza. No one was obliged to go and *konza*; he could please himself. Very little food; girls would bring food. Men would get thin whilst *konzaing*.

One had to fight for one's food *in the Zulu country*. You would get nothing unless you did. This would take place when beasts were killed; they would *fight for the intestines*, for *these* were not apportioned to anyone.

'*Bellow, beast, you who will never leave this place*'. This saying probably did not exist till Tshaka's reign. (People) felt secure; no other state would dare to *attack*.

10.8.1902. Durban.

File 72, pp. 3-6.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 21, 22-4, and File 60, nbk. 7, pp. 1-2 - eds.>

3 Slavery. Per Mkando, assisted by Dhlozi and Ndukwana.

Nothing in the way of slavery as ordinarily understood used to go on among the Zulu people. There were, however, what were known as *izigqila*, i.e. maidservants. The *izigqila* were attached to the *mdhlunkulu* and were the daughters of men who had been for some reason killed off by the king's order. Children of such men were called *isizi*, and the female portion of the *isizi* became *izigqila* at one or other of the royal kraals. *Izigqila* applies really only to the *mdhlunkulu* but, as a matter of fact, some of the *isizi* girls would be stolen by people of social standing living in the vicinity of the kraal being destroyed, and such girls would become *izigqila* to such men, although, for fear of the king, they would not be spoken of as such. As regards duties, the maidservants were well treated; they might go and *cultivate* with other girls in the gardens; they fetched water, *gathered firewood*, and cooked, and had also to empty the chamberpots used by the princesses and other girls of high position. Mkando saw *izigqila* at Mgungundhlovu.⁷⁸

In the event of the army going out to war, any member of a regiment was allowed to capture any boys and girls he came across (belonging to

the enemy). If he secured, say, three girls he would be obliged to *give one as tribute (etula)* to the *induna* of his regiment; e.g. Mkando, who was of the Isangqu regiment, would have to *etula* to Mbandamana ka Ndhlela (brother of Mavumengwana) or Maqangu ka Mqayana, both these men being *indunas* of that section of the Isangqu regiment known as the Indhlapu.⁷⁹ The other two would belong to the captor. If only two were captured it was not compulsory to *etula* one. Children captured in war were spoken of as his 'children' by the captor, and were treated as such. They were known as '*those of the war-shield*' (*a be sihlangu*). If some headringed man succeeded in acquiring a grown-up girl in wartime he would *gugula* her, i.e. transform her from a state of bondage into one of freedom. To do this he would cause her to *put on the topknot (kehla)* and then marry her as a wife.

At the royal kraal, pretty *izigqila* would be taken and *soma'd* with by the princes.

4 With regard to boys, the *induna* directed by the king to kill off their father would become entitled to them. He would then either keep all as *mat-bearers (udibi)* or distribute them among members of his tribe in a similar capacity. It sometimes happened that headmen, near relations of the boys, would come to the *induna* with cattle for the purpose of redeeming (*hlenga*) them. To *hlenga* was, in the case of boys, permitted, but not as regards girls, as is sufficiently attested by the following incident. Dangazele ka Tshunyayezwayo was killed by Mpatwa; four of his daughters were taken and retained by Mpatwa of the izi-Mpohlo. (He *followed Dangazele in age.*) Mkando was sent with Mhlahlo ka Bekeleni to fetch the girls. The two men got them from Mpatwa, and brought them to the king, who directed that the girls were to be placed in the Esangqwini kraal, *in the upper part*, where they became *isizi of the king's umdhlunkulu*. Mpatwa never even hinted at the matter of *hlanging* (redeeming), for he knew that could not be done.

Girls could not be redeemed with cattle or in any other way. They, as well as their deceased's father's cattle, would be driven off to the royal kraal and there remain. Girls were frequently married off by the king to various men of note, the king of course obtaining their *lobola*.

If *izigqila* belonged exclusively to the king, girls known as *izincinza* belonged to the *abanumzana*.⁸⁰ These girls were the daughters of men who had come to live in some important headman's kraal. The man who lived as an attaché would present the kraal head with one of his daughters to be an *isincinza*, i.e. a girl with whom the headman was at liberty to *soma*, who ground his snuff, who would not be afraid of proceeding to the headman day or night to carry out any of his wishes; she too would hold his snuff for him. It should be noted here that an *isincinza* girl is not an *isigqila* because, when not required by the *umumzana*, she goes to, and remains at, *the place of her own people*. An *isigqila* is an orphan, or rather is fatherless, and is obliged to live away from her own home.

Boys, as has been indicated, become *mat-bearers* when their fathers are put to death. The *induna* in charge of the 'killing' party will do as he sees fit, i.e. place them at various kraals, at the service of the headmen thereof, to become *warriors* like others at a later time. There would be nothing to prevent such boys from ultimately having kraals of their own.

Should a Tonga, say, be captured in war it was certain he would

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enjoy all the rights and privileges of other subjects of the king, and he would in time come to possess his own kraal etc.

5 As a matter of fact there was no such thing as slavery in Zululand, and this for the reason that there was no work for slaves to do - no work of a continuous character. The only real work consisted of building *imizi* or *transporting huts*. Apart from that the men cannot be said to have had other work.

It must be borne in mind, Ndukwana observes, that the *induna* sent by the king to kill off a man did not consider the obtaining of a few boys as anything very profitable (*igugu*). No great value was attached to them, for they were not slaves but free men.

[In my conversation with these three men I can find no word in Zulu meaning what 'slave' does. There are *izigqila*, *izincinza*, *udibi*, but nothing that better expresses slavery.]

Any of the boys seized by the *induna* referred to was at liberty to go where he liked as soon as he grew up. He might return to his relatives without being redeemed. The man he had hitherto been with could not keep him, seeing he was his own countryman. As regards a boy *captured in foreign parts* (*ezizweni*), when he had grown up, supposing no relations of his had come to redeem him, he would have a wife *lobola'd* for him and be given an *umuzi* of his own, for he is looked on in the same way as if he was actually a child of that homestead. In time he would be among those of his own age collected to form a new regiment, and then settle down as any other subject of the king did.

Mkando says: I know that Ngcetshe (a man belonging to the iHlaba regiment) *captured* a boy when fighting for Mpande. He brought the boy with him into Natal and settled under a headman, Jiyana, in Mapumulo Division. In course of time the boy's father (when Mr Windham was magistrate at Greytown) heard his son was in Jiyana's district.⁸¹ The Swazi, for such he was, began searching, and found the boy. He agreed with Ngcetshe to take the boy home. Upon consent being given, the Swazi proceeded to Hlatikulu (beyond Ladysmith, Natal) and, after killing for Ngcetshe a *cola* beast, presented him with ten head of cattle to express his thanks for the way in which Ngcetshe had saved and protected his child and for not *stabbing* him as he might have done.⁸²

Any *isigqila* married from the *mdhlunkulu* carried with her no sense of social inferiority; rather was she regarded as of higher standing than before because coming from the king's *mdhlunkulu*. The king of course received her *lobola*, and it not infrequently happened for her brother to be presented with an additional beast by her husband.

6 *Izigqila* could not be distinguished from other girls of the *mdhlunkulu* by their dress or any mark about them, only by their general demeanour and by the character of duties they had to perform, e.g. fetch water at the spring, *gather* wood, etc.

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10.8.1902. Durban.

File 72, p. 15.

Also present: Dlozi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 6, pp. 21-2 - eds.>

15 Regiments. Per Mkando.

The *izigaba* (divisions) of the amaTshitshi or Isangqu regiment were (possibly there are one or two omissions) as follow:

amaJindi

- 1 amaJindi - *Induna*: Ntshingwayo ka Marole.
- 2 amaLandandhlovu - *Induna*: Nongceke ka Katazo.
- 3 Musiwegudu - *Induna*: Gobongo ka Bubazi.
- 4 oMpondo - *Induna*: Luzindela ka Kundu.
- 5 amaKabaludaka - *Induna*: Faku ka Ziningo.
- 6 iMpanjane - *Induna*: Gombagomba ka Noziboko.

Ndhlapu

- 7 iziNgwananda - *Induna*: Maqangu ka Mqayana.
- 8 iziNhlendhla - *Induna*: Mahlanya ka Mandondo.
- 9 iziKwili - *Induna*: Mquntela ka Ndiyana.
- 10 iziNgwe - *Induna*: Ntshingwayo ka Nkayitshana.
- 11 amaBuzanganduku - *Induna*: Tunda ka Manqondo.
- 12 iziRula (Xibakulu) - These would eat the *chest*. *Induna*: Mbandamana ka Ndhlela.

Mizimpisi

- 13 iMpopoma - *Induna*: Runqu ka Dhlozi.
- 14 Msizi - *Induna*: Mpiyake ka Sotobe (the man sent by Tshaka with King in 1828).⁸³
- 15 iziMvubu - *Induna*: Mbacana ka Mandhlesilo.
- 16 iziNkolombela - *Induna*: Mncongo ka Mfukela; Nhlekwane ka Nyati.
- 17 iziNyoni - *Induna*: Njakabani ka Sopane.
- 18 oQamuqamu - *Induna*: Mpungutshe ka Mandondo.
- 19 Mtshinane - *Induna*: Ngome ka Mbengana.
- 20 Mizimpisi (Xibakulu) - *Induna*: Nhlebo ka Mazwane.

10.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 7, pp. 3-6.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana, Gedhle?

3 Tribal marks.

Indiki - the first joint of the little finger, left hand, is cut off by the *Bomvu people*.⁸⁴ E.g. Luhayi - his children are cut, he not, because amaBomvu were *picked out* to be killed at one time in Zululand. He lived *below the Qude*.⁸⁵ The *Ngcamu people* also cut the same finger in the same way. Dhlozi does not know where these people lived.

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People across the Mkomazi cut their faces; they make *amadebe*, i.e. long cuts. The Amalala at the place of Gayede's people near Greytown cut their faces.⁸⁶ They would let out the bad blood and keep the good blood.

The Zulu tribe had no mark or special distinguishing feature.

Kuzwayo, Mabuya, Dingiswayo, Mgoye, father of Matshwili, were of the Mtetwa tribe; they had no mark, and wore ordinary girdles (*imitsha*).⁸⁷ There were no buttock-coverings (*amabetshu*) in former times; people used to qopa.⁸⁸ Cetshwayo brought them in. Mkando wears an *umutsha* girdle behind and, in front, an *isinene* covering made of strips of skin not *qotshwa'd*.

4 The Qwabe had no marks, nor the Cele (or) Kumalo.

All had *headrings*; they were not a mark of any special tribe.

Ntunja ka Senzangakona (was of the iWombe regiment).⁸⁹

[Senzangakona *juba'd* girls - as take the man in the margin.⁹⁰ I believe he must have been *jutshwa'd*.]

The amaBomvu cut the little finger when the child is a baby, then hide the *indiki* in cowdung. If one goes to look for the *indiki* in the dung he will find it disappeared. Girls as well as boys are cut. If a boy is not cut, it happens that when he is out herding cattle and he wants to go to stool, he will go to his hut at home and there relieve himself! and then return to the cattle, leaving the faeces to be thrown out by his mother etc. What happens then is that one who has been cut will allow the blood of his little finger to mix with that of the little 5 finger of the one uncut (he will of course have to make incisions in the finger, though not cut off the joint), and when the blood has been mixed he will be regarded as having complied with custom, and it will no longer be necessary to relieve nature in the hut.

Tununu ka Nonjiya, an *inceku* to Dingana, has not had his ears pierced. He is still living at the Ndulinde.⁹¹ Matambo ka Fulela of the Cele people has not had his ears pierced. Mkando does not know why they did not have this done.

Per Gedhle.

Madulini - Chief Miskofini - people cut faces - short *incisions*.⁹² The Bacas make long *incisions*. The word is *caza*, not *klaya*.⁹³ The cutting is done with an *incakuba* or *inhlanga*, i.e. a piece of iron made as if of wire beaten out like a small blade. It is not called *nsingo*.

The amaMpondo make *incisions*.

6 The Bacas make *incisions* on males and females - long cuts. They object to a plain face like a mere stone; they want something to catch the eye; it must not slip off. Bad blood is to be let out. The cuts are on the face, on the legs and arms (outsides of), and on the buttocks - done as children and repeated when older.

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File 60, nbk. 7, p. 6.

Also present: Ndukwana? Dhlozi?

An iNtungwa has no distinguishing characteristic.

Amalala *tekeza*, e.g. 'Wendani?' People from down-country (*aba se*

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zansi) *tefula*, e.g. *inkonyane* becomes *inkonana*, and they say *yoku*, not *loku*.⁹⁴

No such word as *gqoka*.⁹⁵

11.8.1902. Durban.

File 72, pp. 55-6.

Also present: Ndukwana, Dhlozi

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 7, pp. 6-8 - eds.>

55 Astronomy, per Mkando, Ndukwana, and Dhlozi.

There always existed something of a dispute in regard to when exactly the old year had come to an end and the new begun. According to Mkando, the deciding point was the appearance of the *isilimela* [i.e. a constellation which I see Colenso calls the Pleiades].⁹⁶

Ndukwana considers the most decisive evidence was the appearance of *ukolo*, i.e. a kind of hawk.

Apart from this, as Mkando observes, people were in the habit of watching the *iboza* plant (a medicinal plant which buds), also the *umsenge*, *umkiwane*, and *umsinsi*, and according as they budded so the new year was looked on as having begun.⁹⁷ The solstices were also well known but seem to have afforded no direct guide as to when the year began or ended.

The appearance on the horizon of the very first star of the group that make up the Pleiades (the star being called *uWazibe*) would be taken to be the actual beginning of the new year, but there would always be dispute as to whether the star some pointed out as one of the Pleiades was in fact such, and this dispute would go on until the greater part of the group had come in view and so made all further disagreement impossible.

The proper time for observing the *isilimela* is, Dhlozi says, an hour or so before daybreak. As soon as people felt that the Pleiades had come within view in the east, they would *cut hoe handles* and begin hoeing up ground (i.e. *lima* or *gaca* or *qata*). The *isilimela* first made its appearance (i.e. the first star, *uWazibe*) during the latter portion of the *Great uluTuli* month (the great *Nhlangula* or *uMaquba*). The point of dispute came to be not so much when the year actually began as whether the star seen did or did not belong to the *isilimela* constellation. Others again used to *dispute over the movement of the sun*. When the sun had arrived at either solstice it was said, 'It has now gone into its home'.

As regards the *ukolo* hawk which appeared when the *Great uluTuli* was drawing to a close, this bird, after appearing, would vanish again, go to the trees, live on food previously accumulated, and moult its feathers, and come out once more when the grass fields were being burnt, ready to *catch the grasshoppers* which flew up off the ground in the smoke, and this would be in the month of *uNwaba*. As soon as the *ukolo* hawk had been actually seen there would no longer be any dispute.

There are no names for the phases of the moon but they are para-

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There are no names for the phases of the moon but they are para-

bitter to the taste. The doctors would *bind them up so that they should not spoil.* When, after a funeral, a beast is slaughtered there is no belief that the animal's soul is transported along with that of the human being; the two are separate and distinct from one another.

66 Trees might have souls for they can cease growing, dry up and die. Plants may or may not have consciousness, for they appear to have no heart, and the heart is the seat of the consciousness.

Habahaba ka Mnyangane was stabbed fearfully all over, even on the head. So awful a spectacle did he present that people, on seeing him, ran away afraid. But as he was not stabbed in the heart he got well again. The seat of the soul is therefore the heart. Habahaba was unknown to Ndukwana. The man got his wounds at Ndongakusuka and was an isiGqoza.⁹⁹

My father, says Mkando, used to have a *dhlozi*; he used to speak to me and I have on various occasions killed beasts for him. When going off to war to fight I used to see him as I did so. I do not see him now - *he has disappeared (hlubuka).* I do not know why he has disappeared. He left me about the time I came into Natal to live. And yet I was obliged to come to Natal because I would certainly have been killed in Zululand. We natives in Natal *dream only things of no consequence.* We are *directionless* now. Even what we no longer remember we *dream.*

All persons as a matter of fact appear to have *amadhlozi*. But there is a saying among us that when a man dies, and his child or other near relative also dies, the first named *has no idhlozi*. This is said because there is so much death in his home.

Amadhlozi must die. We only imagine this, seeing how people's prosperity (luck) seems utterly to desert them, which means an absence of *amadhlozi* influence. No one ever beheld a *dhlozi* dead, and if one does die we do not know what becomes of the *umoya*.

The *umoya* is *dead*, because it is no longer seen. We cannot say if a man's *umoya* enters a *dhlozi* and is *given form (bumbeka'd)* there. We simply have no knowledge that such a thing takes place.

We have no reason to show that the soul does not perish entirely when the body does. We cannot think where, at death, the soul goes to. Mkando says: I have held people up in my hands until they expired, and cannot imagine where the *umoya* that leaves them has gone to.

A man who has been in a trance and very near death comes back to life with the story '*I have come back from large kraals (amanxulumama)*'.

67 Ndukwana says Mlota alias Nomfihlela ka Mangcengeza was stabbed badly at Maqongqo where Dingana found and came into contact with Mpande.¹⁰⁰ The conflict that then arose led to Mpande's well-known revolt into Natal.¹⁰¹ He, Mlota, said, 'I went on and on down long hills, when I beheld a beautiful level country. There I saw some white cattle. I found there too numbers of large kraals. On making my way towards one of these kraals a person (man) came out and shouted to me thus, "*Where are you going? Who has called you? Go back; do not come further.*" At this point,' Mlota says, 'I came to consciousness and found assegais still sticking in my flesh. I did not arrive at consciousness until after there had been some rain.'

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

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Mlota belonged to the Isangu regiment.

Ndukwana says: We say, when a man dies, he goes downwards, not upwards as the missionaries assert.

13.8.1902

File 72, pp. 67-71.

Also present: Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 7, pp. 12-20 - eds.>

Mkando has frequently heard that there are such things as ghosts (*imikovu*) but has never seen any.¹⁰² People are afraid of them. They are only seen at night - a shade approaches. Those who have seen ghosts say their feet and hands are no bigger than those of children. Hearing cats crying at night, men attributed such noises to ghosts until they were proved wrong. This kind of thing happened *at the place of Mvundhlana's people* at Kwa Qomintaba.¹⁰³ The men of the place made lights, and, on searching, discovered that cats were making the noises. Qomintaba is built *on the other side of the Nsimbakazi* (across the Mfulu near where that river enters the Mhlatuze). Ghosts *stay in cliffs in forests*. We do not hear of people seeing them at graves.

Mkando tells the following: Boys who had gone *to this side of Mgunkundhlovana* (Greytown) to buy cattle came back and reported they had seen short, luminous figures, say 18 inches high, walking with a tall figure; this apparition arose near Boer homesteads. The boys ran off and left the strange figures, calling same *the ghosts (izipokwana) of the Boers*. This occurred just before the outbreak of rinderpest.¹⁰⁴ There were three boys. One was Mkando's own son. The figures walked about and were not always bright. The names of the boys were Siyeka, Mkawupete, and one of Matshwili's sons.¹⁰⁵ Mkawupete [I fancy this was Mkando's son] is dead.

Food is placed or put out for *amadhlozi* to partake of. They have at the kraal *their own vessel* (it may be a *pot* or *gourd*) which is known as *the vessel of the amadhlozi*. This vessel is however used by the family for ordinary purposes. Beer is set apart for *amadhlozi*, as also meat.

The women (*the daughters-in-law*) *hlonipa* those 'fathers' to whom praises are given, i.e. deceased fathers. They put *ochre (isibuda)* on their heads and dress up in their finery. They dress up as well as if they were at a public dance, for they put all their very best things on. They must not go in front of the hut in which the meat set apart as an offering to the *amadhlozi* has been placed; they may only go by behind such hut. Nor may they walk about anywhere near where the meat is being cooked. Sometimes *incense (impepo)* is burnt, at other times not. When the beast is one in connection with which *amadhlozi* are much praised, it is burnt, not for a beast when little praising is done. A beast in regard to which there is much praising is one sacrificed because of the *amadhlozi* not visiting the kraal, because they have turned their backs on it and absented themselves therefrom. On such occasion one or even two large beasts may be taken and killed,

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and at the same time large quantities of beer are brewed. The beer put in the hut for the *amadhlozi* would not be drunk. When even two beasts are killed, all the meat will be deposited in the hut, and the *ububende blood and meat dish* will be put there too. The beer, which is contained in only one vessel, will not be consumed the same or next day, but usually the third day, after all the other beer has been drunk. It is the last beer that is consumed.

The *impepo* is used when sickness has frequently visited a kraal and after the *innyanga*, having been consulted, directs a sacrifice (viz. that the *amadhlozi* want food).

69 Nowadays a man dies even when it is said by *izinnyanga* that *amadhlozi* are the cause of the illness. Formerly if a person fainted suddenly, had water poured over him, and messengers were dispatched to *izinnyanga*, whilst they were away the person would come back to consciousness. Nowadays they die straight off. Even young people die off. The least thing kills them. In the old days even if a man were very badly wounded in battle he would *recover*. Men are mere *weaklings* (*amacoboka*) now.

In these days, Mkando says, we do not see *amadhlozi*; we do not know where they have gone to; they left us with death. And we have no cattle to kill for them as, according to our beliefs, we ought to do.

The *amadhlozi*, Ndukwana says, disappeared because *missionaries* declared there were no such things as *amadhlozi*. Boys, girls and even elderly persons *become Christians* and, in their turn, say there are no *amadhlozi*.

In years gone by, Mkando states, a missionary known as Hanise lived at our place in Zululand, but no one at that time had *converted*.¹⁰⁶ The *dhlozis* did not disappear then, but as soon as he (Mkando) came into Natal they all vanished and never returned.

Per Ndukwana, Mkando and Dhlozi. 13.8.02, evening.

Men are like the bark of trees. The heart is the seat of the *umoya*. There is no transmigration of souls, no being re-born, and no entering inert bodies.

When a man dies, it is all over. There is no saying to the effect that the *idhlozi* is the *umoya*. The *idhlozi* is really a person's 'shade' (*isitunzi*). There is no knowing where the *umoya* goes.

The *idhlozi* snake has a very small neck.

Some speak of *amadhlozi* as *messengers* (*izitunywa*) sent by those below to seek food. A *diviner* (*isancuse*) would say what particular dead man had sent the *idhlozi*. Some people will accidentally kill an *idhlozi*; *disease* will then appear. Upon having recourse to an *innyanga* he will say, 'Go and look for the carcass, for So-and-so sent it, and sent it to So-and-so,' giving names.

<At this point Stuart omits from his transcription a sentence that appears in his rough notes in File 60, nbk. 7, p. 17. We here give the sentence as it occurs in the original - eds.>

This snake altho killed preceding place would be seen where it was before.

All seen *amadhlozi* are spoken of as *messengers*. The *idhlozi* is sent

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from below, for all when they die go below. No one is seen above ground after death. *Izinnyanga* speak of *amadhlozi* as having *come together*, *So-and-so and So-and-so*. They must therefore be together in a certain region.

Diviners will sometimes say those below direct thus, 'Go and get *lobola*; So-and-so is suffering because you do not go and get *lobola* from where the daughter of the family has gone off to be married.'

Amadhlozi are down below in a cold region.

When *giving of lobola* had been completed the person ill would recover or not as the case might be.

70 Even though the person *consulting the isanuse* has many cattle at home, the *isanuse* will say those 'below' insist on *the giving of lobola*, for it is on that account that the sick person is ill.

No one goes off to a *isanuse* merely because an *idhlozi* is seen and there is at home nothing wrong; it is only when there is illness that a visit is made. And if there is illness it is not necessary for a *dhlozi* to appear before going to *consult*.

It is said, '*So-and-so has gone down to others of his people; he is happy; he is at rest.*'

There certainly are *amadhlozi* below, but, Mkando says, they have nowadays *turned their backs on us*. Mkando once himself felt their influence. He tells of a dream when he saw his father's *dhlozi*, who told him the Basutos at the Balule, at the place of Sikwata, had come to fight and would fight with axes, *barbed assegais*, etc.¹⁰⁷ On the next day he saw axes and *barbed assegais* in the hands of his foes when actually engaged in conflict with them.

The *messengers* are sent by other beings like them, i.e. the *amadhlozi* or *amatongo*.

There are many persons of the name 'uDhlozi'; to use the synonym *itongo* is to *hlonipa* them. Those below are also called *izituta*.

Even if there is only one beast in the kraal, the *idhlozi* (through the *isanuse*) would direct it to be slaughtered (sacrificed), for it is required as food for the *idhlozi*. Also, if the man *consulting the diviner* has no cattle at all he will be told merely that the *amadhlozi* want food. Because of the obvious stupidity of sacrificing the welfare of the living for the sake of the dead, the *amadhlozi* came to be called *izituta*.¹⁰⁸

There are many stories of people who have been in trances and returned to life - *returned from the grave*, and who have been below.

'I descended by a road, crossed a deep pool at the foot of some mountains, entered the yards of homesteads, and found buildings, and people living well.' Dhlozi heard Mvula ka Menyelwa (died long ago) report thus, although he however did not refer to the pool. He was a relative of ours by marriage, Dhlozi says. I myself heard him speak in this way. He had been in trance, recovered temporarily, called his wives and children together, spoke to them, and died the same day. We had poured water over him in the morning.

71 Mkando heard Mmqandi ka Songodo (Mzwangwenya regiment) speak in these terms, 'Men, if I were to rise, if I were to recover, I would tell of wonderful things, for I have come from a place with many great kraals and many people.' That was all; he then expired. [See p. 81 for translation.]

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Dhlozi gathered from conversing with others that a *pool* had to be crossed, i.e. a *river*.

All seem to say that they saw white cattle below, i.e. those who saw any cattle. It is not said how the river is crossed, by swimming or by assistance of those crossing, i.e. ferrymen, for they are probably in waiting for those coming. New arrivals are no doubt always expected.

There is only one kind of place below - no fiery region, no caverns etc.

14.8.1902

File 72, pp. 71-4.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 7, pp. 21-4, and File 60, nbk. 8, pp. 1-2 - eds.>

The Zulus have no notions as to how people 'below' occupy themselves. No place but a pleasant one is spoken of below.

When, in ordinary life, Dhlozi says, a bitter quarrel occurs, one may say, 'I shall not meet you again except when, after death, I am obliged to do so down below.'

People below are not, we think, all equal. Ndukwana says when *chiefs* (i.e. *amadhlozi*) come they are accompanied by small snakes, i.e. *izinceku*, and this would, he thinks, tend to show there are differences in rank below.

There is no such thing as moral retribution after death, no rewards or punishments. There is no tribunal or judge to decide on the fate of a soul.

The kings would not have killed off people as much as they did were there belief that there would be questions put to them in the next world. The large snake (*idhlozi*) known as 'Dingana' attempted on one occasion to kill 'Tshaka', another large snake (*idhlozi*) at Kwa Nodwengu.¹⁰⁹ 'Dingana' was chased, cut off (it was on or in a fence) and *burnt* by Mpande. When the fence was cut off at a certain point, 'Dingana' ran behind the *isigodhlo*. When this incident occurred Mkando was at home *in the outlying areas*, viz. at eNyalutshane.

Expectation of a future life does not affect men's lives in the present. All the people were really afraid of was the king. In former days no great thefts were committed, and herds of cattle and goats were not guarded as against thieves. Hyenas were, of course, feared, not human beings. No figures of ancestors carved out in any way are known by either of my three informants.

72 A person not at a funeral, Dhlozi observes, will throw a stone on the grave. *Ashes* will be put in his hand. This will be done as he has had water poured in his hands for the purpose of washing.

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Diseases may be classed under two heads, due to (a) *abatakati*, (b) natural causes. *Swellings* (*ukuvuvuka*) or (*mzimb' omubi*) are not due to an *untakati*, nor *ikambi* (madness).¹¹⁰ In the old days very few young persons died; all lived to old age. Nowadays such deaths are frequent. Illness is said to be due to *amadhlozi's having turned their backs on a person*. A *dhlozi* can cause the disease. A person whose illness is due to a *dhlozi* will as a rule, become suddenly unconscious (*quleka*). People will proceed to the *diviner* (*isanuse*) who will say the *idhlozi* has caused the illness and may direct not only a (beast), but a particular beast be killed, and he (the *isanuse*) will describe the colour of the beast, for, the *isanuse* adds, the *amadhlozi* require that identical one.

Amadhlozi may purposely cause sickness, or sickness may be due to *amadhlozi* having turned their backs. 'It is angry; it sits at the river; it no longer comes home; it is named So-and-so' (giving the name of some deceased person). 'He does not come because you do not praise him; you never refer to him; you give him too little.'

When an *idhlozi* makes a man ill he does not die, he recovers. He is merely frightened because the *dhlozi* wants people to hear.

Those illnesses which are of a more serious nature arise out of *amadhlozi* having turned their backs on the kraal. They are angry and do not give protection. The *isanuse* (*izinnyanga*) will remark that the stomach contents (*unswani*) of the beast sacrificed for the *idhlozi* has been taken by *abatakati*. It is the rule therefore for the *unswani* of every beast so sacrificed either to be cleaned away or thrown into, and mixed up with, the water of a running stream, or be buried.

Izinnyanga often say illness is due to *amadhlozi* although the sickness has arisen from natural causes. Owing to such liability to error, men who have consulted *izinnyanga* and have been told even what particular beast to kill will go home and, instead of straightway carrying out the doctor's instruction, will pull some of the hair out of the tail of the beast in question, make some rough necklace of it, and put it round the neck of the sick person in order to ascertain if his sickness is really due to *amadhlozi* or not. If the invalid begins to get well the inmates of the kraal will see the doctor was right and then, of course, slaughter the beast. To have killed it at once might have been premature, for doctors are not infallible. The cattle will be taken round to that part of the cattle kraal which is nearest the sick man's hut and there the head of the kraal will address the *amadhlozi*.

A boy, when arriving at the age of puberty, is said to be caused to do so by the *amadhlozi*, and therefore erotic dreams are due to *amadhlozi*, i.e. where one imagines he is having sexual intercourse.

There is no causing of pregnancies (*mitisaing*) by *amadhlozi*, no stories of such events. The only *mitisaing* Mkando knows of is pregnancy in an unmarried woman, where a man's daughter becomes pregnant by her lover before the marriage takes place.

It is said when anyone has some great luck that the *idhlozi* of his people is white; it gives light; it says, 'Let this person see the thing that he or she wants; let this person get what he or she wants,' as for instance when a woman becomes pregnant or a man succeeds in getting a girl to agree to marry him. Indeed all things are said to be acquired through the influence of *amadhlozi*.

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Mtshopi.

This is a Zulu custom (Dhlozi says) which means the casting out of *the great fever (umkuhlane)* from girls by which they *get hollowed out in front*, i.e. vagina. [I wonder if this ailment arises from pin-worms in the rectum entering vagina; vide 'Solitary vice' in *What a young woman ought to know!*] Those girls who are big will all go out of the kraal before day-break. They will *bina* as they do so, that is, use all kinds of lewd expressions (impudicity). They go out on to the hills. They will stay out all day long without having any food, and return in the afternoon. They will *dance* as they return at the gates of various kraals in the neighbourhood. They dress themselves in the leaves of the *cabbage tree (mseenge)*, *as if in rags*, so as to hide their forms (bodies). They leave in the morning stark naked. They, at sunset, go off and throw away the leaves they have been wearing. They then come into the kraal as naked as when they went out, proceed into their hut, *take fat, smear* themselves, and on the day following put *ochre* over their faces. The custom has then been observed; all is over for *they have now driven out the evil*.

This custom lasts but one day. The girls sleep the night preceding their 'going out' in an *old woman's* hut. The custom is a very old one. It seems that sores *appear on their genitals*. The girls examine one another's private parts. Girls always make a practice of *examining* one another. The word *mtshopi*, which is the name of the custom, is not used openly, for the custom is one of an important personal character. The *mtshopi* is observed year by year, but only once in any given year. Its time of observance was not fixed; there was irregularity. *Medicines* used in connection with the custom were *inxotshana* and *icacane*. *The mtshopi custom was practised when jubaing still took place*, i.e. in the time of the Zulu kings.

This custom, Mkando says, is still observed in the Mapumulo Division. Ndukwana remarks that it is no longer observed in Zululand.

This *mtshopi* custom must not be taken as if it were the *pukula* one, from which it stands entirely apart.¹¹¹

The reason why this custom is no longer practised as before is no doubt because of the influence of Christianity.

Mtshopi is a girls' custom; married women have nothing to do with it.

<At this point Stuart omits from his transcription a sentence that appears in his rough notes in File 60, nbk. 8, p. 2. Our rendering of this sentence here follows - eds.>

When a girl is *spoiled* by a man, when *the cangusa dancing has not taken place*, the wives *gather together*, and take the cattle belonging to the man's kraal and drive them off.¹¹²

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File 72, pp. 74-81.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 8, pp. 3-16 - eds.>

Per Mkando, Dhlozi and Ndukwana.

A man who is addicted (like Mhlakaza ka Mpezeni, living near Eshowe at Mbombotshane etc. - I hear he has moved by order of the government to Siteku's) to sleeping whilst others are engaged in conversation *in the assembly* is said to suffer from *indhlujobutongo* disease.¹¹³ Similarly afflicted persons are said to suffer from *women's love* (*intando ya bafazi*), whilst others would call it, 'He was killed by a hyena' (*wa bulawa impi*).

A man is said to be *led into becoming a diviner* (*twasisa'd*) by the *amadhlozi* of his people. They enter him and, acting by their influence, he will go and cast himself *in a deep pool*. Dhlozi says he will remain below for some time, then come to the surface with snakes about his neck, causing those who have followed him to the water to be afraid.

Another case, related by Mkando, is the following: My *elder brother*, Buzi by name, *emerged as a diviner* (*twasa'd*) in Dingana's time. He went off to a *pool*, entered it, and emerged therefrom with *mud*, red and white; he had smeared himself white on one side of his body and red on the other. No *mtakati* dare enter any *umuzi* where such an *innyanga* had *twasa'd*, for so gifted a man would be able to discover the evil-doer at once. Buzi was *led to become a diviner* by the *amadhlozi* of his *mother's people*, at *eLangeni*. As a matter of fact only *one dhlozi* entered him. The *dhlozi* entering will always be of the *person's kin*, i.e. the person it goes into. When, nowadays, people *twasa*, they do not go to *pools*. Buzi was a great *innyanga*. He died several years ago. He latterly seemed to have lost his power of *divining* - the *idhlozi* had left him. He became like other men. *He was no longer able to divine* even though the *idhlozi* might still be said to be with him. The *abatakati* destroyed the power he formerly had.

A man is *led into divining* by *amadhlozi* either on his mother's or father's side, but not both sides together. No person is *so led* by *amadhlozi* other than those of his father's or mother's people.

The following has, in this connection, to be borne in mind. A boy who *carries water* for an *isanuse* may become a *divining innyanga* by merely living with the properly qualified man and observing how he *divines*. Such boy is said to be *spoilt (oniwe)* by the doctor; *he has spoilt him*. For the boy has from time to time been in the habit of looking at the *isitundu* medicine (*which has been put into calabashes*) *which the doctor has stirred up, for the 'shades' have entered there*.¹¹⁴ No ordinary person can go and *bend over the place at the back of the hut* where the doctor's *stirred* medicines stand exposed (not being *covered over*), for he would *shriek*, crying out, 'Habū! Habū! Habū!', and run away onto the hills. The *isanuse* would in the meantime *belch* several times.

The *innyanga* that *throws himself into the pool* and comes out with

snakes or red and white mud is supposed to be highly gifted.

Ndukwana says a man who *becomes a diviner* is able to *divine* well even though at the time of his qualifying himself he threw himself into no pond or pool; instead of casting himself into a pool he would go and *catch a python* and drag it home.

Mkando relates: Magwaza, a woman (her elder brother Dedefana, deceased, lived near Amanzimtoti), *became a diviner* in Natal among the *Ngcobo people* and before the Zulu war. She for some time *divined* as all *izangoma* do. On one occasion she invited Mkando to see her. He went, and found the day before his arrival she had caught and killed a long snake (*mamba*). Mkando went away and heard very shortly after that the woman had gone out to catch a snake (spoken of as '*inyamazane*'), and had caught a *mamba*, when another snake had, on the spot, set on to her and bitten her *on the thigh*. She threw away the snake she had caught, went home, got very ill, and died the same day. And yet she was a properly *qualified innyanga*.

[I notice Mkando and Dhlozi say *twasa*, whilst Ndukwana says *tasa*. Both are right; the variation should however be noted.]

76 An *isanuse* will go away and fetch *seawater*; he or she will sometimes *dance* and *beat the drum* in the presence of a gathering of people.

*Imiloz*i.¹¹⁵

Dhlozi speaks: No doubt *imiloz*i are given rise to by the *amadhlozi* of their people, like the *twasang* of *izangoma*.

There is a man, or it may be a woman, who is said to *sit with the imiloz*i. People go and consult him; he is known as *the person in control of the imiloz*i (*umnin' imiloz*i). He or she may be of any age, not necessarily advanced in years. *Imiloz*i are unseen spirits.

Mkando says: *Imiloz*i say, '*Sit down, So-and-so, while we tell you of the illness brought on when the abatakati took the cast-off clothing (izidwedwe) of your people.*'¹¹⁶

Dhlozi continues: The *imiloz*i will tell you what you have come about, giving the name of the person who is ill, his father and mother, the *healing doctor (innyanga eyelapayo)*, and other doctors who may have been consulted. '*We will try to find the cause of this matter. Be seated. We are now going. Please sit.*' Presently the *amadhlozi* will speak, saying, 'Do you hear?' 'Yes, *Nkosi*, we do hear,' will be your reply. 'We are going to fetch the *izidwedwe* and will return with them at such and such a time' - naming time or day. It will depend on circumstances what time - state of weather, rivers, if full or not, etc. Whilst the *izidwedwe* are being fetched, those *who have come to consult* will remain at the kraal. When the *izidwedwe* have arrived the people *who have come to consult* will be called up. They will enter the hut. The *person in control of the imiloz*i will begin by sweeping the floor of the hut, then the *imiloz*i will begin thus, 'We have come with the things (*izidwedwe*) which we took from the *mtakati* who caused the illness.' Silence ensues. Suddenly a little rag with something bound up in it will fall from the roof of the hut on to the floor. Another little bundle will fall, possibly followed by others. Dhlozi got four when he consulted. '*Untie it, now,*' the *imiloz*i will say. '*Show them,*' the same *imiloz*i

will say to the 'man'. 'This is what was taken.' I found in the little bundles hair, little clods of earth mixed with beads, and strips of the *ubendhle* plant [see Colenso's Dictionary], which they used to wear; we found the cover which he used for sleeping, one which had been cut from blue cloth (*utshodo*).¹¹⁷

77 The name of the man Dhlozi consulted was Timba, father and chief unknown, who lived up the *Mvoti* river. The occasion in question took place over thirty years ago and before Dhlozi came to work for us. Timba was of the *Qanyini* people. 'Take it now; fold it up. Now go to the *innyanga*, who will treat him with it. He will mix it with his medicines, and treat him by making incisions in the skin, and sucking medicine from the fingertips. I ask for ten shillings. If the person gets well, bring the money to me; if not, you need not do so.' As a matter of fact the person in question did get well, and we took the 10s we owed to the *imiloz*.

Mkando says: I never saw anything of this sort (*imiloz*) with my own eyes. I mean I was not, like Dhlozi, an interested party. I however remember looking on when Tuvi, who lived at Kwa Dhlozlongo, *enza'd imiloz*.¹¹⁸ I know about the sweeping of the floor Dhlozi refers to, the taking of the *izidwedwe*, and their being made to fall from the roof. Dhlozi is correct in all he says. I hear there are *imiloz* near Mgungundhlovu (Pietermaritzburg).

Ndukwana says: I never witnessed anything of this kind. I hear *abaloz* do not act as *izangoma* do. They merely talk. [Ndukwana uses the word *abaloz*, whereas Dhlozi and Mkando say *imiloz*: compare this with *twas* and *tasa* on p. 75.] They are said to fetch *izidwedwe*. A man goes to hear *imiloz*, but to consult (*bula*) *izangoma*.

An *izangoma* seeks out. There must be co-operation. Mkando says an *izangoma* is powerless to find out what is required unless he *quba's*, i.e. acts in a sympathetic manner. Some exclaim, 'You are confusing me.'

Women too can *enza imiloz*.

[As far as I can see, *imiloz* is nothing else but the voice or remarks made by a ventriloquist. See both *Lozi* (*um*), and *Mlozi* (*u*) in Colenso's Dictionary.]

People are led to become 'owners' of *imiloz*. What is paid to the *imiloz* is taken by the person who 'owns' them. The *imiloz* may direct the 'ventriloquist' himself to go and do the healing, and he or she may proceed to do this even though the *izidwedwe* have not been fetched. If the 'ventriloquist' does go, he will practise his art at the place where the sick person is lying.

It is apparent that the man or woman is the person who causes the talking heard in the hut.

Ndukwana remarks that *abaloz* seem to beat *izangoma* in accuracy and effectiveness, for they remove the very sources and causes of the illness. Not only persons with morbid constitutions who are hysterical and epileptic etc. but healthy ones in every way may become *izangoma*. And *imiloz* fail in the same way as *izanuse*. Neither is infallible.

78 *Izangoma* have evil habits. For instance it frequently happens for an *isangoma* to sleep with a female *isangoma*, even though she is the wife of another man.

Male *izangoma* will mix medicines for women who are being initiated as *isangoma* which will cause them to like the *isangoma*.

The words *isangoma* and *isanuse* are each used of males and females alike. *Isangoma* means exactly what *isanuse* is. Ndukwana says all over the country people use the two words synonymously. *Isingoma* (*isIngoma*) would be right, just as *isangoma* is right; the latter is commoner. *IsAnuse* is right, not *isAnusi*. The latter may, however, be used by some persons.

There were no prophets in Zululand. Mkando says: Mqundane ka Nobongoza of the Zulu people, Sondombana alias Qepu ka -- (forgotten), Mapita, and Sotshangana of the Mhhalalose people, after the regiments had been gathered together, strongly urged that the *impi* was not to go out.¹¹⁹ The expedition contemplated was against the Basutu at the place of Tulwana.¹²⁰ Owing to the strong objections raised by these men the *impi* did not go forth. The men referred to said it was fatal to make an attack in the summer for all would die of sickness.

All affairs of Zululand would be settled by the great men (*izikulu*) alone. There was no prophet at the time of Ndondakusuka, nor at the time of the Zulu War. But, as Ndukwana points out, Hamu, Mnyamana and Zibebu turned about and said, 'The country should not be destroyed on account of minor people. Let them be caught and handed over. It should be destroyed only on your account, Nkosi.'¹²¹ 'Even I,' said Hamu, 'who am of the royal house, should be surrendered rather than let the whole country perish on my account.' Ndukwana was not however present when these remarks were made. Neither Mkando, Dhlozi or Ndukwana have heard of Mlanjeni, the native prophet referred to by Fynn. [Vide p. 111, Annals of Natal.]¹²²

Amadhlozi.

All people have *amadhlozi*, men, women and children. All die and become *amadhlozi* after death.

It is the custom to address praises (*teta*) to a woman's *dhlozi* not at her father's, but her husband's kraal. She is praised at her husband's place. The *amadhlozi* of women as well as those of men are praised. The chief wife of a kraal is not forgotten; how can she be, seeing she is head and owner of the kraal?

There are no female *izinyandezulu* snakes corresponding with the snakes called 'Tshaka' and 'Dingana'. [Vide pp. 65 & 71.]

79 There is a kind of small lizard called *isicatshakazana* which is the *idhlozi* of the womenfolk. It burns itself in the hearth and goes up the supporting pole of the hut, Dhlozi says. There is a great to-do, Mkando remarks, should it enter a hut. *Izangoma* would be consulted and a beast killed.¹²³

Questioned as to Fynn's statement on p. 105, Annals of Natal, Mkando says: An *umhlwazi* snake lay on its back among the eLangeni, where Mkando used to live; it was said in consequence of this, 'There has been misfortune in war.'¹²⁴ True enough, a married man (*kehla*) called Deke was killed, he being a man of the eLangeni people. At the same time a calf got up on to a hut, an indication of bad luck. At

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another date an *mhlwazi* snake climbed up the hut of the *induna* of the *Isangqu* (a son of *Manqondo*); another snake went up the same hut too and lay on its back.¹²⁵ Ntshingwayo ka Marole directed us to go and consult the *izinnyanga*.¹²⁶ The *izinnyanga* said, 'The elder brother of *Tunda* (the *induna*'s name) wants *Tunda* to come to him because he (*Govini*) sees *Tunda is in trouble*.' *Tunda* got killed in the *Ndondakusuka* battle. He ran in front of the forces and was one of the first killed.

Mkando says: I know nothing of a *dhlozi* lying on its back as supposed to indicate good luck and prosperity, and on its face as indicating misfortune.

<At this point Stuart omits from his transcription two sentences that appear in his rough notes in File 60, nbk. 8, p. 13. We here give the sentences as they occur in the original - eds.>

Nzobo was also called *Dambuza* and father of *Mgamule*.¹²⁷ *Mgamule* is *Tulwana Regt*.

Mtshopi [vide p. 73]. The phrase runs, 'The *umtshopi* is being done; they will be thrown away,' i.e. the leaves which they were wearing.

The *binding* of the girls consists of singing loudly a song or chant of which the following is a sample:¹²⁸

chorus

<i>E, the ingwevu ox, the ingwevu ox with a penis like this,</i>		
<i>If you put dew on it, at dawn it trembles like ubendhle leaves,</i>		
<i>Hey, penis!</i> (single girl's voice, solo)	<i>i ya!</i>	(chorus)
<i>Hey, penis!</i>	"	<i>i ya!</i> "
<i>Hey, penis!</i>	"	<i>i ya!</i> "
<i>Hey, vagina!</i>	"	<i>Weh!</i> "
<i>Hey, vagina!</i>	"	<i>Weh!</i> "

Imilozzi [p. 76]. Those who are 'owners' of *imilozzi* are called *abalozikazana* [i.e. what Europeans would call ventriloquists]. But people do not, when they speak to them, address them thus. They salute by saying, 'Makosi!'

Ukutakata. To *takata* is to kill people. All kinds of *takataing* are done by living persons, also by *amadhlozi*. The *idhlozi* is an *umtakati*; it is angry with a person for some reason. They (*abatakati*) influence the *idhlozi* by stealing the stomach contents (*umswani*) of a beast.

80 *Ndolwana of Empangisweni umuzi*, *Ndukwana* says, fell ill.¹²⁹ People went to consult diviners, and the *amadhlozi* of his people were smelt out as causing his illness. The *izangoma* by way of answer wanted to know why he had abandoned his people's practice of *takataing*! 'Why have you left off using the medicine of your people, that by which for long past you have been causing the death of others (*takataing*)?' Placed by this public announcement in a serious dilemma, *Ndolwana* nevertheless got better. It seems this man had several relations who had been given to *takataing*.

It was impossible to fix on any kraal in the country and say here lives an *mtakati*.

A man in Zululand frequently became an *umtakati* from the mere fact

of his having a large kraal and many cattle. Consequently there were many *abatakati*. This was especially the case in the days of Mpande. But it did not follow that because he was *smelt out* he would be killed, for *his people* would refuse to give him up. It sometimes happened for the king to give a man *smelt out* orders to go and live in some other part, where it was not at all improbable he would, after a year or so, indulge in his former practices. A man got no reward for being a successful *umtakati* as a warrior would do.

Abatakati teach themselves the power of poisonous and other drugs. They are not said to be in league with any spirits. These evil practices find their origin in jealousy and envy - *people become jealous of one another*. Very many of the *older men* (*uZul' omhlope*) were put to death for nothing, it being alleged they were *abatakati*. There was, Mkando says, a set of *izinnyanga* at the gate of Nodwengu who were placed there by Mpande, and these were the persons who played havoc with the king's subjects. People were falsely accused merely because they were in affluent circumstances.

Mkando mentions the case of Pikwana who was smelt out as an *mtakati* by *izangoma* in connection with the death of some relative of Mkando's. He left Nobiya's where he lived, and ran to Manqondo's, where Manqondo's senior son held a case, and Pikwana was found not guilty. He was *cleared of the charge*, it being found that petty jealousy re some beast had prompted his being smelt out, and he is to this day living. Nobiya ka Sotobe was present at the trial.¹³⁰ Mpande, after the trial was over, made the remark, 'Then Pikwana managed to get off after all!'

81 Dingana once made a remarkable statement. He said, 'Here are *our people*; when I leave them, when I die, they will be destroyed by *izinnyanga* through this little house of Songiya's, for *smellings-out* are held within the home.' *Songiya ka Ngotsha* was the mother of Mpande.

We cannot think what kind of *medicine* *abatakati* use. In some way or another they become connected (i.e. connect themselves) with *amadhlozi* when a *beast has been slaughtered*. On many occasions people have been caught taking *stomach contents* (*umswani*) which has purposely been left in a heap instead of being *cleared away* or buried. People lie in wait near the heap. Those doing so are directed by *izinnyanga* to go and *wash* beforehand, which is done in order that they may not be smelt out by the *mtakati's izimpaka*.¹³¹ When they have washed they will sleep immediately outside the kraal and wait for the *mtakati* to approach.

[Pp. 65-81 read over, 19.9.1902.]

<17.8.1902>

File 60, nbk. 8, pp. 16-18.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana

16 *They do not sleep. The doctor will treat the stomach contents with medicines* - and if he comes you will see him. And this man will *treat with medicines*. He will use his *izintelezi medicines*. The *mtakati* will come and will sit by *the stomach contents*. He will take some and be fastened to the spot till morning. Thus it is seen that *abatakati* do take *the stomach contents*.

A man, Mnu kwa, came to *takata* at Dabulamanzi ka Mpande's kraal - a large, fat man, an *umnumzana*.¹³² He was caught at night by those who

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who lay in wait. He was killed.

An *umtakati* works evil with medicines; a *dhlozi* does not work evil.

Supernatural powers (*imilingo*) are used by *abatakati*. He will go out at night and cut a reed. He will make a hole in the wall of the house with it, and thrust it through into the inside. He will take his medicine, and put it into his mouth. He will then blow with his mouth. He will say, 'Here is So-and-so; let him die immediately.' He will call out his name, and mention his (the *mtakati*'s) medicines by name. The *mtakati* will sleep. Next day early he will go and pull out the reed and throw it away outside the kraal. It is an *ilumbo* (i.e. a devilish machination). *Sickness* will then affect the person. He may also call a snake to bite him.

White people are wrong in saying, 'Did you see him?' They give a lease to *abatakati*. All doctors to register. All people become doctors and *abatakati*.

18 They use medicines to kill one another. There is no *inyanga* as old as Mkando, for all their medicines are counteracted by the multitudes of doctors who collect medicines from all the neighbouring states. Even young boys become doctors. And if the king were to direct people to direct all medicines to be collected, many loads would be filled, whereas formerly there were only very few kinds.

And in *hlobonga* people use drugs to give one another illness. A man will find himself unable to urinate. He will consult a doctor and come and use his own medicines on the girl to catch others. This is *takataing*.

Powdered medicine (*umsizi*) belongs to the great men. Ordinary people did not have *umsizi*.

The dispensation given doctors is like money. We won't give our poisons up, and yet we allow natives to use their poisons.

'We mourn for you on account of your relative's death. He has gone below to rest; trouble remains with you who are still living - not with him.'

19.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 8, pp. 19-20.

Also present: Ndukwana, Dhlozi

19 Mkando, Ndukwana, and Dhlozi.

'You will give them the *uhlonze* of wisdom', i.e. referring to a man who studies native custom with a view to enlightening Europeans.¹³³

'They found you not together; who shall bring you together?'

... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

<The list that follows is of questions that Stuart either put, or apparently intended to put, to his informants to obtain amplification of statements which they had previously made to him. Answers to some of these questions are recorded in the original immediately after the list, under date 20.8.1902. The first five questions in the original list are scored out; a written-up transcription of the answers to the first four of these appears in File 72, p. 81. The figures preceding each question in the list refer to the pagination of Stuart's transcriptions in File 72 - eds.>

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Questions

- 65 Religion. Any other name for 'trance'?
- 67 Why *izipokwana*?
- 69 Where did Hanise live?
- 71 What did Mmqandi say?
- 71 How did 'Dingana' (snake) come to be cut off and burnt?
- 72 Why is the stone thrown on grave? What does it indicate?
- 73 Is the beast killed at that spot which is nearest the invalid's hut?
- 73 What is the meaning of *mkuhlane*? (Colenso)
- 74 What parts do the *inxotshana* and *ieacane medicines* play in *mtshopi*?
- 74 Exactly locate the Langeni kraal, and who built and owned it?
- 75 Did Magwaza invite you to see her?
- 73 Did men have sexual intercourse with girls during the *mtshopi* custom? Did it go on in the night?
- 20 76 You say *amadhlozi* speak; are not *imilozzi amadhlozi*?
- 79 Is it *icatshakazana* or *isicatshakazana*?
- 78 Kwa Tlwana? Explain.
- 79 Goveni or Govini?
- 79 Other samples of *binaing*.
- 80 The case of Pikwana.

20.8.1902

File 72, p. 81.

Also present: Dhlozi? Ndukwana?

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 8, p. 20 - eds.>

- 81 Answers to questions put on preceeding pp. 65-81.
- On p. 65. There is no special Zulu word to express trance, only *quleka*, as Mkando says, and *qaleka*, as Ndukwana says, both being right and the same.¹³⁴
- Another person who *quleka'd* was, Mkando says, Nyokana ka Somduba of the Emangadini tribe. This man is dead; he had five wives. He *quleka'd* on a Monday and did not *recover consciousness* till the following Sunday. He lived at the mission station Umvoti, under Chief Mhlanimpofu.¹³⁵
- On p. 67. The word *izipokwana* is not a Zulu word; it means *imikovu* and is in some way connected with Boers.¹³⁶
- On p. 69. Hanise was an European missionary who built at Entumeni above Eshowe and near the forests. He lived at Entumeni for a number of years, where he settled before the battle of Ndondakusuka. He had also the name Mankankanana. He afterwards left and lived up at *Ntunja-mbili* where he died. [Query: Was not this Bishop Schreuder?]¹³⁷
- On p. 71. Mmqandi said, 'Men, should I be able to sit up and get better I would tell you some (wonderful) stories,' etc.

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20.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 8, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Dhlozi? Ndukwana?

- 20 'Dingana' was taken after being stabbed and burnt *at the river*. The fence was cut off - not burnt there.
- 21 A *branch of the umpafa tree* is thrown on the grave; if no *mpafa*, a stone is used. It indicates a participation in the actual burying instead of actually handling the corpse; it is also mourning. The beast will not be stabbed there necessarily. *Mkuhlane* is fever, not serious disease. *Inxotshana* and *icacane* are *plaited* and placed round the neck and waist, and a *plume* on the head. *There is a swelling-up* on all sides. ELangeni (Mhlongo is the *isibongo*) was built at the Nhlababo *on the other side of the Mhlatuze on a piece of flat land*. I stayed at Nhlakweni, a kraal of Dumbo ka Mababazi. He built on both sides of the Mhlatuze. Came south when *broken up*, under Mpande.¹³⁸ My father was killed by Tshaka, and my paternal uncle Samvu (he was killed because he *shaved his head* before Tshaka did). My mother then *went in at eLangeni to Mababazi*. Mababazi was a *relation by marriage*; he married my father's sisters. I was still very young (*at the crawling stage*) when Tshaka died.¹³⁹
- 22 Magwaza called me - invited.¹⁴⁰ Men will not have sexual intercourse with girls during the night of the *mtshopi*. Food is placed for them in *the hut of an old woman*, or, Mkando says, the *old woman* hands food to them with her back to them. Dhlozi does not know this. The *imiloz*i are *amadhlozi* speaking. *Isicatshakazana*, (not *icatshakazana*). *Snakes, hornets, bees, buffaloes, lions* would all attack them when they went to fight the Besutu. The name of the Besutu was Kwa Tulwana (name of Sikwata's father). The Zulu regiment might have got its name from there.¹⁴¹ Govini, (not Goveni). *The singing of lewd songs (bina)*. 'She has not been fucked, she is dry' (all sing), 'The vagina starts the whistling in the legs and calls the penis, Ha yi ya yi, oh mothers, We are deprived, Mtshopi, mtshopi of our sisters' (sisters who have married). *This is a lewd song from old times.*
- 23 Initiatory ceremony. An *umgonqo*, when the girl has had her first menstruation, is built - a hut inside another hut.¹⁴² The young men will go next day and court the girls. They will thrust an assegai into the ground at the gate and stand there. They will then enter, sit a while, and then leave and go to the gate. The fathers of the children will look for a post made from a large tree. The young men will sit in a line. The girls sit on the upper side of that post. The young men then perform the *ukusina* and *ukucwaya* dances. They come one by one. When they are seated two girls will go out towards the young men, then say to one of them, 'Go, you,' and to another, 'Go, you. Go and tell those at home who were
- 24 cooking for the young men.' The girls, their fathers, mothers and

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brothers will *clap their hands*, saying, 'You have drunk the beestings of your mother' (*wadh'l' umtubi ka nyoko*).¹⁴³ The girls will then choose a lover by taking something the young man may be wearing, a feather, beads. That person is regarded as chosen. The girl will keep this. In a few days the boys will return and take back their things with other things.

The rejected youths (*izigwadi*) will remain, i.e. those not chosen. They will go off and wash away their state of disfavour because not chosen. Girls may choose two or three boys.

This will take place if one or two girls have had their first menstruation.

The hut will be built of posts and wattles. It is built the day she has her first menstruation. The *mgonqo* hut is for the girl who has menstruated. It need not be at the place of her people. There will be a small fence and a gateway for going in by.

Umaxopo grass, which grows among reeds, or near water - green, like *incema* rushes - will be laid down. In the enclosure a month or more.

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File 60, nbk. 9, p. 1.

Also present: Dhlozi? Ndukwana?

- 1 Mkando knows of *udwa*. He says a girl who has just attained puberty is considered to have *udwa* about her till she grinds crushed maize again; it is then said, 'The *udwa* about her has gone.'¹⁴⁴

The anthem (*ingoma*) of the king - describe this.

21.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 9, pp. 1-2.

Also present: Dhlozi? Ndukwana?

Groves and woods are not favourite places of worship or sacrifice. Only *abatakati* frequent forests, and *hyenas* etc.

The *Mbila* people are *amaTonga*. The *imbila* is an animal.¹⁴⁵ It has no tail and lives in the cliffs.

The *Nyati* people are named after a buffalo.

The *Izinkumbi* people (i.e. the 'Locusts') are of the *Nhlangwini*, the people of *Vundhlazi*.¹⁴⁶

Tribes (are) named after particular animals.

- 2 Rain was asked for in the *Gasa* country and from the Swazis.¹⁴⁷ It was asked for from *Madungudu* in *Mpande's* reign; he lived in the *Ndwanwe* country at the place of *Somapunga's* people.¹⁴⁸ He is long dead. I don't know his nationality. His weather used not to be violent. *Maboqe ka Mlotsha* at *ePondwane* at the place of *Hamu's* people was a rain doctor. Cattle would be sent to him in large numbers to ask for rain; they would bring it. He was of the *Kumalo* people. He lived in *Mpande's* reign. He is dead. The drought of *Mbete* occurred when he was still alive.¹⁴⁹ He was therefore overcome by *Mbete*. *Mbete* was of the *Ngeobo* people at *Dhlokweni* on the *Tugela*.¹⁵⁰ *Gqayinyanga* is the

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son of Mbetete and is a chief now.¹⁵¹

They get the rain by means of their *medicines* which they dig in the hills.

There are no rain doctors now.

The sky *thunders* hard now, due to *people calling it down*. They *takata with it*. Formerly the sky *thundered moderately* and one can go along his path.

21.8.1902

File 72, pp. 165-6.

Also present: Dhlozi, Ndukwana

<The statements that follow represent Stuart's transcription of his original rough notes; these are to be found in File 60, nbk. 9, pp. 2-5 - eds.>

165 Superstitions. Per Mkando, Dhlozi, and Ndukwana.

Dhlozi speaks: If lightning should strike anywhere about a homestead an *innyanga* will be sent for for the purpose of driving away the bad omen. The *innyanga* is a *practitioner of healing*, not a *diviner*. The *innyanga* will then '*doctor*' the sky by *driving medicine pegs into the ground*. He will *get the medicine for the pegs from a beast*, i.e. either a very old cow, a black ox, or sheep. After this the doctor will be paid his fee, usually a beast.

When an *innyanga* has been called in he will begin by *cutting* thin sticks (as long as a walking stick), as well as making a number of pegs (*izikonkwane*). The thin sticks will be stuck in the grass on top of the huts after being *smear*ed with *medicine*, i.e. a black powder mixed with fat called *umsizi*, the fat used being that either of a sheep or a beast. The *izikonkwane* will be used by being *driven into the ground* about the kraal. A short one will be *driven in at the doorway*, and another behind the hut, i.e. in respect to all the huts of the *umuzi*. Another peg will be *driven in above the umuzi* as well as *below it*, also on either side. Then pegs will also be put in the ground alongside each path leading into the *umuzi*, and will be so inserted as to be hidden by grass from view. Moreover, pegs will be hammered in on neighbouring and overlooking high hills. The *medicines* which the doctor has brought with him will be *pounded up* and put into a large pot. On the day following, the whole kraal will be *sprinkled with medicines* by means of a *hand-broom*, as well as *behind the huts*. Then a *potsherd* will be taken and put in the *hearth*; when it burns, the *stomach contents* of a beast are poured in. Then all the people suck medicine from the fingers, including young children. Some of the *powdered medicine (msizi)* left over will be taken; the inmates of the kraal will have *incisions* made on various parts of their bodies and have the *msizi* rubbed into the small wounds. One of the places *cut* will be the crown of the head, where, too, *msizi* will be rubbed in. On the next day the *medicine*, that has up till now been used for sprinkling, will be taken and given to the inmates of the kraal, who will then *vomit* with it. The same *intelezi medicine* too will be *scooped up* by all with *spoons*, and each, holding the spoon with the liquid in it in his hand, will proceed to his home, carrying also *cowdung*. Then *smearing of huts* with the cow-

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ding will take place, which is the conclusion (*the cleansing phase*) of the observance. At this point the doctor will then leave with his beast, but before going he will be careful to warn all those at the kraal not to bid him goodbye when he sets forth. He leaves without saying goodbye to anyone, nor will anyone say anything to him. He will merely tie up his bundle of medicines and depart with his beast. The not saying goodbye is to *prevent evil from returning*.

This custom is one generally observed throughout Natal and Zululand. Mkando and Ndukwana concur in the correctness of Dhlozi's description.

Dhlozi goes on to remark that either the *rock-rabbit* or *duiker* coming to an *umuzi* is regarded as a bad omen, especially the latter.

With regard to the latter, Mkando tells this story. When that section of the native forces required in Natal for service in the Zulu War which was furnished by Sifile (Fynn, i.e. Mbuyazwe), had left his Ezembeni kraal in the Mzinto Division, and after these forces had drawn up in the usual *semicircular* formation, a *duiker* entered the *semicircle*. Tshaka (the name of Fynn's son - named after the king, who was Fynn's friend), was strongly advised by his *izinduna* to refrain from going forward with the *impi*. He ignored their advice and went on. He went towards Zululand via Durban. He came to Mamfongonyana's district near the Tugela (Lower Tugela Division) and, in a short time, when he had got into Mkonto's district, at Mapumulo, *up the iziNsimba* (the source of the river), he fell ill and died.¹⁵²

21.8.1902

File 60, nbk. 9, pp. 5-6.

Also present: Dhlozi? Ndukwana?

5 Who was Wohlo? An European?

[It seems to me native custom has never been taken seriously; it is usually regarded as a huge joke. So long as that is done people can never understand the people they are among.]

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

6 *They believe a thing that is told to them; i.e. amakolwa and their knowledge of heaven.*

Notes

¹The isAngqu *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Shaka was killed in September 1828.

²Nonzama was chief of the Biyela in the Nkandla division.

³Shaka sent an expedition against the Mpondo in mid-1828. The *ihlambo*, or 'washing of the spears', was the final stage of a mourning ceremony, in this case held for Shaka's mother Nandi who had died in August 1827.

⁴Mashwili kaMngoye, chief of the Mthethwa in the Lower Tugela and Mapumulo divisions, was another of Stuart's informants. Dingiswayo, chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century, was his grand-

father.

- ⁵'Spent some time' is our translation of Stuart's '*hlala'd*'. The verb *ukuhlala* normally means 'to stay'.
- ⁶Mande was chief of the Cele people.
- ⁷Cf. the list in Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 645-6.
- ⁸Cf. the statement of Maziyana kaMahlabeni in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 274.
- ⁹An *umuzi* of Shaka's that was built near present-day Stanger.
- ¹⁰I.e. the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ¹¹The *amabutho* here named were all formed in the last years of Shaka's reign or in Dingane's reign. Presumably what the informant means is that after Mpande, with the support of Boers from Natal, had defeated Dingane in 1840, the men of these *amabutho* were permitted to put on the heading.
- ¹²During the life of the Zulu kingdom '*Ndabezitha!*' was a salute reserved for the Zulu king. *Lubololwenja* (or *lufenulwenja*) literally means dog's penis. For Shaka's objections to these names see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 172, 202; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 13, 221-2, 369-70; Fuze, Black People, p. 43.
- ¹³The uDududu *ibutho* was formed c.1859 by Mpande, who died in 1872.
- ¹⁴The iziGqoza were the adherents of Mbuyazi in his dispute with his brother Cetshwayo for the succession to the Zulu kingship in the mid-1850s.
- ¹⁵The dispute between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi referred to in the previous note culminated in the victory of Cetshwayo's uSuthu forces in a battle at Nondakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela in December 1856.
- ¹⁶Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe, and Senzangakhona kaJama of the Zulu, in the early nineteenth century.
- ¹⁷'The breaking of the rope' (*ukugqabuka* or *ukudabuka kwegoda*) was an expression used to refer to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in 1839.
- ¹⁸The uSuthu were the adherents of Cetshwayo: see note 15 above.
- ¹⁹Cf. the lists in Faye, Zulu References, pp. 52-4; Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 254-5.
- ²⁰The reference is to the *ukuhlonipha* practice of showing respect through the formal avoidance in speech of certain words, in this case of the word uMpandu.
- ²¹IziMpohlo seems to have been used as a composite term for a number of *amabutho* formed early in Shaka's reign. The name isiThunyisa (Isitunyisa) was presumably derived from the word *isithunyisa*, a gun. The Boers referred to were presumably the men of Piet Retief's party, which was killed at Mgungundlovu in February 1838.
- ²²The name uSihlambisinye derives from the noun *isihlambi*, meaning a shower (of assegais?), and the enumerative *-nye*, meaning one.
- ²³A Zulu royal *umuzi*. The *isibaya esikhulu* was the section of the royal household which supplied the heir.
- ²⁴A Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- ²⁵This presumably refers to the practice by which men of high standing in the kingdom would present a daughter to the king for his *isigodhlo*.
- ²⁶One of Mpande's principal *imizi*.
- ²⁷KwaNdlangubo (kwaNdlayangubo) was a Zulu royal *umuzi* near the Mhlathuze river. The uKhula stream rises in the hills north of present-day Empangeni.
- ²⁸The eNtumeni hills lie to the west of present-day Eshowe.

- ²⁹The passages that follow may refer to the *ikhanda* mentioned in this sentence. This *ikhanda* may be the one described above by Stuart as situated across the Mhlathuze at oKhula.
- ³⁰Bryant, Dictionary, p. 726, gives *isi-Zi (isizi)* as 'Confiscated property...of any and every description (cattle, children, wives, etc.) taken by the chief from any particular kraal, whose owner has been killed by the king's order or has died without heirs'.
- ³¹Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. His son Mavumengwana became chief of a section of the Ntuli. The term *uhlangothi*, literally 'flank', as used in Stuart's notes is often ambiguous in its connotations. On the one hand it is used to refer to either of the two arcs of huts extending from the *isigodlo* of an *umuzi* to the main gateway; on the other, it is used to refer to a 'house' of the *umuzi* distinct from the main house or *isibaya esikhulu* (see note 23 above). The difficulties of interpreting the particular meaning of the term in the present context are compounded by the terseness of Stuart's notes at this point.
- ³²The names are those of Zulu royal *imizi* that existed in Mpande's time.
- ³³The statements in this paragraph appear to refer to executions carried out in 1876 of persons who had offended against marriage laws laid down by Cetshwayo. The uKhandempemvu was a Zulu *ibutho*, oNdini a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- ³⁴Bryant, Dictionary, p. 68, gives *canguza (changuza)* as 'Dance...at a wedding (in this latter case it is applied solely to the bride or to the bride's party collectively...)'.
³⁵*Umkhuba* (pl. *imikhuba*) means custom, habit, idiosyncratic practice.
- ³⁶The verb *ukuphuzisa* means to cause to drink. A marginal reference to medicines at this point in the original suggests to us that this passage should read '...or *puzisa*'d it with poisonous medicines'.
- ³⁷The iBheje was a small, separate establishment of huts located behind the *isigodlo* at Mngungundlovu. See diagram in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 340.
- ³⁸The Mpaphala was a flat near the sources of the Matikhulu river.
- ³⁹For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vols. 1 & 2, indexes. The assertion that the Ntungwa peoples 'came down' (either from the north or from across the Drakensberg) with or by means of a grain basket is a frequently repeated but inadequately explained tradition.
- ⁴⁰For discussion of the term Lala see the references cited in the previous note.
- ⁴¹The informant is here giving an example of the Lala dialect. Cf. Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 69.
- ⁴²The isiBubulungu was presumably an *ibutho* of the eLangeni chief Makhedama.
- ⁴³Zokufa was chief of the Cube people.
- ⁴⁴Manqondo was chief of the Magwaza people.
- ⁴⁵There is disagreement among Stuart's informants as to Ngwadi's paternity.
- ⁴⁶Mvundlana kaMenziwa was chief of the Biyela, a lineage collateral with the Zulu line.
- ⁴⁷The 'her' referred to is presumably Shaka's mother Nandi.

- ⁴⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362, gives *isi-Lomo* (*isilomo*) as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.
- ⁴⁹Of the names given in this sentence we have been able to identify two. Manqondo kaMazwane was chief of the Magwaza people (see note 44 above). Sothobe of the Sibiya people was a prominent *induna* under Shaka and Dingane.
- ⁵⁰Maphitha was head of the Mandlakazi, a lineage collateral with the Zulu royal line. Mqundane was a grandson of the Zulu ancestral chief Jama. We have been unable to identify Ludlongolwana.
- ⁵¹The informant is here distinguishing between the amount of *lobolo* given for girls who had been presented to the king as tribute, and the amount given for the king's own daughters.
- ⁵²At the point where we indicate an omission of words, the original has 'the big *induna* of *izinceku*'. Stuart's punctuation is such that it is difficult to determine with certainty whether this phrase refers to Mfinyeli or to Vumindaba. The reference to oNdini is to the attack made by Zibhebhu's adherents, or Mandlakazi, on Cetshwayo's *umuzi* of that name in July 1883. Many notables among Cetshwayo's uSuthu adherents were killed on this occasion.
- ⁵³Melmoth Osborn was successively British Resident and Resident Commissioner in Zululand from 1880 to 1893.
- ⁵⁴The notes made by Stuart during this session were so terse that, to avoid imposing our own gloss upon the evidence, we have restricted our editorial intervention to translation and to emendation of obviously defective punctuation.
- ⁵⁵*Isibhalo* was the Zulu term for the forced labour system used by successive Natal colonial governments, especially for road-building.
- ⁵⁶MaGulana, or MaSigulana, a daughter of Sigulana of the Bhele people, was otherwise known as Nomantshali.
- ⁵⁷Sekethwayo was chief of the Mdlalose people.
- ⁵⁸Ntshingwayo kaMahole of the Khoza people was a prominent *induna* under Mpande and Cetshwayo.
- ⁵⁹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 565, gives *usebele* (=umlingane) as a term 'applied by the father and mother of a bridegroom to the father and mother of the bride....'
- ⁶⁰Sifile was H.F. Fynn. Sothobe (see note 49 above) was sent by Shaka on an embassy to the Cape in 1828.
- ⁶¹An annual tax of 7s per hut was imposed on African households in Natal in 1849. In 1875 it was raised to 14s per hut.
- ⁶²On the 'drought of Mbethe' see also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 43-4; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 71-2, 129, 139-40.
- ⁶³Dlokweni was a locality near the mouth of the Thukela.
- ⁶⁴Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 684, give *iqaba* (pl. *amaqaba*) as '1. Ignorant, uncultured person. 2. Heathen'.
- ⁶⁵The name Mjomba appears (without descendants) in the Luthuli chiefly genealogy recorded by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 506.
- ⁶⁶Mkhungo kaMpande was chief of a section of the Zulu clan in the Eshowe division.
- ⁶⁷Nonzama was chief of the Biyela people in the Nkandla division.
- ⁶⁸Sigananda, son of Zokufa, was chief of the Cube people in the Nkandla division.
- ⁶⁹For discussion of the term Lala see the references cited in note 39 above.

- ⁷⁰On the term Ntungwa see note 39 above.
- ⁷¹Presumably the Ngoni people of central Africa.
- ⁷²On Sothobe see notes 49 and 60 above.
- ⁷³Most authorities give Mntaniya as Senzangakhona's mother.
- ⁷⁴Soon after their assassination of Shaka in September 1828, Mhlangana was killed in a dispute over the succession with his brother Dingane.
- ⁷⁵Socwatsha's evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁷⁶In the margin of the original, against this passage, appears the following note: 'J. Stuart died 4.8.42. In this 40 years his wish had come true. (E.S.) Result steady thorough work which he loved.' 'E.S.' was presumably his wife Ellen.
- ⁷⁷AmaMfengu is a term denoting the refugees who fled south into Xhosa country from what is now Natal in the upheavals of the 1820s.
- ⁷⁸Dingane's principal *umuzi*.
- ⁷⁹For Ndlela and Mavumengwana see note 31 above.
- ⁸⁰Bryant, Dictionary, p. 7, gives *is-Ancinza* (*isancinza*, pl. *izancinza*) as 'Girl kept by a chief, ostensibly as a maid-servant, but also as concubine....'
- ⁸¹A.S. Windham was Resident Magistrate at Umvoti from 1857 to 1867.
- ⁸²Bryant, Dictionary, p. 79, gives the verb *ukucola* as 'Do anything well, nicely, finely....', and provides a number of examples of occasions when a beast was slaughtered for *ukucola* purposes. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 124, give *ukucola* as '...3. Give a feast or banquet in honour, slaughter a beast for, make a presentation to'.
- ⁸³Sothobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiya people was sent on a mission to the Cape government in the company of J.S. King, a hunter-trader from Port Natal. See also notes 49, 60, and 72 above.
- ⁸⁴Bryant, Dictionary, p. 109, gives *i-nDiki* (*indiki*) as 'Little finger with the last joint cut off, as is the distinguishing mark of some tribes....' See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 94.
- ⁸⁵The Qude mountain overlooks the confluence of the Thukela and Mzinyathi (Buffalo) rivers from the east.
- ⁸⁶Gayede kaMakhedama was chief of the Khabela people in the Krantzkop division.
- ⁸⁷Mngoye (Mgoye) was a son of the Mthethwa chief, Dingiswayo. For Mashwili see note 4 above.
- ⁸⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 543, gives the verb *qopa* (*qopha*, pass. *qoshwa*, *qotshwa*) as, 'Cut slits into the edges of a strip of skin (acc.) to be afterwards twisted into an *i-nJobo* tail....'
- ⁸⁹This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. For Senzangakhona see note 16 above.
- ⁹⁰The reference is to Mathunjana kaSenzangakhona. (For the latter see note 16 above.)
- ⁹¹Tununu kaNonjiya of the Qwabe people was another of Stuart's informants. The Ndulinde is a hill to the north of the Thukela river near its mouth.
- ⁹²Miskofini (Msikofeni) was chief of the Khuze in the Ipolela, Ixopo, and Upper Umkomaas divisions.
- ⁹³Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 70 and 556, gives the verb *caza* as 'Make incisions in the skin of a person (acc.) for rubbing in medicine...', and *rraya* (*klaya*) as 'Cut into slices...or into strips....'
- ⁹⁴The verbs *ukutekeza* and *ukuthefula* are explained in the Glossary to the present volume. 'Wendani?' (Zulu: 'Wenzani?') means 'What are you

- doing?'; *inkonyane* means 'calf'; and *loku* means 'this one'.
- ⁹⁵The verb *ukugqoka* means to cover the body with clothing, to dress in European fashion.
- ⁹⁶Cf. Colenso, Dictionary, p. 319.
- ⁹⁷*Iboza* is a species of shrub; *umsenge* the cabbage-tree; *umkhiwane* the wild fig; *umsinsi* the kaffirboom tree.
- ⁹⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 464, gives *inyandezulu* as 'Certain green snake, with black markings about the neck and sides, regarded when young as a messenger...from a royal or very high-class *i-dhlozi*....'
- ⁹⁹On Ndondakusuka and isiGqoza (pl. iziGqoza) see notes 14 and 15 above.
- ¹⁰⁰Dingane's forces were defeated by those of his half-brother Mpande in January 1840.
- ¹⁰¹Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom and flight to Natal took place in September 1839 before the battle of Maqongqo.
- ¹⁰²Bryant, Dictionary, p. 322, gives *um-Kovu* (*umkhovu*, pl. *imikhovu*) as 'familiar of an *umtakati*, whom he sends round by night for working evil....'
- ¹⁰³Possibly a reference to Mvundlana kaMenziwa: see note 46 above.
- ¹⁰⁴A major outbreak of rinderpest affected wide areas of southern Africa in 1896-7. It was particularly severe in Zululand in 1897.
- ¹⁰⁵For Matshwili see note 4 above.
- ¹⁰⁶Hanise was Bishop H.P.S. Schreuder of the Norwegian Missionary Society who, with brief absences, worked as a missionary in the Zulu kingdom from 1851 to 1875.
- ¹⁰⁷UBhalule (loc. oBhalule) is the Olifants river in what is now the eastern Transvaal. Sikwata (Sekwati) was chief of the Pedi from the 1820s until his death in 1861.
- ¹⁰⁸Besides meaning 'ancestral spirit', the word *isituta* (*isithutha*, pl. *izithutha*) means a fool, a stupid person.
- ¹⁰⁹KwaNodwengu was one of Mpande's principal *imizi*.
- ¹¹⁰*Mzim' omubi* (*umzimba omubi*) literally means 'bad, unhealthy body'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 290, gives *i-Kambi* (*ikhambi*) as '...certain parasitic beetle...inhabiting the intestines of Natives and a common cause of abdominal and nervous disorders among them....'
- ¹¹¹The *ukuphukula* custom was one practised by girls at the beginning of the planting season: see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 513.
- ¹¹²On the verb *ukuchanguza* (*cangusa*) see note 34 above.
- ¹¹³Sitheku kaMpande was chief of a section of Zulu in the Emtonjaneni division.
- ¹¹⁴Bryant, Dictionary, p. 662, gives *isi-Tundu* (*isithundu*) as 'Any medicine mixed up...and drunk as an emetic, in order to render oneself favoured by the *amadhlozi* or by the girls....'
- ¹¹⁵Bryant, Dictionary, p. 364, gives *um-Lozi* (*umlozi*, pl. *imilozzi*) or *um-Lozikazana* as 'Familiar spirit of a necromancer which makes itself audible by a whistling voice, said to be produced by ventriloquism; such a necromancer supposedly possessed by such a spirit'.
- ¹¹⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 125, gives *izidwedwe* as 'old rags, soiled raiment, etc., containing the body-dirt of people and collected by an *umtakati* for his evil practices'.
- ¹¹⁷Colenso, Dictionary, p. 33, gives *ubendhle* (*ubendle*) as 'Small plant...; the leaf...has underneath a white skin, which the girls peel off...; this is then used to make fringes for *imiTsha*....' *Umutsha* (pl. *imitsha*) is the men's or girls' girdle.
- ¹¹⁸The verb *ukwenza* literally means to make, to do. We are uncertain of

- the exact connotations of the phrase 'enza'd imilozi'.
- ¹¹⁹Nobhongoza was a brother of the Zulu chief Senzangakhona. His son Mqundane was thus a cousin of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande (see also note 50 above).
- ¹²⁰Thulwana (Thulare) was chief of the Pedi in the early nineteenth century.
- ¹²¹Hamu kaNzibe of the Zulu royal house, Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi, and Zibhebhu kaMaphitha of the Mandlakazi (see note 50 above) were leading figures in the Zulu kingdom during Cetshwayo's reign. The statement here attributed to these men possibly refers to the demand made by the British on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu war for the surrender of the sons of Chief Sihayo of the Qungebeni people.
- ¹²²Mlanjeni was a diviner who built up a considerable reputation as a 'prophet' among the Xhosa in the 1840s. The reference is to evidence given by H.F. Fynn before the Natal Native Commission of 1852 and cited in Bird's Annals of Natal, vol. 1.
- ¹²³On beliefs concerning the *isicatshakazana* lizard, cf. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 69.
- ¹²⁴In his evidence to the Natal Native Commission of 1852, as cited in Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 105, H.F. Fynn made the following statement: 'As long as health and prosperity were enjoyed by a family, its ancestral guardian spirit was said to be lying on his back, but when misfortunes came upon them, on his face.'
- ¹²⁵The reference to Manqondo is possibly to Manqondo kaMazwana, chief of the Magwaza people.
- ¹²⁶Ntshingwayo kaMahole of the Khoza people was one of Cetshwayo's principal *izinduna*.
- ¹²⁷Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli of the Ntombela was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ¹²⁸The original of the song reads:
 chorus
E engwevu, ingwevu e lu bolo lu njeya,
U nga lu bekel' amazolo, kuze kus' eqaqazela,
Njeng' obendhle.
We lu bolo! (single girl's voice, solo) *i ya!* (chorus)
We lu bolo! " *i ya!* "
We lu bolo! " *i ya!* "
We nhlunu " *we!* "
We nhlunu " *we!* "
- Ingwevu* is a beast with grey on the face and chest, or a man with grey in his hair. For *ubendle* see note 117 above.
- ¹²⁹EmPhangisweni was one of Cetshwayo's *imizi*.
- ¹³⁰Nobiya was of the Sibiya people; his father Sothobe was a prominent *induna* under Shaka and Dingane.
- ¹³¹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 480, gives *i-mPaka* (*impaka*, pl. *izimpaka*) as 'Cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a "familiar" and sent by him on villainous errands....'
- ¹³²Dabulamanzi, a half-brother of Cetshwayo, was prominent in Zulu affairs in the years before and after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ¹³³*Uhlonze* literally means wrinkled forehead.
- ¹³⁴*Ukuquleka* (*ukuqaleka*) is to faint, become unconscious.
- ¹³⁵Philip Mhlanimpofu of the Luthuli people was chief of the *kholwa* in the Lower Tugela Division.
- ¹³⁶The word *isipoku* (pl. *izipoku*, diminutive pl. *izipokwana*) derives

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- from the Afrikaans word 'spook', ghost.
- ¹³⁷Hanise and Mankankanana were Zulu names for Bishop H.P.S. Schreuder (see note 106 above). Ntunjambili is the Zulu name for Kranskop mountain.
- ¹³⁸The original does not indicate whether the subject of this sentence is the informant Mkhando, or the man named Dumbo referred to in the text. Cf. Mkhando's statement on p. 146 above that he had crossed from the Zulu kingdom into Natal at the time when Mpande was *buthaing* the uDududu *ibutho* (i.e. c.1859).
- ¹³⁹Shaka was assassinated in September 1828.
- ¹⁴⁰The informant has previously identified Magwaza as a woman diviner who died after being bitten by a snake: see p. 177 above.
- ¹⁴¹On Tulwana (Thulare) and Sikwata (Sekwati) see respectively notes 120 and 107 above.
- ¹⁴²Bryant, Dictionary, p. 192, gives *umgonqo* as 'Portion of a hut partitioned off by wicker-work..., in which a girl menstruating for the first time...sits retired'.
- ¹⁴³Cf. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 651.
- ¹⁴⁴Bryant, Dictionary, p. 124, gives *udwa* as 'First menstruation of a girl (the word is now nearly obsolete)'. For the avoidances required of women during their periods of menstruation see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 620, 647 ff; Krige, Social System, pp. 100 ff; Raum, Social Function, pp. 272, 274, 303-4, 400, 411.
- ¹⁴⁵*Imbila* is the Zulu for rock-rabbit or hyrax.
- ¹⁴⁶The iziNkumbi (literally 'locusts') were the adherents of H.F. Fynn. Vundlase, a woman of the Zelemu people, was taken by Fynn as great wife and placed in charge of the iziNkumbi.
- ¹⁴⁷The Gasa kingdom was founded by Soshangane in what is now south-central Mozambique.
- ¹⁴⁸Somaphunga was a son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide. According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 213, during Dingane's reign he established himself near the Black Mfolozi.
- ¹⁴⁹On the 'Mbethe' drought see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 43-4; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 71-2, 129, 139-40.
- ¹⁵⁰Dlokweni was a locality near the mouth of the Thukela.
- ¹⁵¹Gqayinyanga was chief of the Ngcobo in the Lower Tugela division.
- ¹⁵²This anecdote is confusing, as Henry Francis Fynn, who bore the Zulu names Sifile and Mbyazwe, had died in 1861, eighteen years before the Anglo-Zulu war. Mamfongonyana kaGodide was chief of a section of the Qwabe. The Mkonto referred to may have been the Ntuli notable of that name: see Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 203, 204. We have been unable to find information on the career of Tshaka Fynn.