

MMEMI KA NGULUZANE

8.9.1904

File 61, nbk. 40, pp. 1-2.

1 Mmemi arrived yesterday. His father was Nguluzane. [See p. 12.]

Qwabe ancestors. Pakatwayo's ancestors in order:¹

His father was	Kondhlo.
" "	" Mncinci.
" "	" Lufuta.
" "	" Simamane.
" "	" Kuzwayo.
" "	" Sidinane.
" "	" Mahlobo.
" "	" Qwabe.
" "	" Malandela.

Dates incorrect²

1 Meseni	1860
2 Musi	1820
3 Pakatwayo	born 1787
4 Kondhlo	born 1760
5 Mncinci	1720
6 Lufuta	1680
7 Simamane	1650
8 Kuzwayo	1620
9 Sidinane	1580
10 Mahlobo	1550
11 Qwabe	1520
12 Malandela	1490

Pakatwayo *fathered* Musi, whose son is Meseni.³

Amacineka and amaNgadi.⁴ Ngema would appear to be a son of Malandela as well. He is the founder of the Ngadi tribe. The *izinongwe* is a fruit eaten when *famine* is on, and *umbezi* (only eaten in Natal by amaLala, afterwards by others); also *izakwayi*.⁵ 'We were delayed by the little *ingadi* marrows.' The Ngema people said this when snow had come on when a *hunt* was on. This *hunt* was called to settle the seniority between Mcineka and Qwabe - Ngema was of the Qwabe tribe. The side killing a buck first should be the senior one. Both went to hunt; a *duiker* was killed by the Amacineka, but they were *deceived* by the Qwabe people.

The Ngema people were part of the Qwabe tribe, and the seniority to be determined was between Qwabe and Mcineka. The Ngema people expressed an unwillingness to join the Qwabes in the proposed hunt on the ground

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that, there being a scarcity of food, they were busy eating *ingadi marrows*, alias *izinongwe*. Owing to their saying they preferred eating *ingadi marrows* to competing for supremacy, they were called amaNgadi.

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File 61, nbk. 40, pp. 2-13.

- As regards the *duiker*, it was first stabbed by the Mcineka people.
- 3 It went on and was killed by us (Qwabes) with knobsticks. We *scooped up clots of blood and smeared them on the anus and tail of the buck*. We turned over the buck, laying it on that side on which the wound was. The Mcinekas came up, looked all over to find their wound, but finding none, decided they must have wounded the animal on the *anus*. They accordingly declared that to be their right for claiming the beast, the killing of which decided the seniority of the tribe.⁶

Mcinceka is a son of Malandela, like Qwabe. Malandela desired them to contest for the supremacy, saying whoever overcame the other should be *chief*.

After defeating the Mcineka with our cunning we of course went off with the buck and ate it.

- 4 I do not know Qwabe's grave, but I know that of Lufuta and Kuzwayo, not of Simamane, Sidinane and Mahlobo.

Kuzwayo's death was attended by these circumstances. It was decided all the people should *gather firewood*. A very large *pile*, as big as an European house, was collected. (It was) put on top of a large *flat rock* where the Mhlatuze and Inkwayinye conjoin. The *chief* was placed under the wood and the whole set ablaze, burning to cinders. Branches were then obtained and the people proceeded to sweep the whole of the ashes into the Inkwayinye stream. He left behind his heir Simamane. Simamane *fathered* Lufuta and Makanya, younger own-brother of Lufuta, by a girl of the Mtetwa tribe. I do not know her name.

.... <Praises of the mother of Lufutha and Makhanya omitted - eds.>

- 5 Kuzwayo died a natural death. I do not know why he was cremated, nor do I know of any other kings before him who were burnt.

Funnily enough, our children ever since are very frequently falling into the fire and getting burnt. There are few who have not a scar caused by fire.

Makanya *fathered* Mnengwa who *fathered* Duze whose son was Makuta whose son is Mtambo (living) - about 40 years of age (not *headringed* yet).⁷

I do not know Malandela's father's name, or where Malandela came from.

I cannot say the Qwabe and Zulus came from the amaCunu. Mbovu has a suspicion that the Qwabes etc. came from the amaCunu.⁸ Zulu was *of the left-hand house (ikohlo)*.

'*Destroy even the grindstone and its support*,' i.e. the prop of the grindstone. This means kill off everything - do not leave one stone standing on another, etc.

- 6 The abakaSitole are the abaTembu people. Jobe ka Gence.⁹

The Tembu people come from the north - we know nothing of them. The Tembu people are amaLala or Amantungwa.¹⁰ The Tembu are a class different from the Zulus and Qwabes.

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The Abambos have come from the Swazis.¹¹

The great Tembu chief is Ngoza ka Mkubukeli.¹² The Tembu people live chiefly in Msinga Division, also near Mhlumba and part in Nkandhla Division.¹³

Kuzwayo ruled a great deal - large territory, and had many children. I know none of his *praises*. He is the one who was burnt. He died a natural death. His *grave* is at the eNkwayiye stream where it enters the Mhlatuze on a particular *flat rock*.

7 <Praises of Simamane and Lufutha omitted - eds.>

Mncinci - I do not know this man's praises. Mncinci gave Mnengwa an *isibongo* or name: '*Sombayi who used to account for (baya) people; who used to account for cattle*'. Mnengwa was very good-looking.

.... <Praises of Khondlo and Phakathwayo omitted - eds.>

12 Memi's father was Nguluzane (younger brother of Mbokazi, Pakatwayo's *induna*) - Nguluzane ka Mbombo ka Zwana ka Dhlamuka ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo ka Qwabe ka Mayandeya. Mbombo was Kondhlo's great *induna*.

13 I was born at the Ematikulu (river), near where the Msunduze enters the sea. I am of the Tulwana regiment.¹⁴

I was enabled to put on the *headring (tunga'd)* by Sir T. Shepstone - he recommended to Musi that I should be *permitted to do so*.¹⁵

12.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 40, pp. 20-4.

20 Mmemi returns 11.10.1904.

12.10.1904. Origin of the quarrel between Tshaka and Qwabe which led to the death of Pakatwayo.

An *innyanga*, Mqayana, came to our tribe saying he had come to *konza*, but he was *driven away* by the men of the tribe. He came with *medicines*. We said to Mqayana ka Nongweni, an Ntungwa of the *Nzusa people*, 'What does not this man want with his drugs among us?' He replied, '*I have ikatazo medicine; I have indungulu medicine*'.¹⁶ 'But what is that for? You must leave. You have *medicines* and we do not want them here, so go.' He came from the north. He then left and went on to Tshaka. He asked T. to *give him protection* as he had been *driven away* by the Qwabe. 'I was accused of being an *umtakati*. They said *that my medicines were not wanted among the Qwabe*.' He said, 'My name is Mqayana.' 'Have you got *medicines*, Mqayana?' He said, 'Yes, Sir. I have them to *doctor* with.'

21 T. then *gave him protection*. He brought him into the *cattle enclosure*, whereupon, as he said he was an *innyanga*, a black bull was caught. He was again asked if he was really a doctor. He said, 'Yes. Catch me a black bull and I'll show you.' The bull was brought and struck on the *back of the neck* with an *axe* as it was to do work for the king. It then died. The beast died at once. The king then stooped, put his mouth to the blood which came from there, and *spurted it out*, whereupon the blood was caught in a *potsherd*. Other things took place to *doctor* the king.

When he had finished, Tshaka said, 'Could you kill Pakatwayo, as you say you are a doctor?' He said he thought he could. T. said, 'Well wait a bit; let me think.' T. then bethought himself of a plan. His idea was

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22 to propose an *umjadu dance* with the Qwabe people, for his mother's mother, Mfunda, had come from the Qwabe, and he proposed the dance on account of that relationship. T. then sent to P. to propose an *umjadu dance*. P. agreed as he of course had nothing to fear, especially as he was his 'child' and related to him. But Tshaka was '*stalking*' him, a chief far greater than he. The dance was held. When this took place one of the Qwabe said, '*What Zulu is this? He is like a string of beads that doesn't fit round the head. Are we as insignificant? What makes them think they can dance with us?*' They objected to *holding a dance* with the Zulu *in one dancing place (isigcawu)* as they were so much bigger.

23 My 'father', Mbokazi ka Mboyi ka Zwana ka Dhlamuka ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo ka Qwabe ka Malandela, said, 'What makes you' - he being of the Mtandeni kraal, like Nonjiya (Tununu's father)¹⁷ - 'say of people of another tribe that they are so few in number? Are they your relations that you should speak thus? Do they *milk into your bucket* that you should hold them thus in contempt?' My 'father's' saying was reported to Tshaka. No one was sent specially to report. It came about in this way. Nqeto ka Kondhlo ka Mncinci and Sopane ka Mncinci then deserted from the Qwabe and went to *konza* T. They told him what had been said. Mbokazi's remark was also told.

24 It was at this point that Mqayana's skill came in. The *dirt* of the *place* where the *dancing* had taken place was gathered and bound up in a *grass coil (inkata)*. *Dirt from where the feet of the Qwabe had been* was bound up. *Excrement* of all the Qwabes was taken, also the *excrement of hyenas*; all these were put together and *mixed with the intelezi medicine of Mqayana*.¹⁸ This mixture was then thrown into *grass baskets* and placed in springs drunk by the Qwabe people. When that had been done *toads* were caught, also *frogs*, and put into the *baskets*. These ate the prepared drugs and so communicated Mqayana's medicine to the Qwabe without their knowing it.

Another thing done was to fill *gourds* with *intelezi* and the other substances referred to, and put *cockroaches* into them and hang them up for a while in their huts. After the *cockroaches* had had an opportunity of eating, the *gourds* would be taken down and then emptied at the top side of and behind many of the Qwabe people's kraals; that is, the *cockroaches* would be emptied there so that they got into their huts, and from there to their *gourds*, eating their *curds* and other food and nibbling at their things. The *gourds* which the *cockroaches* were brought in would be taken back of course to the Zulu people's kraals.

The *hyenas' excrement* was taken and mixed with our faeces so as to cause us, on coming in sight of the Zulus, to *void ourselves* and fear them on their coming in sight of us.

[See next book, no. 43.]

13.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 43, pp. 1-6.

1 Mmemi speaks. I was present at the *doctoring* of Musi at *Emtandeni in the Zulu country*.

The (story of the) quarrel between Tshaka and Qwabe continued.

The cause of the separating of Qwabe from Zulu was therefore due to the practices of this man Mqayana. Tshaka's *impi* then left on Mqayana's assuring T. that all he now had to do was to go out and catch - take

hold of - Pakatwayo. The Zulu *impi* arrived without any kind of warning; it came unexpectedly and none of us had armed. They arrived to find P. seated at his Ekudabukeni kraal with a small section of his Abantungwa regiment. The Abantungwa made an attempt to fight but, owing to the way in which Mqayana had bewitched them, they *defecated; their stomachs churned; their strength failed; they sank to the ground*. After this the Zulus captured P. with facility. T. then came up, for he accompanied this *impi*. P. at this time was seated on the ground. A *semi-circle* of the Zulus was *formed*. P. was found seated at a spot *before Eshowe* where he had fled to at Emasundwaneni (the name of the country near the Maqwakazi, at the sources of the Mkukuze and Mlalazi streams). The Bulawayo kraal was afterwards built near Emtandeni (P.'s kraal) in what was our territory.¹⁹ Cetshwayo afterwards built his Ondini kraal there.

When T. came up and formed the *semi-circle*, P. was *made the object of a dance of triumph (gutshelwa'd)* etc. T. jumped over and over him many times.²⁰ T., after doing all this, said, 'Take him *and look after him. Take him to his place, ekuDabukeni*' - this being one of his minor kraals. This is the kraal he at this time happened to be nearest, and it was moreover this that he had fled to. P. was so overcome with T.'s doings, who of course had used powerful drugs on him, that he died on the spot. T. then ordered he was to be taken away and be buried at his said kraal. After this the Qwabes surrendered to T., whereupon our cattle were seized.

Tshaka now *called, 'Weh! People! Call Mbokazi, the induna, for me; tell him to come here with all his property, his wives etc. He is to come to me. Nothing of his is to go amiss.'* My father came and was taken care of. He built at the Matikulu. After this Qwabe was killed.²¹ After this, Godolozzi, the younger own-brother of Pakatwayo (Godolozzi ka Kondhlo was father of Musi), Godide ka Kondhlo (Godide is father of Mamfongonyana), and Vubukulwayo ka Kondhlo (Vubukulwayo was still young, a minor son of Kondhlo) - these three went to Zwide.²² When they got to Zwide he asked them, 'Seeing there are two principal ones here, which is the bigger? Who is the one who should be recognized by me as *chief*?' Those Qwabes who accompanied these to go and *konza* the Ndwandwe king said, 'The proper chief of these, Sir, is one who is still young, namely Vubukulwayo.' When they said this Z. demurred and said Godolozzi was the principal man, especially as he was *the eldest son of Kondhlo*. ('This is a man I know. When I knew Pakatwayo I was aware Godolozzi was under him, a person of high rank.') Even though Z. decided thus, *it did not suit Godolozzi to remain among the Ndwandwe*. He therefore *returned to the Zulu country*. He was moved to doing this owing to the action of the Qwabes in pointing out not him but a child when questioned by Zwide. Godolozzi then said, '*Let me go and be killed once only, by Tshaka.*'

The Ndwandwe people were not a people who adjoined our tribe. Although the Qwabes came to *konza* the Ndwandwes, the Ndwandwes looked on them with suspicion, so much so that a rumour got about that Qwabe people could be distinguished from the fact that they were very fond of warming themselves over a fire.²³

Godolozzi and a large following thereupon left and went to Tshaka, leaving behind a number of Qwabes still under Zwide. This was but natural in a time of unrest as this was.

Tshaka said to Godolozzi, 'So you have come back from the Ndwandwe have you? What made you pass by me? Look here, Zinwedhlana' (another name for Godolozzi - also Nkunzemi), 'the reason for your going is because you regard me as having murdered your house, and shed blood!'

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'Yes, *Silo*,' said Godolozi.²⁴ T. then said, 'Mdhla, Ngomane, here are Kondhlo's sons.²⁵ I have broken up the tribe and there is no heir to Pakatwayo.' (At this time Godolozi and the others had not married.) 'Let them take wives, *consummate their marriages*, and *have children*.' They did so. Godide then *fathered* Mamfongonyana (I forget his mother). Godolozi *married* Ntombikaba and she *bore* Fokazi and Musi. Dhlakode ka Kondhlo *fathered* uMabonsana - died in Zululand near Eshowe at Ombane.

After this these people settled down under T. The Qwabe people would not have *risen again* but for this order by T.

My father was *ruled over* by Tshaka, Dingana, and Mpande. Under Mpande he *crossed over* after Mpande killed Gqugqu ka Senzangakona. He *crossed over* with Mawa ka Jama, also with Mangena ka Nokupata (*induna* of eNtonteleni and Tamboloqolo of the *Mapumulo* people).²⁶ My father never again returned to Zululand. I also came into Natal then. I was a little boy when Mawa *crossed over*. I *came to puberty* in Natal. I am of the Tulwana regiment and of the same age as Cetshwayo.

Godolozi was killed by Tshaka.

14.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 43, pp. 6-14.

'*Gumede!*' was our word (Qwabe) but Zulus appropriated it for themselves.²⁷

Simamane's wife, mother of Mfunda, who *bore* Lufuta and Makanya (who were next to one another in age) was known by the name Sengqani (a *praise-name*) - '*Sengqani of the meeting-place (inkundhla), whose thighs do not meet; they meet when she sees her husband*'.²⁸ Mfunda was the mother of Nandi (Tshaka's mother). I do not know Sengqani's real name.

7 Bebe, alias Mbengi, was Nandi's father's name - Bebe ka Ndaba (*praise-name*), i.e. '*Mbengi we nguga, umaqamanzimana*'.

Pakatwayo's mother was Zunguse, a *girl of the Ngadi* people.

Godolozi was *borne* by a girl of Pobo ka Mbabala ka Mahlaka of the *Ncwana* people, of the *Yinda* people - *small sections of the Qwabe* people.

Nomo was the son of an Mtetwa girl. I do not know her name - but sister of Dingiswayo.²⁹ Her father was Jobe ka Kayi (Kali) ka Xaba ka Madango. Kondhlo's mother was Matshangisa of the *Dube* people.

8 The Qwabe and Mtetwa were on very good terms with one another, and intermarried. A quarrel took place in regard to Nomo and Pakatwayo. The Mtetwa supported Nomo's claims, and a war took place. Kondhlo had nominated Nomo as the chief. This happened at Entoyeyeni, *Nomo's place*, but we Qwabe people dissented on the ground that the Mtetwa were *amaLalas*, and we wanted not a Lala who *spoke with two voices (mazwimabili)* but an *umNguni*.³⁰ We refused to nominate or establish a Lala. For, on tribal meetings being held and agreements arrived at, the mother of the Lala chief would criticize the decision and twist it into something else. The mother would always be interfering with decisions of the *assembly* and altering or nullifying them. '*A calf of the Lala speaks with two voices!*' That is, the chief, though agreeing in open council to follow a certain policy, would, after the council dispersed, be subject to the influence of his mother who would cause him to change. It was this

9 which the Qwabes objected to. I do not know what had caused them to have this belief, but that they had it is certain. They therefore refused to have Nomo. Nomo went off to the Mtetwa with Goduka ka Mboli alone, *having been driven out by the dispute*. He went to Dingiswayo, alias Madhlekezele or Sombangeya.

Pakatwayo, Godolozzi, Nakile (man), Godide, Dhlakode - all sons of Kondhlo - *left oDwini, an ikanda of Kondhlo*. The *induna* of this kraal was Mbombo ka Zwana ka Dhlamuka ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane etc. Mbombo was the greatest *induna* of the Qwabe. They *left*, and all went to Dingiswayo; they went to *discuss the dispute with him*. They arrived. D. questioned them, also Goduka. Goduka said he was a mere nonentity in the matter. D. then said, 'I do not ask what Nomo wants here for he is mine; I ask Kondhlo's sons, viz. Godolozzi and Nakile.' Nakile refrained from informing D. that Pakatwayo was the selected heir. Godolozzi however indicated Pakatwayo.

10 A young steer was then taken and *slaughtered*. When the *steer* was killed, D. *cut up medicines*; he then threw them into a *potsherd on the hearth*. They burnt. He *took the stomach contents of the beast and squeezed them into the medicines in the potsherd*. Dingiswayo then said, 'Show me the son of Kondhlo that you have come to instal.' All the sons then came and *sucked the medicines from the potsherd from their fingers*. D. caught hold of Godolozzi. Godolozzi then took hold of Pakatwayo as he did not want him to *join* with the others. The *potsherd* got smashed owing to the thumbs and fingers of the others *taking the medicines clumsily*. D. asked, 'What do you do that for, Nakile?' Nakile and Godolozzi then caught hold of one another. G. said to D. that Nakile was the cause. Nakile was thereupon overcome by Godolozzi, who knocked him down and rubbed him on the ground. D. interfered, saying, 'I am satisfied now; I see how matters stand.' D. now took more medicines and *cut them up*, placing them in a new *sherd*. He *took the stomach contents and squeezed them*. Pakatwayo then went and *ate* the second lot (*potsherd*) alone. He finished. They then *washed* and went to the huts set apart for them by the king.

11 They after this *returned* to oDwini. When they got there the great *abanumzana* took a *beast of Kondhlo's*, namely an ox, a short ox with very long horns. They *slaughtered it for the princes* who had been to D. Kondhlo discovered this. They had not *asked* for it. The name of this ox was Lovu. Kondhlo now called up all his oxen. They entered by the two gates, the outside and inside ones, and he found Lovu missing. K. called Sibondobondo, the principal man in charge of the cattle and ordered him to *summon the people to look for the cattle until they*

12 *were all found*. Everyone of oDwini kraal went out to look for the missing oxen. As a matter of fact, only Lovu was missing and had been killed, where Kondhlo spoke as if many were missing. Those who went out could not of course find Lovu. Whilst they were out searching, some of the minor attendants on the king, who are always gossiping about things which the greater men take no notice of, whispered to the king that Lovu was missing because he had been killed, and that his sons had arrived from Dingiswayo's and had been hidden. Next day very early before sunrise Kondhlo stood at the gate and called the *mpakati* to come up into the kraal.³¹ K. then questioned all the big people, the sons of Lufuta, Mncinci etc. etc., who had stabbed his

13 *beast*. He got angry and then *sent out an impi to eat up cattle* belonging to *all the abanumzana*. The *abanumzana* then ran into the

forests with the princes. At this stage Nomo with a following left for Dingiswayo's again. It was just at this time that Kondhlo died from sickness - for a chief does not live when there is a *dispute*. No sooner did Kondhlo die than Pakatwayo was at once instated.

- The *quarrel* arose out of a dispute. Some maintained Kondhlo had nominated Nomo as his heir, whereas the tribe wanted Pakatwayo. Nomo went off with the Ntoyeyeni kraal. Dingiswayo sided with Nomo and thereupon *attacked* Pakatwayo. They then brought Nomo as he had been nominated by his father. The *impi* fought. They fought, and *camped at eNtumeni*.³² The Qwabe got the better of it and drove the Mtetwa to Entumeni. They fought by throwing *assegais* in those days. Nomo was defeated in spite of Dingiswayo's assistance. Pakatwayo then ran off to Duze, his brother (of the Makanya section), who at once gave his allegiance to Pakatwayo. Duze was of Nomo's section but he threw up the Ntoleleni faction as stated. The fighting ended in Pakatwayo's getting the better of it.
- The Mtetwa did not fight after this, for from Entumeni the tribe went off homewards. Nomo then went off to Dingiswayo and died there. He did not return to the Qwabe.

16.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 43, pp. 15-24.

- 15 Memi says: I know of the following re Tshaka. When he was *hlobo-ngaing* with a sweetheart of his he once called his *inceku* Nongalaza (Nongayaza) ka Nondela, of the Manyandwini section of the Qwabe tribe, to take and light a *torch* over him as he did so! This was not done for fear of *making the girl pregnant*, for girls that *became pregnant* were killed.

Tshaka once directed that a pregnant woman should be cut open in order that he should see how a child lay in the womb.

- 16 Dingana put Masala ka Dhlozi (probably of the Mdhlalose tribe) into the family way. When he found out she no longer had her courses he was inclined to put her to death as in the case of others. Dingana looked at her; she was a beautiful woman; he was overcome with grief, and thereupon directed she was to go and marry Mpande. When she got to Mpande, she bore the son Tshonkweni, who is thus the son not of Mpande but of Dingana. Tshonkweni afterwards sided with Mbuyazi; as he belonged to his section or kraal - this was done by Mpande's order.³³ Masala's next child by Mpande was Somklawana.

<At this point in the original there occurs a set of abbreviated notes, many of which have been scored out. The anecdote recorded in these notes was written up in extended form by Stuart in the immediately succeeding pages. We here reproduce the extended version - eds.>

- 17 Another story about Tshaka is in regard to the thief Gcugcwa. This man Gcugcwa was the son of Ngcameni of the *Wostiyana* people, of the *Tshangana* people. He, with Nongoza of the *Nzobo* people (of the *Nyuswa* people) and Nhlabati of the *Nzobo* (*Nyuswa*) people, went and stole a number of Tshaka's cattle. The cattle in question were some of those seized by T. from the Amampondo.³⁴ They were oxen of *light brown* (*mdubvu*) colour (*faam*), and were at the cattle stations near the Tugela - near the coast. It seems that Gcugcwa, assisted by the other two, no sooner stole some of these than they made off as if towards the sea,

then towards Ndulinde, then up the Tugela and along it until they got past Mapumulo to the Mambule stream and so to Ntunjambili.³⁵ T. at once sent an *impi* after him with orders not to kill him but bring him back alive. Of the three mentioned Gcugcwa was the principal thief. The *impi* succeeded in tracing the hoof marks of the cattle, and eventually got to their destination. Gcugcwa observed he was being followed up, whereupon he and the others fled up the Ntunjambili mountain to the very top. The *impi* surrounded the mountain on all sides and began to ascend it to the *stronghold* at the top (hiding place). Gcugcwa, finding it getting warm, attempted to escape, but failed and was caught and bound firmly by the hands with his arms behind his back. The same was done to the others.

After this the *impi* returned with their captives to Tshaka, arriving early in the morning when the sun was getting warm and when the king was in the habit of going to sit with his gathering of men. They came and found T. with Mhhlaka ka Ncidi, Ngomane ka Mqomboyoy, Mxamana ka Sotshaya (this Mxamana was the father of Sipeku - deceased) and others. They *saluted*. The king then said 'Bring him here before me.' They did so, setting him down before the king. T. then said to the prisoner, 'What is your name?' 'I am Gcugcwa, Sir.' 'I see you, Gcugcwa. *Whose son are you?*' 'I am the son of Ngcameni of the Biyana people.' Gcugcwa now said, 'Weh, *nkosi!*' We see each other; you see me; tomorrow they will see you too!' Tshaka said, 'Yes, Gcugcwa, that is so.' T. now ordered his warriors to carry the prisoner to the gate of the kraal where he was to be laid on the ground cross-ways, i.e. across the entrance in order that the cattle should be driven over his body and tread him to pieces. This was done and Gcugcwa was trodden to pieces, not by the cattle he had stolen but the many thousands which were standing in the kraal, for, the king remarked, 'He is so fond of cattle, let him be trodden to death by them.' The cattle were driven out of the gate, passing over his body. He was trodden to pieces. He was ground down to manure. His mangled remains were afterwards taken up and thrown away.³⁶

I heard this from old men, namely my father Mbokazi. My father was often with Tshaka. My relative, Makanda ka Mbombo ka Zwana ka Dhlamuka ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane etc., used to *sew on Tshaka's headring*. He dressed his hair and shaved him. Makanda was of course well known to me and younger than my father. His son Mhlazana was an *inceku* of Mpande's. This man Mhlazana used to keep Dingana's telescope - for he had one, through which he looked. For instance he would look towards Kangela and see persons approaching at a great distance.³⁷ Mhlazana also fetched Dingana's drinking water from the spring, as well as that water with which the king washed.

It was the custom that if one of the rather large number of boys who attended to these duties were to *have a nocturnal emission* (be *tshaywa'd izibuko*), he would not go and fetch water that day but had to get someone else to do so. He moreover would not *milk* the cattle. He would go into the field, *pull up tambootie grass from a stand of long grass*, chew it, and come to the gate of the *isigodhlo* through which the king customarily passed, and *blow*. He would go three days without attending his duties, including the day of *having his emission*, and on the fourth day continue. The reason for his *blowing* etc. is because his child has died owing to his having passed semen.

This phrase appears to be connected with an *izibuko* or drift or

crossing-place in a stream, viz. where the path leading from the kraal at which he has just slept crosses the stream from which water is fetched for drinking and other purposes for that kraal. He will not wash *in a pool* or other part but at the *crossing-place* (*zibuko*). The word *tshaya* refers to the natural act, which implies that he must get up at once and go and wash - before people get up. And when he returns he does not go back into the hut but *makes a fire* outside and there warms himself. If he went back at once that morning he might *have an emission* the next day.

- 22 When Tshaka came to *hold an ijadu dance* with Pakatwayo he came to sleep in my father's kraal, Ebuyiyaneni. (This kraal *separated* from his father's kraal, Emkiwaneni.) Ebuyiyaneni kraal's position in those days is unknown to me. T. found Mbokazi was a *tidy person* (*inono*), that is, one who had nice things. He found his kraal beautifully constructed, nicely wattled all about, and so on, and was pleased with his conversation. T.'s following, which consisted of men and his *isigodhlo*, slept in the neighbouring kraals, but T. himself slept in our kraal, and it was in consequence of his experiences there that when he attacked Pakatwayo, and Pakatwayo died, he directed no harm was to come to Mbokazi, a man who stood high in his estimation, not unlike Ngomane.

Referring to *tshaywa izibuko* - when girls had their courses they would not, until they got well in three or four days, touch the king's food, but leave the duties to others. This was always the case. They would go and wash. They would *plaster the hut floor with cowdung*, i.e. where they slept and lived.

- 23 Boys *having emissions* in the old days would have to get up very early and go to the river to wash. Later on they would be given certain bitter drugs to eat. They would eat as much as they could, and what remained would be thrown into the cattle kraal to be trampled into the manure by the cattle.

The first time this happens he will get up very early - daybreak - and may drive the cattle out. Whilst out, he goes to the *crossing-place* and washes, and there, in the neighbourhood of the river, he remains till late in the day with the cattle. He may stay such a time that men, seeing what he has gone out for, will go out to him. Or girls may go out in a body and fetch the cattle from him by force. He will not say anything as he is afraid his front teeth might fall out. He will then beat them and resist. They will beat him back and eventually take the cattle and drive them home at a rapid pace, although he follows resisting to the best of his ability.

- 24 The driving out of the cattle in this way is the custom in the case of boys which corresponds to *seclusion* (*umgonqo*) in the case of girls.

Boys eat drugs as above stated. One of his relatives will go and dig up a lump of earth out of a path frequented by people. They then dig *the iqwaringi creeper* (with red roots, grows about bushes, eg. on Berea, Durban). The lump of earth and the *qwaringi* are then mixed together and thrown into the water in which *meal of maize* or *mabele* is poured, so as to become *inhlama*, i.e. watery porridge, and the whole is cooked. This is a very bitter mixture. The boy consumes as much as he can, and what remains is dealt with as already described above. This custom was followed with the view of strengthening the patient - making him hardy and brave and fit to fight other tribes.

MMEMI

This was complied with all over the country. I complied with this custom. I did not cause my boys to do this because there is no occasion to do so now, as there is no fighting or *warfare*.

16.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 1-5.

1 Mmemi continues.

Circumcision. The Qwabe and the Mtetwa *practised circumcision* - also the Amampondo. The reason why this custom was discontinued was because it was considered inadvisable on the following grounds. Those who *were circumcised* were obliged to remain away in the field far from home until all had recovered. Some of their constitutions were good, others bad. Poor constitutions took long to heal, and yet because of these the whole body would be obliged to refrain from going home until all had recovered. The fact of a large number of boys (young men) being away from home, and for a considerable period, was considered to render the tribe they belonged to, or they themselves, liable to attack. I cannot quote an instance in which this actually took place. The Zulus also *practised circumcision*. Senzangakona *was circumcised*. It was Tshaka who *caused the practice to be discontinued*. He followed his own ideas. Boys might go about five or ten miles from home.

2 It was widely known that Tshaka was *illegitimate (zalwa'd esihlahleni)*.

I have heard that Nandi was not liked by Senzangakona. She belonged to his *isigodhlo*. One night a particular girl was summoned to him, but somehow she was supplanted by Nandi, and although Senzangakona did not care for her he had connection with her and so conceived Tshaka.³⁸

There is however no doubt T. was not born at Senzangakona's.

Gendeyana was a Qwabe man - *of the Emambedwini people*.³⁹ He was not of the Langa tribe. I do not know Gendeyana's father. He was a man of rank - his father may be Vumazonke ka Dweba, Dweba ka Kanyile, or Kanyile ka Kuzwayo.⁴⁰

3 Dingana attacked Ngwadi when in his Wambaza kraal in the thorns.⁴¹ He had built himself a regular fortress with *acacia (umkaya)* trees (a yellow tree, with black, hard, short thorns). A stubborn fight took place from night to midday, when Dingana's forces succeeded in getting into the *isigodhlo*. Dingana's forces that *broke through the fence of acacias* were the Izinyosi. Ngwadi and his people were killed.

Nomcoba's kraal was called Ekuhlupuzeni.⁴² Among other daughters of Senzangakona were Nozilwane, Ntikili and Nomzinhlanga. Ntikili *followed Mpande in age*.

I know that the Emambedwini section of the Qwabe tribe built at the Empapala where Mavumengwana's people are now.⁴³ It was to this section that Gendeyana belonged but I do not know if his kraal was in that neighbourhood.

4 The Amambedu section. Kuzwayo ka Sidinane married a woman, Mambedu. I do not know her proper name. Her children were Dweba and others. (Dweba had a son Kanyile; Kanyile had a son Vumazonke. I cannot go into the various branches of the tribe. Dweba had Kanyile and Mpunzi. Mpunzi's son was Tatalambo who bore Ngqokwana, now living in Natal - lives near Meseni.) This section was placed by Kuzwayo at the Mpapala

MMEMI

because she had a temper. She was merely one of his wives, not the principal.

Tshaka was dealing with the Qwabe people when he filled or endeavoured to fill a donga with corpses!

5 Sopane ka Mncinci and Nqeto ka Kondhlo ka Mncinci deserted and joined Tshaka. They deserted because they said, 'We do not have enough to eat.' They went on account of a family quarrel.

17.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 5-7.

Sopane desired to marry a girl who was the daughter of Mhlakuvana ka Mmandi ka Nduba ka Simamane; Nqeto wished to marry a daughter of Sakobo ka Mzobokazi ka Simamane. They each practically stole these girls, for it was against the rules of the tribe for them to marry them. They stole them and deserted to the Zulus.

The quarrel arose out of the fact that Kuzwayo had two sons, Simamane and Donda. Each of these branches had many minor branches. Donda died still a young man, leaving, however, Jebe as his heir. Jebe had children, and their issue in Jebe's direct line is Madhlokovu (of the Mkulutshane regiment who lived at the eTete near Mvoti Mission Station).⁴⁴ Sopane was the son of Mncinci; Nqeto was *fathered* by Kondhlo, and so addressed Sopane as 'father'. There was nothing remarkable in the junior Nqeto marrying the daughter of a man (Sakobo) apparently and possibly older than (the daughter) of Mhlakuvana taken by Sopane.

6 The question asked by the Qwabe of Sopane and Nqeto was this. 'Why do you, who belong to the *main house (isibay'esikulu)*, take girls to wife from the people who are of the same relationship with yourselves and belong to the same side of the house?'⁴⁵ There was no objection to the Donda side of Kuzwayo's kraal being taken to wife by the main branch, just as Pakatwayo had done in taking Ndenise (girl's name) ka Myendi ka Dhlamuka ka Kuzwayo. This girl, in belonging to Dhlamuka's section, was accounted as belonging to the Donda (section). Dhlamuka was the last son of Kuzwayo, and this son belonged to the same house as that of Donda. I belong to this Dhlamuka branch, my father being Mbokazi ka Mboyi ka Zwana ka Dhlamuka.⁴⁶

Sopane and Nqeto were told they, who belonged to the *indhlunkulu*, could not *marry* where *the heir was produced*. There was no objection to their *pendulaing* the Donda house, i.e. by carrying girls of that section - by marriage - into the *indhlunkulu* as had taken place in regard to Pakatwayo.⁴⁷

7 Sopane and Nqeto were *hlobongqing* with the girls, and, finding the feeling of the tribe was altogether against their marrying them, they made off as already stated and made them their wives. I do not know what was done in regard to *lobola*. As they deserted to a 'foreign' tribe I do not suppose anything was paid on account of *lobola*.

18.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, p. 7.

I have heard, says Mmemi, of Zulu ka Mdhlana as well as of Zulu ka Ntombela, but I fancy Mdhlana and Ntombela are mere *izitakazelo* Zulu is the son of Malandela.⁴⁸

MEMI

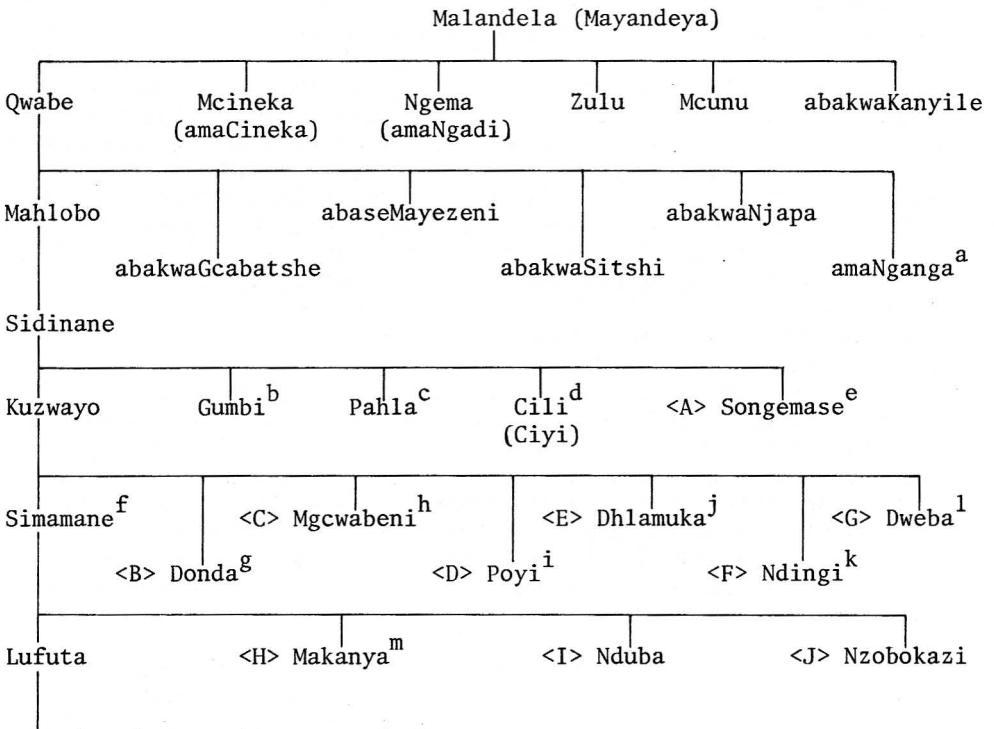
When an *impi* fights, the right *hlangoti* begins the attack; the *isibay' esikulu* remains behind, and when it attacks the fighting becomes grave. The *hlangoti* or right wing is made up of the two *izicamelos*, i.e. at the top ends of both sides of a kraal.⁴⁹

17, 18, 19.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 8-9.

8-9 Prepared 17, 18, and 19 October 1904.

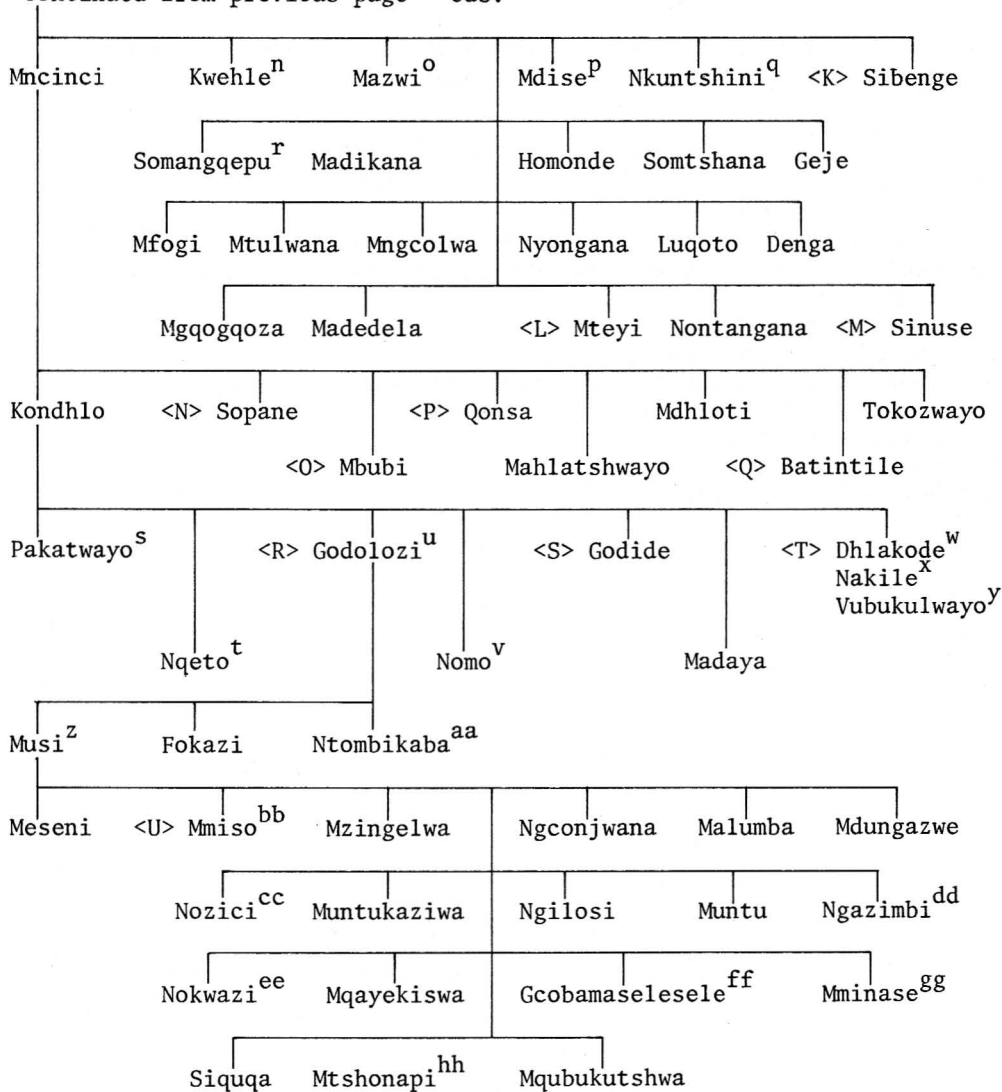
<For typographical reasons the genealogies that follow cannot be set out in conformity with the style used by Stuart in his original notes. We use the symbols A, B, etc. to indicate relationships which, in the original, are shown by arrowed lines and other devices. In recording genealogies it was commonly Stuart's practice to list siblings of the same maternal 'house' in column without genealogical descent lines between their names. In recording the genealogies which are here reproduced he seems, in some instances, to have been compelled by shortage of space to extend this notational system to the listing of siblings of different 'houses'. Where such departures from his usual practice are clearly indicated in the original, we have set out the names of siblings in conventional genealogical style, as Stuart himself would normally have done. In all other cases we reproduce names in column as they appear in the original - eds.>



<continued on next page - eds.>

MMEMI

<continued from previous page - eds.>



^a Suggested by Ngidi, 3.11.1904.⁵⁰

^b Has descendants.

^c Has descendants.

^d Has descendants.

^e Of emGobozini. Has descendants.

^f Of esiDikweni, an ikanda of Kuzwayo.

^g Of ekuNene - name of kraal.

^h Belongs to Donda house.

ⁱ Belongs to the Donda side (hlangoti) of the umuzi.

^j The last child in the Donda house.

^k Separated with Dweba and built his own establishment.

^l Belonged to Ndingi house. He was borne by a girl of the emaNsomini people. She was a daughter of Mbedu ka Gwayi ka Nyembe, so she was

MMEMI

called Mambedu. She had such a temper that she was sent to live at Empapala.⁵¹

^mFollows Lufuta in age. [Makanya, says Dinya, 28.2.1905, was son of Zingelwayo, who is son of Simamane.⁵² Mtimkulu agrees.]

ⁿEldest son. Of ekuHambeni kraal.

^oOf eNgxengeni.

^pOf the left-hand side (hlangoti ekohlo) of the umuzi.

^qOf esiValweni.

^rOf esiBanyeni kraal.

^sNo issue. Was same age as Tshaka - of Izengqani regiment. Had a daughter Ketshepi. [Summoned when Meseni vs. Mmiso was on - says Socwatsha, 24.4.1905⁵³.]

^tNo issue. Resembled Tshaka.

^uHe had three children only.⁵⁴

^vNo issue. Godide raised seed for him, viz. Mamfongonyana.

^wDhlakote. [Per Socwatsha.]

^xYoung man, unmarried.

^yNo issue. Died young.

^zFathered, by Godoloji.

aa Girl.

bb Dead.

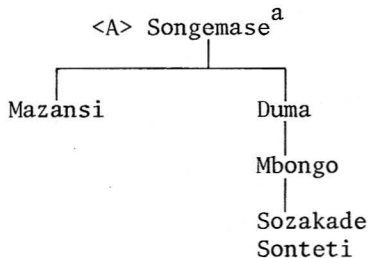
cc Girl.

dd Girl.

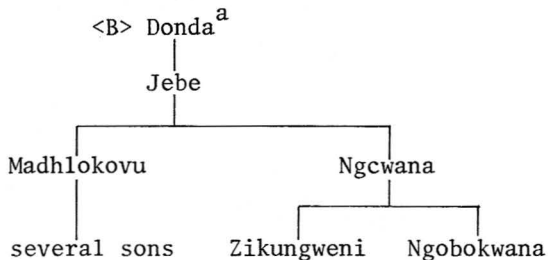
ee Girl.

ff Girl.

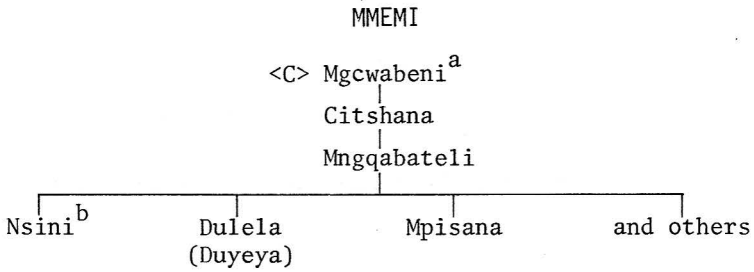
gg Girl.



^aOf emGobozini.

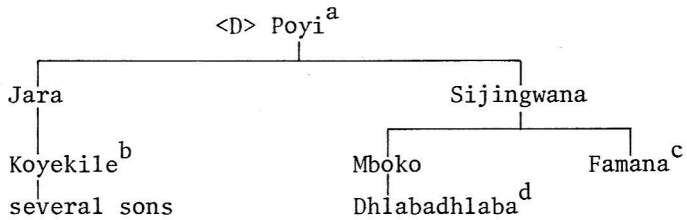


^aOf ekuNene - name of kraal.



^aBelongs to Donda house.

^bLiving.

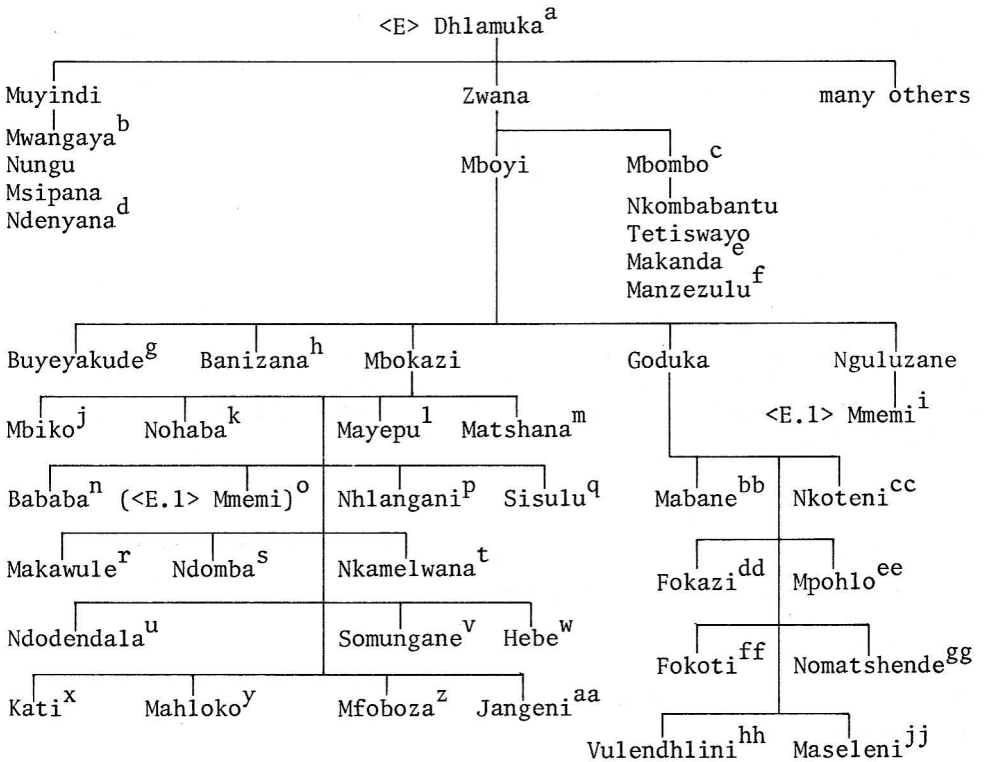


^aBelongs to the Donda side (*hlangoti*) of the *umuzi*.

^bDead.

^cLiving.

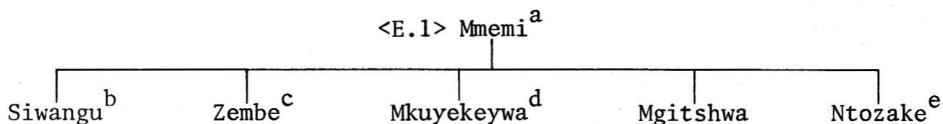
^dLiving.



MMEMI

- a The last child in the Donda house.
b Hero.
c Kondhlo's induna.
d Great hero.
e This man's son was Mhlazana who looked after Dingana's telescope.
f Dingana's inceku.
g No issue.
h No issue.
i My informant.
j Dead. Same age as Pakatwayo. (Born c.1787). Of iZengqeni regiment.
k Dead.
l Dead.
m Dead.
n Dead. *Induna at Nkwenkwezini* - chief Musi.
o My informant. Puts himself in here because he says Mbokazi is spoken of as the father of the minor sections.
p Living.
q Dead.
r Dead.
s Dead.
t Living.
u Dead.
v Dead.
w Dead.
x Alias Myandu. Living.
y Living.
z Living.
aa Living.
bb Dead.
cc Living. Tulwana regiment.
dd Living. Tulwana regiment.
ee Dead.
ff Living.
gg Dead.
hh Living.
jj Dead.

Note: Mmemi says Mbokazi was four or five when Simamane died; that his eldest son Mbiko was Pakatwayo's and Tshaka's age; that, like Pakatwayo, he belonged to the Izengqane regiment; that Mbokazi died about 1876; and that his sons, Nkamelwana, Jangeni, Mfoboza, Mahloko, are only about 50 years old.



- a My informant.
b Dead.
c Dead. *Of the isizinda section.*⁵⁵
d Chief son.
e Now working at Standerton.

MMEMI

<F> Ndingi^a
|
Njewu
|
Jiba
|
several sons

^aSeparated with Dweba and built his own establishment.

<G> Dweba^a

```
graph TD
    Dweba["<G> Dwebaa"] --- Kanyile
    Dweba --- Mbangakufa
    Kanyile --- Vumazonke
    Mbangakufa --- Nyekevu["Nyekevub"]
    Mbangakufa --- Zawu
    Vumazonke --- Mpunzi
    Vumazonke --- Nomagaga
    Vumazonke --- Betela
    Mpunzi --- Tatalambo
    Tatalambo --- Ngqokwana
    Nomagaga --- Mbizankulu["Mbizankuluc"]
    Betela --- Habiyaana
    Betela --- Koyise
    Habiyaana --- Ndabazezwe
    Koyise --- Mhlungulu
```

^aBelonged to Ndingi house. He was borne by a girl of the emaNsomini people. She was a daughter of Mbedu ka Gwayi ka Nyembe, so she was called Mambedu. She had such a temper that she was sent to live at Empapala.⁵⁶

^bInduna at Emtandeni where Meseni comes from.

^cNo issue.

<H> Makanya^a

```
graph TD
    Makanya["<H> Makanyaa"] --- Mnengwa
    Makanya --- Sobinda["Sobindab"]
    Makanya --- Lusinga["Lusingac"]
    Makanya --- Dilingwayo
    Mnengwa --- Duze
    Duze --- Nhlamana
    Nhlamana --- Makuta
    Nhlamana --- Macibi
    Nhlamana --- Mahamba
    Nhlamana --- Ndeninkulu
    Sobinda --- Mdunjwa
    Mdunjwa --- Mlomo
    Mlomo --- Gcelela
    Gcelela --- Sompukwana
    Sompukwana --- Tshotsho
    Tshotsho --- Mtimkulu["Mtimkulug"]
    Sobinda --- Mnyazwa
    Mnyazwa --- Sigeege
    Sigeege --- Makubayo
    Lusinga --- Menziso
    Lusinga --- Mtshumayeli
    Mtshumayeli --- three_sons["three sonsd and Mbovuf"]
    three_sons --- Ntabeni
    Dilingwayo --- Mkakasana
    Mkakasana --- Mafingo["Mafingoe"]
```

^aFollows Lufuta in age. [Makanya, says Dinya, 28.2.1905, was son of Zingelwayo, who is son of Simamane.⁵⁷ Mtimkulu agrees.]

^bOf the house (uhlangoti) of Mnengwa.

MEMI

^cFollows Mnengwa in age.

^dUnmarried.

^eCourt interpreter, Durban. *Induma?*

^fAnother informant.⁵⁸

^gKnown to me, aet. 54.

<H.1> Makuta
|
Mtambo^a

^aNow chief.

<I> Nduba
|
Mnandi
|
Mhlakuvana

<J> Nzobokazi
|
Sakobo

<K> Sibenge
|
Sondindi
|
Kwayeka

<L> Mteyi
|
Mnongose

<M> Sinuse
|
Buba

<N> Sopane
|
Dambuza
Siqezeba
Situta^a
Njakaba
Nsimini

<O> Mbubi
|
Mngolongolo
Nhlango
Sigcwelegcwele

^aGiant.

<P> Qonsa
|
Sobuza
|
Hayiyana
|
Mbokodewomtshini^a

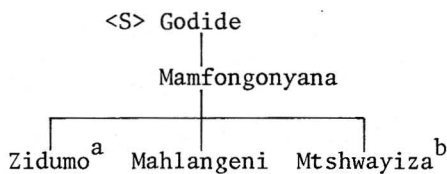
<Q> Batintile
|
Mkwetu
|
Ntshingumuzi

^aGot this name at Tongati from old Saunders' mill (Nkosibomvu).⁵⁹

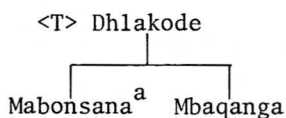
MMEMI



^aHe had three children only.⁶⁰
^bGirl.



^aDead.
^bInduna B.P. Durban.



^aMpande's inceku.



^aDead.
^bMmemi considers this is the real chief.

19.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 10-13.

10 Mmemi continues.

The Amagolokoqo were Nomo's people and were so called by us Mtandeni people because of their going to Dingiswayo. When they came with Dingiswayo's *impi* to attack us at Eshowe, driving us on to the Entumeni, we defeated the *impi*. After this they came back and *konza'd* us, so we spoke of them as Amagolokoqo.⁶¹

We also speak of Meseni's people (at Emtandeni) as Amagolokoqo because they have set up pretensions to Meseni being the main chief, whereas Siziba ka Mmiso is the rightful heir, he belonging to Nkwenkwezini kraal - built in Natal. Musi was of the Isangqu regiment. Meseni's people resemble Nomo's who went to Dingiswayo and returned.

Godolozⁱ was killed by Tshaka simply because he was killing off the principal persons in the Qwabe tribe. He had only three children.

Siziba is the real *chief* - was appointed by Musi. Meseni belongs to the *isizinda section*.⁶²

11 The Privy Council (Zululand) - a *gathering (isiqoqo) of men*. They were called by the people *vultures (amanqe)*; they wore grey blankets - military blankets. They met at the gate. One or two of them would go out very early, followed by others, to discuss some great affair. They would discuss in secret. They might be planning some mischief - keeping the country as they want it. They would later on inform the king of their decision. They would *decide on who was to be allowed to have authority*, and would preserve power for themselves; they would be recruited only from the very largest men. The *indunas* of *amakanda* would also meet privately and carry affairs, after *bopaing izwi* (coming to an agreement), to the main council at headquarters.⁶³ They *bopa'd izwi* at the time of the coming of the Boers. Nzobo was the ring-leader or proposer of the plan. The Boers fired guns by way of *making a show for the Zulu*. Nzobo proposed that the Boers should also be given a display by the Zulu and then massacred.⁶⁴

MEMI

12 The Zulus planned the massacre because of their coming in large numbers, with many waggons, in order to fetch cattle belonging to them which the Zulus had recently seized from Mzilikazi.⁶⁵ Mzilikazi had himself raided a number of these cattle from the Boers. The Boers wanted their own cattle. The Zulus, finding them coming in large numbers for these cattle, became suspicious. They thought they came in a hostile manner or intended hostilities, and these suspicions were increased by the Boers proposing to *put on a display for the king*. There was nothing wrong in that, but when the *display* consisted in firing guns so that the smoke of the guns smelt about the kraal in all directions, as well as riding round the main kraal as if to try and encircle it, the intentions of fighting were translated into the possibility of success unless the affair were nipped in the bud. Hence Nzobo's suggesting the idea of *putting on a display for the Boers* and in that way entrapping them.

[The names of many of the principal men of Zululand - those who at different times would meet so as to form the Privy Council referred to - are given at the top of the two immediately preceding pages.]

<The names that follow appear in the original in the upper margins of pp. 10 and 11 - eds.>

Head *indunas*, Zululand

Mapita ka Sojisa

Mayanda ka Veyane

Nqoboka ka Yanga

Mankayiyana ka Gaju - *induna* at Mlambongwenya.

Mfusi ka Manyala

Manyosi ka Dhlekezele - in Dingana's day.

Ngomane ka Mqomboyo

Masipula ka Mamba - *of the Engazini people*.

Mdhlaka ka Ngcidi - *induna* at Siklebe.

Lukwazi ka Zwana

Mbilini ka Cungeya - *of the Mtetwa people*; *induna* at Nodwengu.

Mbopa ka Wolizibi

Manqondo ka Mazwana

Ndhlela ka Sompisi

Nzobo ka Sobadhle

Mpangazita ka Mncumbata

Kokela ka Mncumbata

Nongalaza ka Nondela - *induna* at Dukuza.

Mangena ka Nokupata - *induna* at Entonteleni.

Koto ka Msomi - *induna* at Kangela.

Nyambose ka Manqondo - younger generation.

Ngceba ka Nodanga

Mvundhlana ka Menziwa

Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele

Somapunga ka Zwide

Klwana ka Ngqengelele (really ka Koboyeya but called (ka Ngqengelele,)

Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini

Mundi ka Tshangana ka Jobe

13 I think the tribe that *konza'd* the Zulus first is the Butelezi. The Zungu are like the Mtetwa, i.e. both these arrived to *konza* after

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the Butelezi had got there. The Butelezi *konza'd* in Jama's or Senzangakona's time.⁶⁶

Sokwetshata is a son of Myandeya ka Mbiya ka Tshangana (brother of Dingiswayo).⁶⁷ Sokwetshata's mother was Nomqoto, daughter of Senzangakona. Nomzinhlanga (daughter of Senzangakona) married Myandeya but had no issue, so Nomqoto followed.

The Qwabe as well as the Zulu are spoken of as amaNtungwa, for they came from the north. My opinion is that the Cunu tribe sprang from that of the Zulu and Qwabe and not vice versa, as Mbovu suggests.

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File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 13-20.

14 Kuzwayo was burnt at eNqorweni (eNqoklweni?) hill where the Nkwaiyinye enters the Mhlatuze. In consequence of this cremating of the king (previously explained), no child of the Qwabe tribe grows up without being burnt, falling into the fire, etc. I do not hear that Sidinane, Mahlobo or Qwabe were cremated. I cannot think why Kuzwayo was burnt. I know of no other chief of our tribe who was cremated before or since Kuzwayo's case. (The only other cremating of corpses I hear of is the Indians (coolies) of Natal. I know of no other tribe or nation.) It is possible he was burnt so that no other tribe or person could dig him up and use him for *takataing* with, but I cannot vouch for this in any way.

Lufuta's grave is at Kwa Kukolwe (Kukoywe), a flat place in the bush country at the Emhlatuze. This place is on the Mhlatuze below and not far from Maqwakazi hill and above Ngoye forest. Kwa Kukolwe is between the Mhlatuze and Mhlatuzana. Kuzwayo was burnt in this neighbourhood. Kuzwayo's was burnt and Lufuta buried in a locality almost equidistant from Maqwakazi and Mandawe. Mncinci was buried at Ematigulu (Matikulu) below Magula hill, not far from where the Matigulu and Msunduze join one another.

Kangela (Dingana's kraal) was built in Pakatwayo's district near Mandawe hill at the Emtilombo (stream). This kraal was built on the former site of Emtandeni. The Emtandeni was Pakatwayo's *ikanda*. P. came from oDwini (Kondhlo's main kraal), and built his main kraal at Emtandeni. Kangela was in good view of Maqwakazi hill.

15 The aba kwa Gcabatshe living under Chief Musi - their chief is Siziba (Meseni). They are not found among the Makanya section. They are also among Mamfongonyana's lot. These are merely *abanumzana*; they never had a *chief*.

Situta, son of Sopane, was a giant - about six foot six inches tall. He had a great appetite. Mpande would give him a huge dish of *blood and minced meat (ububende)*, *kidney, intestines*, etc. full of fat. This he would complete alone. Mpande would then *praise* him in the presence of the assembly. M. ordered that Situta was to be given food wherever he stopped, whatever it might be. If he stopped in a garden he would eat the mealies as if a horse or cow had been there, he would take so much. He also drank milk and beer in large quantities. Situta was a great *warrior*. He showed his bravery when Mpande fought at Emfihlweni, Langalibalele's kraal.⁶⁸ He was of the Dhlambedhlu (regiment) (Mpande's). He was killed in the Ndondakusuka battle, he being on Mbuyazi's side.⁶⁹ He killed a heap of people.

16 The reason why he was given so much food was that he should be so accustomed to it that when, as in wartime, his pluck was put to the test, he would do his best so as not to lose the privilege he enjoyed of getting food from the king.

Mpande fought Langalibalele in Natal long before Ndondakusuka. At the fight at Mfihlweni, where the Zulus *camped*, they were *surrounded* by Langalibalele's men. They set alight the hut the Dhlambedhlu were in. Situta put the fire out with his fingers, then rushed outside with three assegais sticking in his chest. These he extracted one after another, and stabbed three of his assailants with them, and after that three others, leaving six dead on the place. After getting out, the others followed and defeated the attacking party.

This man, besides being tall, was well built. The bravest fighters were those of high rank, for they resisted to the greatest extent being defeated and turned out of their rank or privileges. They would not run away.

17 Njakaba ka Sopane was made *induna of the Isangqu regiment* by Mpande at eNtonteleni (at Kwa Gingindhlovu). Nsimini ka Sopane became an *isilomo of the king* - of the Isangqu regiment.⁷⁰ Dambuza ka Sopane was of the iWombe regiment - Ndabakawombe - *induna of the Ndabakawombe, within the isisu of the umuzi*.⁷¹ The *induna senior to Dambuza* was Nyambose ka Manqondo.

Mngolongolo ka Mbubi ka Mncinci was of the imKulutshana regiment. Nhlango ka Mbubi ka Mncinci was also of the imKulutshane regiment. Sigcwelegcwele ka Mbubi was of the Mdhlenevu regiment (Dhlambedhlu).

Pakatwayo belonged to the Izengqane regiment - i.e. a Qwabe regiment. He *buta'd* this regiment. Then he *buta'd* the Izinkonde, Izitolatoli (Izitoyatoyi) Abantungwa (Abangqongqi). He then died.

18 Kondhlo's regiments are unknown to me.

My father Mbokazi saw Simamane. I do not know what regiment he belonged to.

I know my father became *induna of the Muhlwa*, i.e. the name of a *section (isigaba) of Mtandeni*, Pakatwayo's kraal. My father died before Mpande did.⁷²

When Mpande *consulted diviners* to see what Manzezulu ka Mbombo ka Zwana etc. was ailing from, the diviner said Dingana called him; he said he was to come and *rule with him*, for this relation of mine was Dingana's *inceku*. Mpande gave two oxen to *address praises to the amadhlozi*. These were killed for Manzezulu and eaten; when *the lower parts of the legs (amanqina)* were being eaten Manzezulu died.

Dingana went to the Bombo mountains with Makanda ka Mbombo ka Zwana, with Nozilwane (Dingana's sister), and his dog Makwedhlana.⁷³ Dingana had many dogs. Makwedhlana lived on beef only, also milk - a large dog. This dog always slept at the door of Dingana's hut.

19 When Dingana got to the Bombo, Klwana ka Ngqengelele suggested that the Izimpohlo section that had followed him should go to Embongombongweni (Klwana's kraal) at Magudu hill, near where the battle of Maqongqo was fought between Dingana and Mpande. It was said many *brass rings (imidaka)* and *genet skins* were left at this kraal. This regiment went off, and in their absence the Swazis attacked Dingana - stabbed him in the arm. Makanda was with him. He saw the wound and thought it was caused by {an assegai} being thrown at him, as it was a deep one.

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I know Makanda well. Makanda killed three Swazis who had attacked Dingana when out in the field. D. fell. They ran off. He got into a garden. The Swazis, finding only one resisting them, returned. He again killed several, and, being slight and active, escaped, leaving D. to be buried by the Swazis.⁷⁴ Mpande afterwards asked urgently for Makanda, and he got back to him. Besides D., his sister Nozilwane was killed, also the dog. Makanda used to *sew on Dingana's headring*. Makanda also *sewed on Mpande's headring*.

When Mpande saw he was about to die he said to Makanda he was sorry for him, and that as he was about to die he had better escape or he would be killed and be put in the grave first, followed by Mpande's corpse. Makanda took this advice and went with Mhlazana his son, who held the skin over the king when in the sun. Makanda ran to the Ngoye forest. The reason why he was to be killed was because he was *the body-servant (insila) of the king*.

Nhlangano ka Lubaca *of the Ntuli people* was a great *inceku* of Mpande's. He was very stout and was killed and buried on the occasion of the king's death.

19 Mahloko ka Nongayo was *an inyanga who manufactured armbands (ingxota)*, also *imfibinga* - beads like small *izindondo*, worn round wrist and probably other parts.⁷⁵

21.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 20-3.

20 Makanya. Makanya, son of Simamane, *went off and built* his own kraal. Makanya and Lufuta are sons of one girl, an Mtetwa one, viz. Sengqani, sister of Dingiswayo or Jobe.

21 Makanya *went off to build his own kraal* because he *followed the chief in age*, but he did not separate; it was his son Mnengwa, who did - who parted with Mncinci. Mnengwa built his Emahlambini kraal at Nyatikazi near Stanger and the two hills Nombede. It is quite natural for a son of high position to go out with his kraal to a distance. By this means he manages to build up a tribe which is of course an offshoot of the old one.

In the case of Mtambo, the present Makanya chief, he did not *ngena* Musi's wives and raise up seed for him on the ground that he was a chief over his own section - at a distance from the main tribe.⁷⁶ The *ngenaing* would be done by one of the brothers of the deceased living with or under him at the time of his death, as Godolozzi did at the time of Pakatwayo's death. Mtambo and his fathers had become more or less independent of the main body, and by virtue of that independence, though belonging to the same stock, he is looked upon as unsuitable for the object referred to. Musi's wives as a matter of fact were not *ngena'd* by anyone in particular but various men of the tribe. It is not clear if these men are raising up seed to Musi or not, for no *council of the homestead* assembled to decide the point.

22 The Makanya section did not leave the main body as the result of any quarrel. Mnengwa parted from Mncinci at the Nyoni in Zululand, the Nyoni being where Godolozzi afterwards built. He built on their old kraal sites.

We see then it was Mnengwa and not his father who first left Zululand to live in Natal. He must have come over in Senzangakona's day and well before Tshaka. Mnongose ka Mteyi, and Mjanyelwa (ka Sigwegwe) -

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23 *induna* of Mncinci but of the Cele tribe and father of Mzwangedwa (*induna* of J.W. Shepstone) - are two others of importance who crossed over into Natal with Mnengwa.⁷⁷ Mjanyelwa built between Dhlokweni forest and Zinkwazi.⁷⁸ Mnengwa did not have to fight anyone when coming into Natal. They built with the Cele people. The Celes would not have dared to fight with the Qwabe. This coming over appears to have been the first occupation by the Qwabes of territory in Natal. Mnengwa died in Natal. I do not know where he was buried. I hear the Msuka mentioned - '*I swear by the chief at Msuka*' is a form of oath. I do not know what Msuka is, a hill, river, or plain.

Before Mnengwa crossed over he used to hold the *umkosi* with Mncinci at their *amakanda*. Mnengwa would go and attend this great occasion with his own body. The whole place would be beautifully swept because the son of the chief had come.

'*I would nibble at the bones of the chief Kondhlo, or Pakatwayo*' - form of oath (used) by our people.⁷⁹

'*I would dig up Nzibe where he is at Sotshangana's*' - Mpande's form of oath.⁸⁰

22.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, pp. 23-4.

24 The Zulu is an Ntungwa tribe whereas the Qwabe is an Nguni one. I have heard Pakade ka Macingwane speak of his Cunu tribe as '*abaNguni of the Mngeni*', and 'you Qwabes are *abaNguni of the place of the people of Yeyeya (Ielela) - who would destroy a person by beating him down with words*'. Yeyeya is to *tefula* - we are called *amaTefula* or *amaYeyeya*.

We Qwabes speak of ourselves as *abaNguni of Kwa Mnyangombili*, i.e. *the hut of the chief Lufuta*.⁸¹ This Lufuta built a hut which had two doors to it, one in front and the other *at the back*. Sobinda ka Makanya also did this. He was a great *warrior* and had a second door as to afford an exit in case of attack at night etc. Lufuta was not afraid of attack but made two doors because the idea appealed to him.

Pakade is dead.⁸² His father was Macingwane ka Luboko ka Nyanda - Cunu tribe.

When we Qwabes *went down* to the Mhlatuze we left the Zulus behind with the *amaCunu*.

22.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 45, pp. 1-2.

1 Lufuta. He had many sons. He wore *girdles (tebisa'd)* of *mbexe* strings. All the tribe followed this custom. The *imbexe* is a medicine dug up in the veld - roots as large as a man's arm. It is reddish; it is *pounded* until it becomes white and is then *twisted* into strings - *light brown* in colour. These strings used to be put together and formed into a *girdle (umutsha)*. The *imbexe* can be got from where we are now living. We called it *isitinti* instead of *umutsha*. To *tebisa* is to put on a *mutsha* in such a way that the *mutsha* comes very low down or even below the buttocks, leaving them exposed. The *front covering (isinene)* may be made of *imbexe* as well, or of *genet skin*.

Tebisaing is over now. The Zulus took it over from us. We now put on *skin buttock-coverings (amabetshu)*.

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[Mmemi promises to make an *isitinti* (*umutsha*).]⁸³

2 Lufuta did not fight with *other peoples* (*izizwe*), nor did Mncinci do so. Kondhlo fought a little but not at close quarters like the Zulus. They hurled their assegais which the enemy warded off at a distance with their shields. Kondhlo did not fight against the Mtetwa for his wife came from there. Then Zwide was too far off.

They used to fight only by throwing assegais at one another in former times. Zwide and the Mtetwa did so. The Mtetwa did so as much as the Qwabe. Tshaka, whilst the Mtetwa threw assegais, ran in and attacked at close quarters.

<23.10.1904>

File 61, nbk. 45, pp. 8-10.

8 <Praises of Phakathwayo, with notes, omitted - eds.>

9 Mmemi says Musi ka Pakatwayo (per Godolozu) was a good *imbongi*.⁸⁴ Now that he is dead Mmemi looks on himself as one of the best, if not the best, reciter in the Qwabe tribe. It is probable many may be able to add to the above (praises) but no single person could exceed the quantity given.

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

Hohlo and Mbuyazwe both put on *loin-covers* (*imitsha*) - both were caused to put on *prepuce covers* by Tshaka.⁸⁵ Clothing ran out so they had to wear native things. Tshaka had to wear a *cloak of cowhide*. Febana, i.e. Farewell. There is another white man, Kamungana. [Who?]⁸⁶

I have never heard of Pakatwayo killing a white man [Dr Cowan] or his horse.⁸⁷

10 Ntungwa, Nguni. The amaNtungwa carry the *indungulu* plant, i.e. the *medicine* for chewing or giving children when having fever (*mkuhlane*). The amaNtungwa are from the north, and the Zulu were called such by the Qwabe because they remained in the north.

The Kumalo, Mambata, Zulu, Kanyile and Cunu are all amaNtungwa.

The Zulus used to arrive in the Qwabe tribe with *indungulu* and *ikatazo* medicines, and say on arrival, 'Ofe mkozi', speaking of themselves as amaNtungwa.⁸⁸

24.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 45, pp. 10-24.

Also present: Qalizwe

(The Qwabe and Cunu are abaNguni.) The amaXoza of the Cape Colony are also abaNguni. The Zulus are not abaNguni, for they did not originally use this term in respect of themselves. It was Pakade ka Macingwane who told me plainly that the Cunus were abaNguni. I heard from amaXoza themselves they are abaNguni. Neither the Ndwandwe nor the Mtetwa are abaNguni. The Ndwandwe separated from the Nxumalo. Neither the Ndwandwe nor the Mtetwa are amaNtungwa.

11 I have heard the tradition that amaNtungwa came down with a grain

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basket (ehla'd nesilulu), but though the Zulus are called amaNtungwa they did not so *come down* for they *originated* with us.⁸⁹ I cannot imagine when or how we came to use the term Nguni in regard to ourselves. It is probable they are also abaNguni. We *insult* them in saying they are amaNtungwa.

The Cele are said to have come from the Mtetwa and are said to be amaLala, but the Mtetwa are not said to be amaLala. The Nyuswa, Ngcobo, amaQadi, Embo (came from the Swazis), iNhlanguwini, Swazis and Baca (amaDebe, i.e. those who cut their faces) are amaLala according to us Zulus.⁹⁰ The Ngwane, Pondo and Fengu are not amaLala.

I do not know how the name Lala arises, whether from their dialects - they are probably so called from the way in which they speak. The Qwabes are not spoken of as amaLala; they are sometimes called *ama-Tefula*.⁹¹

12 Mpande once asked Mapita in the assembly what people were braver than the Qwabes.⁹² Mapita remarked that the Zulus had defeated them at Kwa Hloko (i.e. the name of the hill where the Qwabe king Pakatwayo was taken). Mpande said, 'Yes, but that was an occasion only where they were overcome not by our valour but by our drugs (*izintelezi*)', or, as Mpande said, '*our intonga*'. Mpande maintained that the Qwabes were always the first to go to the attack.

Pakatwayo was defeated at Kwa Hloko hill near Eshowe, at Ema-Sundwaneni.

Mfanawendhlela (of the Zungu tribe) ka Tanga ka Manzini ka Tshana.⁹³ Tshana had another son, Mbondwe, who was the father of Ngqumbazi (Cetshwayo's mother).

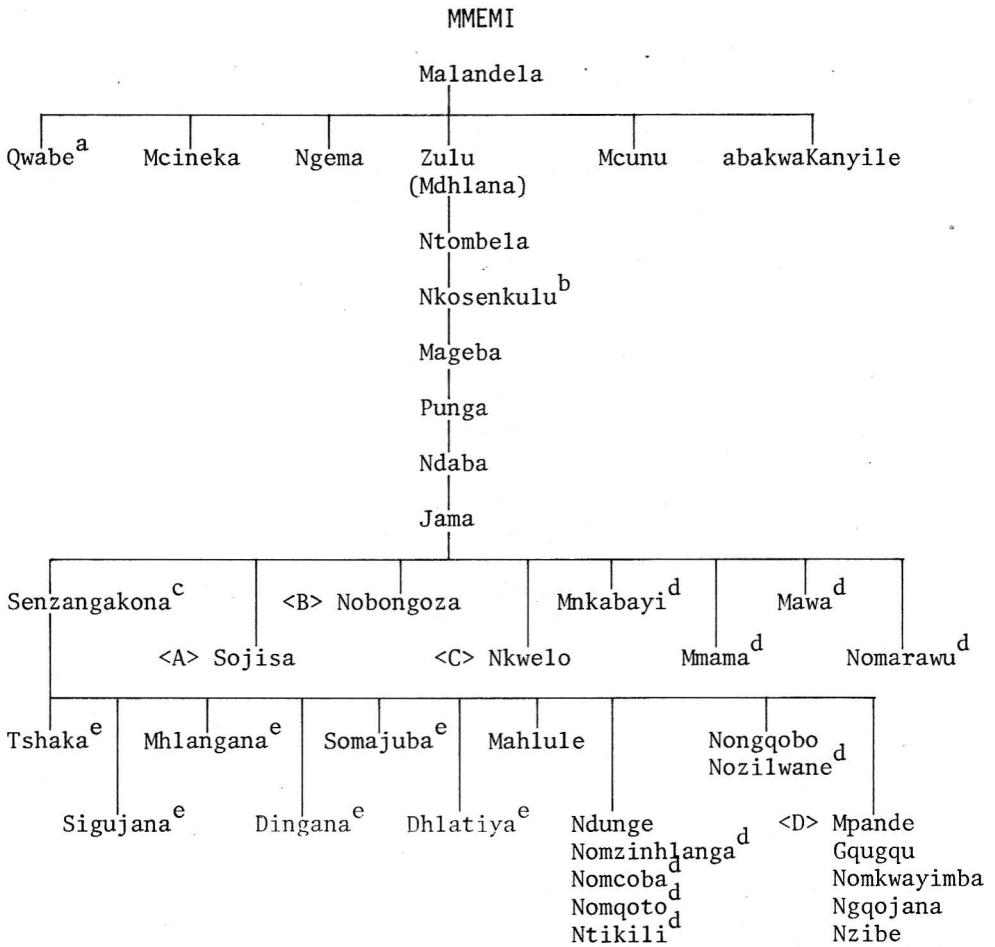
Cunu. The present chief is Silwane ka Gabangaye ka Pakade ka Macingwane ka Luboko.⁹⁴ Their great kraal is the Nkonyameni.

Qalizwe [my boy] ka Dhlozi ka Langa ka Gobizembe ka Jama.⁹⁵ We are of the Cunu tribe; we are addressed as '*Mcunu! Ba kwa Ngqulunga! Ba kwa Majola! Ba kwa Nyanda! Ba kwa Pond' olukulu lwase Mngeni!*'⁹⁶

Mmemi says: I heard Pakade *swear by* Jama.

13 24.10.1904. Per Mmemi (assisted by Mgidhlana's list).⁹⁷

<The genealogies that follow are those of the Zulu royal house and some of its collateral lineages. In reproducing them we have used the devices A, B, C etc. to indicate relationships which in the original are indicated by means of conventional genealogical descent lines - eds.>



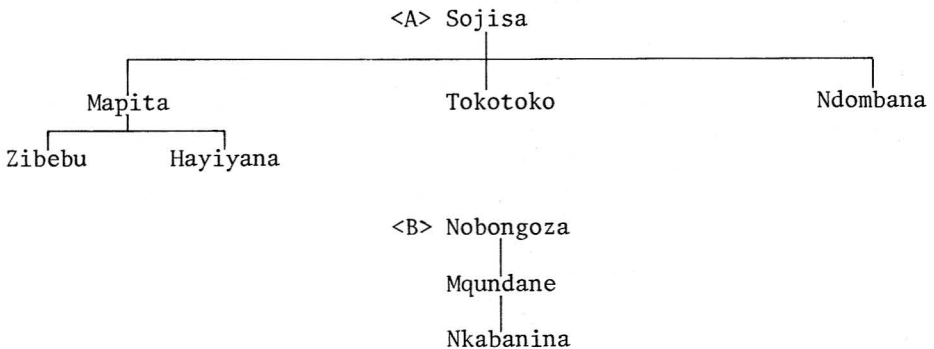
^a See in notebook dated 16.10.1904 and 17, 18, & 19 October.

^b Alias Mamba.

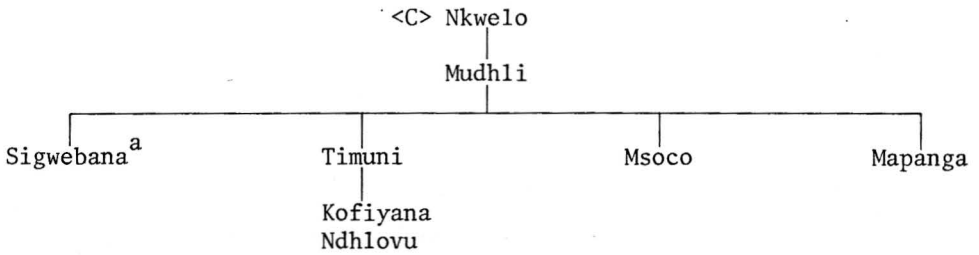
^c Additional children of Senzangakona given by Ngidi, notebook 47, p. 7, and notebook 39, p. 7.⁹⁸ See also notebook 30, p. 3.

^d Female.

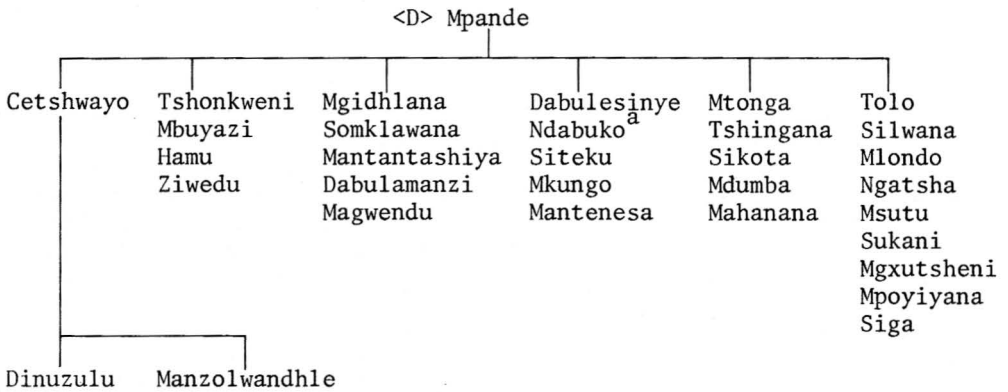
^e No issue.



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^aNo issue.



^aMaduna.

14 Kondhlo nominated Nomo as his heir, but the Qwabe refused on the ground already stated because 'a Lala speaks with two voices'. This did not take place. The wife, or even a woman, would ask what the men said; the son would tell her, and she would discuss and criticize and induce him to act counter to what had been decided in council.

15 Godide never became a big chief. Mamfongonyana is not the true head of the Qwabe tribe. The chief was Nomo; when the Qwabe refused to have him Pakatwayo became chief.

Godolozi, Nakile, Dhlakode, Nomo and Madaya were Kondhlo's eldest sons, followed by Nqeto, Pakatwayo, Godide, etc., with Vubukulwayo last. Godide never enjoyed that rank which would entitle Mamfongonyana to be head of the Qwabes.

Ndhlela ka Sompisi said to Dingana, 'Why do you concern yourself about this scrofulous little thing (*umcobokwana*)? What is there in this thing of Songiya, *this thing of the umsizi*?'⁹⁹ This caused Dingana to desist from killing Mpande. Dingana then took 100 cattle (*the umqeku steers*) and ordered Mpande to go and establish an *umuzi*.¹⁰⁰ He was presented with the cattle. He was told to build his own *ikanda*. He accordingly went off with *Ngqumbazi*. The cattle came from Kangela.¹⁰¹

16 Mpande then sent Matunjana, Mfinyeli (great *inceku*) ka Nguzayeyo and my father Nguluzane to give praise for the cattle. They went and did so. Ndhlela then told them to tell Mpande not to come up himself as Dingana would kill him. It was sufficient that these three men had

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given praise. Mpande built Mahambehlala (Mlambongwenya) and Empenqaneni (Ekuweleni). The name Ekuweleni arose when he came back from Maqongqo after fighting Dingana.¹⁰² Mlambongwenya took the place of the name of Mahambehlala. Nzibe had built the uMfemfe kraal. Nzibe left his *betrothed* Nozibuku. She was *taken to wife* (*sekwa'd*) by Mpande whilst she was still a girl and bore Hamu who was known as Nzibe's son.¹⁰³ Mfemfe was first built by Nzibe, not Senzangakona.

Mpande now took cattle from Mlambongwenya, Empenqaneni, Mfemfe and Kangelana (100 cattle from there given him by Dingana), and with them founded Gqikazi kraal. The women Ngqumbazi (Cetshwayo's mother), Dabeka (*of the uhlangothi of the Gqikazi umuzi*), Mbukuziso ka Mjanyelwa ka Sigwegwe, and others went to found this kraal.¹⁰⁴

17 Nomo never *ruled* but Pakatwayo did. (Pakatwayo's mother was Zunguse ka Myakazeye *of the Ngadi people*.)¹⁰⁵ Kondhlo nominated Nomo but, owing to the refusal of the Qwabe, he did not reign. Pakatwayo did, and so, though Godide, by *ngenaing* Nomo's wife (*a girl of the Cili - Ciyi - people, a relation of Sidinane*, former Qwabe chief), raised up Mamfongonyana as Nomo's heir, yet Mamfongonyana could not oust the rights of Musi to be chief, this man having been raised up as Pakatwayo's seed by Godolozzi.¹⁰⁶

Godide's mother was *placed* by Kondhlo into Nomo's house (his mother was a daughter of Jobe, father of Dingiswayo). Godolozzi, though the first-born son, was *placed* into Pakatwayo's house.

The *eldest son* (*isokanqangi*), Godolozzi, could not, according to custom, become chief; hence, as, when he grew up, he might be jealous of a younger brother being chief, he was himself taken by Kondhlo and placed in the chief hut, viz. that of Pakatwayo, to be a support instead of a source of weakness.

We see then that it was Kondhlo's own act, putting Godolozzi into Pakatwayo's house, and as this was done after the Qwabes had refused to have Nomo as chief, so Godolozzi's status naturally became greater than that of Godide, who was put into the house of one who, though favoured by his father, had not become the heir.

18 A great case between Mamfongonyana and Musi came on in Pietermaritzburg before Somsewu, the decision going in favour of Musi.¹⁰⁷ I was present as Musi's mat-bearer on that occasion. Somsewu pointed to the fact that the matter had been settled in the time of Nomo and Pakatwayo. Mamfongonyana and Musi, some time after the case, became friendly and reported affairs to one another. Zidumo had a great deal to do with the matter of Meseni vs. Mmiso (father of Siziba).¹⁰⁸

The affair of Meseni is decided. But Musi did report that his heir was Mmiso. He died shortly after getting back, before calling up his principal-men and apprising them of his decision as advised. Mtambo was asked if Musi had advised him of his choice and he had to say, 'No'.

Meseni has built his *eMtandeni umuzi*, and Mmiso (and Siziba) have built their *eNkwenkwezini umuzi*. They kill one another and are on bad terms because it is a *succession dispute*.

19 Magqanqi, who heard Siziba's cases, is dead. Samuelson suggested I should take Magqanqi's place as I was an Nkwenkwezi adherent.¹⁰⁹ I said I was afraid of going to take up the position for fear of being poisoned by the Mtandeni section. Owing to my position, and especially my knowledge, I would be killed off. Musi, Mzungulu, Ngotshana, Lukayweni, Mmiso's mother (*a daughter of Sibembana*), Ncakazi, Mmiso, Nkwabazi of

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Godolozis people.¹¹⁰ The above-mentioned names are those of persons who were killed off, as I believe, by Meseni's section.

I am very familiar with Musi and his affairs. I know all his praises.

I know that Mdungazwe once beat Meseni because he had allowed the *calves to go with their mothers* on a rainy day.¹¹¹ Musi heard Meseni, then a small boy, crying, whereupon he reprimanded Mdungazwe. 'What do you beat Meseni for, seeing he is your chief and senior to you? You belong to Kwa Nkwambazi, whereas he is of Emtandeni.' Mdungazwe asked me in Pietermaritzburg about this incident, and I told him, to show that
20 Meseni belonged to Emtandeni kraal and not to Nkwenkwezi kraal (built by Musi), which was a bigger and more important one than Mtandeni. Pakatwayo cannot create two chiefs; he made Musi, and Musi made his own, viz. the principal son of the Nkwenkwezi kraal, i.e. Mmiso (deceased), now Siziba. Musi said of Siziba that he was to be stood beside his father Mmiso's grave, which was done, to indicate he was his heir. Musi directed further that Siziba was to be given Musi's assegai, and made to take his stand, even though a small boy, beside Musi's own grave. This procedure was duly followed. Meseni was not present at eNkwenkwezini when his father was buried. He had no authority to go; moreover he dare not have gone, for he is accused of killing his father Musi. He dare not even now go to eNkwenkwezini. He would not even meet them. I would like to go to Meseni with Mbovu and discuss
21 affairs, viz. with reference to this *quarrel* which does not end.¹¹² I want to question him as to the manner in which he exerts his authority. I would only sleep one night at Meseni's. The women would of course object to my going.

Somsewu directed, in settling the Musi-Mamfongonyana dispute, that Mamfongonyana should build and set up as a chief and allow those who preferred him to be his adherents, and those who wanted Musi to become his. This principle is a bad one. Musi should have become sole chief, with Mamfongonyana as one of his adherents and not independent. This was the case when Nomo and Pakatwayo *quarrelled*, for Nomo was killed and all his *umuzi ended up with Pakatwayo*.

But, says Mmemi, as a matter of fact, the *chiefship (ubukosi)* of Nomo did not die out, for Ntoyeyeni and Mtandeni kraals still exist.

22 *Gwaza nge nhlabeza* = who stabbed with sticks at one's face or body when fighting as the Mgumanqa regiment did.

Izinduna that probably went with the *impi* to Pondoland with Tshaka: Mdhlaka ka Ncidi, *induna of the nation (induna yezwe)*, but as he lived at Esiklebeni he would have been over a regiment; Ngomane ka Mqomboyu; Mxamana ka Sotshaya; Mbikwana ka Bebe of the *eLangeni people*, *induna of the Mgumanqa regiment*; Sotobe ka Mpangalala; Seketwayo ka Nhlaka ka Dikane of the *Mdhlalose people*; Mvundhlana ka Menziwa ka Xoko of the *Mdhlalose people, induna of M* <sic>;¹¹³ Mapita ka Sojisa; Mbilini ka Cungeya ka Bakwanazi of the *Mtetwa people, induna of the Mgumanqa regiment*; Zulu ka Nogandaya of the *Yinda alias Ncwana section of the Qwabe people*.

Seketwayo and Mvundhlana appear to me to be too young - their fathers probably went. Zidunge was Mbikwana's son; he, like his father, became *induna* of the Mgumanqa. (UNomendeya, uJamehlungwini, isiGodi-semkonto are other names of this regiment).

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I do not know where Gendeyana's kraal sites were, nor do I know Ngwadi's Kwa Wambaza kraal, which was shut in, for purposes of defence, with *acacias* when attacked by Dingana.

23 Qwabe sections: the a ba kwa Gcabatshe; amaCineka; a ba semaNgadini; a ba seMayezeni; a ba kwa Sitshi; a ba kwa Njapa; a ba kwa Gumbi; a ba kwa Pahla; a ba kwa Ciyi; a ba seMgobozini; a ba kwa Kweya; a ba s'eMasabayini; a ba kwa Yinda (Ncwana); a ba se Kunene (Donda); a ba seMvuyeni (Ndingi); a ba s'eMambedwini (Dweba); a ba kwa Fakazi (Mgcwabeni); a ba seNgazini (Poyi); amaBongeya (Dhlamuka); a ba kwa Makanya; a ba ka Mnongose ka Mteyi (*they built with the Makanya*).

24 Nqeto. He was *dark-brown (nsundu)*. (Nakile was *light-brown (mpofu)*.) He was tall, *bewhiskered*, with *hair* down the sides of cheeks. *He had a wild temper. He was of the Ekuhebezeni* - his kraal; also Emaganukeni. He had no *chiefdom (sizwe)*; it died out after he had just begun it. He had a temper and had to leave after Tshaka's death. He fled, not liking Dingana, and took with him *cattle of the king*. He left Ekuhebezeni kraal and took a lot of cattle near the Tugela, Zululand side. He crossed into Stanger and came to where the Esane river enters the Umvoti, where he made a stand. The Izinnyosi and other regiments attacked him. Nqeto got the better of them. He seized a very large quantity of cattle; he *went up to the esiDumbini*, came to the Mhlali and Mdhloti, and *camped* at the eNanda (where Mqawe lives).¹¹⁴ They *halted*. Nqeto was re-attacked, whereupon he ascended as far as Botha's Hill, passed and crossed the Mhlatuzana and went on to the Mlazi and *went up* to Posukubusa (a white man - large canteen-keeper). Here Nqeto made a stand. Here was a *forest and precipice* on the Izimbokodwe stream, now known as '*the precipice of Nqeto*'. The Zulu came up. The cattle were in the bushes. The forces met, and a great slaughter took place. Nqeto forced the Zulus back on to the Mlazi. The cattle *crossed* the Ezimbokodwe. Nqeto had been joined by some of the Makanya people; others were afraid. He took also some Cele people. He went on to the Mkomazi. He there began to fight foreign tribes, viz. the amaBaca, amaNgwana (*those of Mkumbeni ka Masumpa*, brother of Matiwana ka Masumpa - Matiwana had a son, Zikali). Nqeto also fought the a ba kwa Ngutshana, defeating them. He did not defeat the Bacas but did not re-attack. Nqeto now decided to attack the amaMpondo king.

25.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 51, pp. 1-9.

1 Mmemi continues.

Nqeto's men, however, remonstrated. They advised less precipitate measures; they proposed halting and building, having so many cattle. N. would not listen to this. He accordingly *attacked* the amaMpondo. He fought the amaMpondo on the banks of the Umzimvubu near the sea.

N. destroyed his chances of founding a house because of his temper which would not allow him to rest.

Nqeto tried to copy Tshaka but T. began his conquests from home; he had his home as a base. N. had no such base, he fled into the wilds and would not create it. Consequently, though a fine fighter, he was overcome.

Nqeto *made off from Pakatwayo* and went to Tshaka. Tshaka received

him and treated him as a prince. Sopane went to T. with Nqeto. Both were well received, and the reason why T. appreciated their coming was because they left their tribe, whilst it still enjoyed its independence, and gave
 2 their allegiance to him. Their coming was due to their marrying the girls as already referred to, daughters of Mhlakuvana and Sakobo (Nqeto took this man's daughter). Pakatwayo was older than Nqeto. Nqeto was younger than Tshaka.

Nqeto always fancied himself as he was the son of a king. Tshaka lowered his pride by causing messengers to shout out his name, '*Nqeto, present yourself!*' ('*Nangu Nqeto bo!*') Nqeto however would not answer but simply get up and go to the king. When he got to the king in the assembly, T. said, 'What makes you, Nqeto, son of my father, not answer when I, your king, call you, and when you hear? Are you a dog?' Nqeto said, '*I am deeply aggrieved*, seeing I am the son of Kondhlo and you of Senzangakona, and that you should treat me as a dog in your own kraal, seeing I belong to the same tribe as yourself.' T. then said to Ngomane and Mdhlaka, 'What do you think of this?' They replied that Nqeto was in the right. It was not fit that he who had come to *konza* should be called
 3 by name like a dog. T. after this used to send a messenger to Nqeto if he wanted him, instead of letting him shout out his name and receiving the answer '*Mungane!*' which all other persons usually gave.¹¹⁵

Nqeto greatly regretted Tshaka's death, the only one probably who did so. There was no mourning for T. N. accordingly fled from Dingana.

No sooner was Tshaka killed than all the *isigodhlo* girls went out and danced, singing: '*Wo Nkinsimana! Wo Nkinsimana! Wo Nkinsimana! You Nkinsimana! You were warned in the Mtetwa country, at the place of Ndiminde*' (at the place of those of the long tongue, those who *tefula*). *Nkinsimana* has nothing to do with the word 'Englishman' but is the name of a troupe of girls of the *isigodhlo* at Dukuza.¹¹⁶ There was also the *isigodhlo* group amaNtiyane (not Cetshwayo's Tiyane), and uSiba (composed of the iCenyane and Mvutwamini).¹¹⁷

Dukuza was also known as Kwa Masangomabili, as afterwards (when it was, at Mgungundhlovu and Nodwengu).¹¹⁸ At Dukuza there were two *izi-godhlo*, one where the office now is, the other where Tshaka lies buried,
 4 viz. at Kwa Nyakamubi.¹¹⁹

My father Nguluzane belonged to the Mgumanqa regiment.¹²⁰ He *put on the headring* when young, in the same way that the Qwabe people did, but was afterwards compelled to *kleza and do milking duties* but not to cut off the headring.

Tshaka belonged to the Wombe regiment but this was Senzangakona's regiment. The Sipezi and amaWombe did not *take wives*; they were not allowed to do so.

Tshaka attacked Pakatwayo with the amaWombe. '*What is that? What sort of fighting is that? Ehe! Ehe!*' Tshaka would shout this out as he saw his forces fighting if they did not go up to close quarters. Or he might get his *inceku* Mbungwana, who was noted for having a loud voice, to shout out in this way. T. is said to have *shouted* when he fought the Ndwandwe. Zwide defeated Tshaka twice at Kwa Gqori hill, at the Emcibi-yindini stream entering the White Mfolozi.¹²¹ The Zulu were *driven back*
 5 by Zwide's amaPela and amaGugu (regiments). On the third occasion Tshaka went and *decoyed* Zwide's *impi*. This *impi* ate bread made of maize;

it was cooked for the impi. Tshaka drove a small herd of cattle and in that way fed his forces. T.'s *intelezi* medicine went out and went to Zwide.¹²² T.'s forces *decoyed Zwide with bushes*; they *decoyed his force* down to the Mhlatuze. Zwide followed, being bewitched to follow, because *under the influence of the medicines*. T. knew that Zwide fed his impi on bread so he took his impi and *concealed* it. He caused the bushes to be dragged up to the Gcongco whilst he, with the main body, went down to the Ntumeni and then to the Impapala near Entonteleni kraal (Jama's kraal).¹²³ T.'s object was to tire out Z.'s impi. He decoyed them on to the Tugela. When (Zwide's force) got to the Impapala they found no impi. They then went on via Eshowe but T. was after them. When Z. was going down *the Mpopfu ridge* T.'s impi came in sight. They came up and attacked at the Mhlatuze. T. remained with the 'black' or young men's regiments, viz. the Dhlangezwa, Dhlangubo and Mnkangala. The Mbelebele, Dukuza, Siklebe, Sipezi, and amaWombe were among the regiments that went forward.

Tshaka said, '*I shall hear, then, men of the elephant. It has come to the home; it has trodden in the excrement of the children,*' when addressing his forces. The fight took place where the amaZuye enters - near Mandawe hill.¹²⁴ The fight took place actually in the river. T. forced them across, followed by his troops. Zwide had among his troops there the Isikwitshi, corresponding to Tshaka's amaWombe. At this place were Mpepa, Dayingubo, Nomahlanjana, Notakasa and Nombengula - all Zwide's children - and others.

When T. shouted as above, Zwide's impi was leaving the river. They left only to return; the Isikwitshi (*of the place of Ntombaze, the place of Zwide's people*) returned and again fought Tshaka's regiments.¹²⁵ T. now let go the 'black' (younger) forces. Tshaka exhorted his young troops to follow up the enemy away to their homes, reminding them they had had little or nothing to eat. The troops followed accordingly away to Z.'s Esikwitshini (kraal). No sooner did T.'s forces come up than Zwide left from the upper end of the kraal, from the *isigodhlo* - just managed to escape. The Zulus thus completely defeated Zwide. Z.'s son Sikunyana returned to fight, and again fought, this time at the Ngome (*at a stronghold*). The Zulus discovered a secret entrance to this natural fortress, high up, entered and defeated Sikunyana, who however escaped. At the entrance to the fortress many men of Sikunyana's as well as T.'s were slaughtered.¹²⁶

I know that Tshaka was advised, in bringing on Zwide's attack, to hide all his food as Zwide depended only on mealie bread.

The Gcongco mountain is at Enkandhla - it faces the Tugela but at a distance from there. *Cube people* live about it.

8 Simamane, Lufuta and Kondhlo all *ruled* a fairly long time; also Kuzwayo and Mncinci. I judge this from the number of their children. Mncinci was a properly constituted king like all the others.

I know of no old quarrel as to the succession prior to Nomo and Pakatwayo, excepting that of Mcineka and Qwabe.

Ngema was not in the *dispute* about the buck previously referred to. Mbokazi was a small boy of four or five, when Simamane died.¹²⁷ He grew up in Lufuta's day, *put on the headring* in Kondhlo's day, and *married* then. Mbokazi *fathered* Mbiko when Kondhlo *fathered* Pakatwayo. Mbokazi, in about 1876 at a very advanced age, could walk very slowly. He was so old that there was no mourning. He had a slight body; never

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got fat. He died at the Emvoti where Meseni lives. Mbokazi was about the same age as Mudhli ka Nkwelo.¹²⁸ He probably married quite young, being a man of rank. He said he saw Simamane. He *herded* cattle in Lufuta's time.

[Say he died at 110, therefore he would have been born in 1766.]

- 9 Nkamelwana is of the Iqwa regiment of *Musi* - at Enkwenkwezini. Nhlangani lives at the Tongati - Tulwana regiment.¹²⁹ Musi was of the Isangu regiment. *It was followed in age* by my regiment, the Tulwana.

Mbovu and Mmemi (limp, walk lamely).¹³⁰

26.10.1904

File 61, nbk. 51, pp. 9-10.

I have been living under Mtambo since the *mbidhli* of *Somsewu*.¹³¹

Even an *old man fathers children*. Mbokazi was an *old man* when he *fathered* his sons Nkamelwana, Mahloko, Jangeni and Mfoboza.

I am not quite sure which was the older, Nonjiya (Tununu's father) or Mbokazi, for both were *izinduna* of *Pakatwayo* at *Emtandeni*.¹³²

There is a very large section of Qwabe still *in the Zulu country*.

Mdeyi is not Mteyi ka Lufuta. The Mdeyi who *went off with Nomo* is unknown to me. [See *Pakatwayo's* praises.] There is nothing odd, when *giving praises*, in putting a smaller man before a greater, as Mdeyi before Nomo.¹³³

- 10 Our tribe was a peaceful one, not like the Zulus, who were warlike. The only blood that began with us was in the time of Nomo, when Kondhlo wished to make him his son and heir.

[Mmemi leaves, 26.10.1904.]

I saw Mtweni and Mkulekelwa, Mmemi's son and heir. Mtweni is of the Indhluyengwe regiment. His grandfather is Buba and his great-great-grandfather Simamane, the Qwabe chief.

5.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, p. 10.

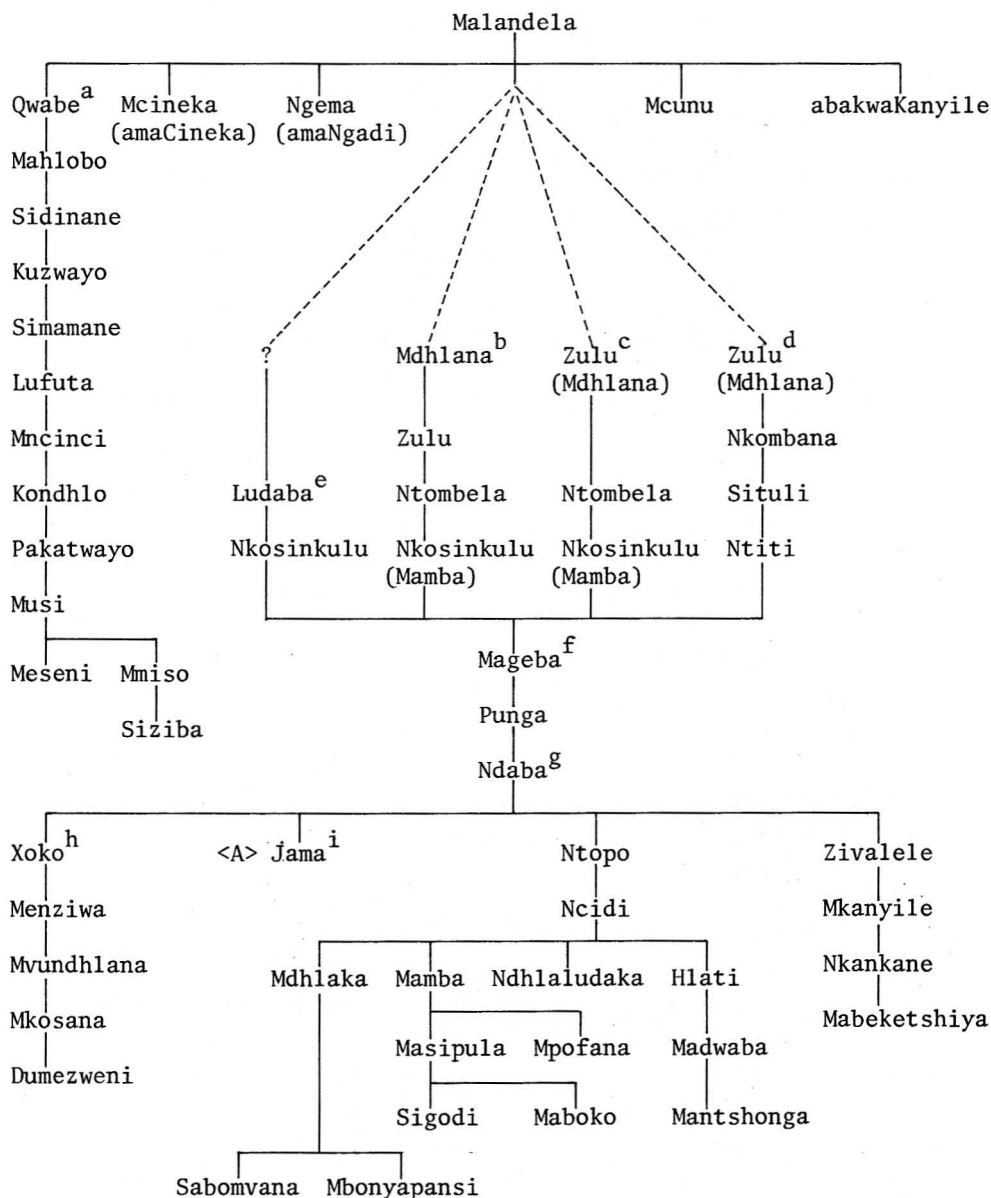
- 10 Ngidi (Magambukazi), 5.11.1904, of the *Mngunyana* people, viz. (those of) Nongalaza ka Nondela and Zulu ka Nogandaya ka Nkonjane, (says): The *Mngunyana* is a section of the Qwabe tribe.¹³⁴ Mmemi belongs to the *Mabongeleni* section, to the *ekuNene* section.

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17.1.1926

File 35, item 13, p. 1.

1 Put together 17.1.1926. Based on Mangati, Tshingana, Cetshwayo, and especially Mmemi.



^a His mother was Nozidiya.

^b Per Cetshwayo.¹³⁵

^c Per Mmemi.

^d Per Mkebeni. Kwabiti agrees mostly.¹³⁶

^e Per Tshingana.¹³⁷

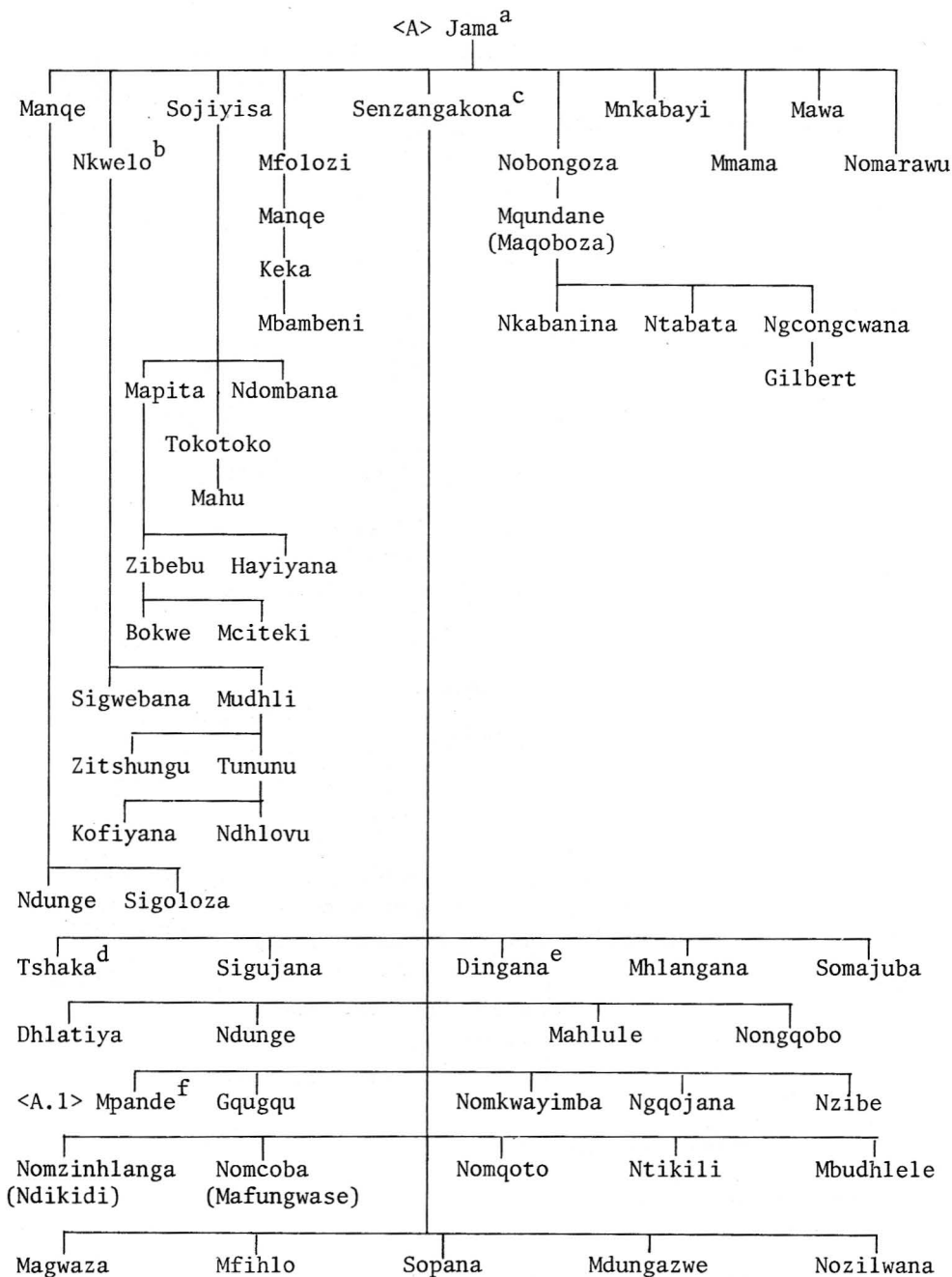
MMEMI

^fHis sister was Sitanye.

^gHis mother was a daughter of Bayeni.

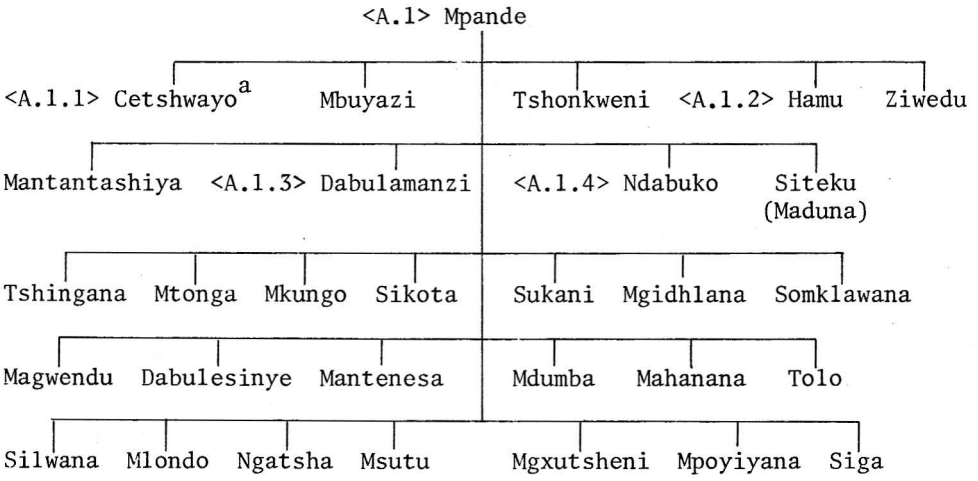
^hSee small pocket-book 12.

ⁱHis mother was Sitshi ka Nkombana of the Mbata people - per Tshingana.

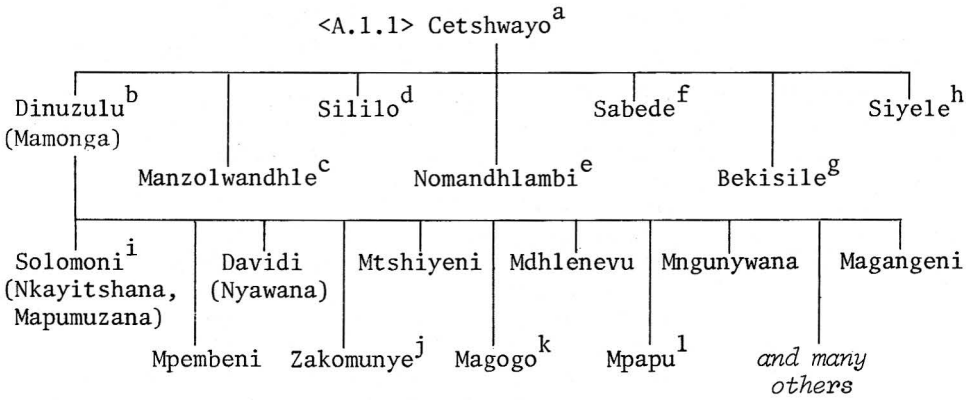


MEMI

- ^aHis mother was Sitshi ka Nkombana of the Mbata people - per Tshingana.
- ^bOf the left-hand house.
- ^cHis mother was Mtaniya kaZingelwayo.
- ^dHis mother was Nandi ka Mbengi of the eLangeni people.
- ^eHis mother was Mpikase of the Qungebeni people.
- ^fHis mother was Songiya ka Ngotsha - of the Hlabisa people?



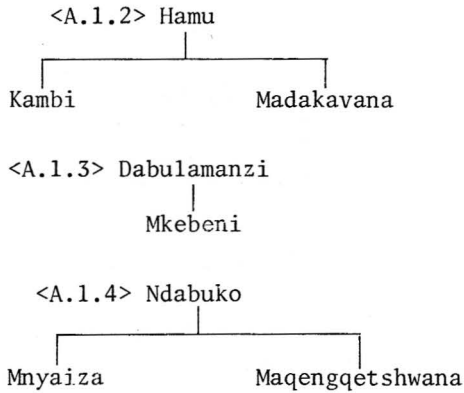
^aHis mother was Ngqumbazi ka Mbondi ka Tshana - of the Hlabisa people?¹³⁸



- ^aHis mother was Ngqumbazi ka Mbondi ka Tshana - of the Hlabisa people?¹³⁹
- ^bHis mother was Nomvimbi, a daughter of Msweli.
- ^cHis mother was Mfumuta ka Qetuka.
- ^dGirl.
- ^eGirl.
- ^fGirl.
- ^gGirl. g. P. ka I. Seme, D.D.¹⁴⁰
- ^hGirl.
- ⁱHis mother was Mkasilomo ka Ntuzwa of the Mdhlalose people.

MEMI

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Girl.
Girl.
Girl.



Notes

- ¹Phakathwayo kaKhondlo was chief of the main house of the Qwabe in the early nineteenth century. For variant versions of the Qwabe chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 209.
- ²This list, which in the original is positioned alongside the informant's list, appears to be one which Stuart drew up in an attempt to establish the chronology of the Qwabe chiefly succession.
- ³Meseni was chief of the Qwabe in the Inanda, Lower Tugela, Mapumulo and Ndwedwe divisions. At other points in his evidence the informant Memi identifies Musi as a son of Godolozu, who was a younger brother of Phakathwayo. This inconsistency may reflect an *ukungena* relationship between Godolozu and Musi's mother. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 200, also indicates that there was uncertainty about Musi's paternity.
- ⁴These were sections of the Qwabe.
- ⁵Bryant, Dictionary, p. 440, gives *inongwe* (pl. *izinongwe*) as '...veldt-herb, having...tuberous roots much eaten in times of famine'. On p. 129 he gives *un-Embesa* (*umbeza*) as '...shrub, the bark of whose roots is used as an emetic for chest-complaints and snake-bite, as lotion for eyes, and dried as powder for killing head-lice'. On p. 337 he gives *isi-Kwali* (*isikwali*) as '...shrubby climbing plant...of which there are three kinds, one with edible tubers, the other two... non-edible and used as emetics'. For discussion of the term Lala see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7 ff, 232 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.
- ⁶Cf. the account in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 188.
- ⁷Mthambo was chief of the Makhanya people in the Umlazi division.
- ⁸Mbovu kaMshumayeli, of the Makhanya section of the Qwabe, was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears elsewhere in this volume.
- ⁹On the relationship between the Sithole and Thembu peoples see also

- Bryant, Olden Times, p. 251; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 290, 301. The Sithole chief in the time of Shaka is named by other sources as Jobe kaMaphitha: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 251; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 301.
- ¹⁰For discussion of the term Ntungwa see the references as for the term 'Lala' in note 5 above.
- ¹¹For discussion of the term Mbo see the references as for the term 'Lala' in note 5 above.
- ¹²Ngoza kaMkhubukeli was chief of the Thembu living near the confluence of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers in the time of Shaka.
- ¹³Mhlumba mountain is situated some fifteen kilometres south-east of present-day Weenen.
- ¹⁴Formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the late 1820s and early 1830s.
- ¹⁵Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. Musi kaGodolozzi (see also note 3 above) was chief of a section of the Qwabe people; he died in 1892 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186).
- ¹⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 297, gives *i(li)-kataso (ikhathaso)* as '...veldt-herb, whose roots are worn round the neck and occasionally nibbled against an *um-Kuhlane*' (cold, fever). On p. 123 he gives *i-nDungulu (indungulu)* as '...plant whose strong-scented root is said to be good for a catarrh; for driving away snakes, and warding off lightning; for mixing with the mabele or mealie seed to keep off the ill-effects of drought and excessive heat; and for preserving the *inyanga* from the dangerous effects of some noxious plants when he goes to cut or collect them'.
- ¹⁷Bryant, Olden Times, p. 199, gives emThandeni as the great place of Phakathwayo. Tununu kaNonjiya was another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 620, gives *i-nTelezi (intelezi)* as 'General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil by rendering its causes innocuous, unsuccessful...and generally administered by a "sprinkling" process...and not carried about on the person...'.
¹⁹Shaka's kaBulawayo *umuzi* was built on the ridge of hills between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni.
- ²⁰On a chief's jumping over a defeated rival see also Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane, pp. 19n, 105n; Raum, Social Functions, p. 263; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 312, vol. 2, pp. 178, 186.
- ²¹Presumably this means that Phakathwayo's Qwabe chiefdom was broken up.
- ²²Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe people.
- ²³Others of Stuart's informants comment on an association between the Qwabe and fire: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 8, 16, 209.
- ²⁴'*Silo!*' (lion) was a praise-name for the Zulu kings.
- ²⁵Mdlaka kaNcidi of the emGazini (Khanyile?), a lineage collateral with that of the Zulu royal house, and Ngomane kaMqombolo of the Dletsheni people, were two of Shaka's principal *izinduna*.
- ²⁶Gqugqu was put to death by his brother Mpande in May or June 1843. Soon afterwards, Mawa, sister of the king's father, fled into Natal with a large following. EnTonteleni was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- ²⁷'*Gumede!*' was an *isithakazelo* of the Qwabe people.
- ²⁸Cf. the praises of Nandi, mother of Shaka, in Cope, ed., Izibongo, pp. 174-5.
- ²⁹Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth

century.

- ³⁰For discussion of the term Nguni see the references as for 'Lala' in note 5 above; also Hedges, 'Trade and politics in southern Mozambique and Zululand', unpublished thesis, pp. 254-7.
- ³¹The precise meaning attributed to the word *umphakathi* varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counsellors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, Dictionary, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Dictionary, p. 481, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinDuna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati"'.
³²The Ntumeni hills lie to the west of present-day Eshowe.
- ³³Mbuyazi was the main rival of Cetshwayo for the Zulu royal succession. Shonkweni was another of Stuart's informants.
- ³⁴Probably in 1824.
- ³⁵Ndulinde is a hill to the north of the lower reaches of the Thukela. Ntunjambili is the Zulu name for Kranskop mountain.
- ³⁶Cf. the accounts in Olden Times, p. 498; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 201.
- ³⁷KwaKhangela was one of the Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ³⁸For other accounts of the circumstances in which Shaka was conceived see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 47-8; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 5, 177-8, 188, vol. 2, pp. 47, 51, 246.
- ³⁹Some traditions maintain that Shaka's mother Nandi married, or lived in the household of, Gendeyana during a period of residence among the Qwabe. Nandi was of the eLangeni people.
- ⁴⁰Later in his evidence the informant Memi gives Dweba as the father, not the son, of Khanyile, and Vumazonke as the son of Khanyile, not of Dweba.
- ⁴¹Ngwadi, a close favourite of Shaka's, was another son of Nandi. His paternity is uncertain.
- ⁴²Nomcoba was Nandi's daughter.
- ⁴³Mpaphala was a locality at the sources of the Matikhulu river. Mavumengwana kaNdlela was chief of a section of the Ntuli people.
- ⁴⁴I.e. Groutville near the lower Mvothi river.
- ⁴⁵The *isibaya esikhulu* (literally, great enclosure) section of a home-
stead consisted of the main house (*indlunkulu*) and its supporting
'right-hand' house (*inqadi* or *iqadi*).
- ⁴⁶On pp. 238 and 240 above the informant gives his father as Nguluzane, a brother of Mbokazi. For explanation of this apparent anomaly see note 'o' to genealogy 'E' on p. 254 above.
- ⁴⁷The verb *ukuphendula* means to change, turn, alter. As used in the present context it denotes the relaxation of the rules prohibiting marriage between collateral lineages within a kinship group.
- ⁴⁸The informant is here discussing the ancestry of the reputed founder of the Zulu chiefly line. Many traditions give Malandela as father

of both Zulu and Qwabe.

⁴⁹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 242, gives *u-Hlangoti (uhlangothi)* as 'one "side" of a regiment, i.e. those who occupied the one or other half of the military-kraal...'. The *izicamelo* (sing. *izicamelo*) were those sections of the men's living-quarters immediately adjacent to the *isigodlo*: see the sketch of Dingane's emGungundlovu *umuzi* in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 340.

⁵⁰Ngidi kaMcikaziswa was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.

⁵¹See pp. 248-9 above.

⁵²Dinya kaZokozwayo was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.

⁵³On the death of Chief Musi (see notes 3 and 15 above) in 1892, the succession was disputed by his sons Meseni and Miso. The Natal government decided the dispute in favour of the latter. Socwatsha kaPhaphu was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.

⁵⁴On p. 243 above the informant gives Ntombikaba as the wife, not the daughter of Godolozzi.

⁵⁵The *isizinda* section of an *umuzi*, although ranked below the other maternal 'houses', provided the son who remained as guardian and chief occupant of the father's homestead on the latter's death.

⁵⁶See pp. 248-9 above.

⁵⁷On Dinya see note 52 above.

⁵⁸The evidence of Mbovu kaMshumayeli appears elsewhere in the present volume of the Stuart Archive.

⁵⁹The name Mbokodewomtshini means 'the grindstone of the machine'.

⁶⁰On p. 243 above the informant gives Ntombikaba as the wife, not the daughter, of Godolozzi.

⁶¹The name derives from the ideophone *golokoqo*, which indicates 'head over heels' or 'somersault'.

⁶²On the *isizinda* see note 55 above.

⁶³*Ukubopha izwi* literally means to tie up the word.

⁶⁴The reference is to events preceding the killing of Retief and his party of Trekkers in February 1838. Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli of the Ntombela people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.

⁶⁵Mzilikazi kaMashobana was chief of the Ndebele. At this time he and his people were living in what is now the western Transvaal.

⁶⁶Jama and Senzangakhona were respectively the grandfather and father of Shaka.

⁶⁷Sokwetshatha was chief of the Mthethwa in the Lower Umfolozi division. He died in 1907 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 85).

⁶⁸The reference is probably to Mpande's attack, made early in 1848, on the Hlubi living under Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu in the north-west of his kingdom.

⁶⁹The rivalry between Mpande's sons, Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, for the succession to the Zulu kingdom culminated in December 1856 in a battle fought at Ndongakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela. Mbuyazi and many of his adherents were killed in the battle, from which Cetshwayo emerged the victor.

⁷⁰Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362, gives *isilomo* as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.

⁷¹*Isisu* means stomach, or bulge. In the present context the word pre-

- sumably refers to one of the two arcs of huts extending from the lower gateway of the *umuzi* to the *isigodlo* section at the top.
- ⁷²Mpande died in 1872.
- ⁷³The reference is to Dingane's flight to the Lubombo mountains after his defeat by Mpande's forces in January 1840 at the amaQongqo hills near present-day Magudu.
- ⁷⁴Dingane was killed by the Nyawo people of Chief Sambane.
- ⁷⁵This passage appears in the original in the upper margin of p. 19. *Izindondo* were round brass beads about an inch in diameter.
- ⁷⁶For Mthambo see note 7 above.
- ⁷⁷John Wesley Shepstone, brother of Theophilus, was employed in the Natal colonial service from 1846, and was Acting Secretary for Native Affairs from 1876 to 1884.
- ⁷⁸I.e. just to the south of the Thukela near its mouth.
- ⁷⁹This sentence, and the one following, occur in the original as insertions in the top margin of the page.
- ⁸⁰Mpande's brother Nzibe died on the Zulu expedition against Soshangane in what is now southern Mozambique in 1828.
- ⁸¹Mnyangombili means double-doored.
- ⁸²Phakade, chief of the Chunu who in the late 1830s settled in the country about the confluence of the Thukela and Mpopfana (Mooi) rivers, died in 1880 (Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 272-3).
- ⁸³This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of the page.
- ⁸⁴On Musi's paternity see note 3 above.
- ⁸⁵Hohlo (Wohlo) was Henry Ogle; Mbuyazwe (Mbuyazi) was Henry Francis Fynn senior. Both were members of the group of white hunter-traders who settled at Port Natal in 1824.
- ⁸⁶Francis Farewell was a leader of the Port Natal hunter-traders. Khamungana was the missionary Captain Allen Gardiner.
- ⁸⁷Dr A. Cowan was a member of an expedition sent from the Cape in 1808 to explore the interior regions of southern Africa. The expedition disappeared without trace after having reached what is now the central Transvaal.
- ⁸⁸We have been unable to determine the meaning of '*Ofe mkozi*'. Cf. *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 176, vol. 2, pp. 45, 97.
- ⁸⁹The assertion that the Ntungwa peoples 'came down' (either from the north or from across the Drakensberg) with or by means of or because of a grain basket is a frequently repeated, but inadequately explained, tradition.
- ⁹⁰For discussion of the term Debe see the reference as for 'Lala' in note 5 above.
- ⁹¹For the meaning of the verb *ukuthethula* see the Glossary to this volume.
- ⁹²Maphitha kaSojiiyisa was head of the Mandlakazi, a lineage collateral with that of the Zulu royal house, and one of the most powerful men in the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁹³Mfanawendlela was one of the thirteen chiefs appointed to rule in Zululand after the war of 1879. Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 220, gives his father as Manzini.
- ⁹⁴Silwane was chief of the Chunu in the Estcourt, Lion's River, New Hanover, Umsinga, Umvoti, and Weenen divisions.
- ⁹⁵Qalizwe was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the *Stuart Archive*.

- ⁹⁶Qalizwe is here giving *izithakazelo* of the Chunu people. The final phrase in the citation literally means 'people of the great horn of the Mgeni'.
- ⁹⁷Mgidlana kaMpande was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears elsewhere in the present volume.
- ⁹⁸The evidence of Ngidi kaMcikaziswa will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁹⁹Ndlela ka Sompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. He is here speaking of Dingane's brother Mpande. Songiya kaNgotsha of the Hlabisa people was the mother of Mpande. *Umsizi* means powdered medicines. At a certain point in the *umkhosi* ceremonies, the chief or king, daubed with *umsizi*, was required to spend the night in a specially prepared hut in the *isigodlo*. There he would be attended by a selected wife, or a girl from the *isigodlo*, with whom he might have intercourse. A child born of the connection was held to be of inferior rank in the chiefly house. Cf. the evidence of Jantshi kaNongila in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 198.
- ¹⁰⁰Bryant, Dictionary, p. 533, gives *umqeku* as 'All the young cattle collectively of a herd, but exclusive of the sucking calves...'.
¹⁰¹Ngqumbazi kaMbonde of the Zungu people was mother of Cetshwayo. KwaKhangela was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- ¹⁰²Mpande's forces defeated those of Dingane in a battle at the amaQongqo hills near Magudu in January 1840. The name ekuWeleni ('at the crossing over') derives from the verb *ukuwela*, to cross over. It presumably refers to Mpande's crossing of the Thukela either when he fled to Natal in September 1839 or when he and his army crossed back into the Zulu country in January 1840 prior to the battle at the amaQongqo.
- ¹⁰³For Nzibe see note 80 above. The relationship here referred to between Mpande and Nozibuku was an *ukungena* one.
- ¹⁰⁴The 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, and to the occupants of those huts (for this usage see note 49 above); on the other, it is used to refer to a 'house' of the *umuzi* distinct from the main house. In the present context it seems that the term is being used in the latter sense.
- ¹⁰⁵This sentence appears in the original in the upper margin of p. 17.
- ¹⁰⁶On the question of Musi's paternity see note 3 above.
- ¹⁰⁷Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone: see note 15 above.
- ¹⁰⁸On the dispute between Meseni and Miso see note 53 above.
- ¹⁰⁹The reference is presumably to S.O. Samuelson, Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1893 to 1909.
- ¹¹⁰The names given in this sentence appear in the original in the upper margin of p. 19. The positioning of the name Ncakazi in the original is such that it could be the name of Miso's mother, or an alias for Sibembana, or the name of a third person.
- ¹¹¹In the Qwabe genealogies previously given by the informant, Mdungazwe is shown as a brother of Meseni.
- ¹¹²For Mbovu see note 8 above.
- ¹¹³Other sources give Mvundlana kaMenziwa as being of the Biyela rather than of the Mdalalose offshoot of the Zulu clan: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 107, vol. 2, pp. 208, 211, 273; Webb and Wright, eds., A Zulu King Speaks, p. 2; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 40.
- ¹¹⁴EsiDumbeni mountain lies near the sources of the Mvoti river. The

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- iNanda hills are to the north-west of present-day Durban. Mqawe kaDabeka was chief of the Qadi people in the Mapumulo, Umgeni, Lower Tugela, Ndwedwe, Impendhle, and Inanda divisions.
- ¹¹⁵'Mungane' (*umngane*) literally means friend. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 418, records that 'e! 'mngane!' was 'a common word of salutation by a man entering the kraal of another'.
- ¹¹⁶Shaka was assassinated at his kwaDukuza *umuzi* on the site of present-day Stanger.
- ¹¹⁷The uThiyane, iChenyane, and umVuthwamini were girls' *amabutho*. The latter two were formed by Shaka.
- ¹¹⁸*Masangomabili* means 'with two gates'. After Shaka's death the Dukuza *umuzi* was successively rebuilt near Dingane's emGungundlovu *umuzi* and Mpande's Nodwengu *umuzi*. This was done to provide a home for Shaka's *idlozi*. See Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 84.
- ¹¹⁹The office referred to was that of the Stanger magistrate: cf. Makewu's evidence in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 161. KwaNyakamubi, where Shaka was killed, was a small *umuzi* adjoining Dukuza.
- ¹²⁰Formed c.1819 of youths born in the late eighteenth century.
- ¹²¹The Ndwandwe attacked Shaka's forces at kwaGqokli hill c.1818. Other sources state that the Ndwandwe were beaten off.
- ¹²²This presumably means that the *intelezi* medicines were carried to Zwide's country to bewitch him.
- ¹²³The Gcongco is a ridge to the south-west of present-day Melmoth overlooking the Mhlathuze river. The Ntumeni hills are to the west of present-day Eshowe. The Mpaphala is a locality at the sources of the Matikhulu river. The inTontela was a Zulu royal *umuzi* that took its name from an *ibutho*. According to others of Stuart's informants this *ibutho* was formed by Jama's son Senzangakhona. In Shaka's time the inTontela *umuzi* came to be located in the south-east of the expanded Zulu kingdom.
- ¹²⁴The amaZulu (amaZuye) stream enters the Mhlathuze from the north some fifteen kilometres north of present-day Eshowe.
- ¹²⁵Ntombazi was Zwide's mother.
- ¹²⁶Sikhunyana led a Ndwandwe attack on the Zulu kingdom in 1826, but, as described by H.F. Fynn in his Diary, pp. 122-8, was defeated by Shaka's forces in a battle at Ndololwane hill north of the upper Phongolo river in what is now the south-eastern Transvaal. The informant seems to be confusing this campaign with the Zulu attack made in 1827 on the Ngome forest stronghold of Bheje kaMagawuzi of the Khumalo people. (For an account of this campaign see Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 88-95.)
- ¹²⁷The informant has previously identified Mbokazi as his father's brother.
- ¹²⁸Mudli kaNkwelo belonged to one of the lineages of the Zulu royal house: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 41.
- ¹²⁹Nkamelwana and Nhlangani were brothers of the informant Memi.
- ¹³⁰This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 9.
- ¹³¹*Umbidli kaSomsewu* ('the multitude of Somsewu') refers to the marriage regulations imposed by the colonial government on Natal's African population in 1869.
- ¹³²Tununu kaNonjiya was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ¹³³The informant is referring to the praises of Phakathwayo which he

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recited for Stuart on 23.10.1904 but which we have omitted.

- ¹³⁴Ngidi kaMcikaziswa was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive. Nongalaza kaNondela was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*. Zulu kaNogandaya was a notable warrior of Shaka's time.
- ¹³⁵Stuart is here presumably referring to evidence given by Cetshwayo to Captain J. Poole after the Anglo-Zulu war during the early stages of his captivity in Cape Town, and published, under the title 'Cetywayo's story of the Zulu nation and the war', in Macmillan's Magazine in February 1880. See p. 3 of this article as reprinted in Webb and Wright, eds., A Zulu King Speaks.
- ¹³⁶Mkhebeni kaDabulamanzi was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears elsewhere in this volume.
- ¹³⁷Shingana was a son of Mpande and another of Stuart's informants; his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ¹³⁸Cetshwayo's mother Ngqumbazi is given by most other sources as being of the Zungu people.
- ¹³⁹See the previous note.
- ¹⁴⁰Pixley kaIsaka Seme was a Natal-born lawyer who had studied in the United States and Britain. He played a prominent part in the foundation in 1912 of the South African Native National Congress (later the African National Congress), and remained active in political life until the 1930s. He was an acquaintance of Stuart's, who recorded some brief statements from him: these will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive. The 'g.' in the present context may possibly mean 'given by'.