

THE
JAMES
STUART
ARCHIVE

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SOC-ZWA

THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

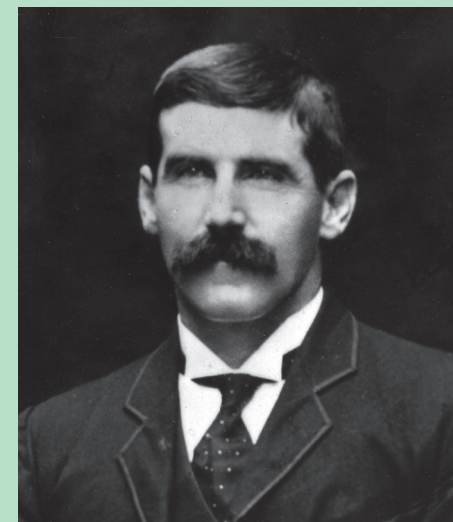
VOLUME SIX



Editors

C. DE B. WEBB

J.B. WRIGHT



JAMES STUART IN 1906

In this volume, the sixth of *The James Stuart Archive*, the editors present a further twenty-six sets of testimonies drawn from material in the James Stuart Collection of the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban.

James Stuart was an official in the Natal colonial civil service in the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century. In meticulously recorded conversations with some two hundred interlocutors, the great majority of them Africans, he assembled a vast and unique collection of notes on the history and customs of the Zulu and other peoples of what is now the KwaZulu-Natal region.

The testimonies published in the successive volumes of *The James Stuart Archive* represent edited, annotated and (where the original appears in Zulu) translated renderings of Stuart's notes and transcriptions. The testimonies which he recorded piecemeal have been arranged by the editors under the names of the interlocutors from whom they were obtained, and have been published in alphabetical name-order. The present volume carries the sequence from Socwatsha kaPhaphu to its ending with Zwayi kaMbombo, bringing to 185 the number of interlocutors whose testimonies have been published in the series.

The previous five volumes of *The James Stuart Archive* were published successively in 1976, 1979, 1982, 1986, and 2001. Volume 7, which will carry the praises that were omitted from the previous six volumes, is in preparation.

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
PRESS

Killie Campbell Africana Library Manuscript Series



KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY

MANUSCRIPT SERIES No. 6

JAMES STUART ARCHIVE

VOL. 6



KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY
MANUSCRIPT SERIES

Nos. 1–6 JAMES STUART ARCHIVE, vols. 1–6

Edited and translated by C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright

Number 7 is in preparation.

**THE
JAMES STUART ARCHIVE**

**OF RECORDED ORAL EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE
HISTORY OF THE ZULU AND NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES**

VOLUME SIX

Edited and Translated

by

C. DE B. WEBB AND J.B. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL PRESS

PIETERMARITZBURG

AND

KILLIE CAMPBELL AFRICANA LIBRARY

DURBAN

2014

Published in 2014 by University of KwaZulu-Natal Press
Private Bag X01
Scottsville, 3209
Pietermaritzburg
South Africa
Email: books@ukznpress.ac.za
Website: www.ukznpress.co.za

© 2014 University of KwaZulu-Natal

ISBN 978 1 86914 264 3 (Vol. 6)
ISBN 978 0 86980 210 6 (Set)

Printed and bound by Interpak Books, Pietermaritzburg

FRONTISPIECES

The first of the reproductions overleaf is taken from Stuart's rough notes of a conversation which he held with Socwatsha kaPhaphu on 2.1.1902, as recorded in File 60, nbk. 3, p. 16 of the Stuart Collection. The second is a reproduction of the notes of this conversation that Stuart wrote up in extended form on the same day: these are recorded in File 70, p. 17 of the Stuart Collection. For the editors' rendering of these latter notes, see p. 28 of the present volume.

2.1.02
Converser with Socwalotha this day: -

Dingana, as soon as he came into power ^{vulelala} certain regi-
-ments of girls to marry, doing this no doubt to win ^{namatjha kuyi} public favour. Among
these amabuto were those known by the names Mtshikeu, Meekekeke
Mvutwamini, owa vutwa li balale, iSenyane. These were butiva's
by Ishaka, but not ganisela's.

Dingana was, like Ishaka, found fault with for killing people.

Ngqojana ka Senzangakona was killed by Dingana.

Ishaka seems to have been liberal as regards giving food,
but refused ^{forbade} to allow girls to soma.

Ishaka once wanted to see if izangoma could were infallible in the
discovery of truth. He sprinkled a lot of blood in the izigodho himself.
Only Maccibi was ^{Langeni} correct in saying how the blood had
got to be where it was. (To my astonishment Dholzi informs me that
our old servant Sotemela (September) is a son of this man). Those
izangoma who failed were put to death. Ishaka's action on this occasion
was not disapproved ~~in~~ seeing that the ordinary people had just
cause for complaint themselves against the doctors for they often
smelt them out wrongly. The king's action seemed to check a growing
abuse.

Cetshwayo, when he became king, dis countenanced the system
under which, after reference to izangoma, men were allowed to be killed
off. He referred ^a matter, that formerly meant an order to kill, to
the izinduna of that district to which accused lived, who were instructed
to make a thorough inquiry & then report. I rather think this change
must have been brought about by the insistence ^{by European foot}, at the time of
Cetshwayo's coronation, on cessation of shedding of blood without trial.
The Ultimatum contained a demand on the same point.

[Here followed a talk on questions concerning European Govt of
the Natives, European influences & which will be found in the proper
N. Book.]

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PREFACE

This volume covers the alphabetical sequence of James Stuart's interlocutors from Socwatsha kaPhaphu to Zwayi kaMbombo. It brings to 185 the total number of his interlocutors whose statements, ranging in length from a single paragraph to 168 printed pages, have been published in the six volumes of the *James Stuart Archive* which have so far appeared. This is the last in the alphabetically ordered series of volumes; further volumes will carry the praises omitted from the ones so far published, together with addenda.

The basic editorial principles which Colin Webb and I developed when we were working on volume 1 in the 1970s have guided my work on the present volume, as have the modifications which we made to our practices as we edited subsequent volumes. For these principles and their modifications, users of this volume are referred to our Introduction to volume 1 (1976), to the Prefaces which we jointly wrote for volumes 2 to 4 (1979, 1982, 1986), and to the Preface that I wrote for volume 5 (2001), which was published nine years after Colin's untimely death in 1992.

In these Prefaces we drew attention particularly to the shifts which took place over time in our annotating and indexing practices. In the Preface to volume 5 I linked further developments in our annotating practices to our growing awareness of new currents of scholarly thinking about the nature of oral testimonies. An epistemological issue that I would like to highlight here is the extent to which our annotations on the meanings of words that we have retained in the text in the original isiZulu draw on A.T. Bryant's *Zulu-English Dictionary*. This was published at Mariannhill in 1905, eight years after Stuart had begun actively recording oral testimonies, and was then much the largest and most authoritative isiZulu dictionary to have appeared. I have been fortunate to have had a compilation of this kind to hand for my editorial work.

Users of the *James Stuart Archive* need, however, to take into account that the glosses given in Bryant's *Dictionary* are themselves historical products. As yet we know little of the processes in which the different varieties of Bantu or isiNtu once spoken in what is now KwaZulu-Natal were codified in writing into the language which in the second half of the nineteenth century came to be widely known as 'Zulu', but what can be said here is that Bryant's work on his *Dictionary* drew on lineages of scholarship that dated back to the 1840s, as well as on his own conversations over some twenty years with African interlocutors. At the time, a vocabulary and an orthography for written isiZulu were far from being standardized, and it was one of

Bryant's express purposes in compiling his *Dictionary* to work towards such a standardization.¹ His aim was to present the language 'in its primeval purity', although, it should be noted, this did not prevent him from recording numbers of words derived from Afrikaans and English. The purest form of isiZulu, in his view, was most clearly expressed in the language spoken in Zululand north of the Thukela river, as distinct from the 'sadly corrupted' speech used in Natal. By his own account, he did most of his work on the *Dictionary* while stationed at a mission in Zululand, or, more explicitly, according to Lugg, at oNgoye in south-eastern Zululand.² He submitted all the words that eventually went into the book for discussion by a 'court of inquiry' consisting of local isiZulu-speakers, numbers of whom were women, whom Bryant saw as the custodians of the language at its purest. It is likely that his selection of words for inclusion in the *Dictionary*, together with the glosses he gave them, were shaped to a significant degree by usages current in south-eastern Zululand at the time he worked. It is these historically produced glosses that the annotations in the *James Stuart Archive* carry into the twenty-first century.

Among the individuals whom Bryant thanks in the preface to his *Dictionary* for sending him lists of Zulu words is James Stuart. For his part, Stuart owned a copy of Bryant's *Dictionary* in which he frequently made annotations; we unfortunately do not know how far Bryant's glosses – or, for that matter, the glosses made in older dictionaries, such as those compiled by Colenso and Döhne – fed into Stuart's own understanding of isiZulu. But it is on record that Bryant's influence reached deep into the twentieth century, not least through the medium of Clement Doke and Benedict Vilakazi's own scholarly and comprehensive – and widely influential – *Zulu-English Dictionary*, published in Johannesburg by Witwatersrand University Press in 1948. Doke states that for him and his colleague 'Bryant's work, together with the standard set by Colenso, provided the type of Zulu chosen as fundamental ...'.³ In contrast though to Bryant's express purpose, he indicates that the compilers were concerned to include words 'incorporated into Zulu from outside sources ... in order to meet the growing needs of modern conditions ...', in other words, of an industrializing, urbanizing society that was in many respects starkly different from the one in which Bryant's *Dictionary* had been produced.

For my own part, I have used Doke and Vilakazi's work in cases where I could not find particular words in Bryant, and occasionally also to supplement glosses given by the latter. In keeping with their aim of producing a 'modernized' work, Doke and Vilakazi's glosses are usually much briefer than Bryant's, and often simplified to the point of giving single-word English equivalents of isiZulu words. Uncritical use of their *Dictionary* to explicate language used by Stuart's interlocutors forty or fifty years before can be misleading. Bryant, on the other hand, deliberately set out to give extended explications. His purpose was not simply to clarify meanings but to elucidate what he saw as the Zulu people's particular 'colouring of thought', one which he regarded as 'radically foreign' to the minds of his readers, by whom he meant primarily his white contemporaries. That his own 'colouring of thought' as a colonial intellectual shows through in his glosses as much as does that of his interlocutors does not detract from their usefulness: furthermore, it underscores the need for users to read the annotations in the *James Stuart Archive* with due critical attention.

Much the longest and in many ways the most important set of testimonies published in this volume is that of Socwatsha kaPhaphu. At 168 printed pages, it is

also the longest in the entire *James Stuart Archive*: the next longest, at 120 pages, is that of Ndukwana kaMbengwana, which was published in volume 4. Like Ndukwana, Socwatsha began a career in the colonial service in the 1880s in Zululand. Here both men encountered Stuart, who, at the age of 20, took up his first appointment in native administration in Eshowe in 1888. Both were among Stuart's earliest interlocutors when, in 1897, he began systematically making notes on the growing number of discussions that he organized with knowledgeable individuals about history and custom. In ways that still need to be comprehensively researched, both had a deep influence on the development of Stuart's perspectives in these fields, but while his conversations with Ndukwana came to end in 1903, he was still recording testimonies from Socwatsha on the eve of his departure from Natal in 1922.⁴

Another notable set of testimonies published in this volume is that of Thununu kaNonjjiya, whom Stuart interviewed in 1903 when he was in his late eighties. Thununu had been an *inceku* or personal attendant in the household of the Zulu king Dingane in the 1830s, and his 'insider' evidence contains details about Dingane's reign available nowhere else. A third lengthy set of statements comes from Lazarus Xaba, who in the 1860s and 1870s spent a number of years in the service of Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and subsequently Administrator of the short-lived British colony of the Transvaal. Stuart interviewed Xaba in 1910 at a time when he was beginning research on a life (never actually written) of Shepstone; the resultant testimony can be seen as the product of two men who, from very different perspectives, were both admirers of Shepstone's system of government.

Other noteworthy – if much briefer – statements recorded in this volume are those made by Mark Thring, Tikhuba kaMagongo, Zibokwana kaNyamayenja, and Zulu, who were among a dozen interlocutors with whom Stuart conversed in the period November 1898 to January 1899, when he was Acting British Consul in Bremersdorp, Swaziland. They are significant for shedding light on the particular lines of inquiry which Stuart was following at this early stage of his recording career, and also for giving details on the history of Swaziland and Tongaland, regions which, as it turned out, Stuart never revisited.

My thanks go to Barbara Ivins, Joan Osborne, Catherine Wright and Julia Wright for their work on the typing and proofreading of this volume; to Ursula d'Arcy-Donnelly for assistance in typing the text and in producing the indexes; to Mbongiseni Buthelezi for productive discussion of issues of isiZulu translation; to Yvonne Winters and the staff of the Killie Campbell Africana Library for their support of the Stuart Project; to Ben Smith, David Pearce and other colleagues, past and present, in the Rock Art Research Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand, for latterly providing me with a stimulating working environment; and to Carolyn Hamilton, director of the Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative at the University of Cape Town, friend, colleague, and critic, for the intellectual support which she has given over many years to the Stuart Project. Since its establishment in 1970, the project has been fortunate in having the unstinting backing of the University of Natal Press, now the University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. I would particularly like to record my appreciation of the co-operative role played over a long period by the former publisher, Margery Moberly, who died in retirement in 2008. I am grateful for the

continuing interest in the *James Stuart Archive* shown by Debra Primo and Louis Gaigher, respectively the Press's current director and commissioning editor, and for the work done by Trish Comrie and Sally Hines in preparing the present volume for publication.

John Wright
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg

November 2013

Notes

¹ On the context in which the *Dictionary* was compiled, see Bryant's preface, pp. 5*-11* (the asterisks signal a sequence of pages distinct from the sequence of the main text).

² H.C. Lugg, 'A brief biography of the author', in A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu People as They Were before the White Man Came*, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1949, p. ix.

³ Doke, in the Introduction (written after Vilakazi's early death in 1947) to the *Dictionary*, p. vii.

⁴ For recent commentaries on the making of the testimonies rendered in the *James Stuart Archive*, see Carolyn Hamilton, 'Backstory, biography, and the life of the *James Stuart Archive*', *History in Africa*, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 319-41; John Wright, 'Ndukwana kaMbengwana as an interlocutor on the history of the Zulu kingdom, 1897-1903', *History in Africa*, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 343-68.

NOTES ON TYPOGRAPHICAL DEVICES USED IN THE TEXT

Roman and Italic Type

Roman type is used for passages recorded in English in Stuart's notes, and italic type for passages recorded in Zulu.

Underlining

Stuart underlined for emphasis and, inconsistently, for other purposes. Underlining has been retained where it was used for emphasis in the original, and has also been used for book titles, names of newspapers, ships, farms, etc., which in the original may appear underlined, or in inverted commas, or without any identifying device.

Brackets

Inconsistent usages in Stuart's notes have been eliminated and the following standardized styles adopted to cover parentheses in the original as well as editorial intervention:

- 1 Round brackets (): parenthetical statements which are integrally part of the evidence supplied by informants;
- 2 Square brackets []: Stuart's comments on, or amplification of, statements made by informants;
- 3 Angular brackets < >: statements or information inserted into the text by the editors, and editorial emendation of defective text.

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kingdom, 1897-1903', *History in Africa*, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 343-68.

GLOSSARY OF isiZULU TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

isAngoma (izAngoma): diviner; one inspired or possessed by an ancestral spirit and employed to detect *abaThakathi* (q.v.) and to interpret mysterious occurrences.

amaBele: sorghum

ukuBhula: to beat with sticks on the ground, as done by the assembly during divination; hence, to divine.

ukuBonga: to declaim praises, extol, express gratitude.

imBongi (izimBongi): praise-singer, specialist declaimer of praises.

isiBongo (iziBongo): 1. clan-name; 2. (pl. only) praises, praise-names.

ukuButha (pass. *ukuButhwa*): to gather; to form young men or women into age-grades.

iButho (amaButho): 1. age-group of men or women; 2. Member of an age-group.

iDlozi (amaDlozi): spirit of a dead person.

inDuna (izinDuna): civil or military official; person appointed by the king or chief to a position of authority or command.

ukwEshwama: to perform the preliminary *umkhosi* (q.v.) ceremony, in which, about a month before the *umkhosi*, the king or chief ritually tastes the new crops.

ukuGiya: to rush out alone from the assembly and perform an energetic dance.

isiGodlo (iziGodlo): 1. king's or chief's private enclosure at upper end of his *umuzi* (q.v.), where the huts of his household are situated; 2. women of the king's establishment; girls presented to the king as tribute or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his 'daughters', disposable by him in marriage. Cf. *umNdlunkulu*.

ukuHlobonga: to practise premarital (external) sexual intercourse. Cf. *ukuSoma*.

ukuHlonipha: to show respect through practising certain formal avoidances in action or speech.

ukuJuba (pass. *ukuJutshwa*): to give orders for an action to be performed, especially to give the order permitting age-grades to marry.

iKhanda (*amaKhanda*): royal *umuzi* (q.v.) where *amabutho* are quartered.

iKhehla (*amaKhehla*): man who has put on the headring; elderly man.

iKholwa (*amaKholwa*): Christian; literally ‘a believer’.

ukuKhonza: to give one’s allegiance or subject oneself to a king or chief; to pay formal respects to a superior.

umKhosi (*imiKhosi*): the annual ‘first-fruits’ ceremony held at the great place of the king or chief in the period December-January, a ceremony at which the king or chief is ritually strengthened, the ancestral spirits praised, and the allegiance of the people renewed.

isiKhulu (*iziKhulu*): person of high standing, wielding considerable political authority.

ukuKleza: to milk a cow straight into the mouth, as done for a period by youths newly enrolled in an age-grade; to pass the boyhood stage, to qualify as a member of an *ibutho* (q.v.).

inKosana (*amaKhosana*): heir to a chiefship or house.

inKosi (*amaKhosi*): king; paramount; chief.

inKosikazi (*amaKhosikazi*): principal wife of a king, chief, or *umnumzana* (q.v.); title applied by courtesy to any wife of a man of such position.

ukuLobola (pass. *ukuLotsholwa*): to formalize a marriage by the conveyance of cattle or other property from the man’s family to the father or guardian of the woman.

iLobolo (sg. only): cattle or goods handed over in a marriage transaction by the man’s family to the father or guardian of the woman.

isiLomo (*iziLomo*): courtier; man who, though holding no special office, has high status at court by virtue of the king’s favour.

iMpi (*iziMpi*): 1. military unit or force, army; 2. battle, engagement, war.

iNceku (*iziNceku*): attendant in a king’s or chief’s household responsible for the performance of certain domestic duties.

iNdlunkulu (*iziNdlunkulu*): 1. Hut of king’s or chief’s principal wife; the group of huts attached to it; 2. members of the family attached to those huts.

umNdlunkulu (sg. only): girls of the royal establishment presented to the king as tribute or selected from the households of his subjects, and, as his ‘daughters’, disposable by him in marriage. Cf. *isiGodlo*.

ukuNgena (pass. *ukuNgenwa*): to marry the widow of a deceased brother in order to produce children for his house.

iNsizwa (*iziNsizwa*): youth approaching manhood; young man who has not yet put on the headring.

umNumzana (*abaNumzana*): head of an *umuzi* (q.v.) or household; family head.

iPhini (*amaPhini*): lower-ranking officer in an *ibutho*.

amaSi (pl. only): curds of milk.

ukuSisa: to place livestock in the care of a dependent, who in return has certain rights of usufruct.

ukuSoma: to practise premarital (external) intercourse. Cf. *ukuHlobonga*.

ukuTekeza: to speak in Swazi, Lala, or Bhaca fashion, in which ‘tsh’ is substituted for isiZulu ‘th’, and ‘t’ or ‘dz’ for ‘z’.

umThakathi (*abaThakathi*): one who uses supernatural forces for harmful purposes; the harmful acts committed by such a person.

isiThakazelo (*iziThakazelo*): term of formal address or salutation specific to each clan.

ukuThefula: to speak in the Qwabe or Mthethwa fashion, in which ‘y’ is substituted for isiZulu ‘l’.

ukuThetha: to give praise to the ancestors; to take an army through the ceremonies of giving praise to the ancestors.

isiVivane (*iziVivane*): accumulation of stones or other objects placed next to the path, to the accompaniment of certain rituals, as a means of ensuring a safe journey.

isiZwe (*iziZwe*): the ‘people’ of a particular polity; the body politic.

umuZi (*imiZi*): 1. homestead, collection of huts under an *umnumzana* (q.v.); 2. the people belonging to a homestead.

