

A. T. BRYANT

*The Zulu
People*

AS THEY WERE
BEFORE
THE WHITE MAN CAME

The author came to South Africa as a missionary in 1883, and in the course of the ensuing sixty years gained for himself the reputation of being the greatest authority on the Zulus that South Africa has yet produced. His Zulu-English Dictionary, published in 1903, and "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal", published in 1929, are already classical works of reference.

"The Zulu People" is by far his most ambitious work: it is indeed his life's work, in that its material was collected over the years 1883 to 1935, largely by personal contact with the Zulus themselves (including those then living who were related or close to Shaka, Dingane and Mpande) and supported by research into the writings of hundreds of early authorities, travellers, explorers, missionaries, adventurers, etc. The finished book is a veritable mine of information, and is unquestionably the most exhaustive work that has been so far produced on the Nguni Bantu—from whom, of course, the Zulu people are stemmed.

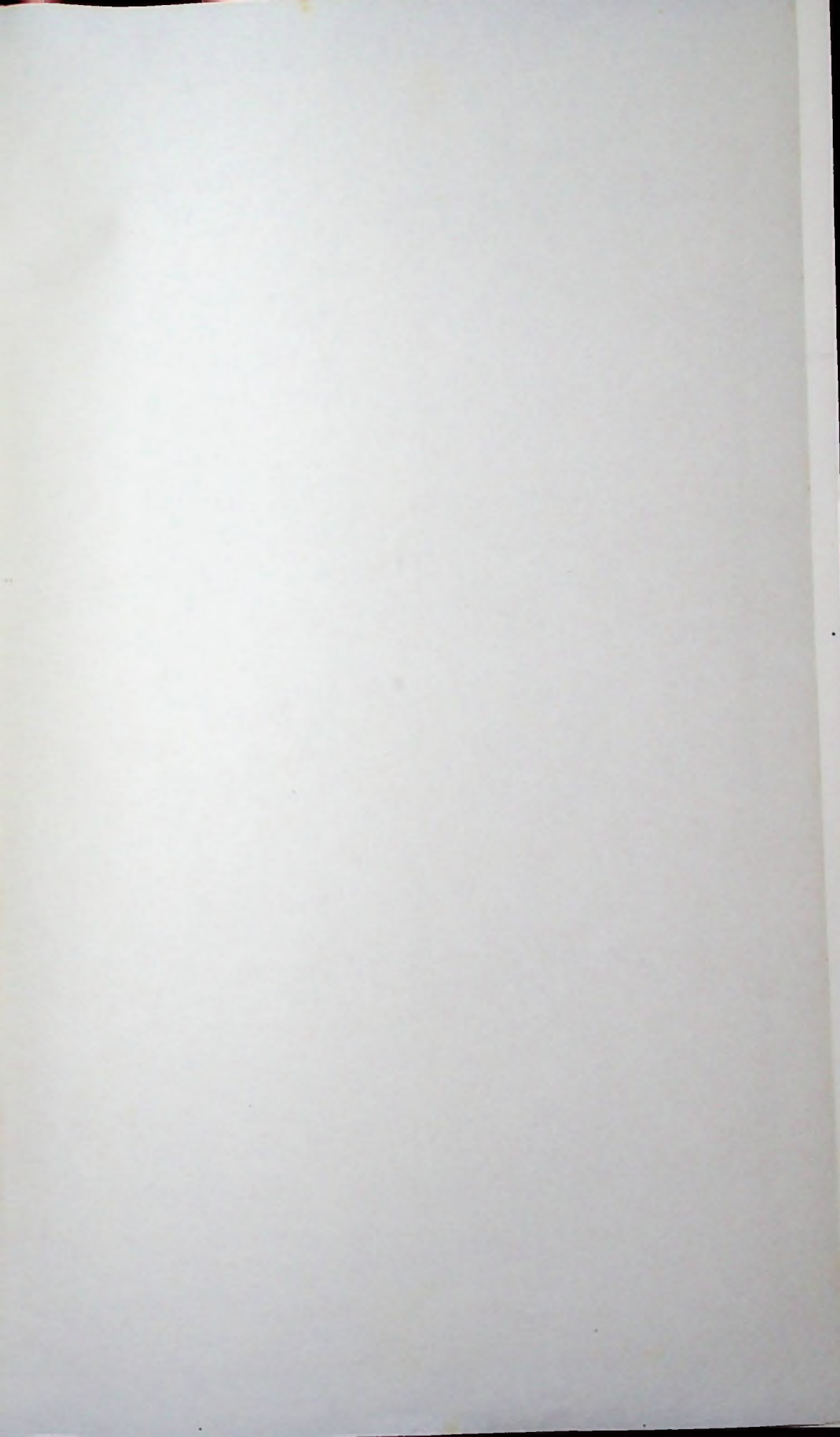
Dr. Bryant dedicates his book to "The Zulu people, my lifelong companions and friends".

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A. T. BRANT

THE ZULU PEOPLE

THE ZULU PEOPLE

AS THEY WERE BEFORE
THE WHITE MAN CAME



SHUTER AND SHOOTER - PETERMARTZBURG

THE ZULU PEOPLE

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A. T. BRYANT

D. Litt.

THE ZULU PEOPLE

AS THEY WERE BEFORE
THE WHITE MAN CAME



SHUTER AND SHOOTER • PIETERMARITZBURG

A. T. BRYANT

D. Litt.

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(Produced by photo-lithography)

AS THEY WERE BEFORE
THE WHITE MAN CAME



SHUTER AND SHOOTER-PIETERMARITZBURG

A Brief Biography of the Author.

A

FAREWELL TRIBUTE

to the

ZULU PEOPLE,

My

Life-long Companions and Friends

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A. J. BROWN

THE
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TO THE
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Life-long Companions and Friends

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A Brief Biography of the Author.

The author of this work, the Rev. Dr. A. T. Bryant, was born in London, on February 26th, 1865. He was educated at the Birbeck Literary and Scientific Institute, which later, as Birbeck College, came to be affiliated with the University of London.

In 1883 Dr. Bryant migrated to Natal where he associated himself with the then recently established Mission Station at Mariannahill. Here he inaugurated mission work amongst the surrounding Natives and opened their first boys' boarding school.

In 1887 he visited Europe and was ordained as priest at the church of St. John of Lateran (the Cathedral Church of Rome). Ordained by the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, he was privileged to read his first mass on the high altar of St. Peter's, a sequence of happenings almost unique for a young priest.

On his return to South Africa he spent three years amongst the Xhosas and Thembus of the Transkei, but returned in 1896 to Zululand. He was given permission by the British Resident to establish a mission station on the oNgoye Range between the Mlalazi and Mhlathuze Rivers. At this station he lived and laboured amongst the Zulus for many years, and from them acquired much of the information contained in this book.

Dr. Bryant is probably best known as the author of his Zulu-English Dictionary, an outstanding work of more than 20,000 entries, published in 1903. In addition to this, however, his literary output has been considerable. Besides divers small works, written in Zulu, on a number of religious and educational subjects, of which perhaps "*Ukuphila Kwomzimba*" (The Health of the Body) and "*Imisebenzi Yamapulazi*" (The Work of the Farms) may be singled out, he was the author of a monogram on "The Zulu Medicine Man" published by the Natal Government Museum in Pietermaritzburg, and also of a pamphlet on "Zulu Foodstuffs and Their Preparation" printed by the Native Affairs Department. He also published an English-Zulu "Word-Book" of some 11,000 entries.

In 1920 he was appointed Lecturer in Bantu Studies in the University of Witwatersrand, a post which he held for three years. On relinquishing this work he wrote his "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal", an historical survey of the tribes of Natal and Zululand, which was published in 1929.

The present work, the cumulative effort of over fifty years, was completed in 1935, but for various reasons was not published until now. It is regarded by the author as his *magnum opus*. It is probably the most exhaustive work on Zulu civilisation so far produced.

In recognition of the original and distinguished work which Dr. Bryant had done in the fields of Zulu literature and language, the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him by the University of South Africa in May, 1939.

At present Dr. Bryant is living in retirement in England.

H. C. LUGG.

PREFACE

The importance of this work may not be fully realized at the present moment ; but its lasting value will be better appreciated a hundred years hence, when Native-born historians, then beginning to emerge, will be highly thankful for our having herein put on permanent record this account of the simple civilisation of their forefathers.

Of the Bantu tribes swarming in their hundreds down and across the African continent, it has been the unhappy fate of all, save perhaps not more than half a dozen, that nobody deemed it worth his while before too late to seek out and record the Story of their Past. Alas ! that story has now passed away into utter oblivion and become irretrievably lost.

Our Zulus have been among the more fortunate few. More than fifty years of our lifetime have been spent in close association with those people and have been continuously devoted to the investigation of their past history and to the observation of their present life, physical and social, mental and moral. And this book contains the results of some of those labours.

By the term, 'Zulus', we herein mean, not only the small original Zulu 'clan', but rather the much greater Zulu 'nation' built up by the conquests of the Zulu chieftain, Shaka, and comprising the whole body of Nguni Bantu then occupying the country we now call Zululand. The term, therefore, does not include the Lala and Embo Ngunis of Natal (and still less the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape) ; all of whom had their own language, customs and history, differing considerably from that of Zululand.

The whole of the information contained in this book was collected by the author between the years 1883 to 1935. Throughout that period he had as his neighbours and daily companions (especially during the earlier years) many men and women who had been born and lived during the reign of Shaka himself (d. 1828)—one of whose actual sisters he personally met—and still more who had lived throughout the reigns of Dingane (d. 1840), Mpande (d. 1872)—from one of whose daughters and several of whose sons much of our information was obtained—and Cetshwayo (d. 1884). Throughout the whole time of our sojourn among them, the daily life of the Zulu people had continued practically unaltered (in its fundamental aspects) since the days of Shaka (indeed, since long before his time), and, in the main, it had so remained until about the year 1900, when the government of Zululand was taken over by Natal, and the first White settlers were permitted to enter the country, and so to disturb and destroy the ancient life of its Native inhabitants.

The book here before us deals with the life of the Zulu people 'before the Whiteman came,' that is, roughly until the year 1900. From the latter year onwards, many of the younger men (of 20 to 30 years of age), who had previously remained in their kraals, now commenced to leave their homes to work for money in the labour centres of Durban and Johannesburg, as well as on the farmlands of Zululand. All which has resulted in the engraftment upon or the omission from the older Zulu life of so much that is new and foreign to it, that much of the matter contained in this work will, to the younger generations, be absolutely unknown; while other habits and customs now quite common and natural to them will find no place whatever in this book: a fact which our European readers must ever keep in mind.

It is to be understood that our personal claim to accuracy of statement or interpretation does not extend beyond the boundaries of our own *Zulu field*. For the rest, our knowledge is, not always and wholly indeed, but in the main second-hand and dependant on the accuracy of our informants, either verbally or through their writings. However, in regard to those informants, we have always endeavoured to confine ourselves to such only as appeared to be themselves reliable authorities within their own fields.

Readers, again, must clearly understand that certain details of more ancient history suggested by us in Chapter I (as, for instance, the *date* of the southward migration of the Nguni group of Bantu peoples, the *size* of the then Nguni population, and other such points), though reasonably based on other well known facts, are themselves purely *guesswork* on our part and have no further value.

In order to secure that our subject be treated as comprehensively as possible, we have compared our *Index* here with that in the official guide-book of the Royal Anthropological Institute of London, namely, their *Notes and Queries*; and it will be found, we believe, that no point mentioned in the latter list has remained undealt with here, that is, if the Zulu had anything at all to tell us on the subject. Absence from our *Index* of any particular point may therefore be taken as indicating the absence of such a matter from Zulu life.

We have not found it always possible to avoid a certain amount of repetition, the same point constantly cropping up in different connections. Thus the matter of *Names* had to be touched upon when dealing with *Birth Customs*; again when treating on *Daily Life*; and once more when describing the *Family* and *State Organization*. Whenever desirous of covering the whole range of any such subject, the reader should consult the *Index*.

This book is, mainly, a work of reference and information; a record of the older system of Zulu life and custom (now rapidly passing away into obsolescence and oblivion) for the enlightenment of those seeking knowledge thereon. Again, the book is written, not solely to serve the purposes of anthropological and ethnological students (which, of course, it also does), but also to meet the tastes and requirements of that much larger public which comprises missionaries, Government officials, Native overseers, farmers and other such, who, though uninterested in the science of the subject, are nevertheless just as deeply interested as are the scientists in the life and history of the Native people amidst whom they live and work. Belonging ourselves to that greater public, we know exactly what it wants and likes; and it is to meet that particular need, that we have taken a broader view of our subject, and in its treatment included many subsidiary facts and observations not customarily found in works descriptive of some specific primitive people.

Our personal experience has been that many of the Zulu customs and beliefs contain something more than a 'mere local fact', some valuable and instructive lesson, historical or ethnological, which leads a thoughtful reader far beyond the tiny confines of the solely Zulu field and of these present times. By tracing the apparently simple, and otherwise meaningless, Zulu practices back down the ages, and over into the wider world of other peoples, we oftentimes found, not only that we thereby doubly increased our personal interest in and understanding of the general subject, but also that we thereby conferred upon the local facts themselves a meaning and a value which previously they did not possess. Such, then, is our apology for those frequent digressions (which the reader will constantly notice for himself) into the more expansive field of *Comparative ethnology*. Whatever the more rigidly conventional ethnologists may think of this 'unorthodox' procedure, we are content to believe that the vast majority of our readers will appreciate the more extended vision our treatment offers, and feel profited by the consequently widened range of knowledge and understanding.

We conclude with an expression of heartfelt thankfulness to that vast body of humble Natives who so generously supplied us with most of the information herein contained ; and, among other helpers, we must make special mention of Mr. Carl Faye, of the Native Affairs Department, who, in a most kindly manner all his own, so considerately and considerably lightened our labours in the preparation of this book. For its publication, both the general public and ourselves are mainly indebted to the self-sacrificing activities and long-sustained efforts of Miss Killie Campbell (of Durban) and Mr. D. McK. Malcolm (of the University of Natal) ; without whose kindly aid publication would most probably never have been achieved. Other influential helpers were principally, the late Dr. L. Hertslet (of Cape Town), Mr. H. C. Lugg (of Maritzburg), The Hon. D. G. Shepstone (Administrator of Natal) and Members of the Executive Committee of the Natal Provincial Council : finally Mr. C. A. Roy of Messrs. Shuter and Shooter, publishers of this work. To each and all of these kind helpers and friends, these few words will never suffice fully to express our present feeling of deep and lasting gratitude.

THE AUTHOR

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The
ZULU PEOPLE
Before the Whiteman Came

Chapter 1

*The Zulus set out from Nyanzaland 500 Years ago**

Following in the footsteps of Junod, we tell the Tale of another South African Tribe, and describe the Life-scheme of THE ZULU PEOPLE, as they were BEFORE THE WHITEMAN CAME.

The Zulus are a people without a written Past. Only one hundred and fifty years ago, and we find ourselves back in their Prehistoric Age, with their earlier record almost as unknown and undiscoverable as that of man before his birth.

Picture for a moment a European world possessed neither of written record nor archæological remains. Sumer and Egypt, Greece and Rome, might then (to us) have never been ; Plato might have taught and Shakespeare dreamed in vain ; acquired knowledge had never been preserved, nor been dispersed ; all human thought, experience and worthy deed had been completely obliterated in oblivion ; Redemption had remained unknown, and Revelation been forgotten or distorted.

In such a benighted state were the Zulu people when, little more than a century back (1824), the first Whiteman came. And that is why, both here and elsewhere, we have striven to save, before too late, such little as is still retrievable of ancient Zulu life and lore.

The African NEGRO race occupies practically the whole of the African continent south of the Sahara—to the north of the latter living various peoples of the Caucasian 'Mediterranean' race.

* By 'Nyanzaland' we mean the Uganda-Kenya region.

Three great divisions of this Negro race are recognizable as mutually distinct, geographically, linguistically and, in a degree, also physically, namely, the SUDANESE (inhabiting the Sudan), the BANTU (inhabiting most of the continent south of the Sudan), and the GUINEA (intermediate between the two, and inhabiting West Africa from the Cameroons to Senegal).

It is the Bantu division alone that interests us here, because to it the Zulu people belong.

The basic unit in the Bantu *social* system (at least among those Bantu with whom we are here concerned) is, not the individual, nor yet, strictly speaking, the Family, but the *Family-head*, the Paterfamilias, he being universally recognized as the lowest self-determining element within the body-politic—wives and offspring being simply his 'property'.

But the basic unit in the Bantu *political* system is, not the Family or Family-head, but the *Clan*. A clan was simply a magnified family, consisting of the progeny of a common ancestor (who had lived, at most, about 400 years ago, and often less than 200), settled together under the chieftainship of that clan-founder's heir. Such a clan was the *Zulu*.

An aggregation of kindred clans, all of the same origin, speaking the same language (or dialects thereof), practising similar customs, and (in former times) settled contiguously together, but with each clan separately governed by its own independent chieftain, formed what may be called a *Clan-Family* (i.e. a Family of Clans) or, if you will, a *Tribe*. Such a Clan-Family or Tribe was that of the *Ngunis* (*Z. abaNguni*),* of which the Zulu clan was a member.

The whole mass of such Clan-Families or Tribes (each of them originating, may-be, half a millenium ago), all of them speaking some variation of the same ancient mother-tongue, and possessing social and political systems having much in common, constitutes what we have called the *Bantu division* of the *Negro race*.

* The sign ' over some vowels in Zulu words does *not* indicate a stressing of that syllable (the stress-accent is always on the word's penult), but that the *preceding consonant* is of the *strong* variety, i.e. is forcibly ejected.

Instead of this sign, the insertion of an *h* after the consonant is nowadays substituted ; thus, *ūThango*, *ngaPhandle*, etc.

The Zulus, whose habits of life we propose to describe in this book, were, until a century or more ago (up to about 1818), a comparatively insignificant clan (within the Nguni clan-family) resident in the central part (about the Mkumbane and Mpembeni streams) of what is now called Zululand.¹ They were known as the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-who-are-of-Zulu, i.e. the offspring or family of Zulu). This latter was a local 'prince' who, after his father's death (somewhen during the 17th century), left the parental kraal (recently arrived, from the Transvaal region, in the country to the south of the middle Mhlatuze) and, with his mother, removed further inland, where, upon a then unoccupied, basin-like plain encircled by hills, he built himself an independent kraal, and there, with the help of his wives, proceeded to give birth to a brand-new and independent clan, of which his heirs have remained chieftains until this day.

At the beginning of the 19th century, however, the clan's chieftain, Shaka by name, chanced to be a sort of genius, gifted at once with insatiable political ambition and extraordinary martial ability. Within a few years he had conquered most of his own corner of South-eastern Africa and united the proceeds into one great 'nation', despite the varied clanship of its constituent members; which also henceforth became known as the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-of-Zulu, though no longer wholly his own offspring or family). Fortunately, however, it happened that all these incorporated oddments chanced to belong to the one same ethnologic 'family' of Ngunis.

When, then, we enquire, what and where these Zulu people may have been prior to these comparatively recent happenings (that is, prior to the birth of the man, Zulu, and prior to the coming of his parents into Zululand), the answer is, that the earlier stages of Zulu history must be sought in the earlier history of the Nguni group of Bantu clans; for the story of Zulu origins and that of Nguni origins is one. That is why we shall devote this first chapter of our book to a consideration of that very fundamental subject, of Nguni origins.

Now, this Nguni family of Bantu Negroes (in their own language they called themselves, as said, *abaNguni*, E. Ngunis), already in Shaka's time (the beginning of last century), was in occupation of the whole region comprising modern Zululand,

Natal and Kaffraria (eastern portion of the Cape). But they were comparatively recent arrivals there. A couple of centuries earlier, they had lived further inland, in some part of the country now known as the Transvaal. We will therefore betake ourselves to that country, and see whether local tradition may tell us anything of the Ngunis' past.

Nowadays, the whole of the Transvaal territory is inhabited by a type of Bantu quite different from the Ngunis down along the South-east African coast. They call themselves not *abaNguni*, but *baSutu* (E. Sutus). This name, Sutu, properly covers, not only (as some Europeans suppose) the Natives of Basutoland, but also those resident in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland (this latter section, in more recent times, having become distinguished by a second name, of *beChwana* or Chwanas). Though the language spoken throughout the Sutu field is fundamentally one, it is nowadays spoken in two slightly differing dialects, of which the southern (in use in Basutoland) is (by Europeans) commonly referred to simply as 'Sutu', while the northern (in use in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland) is called 'Chwana'. These two linguistically divided groups, of Northern and Southern Sutus, constitute together one same Bantu 'family', entirely distinct from the Ngunis in origin, customs and speech, to wit, the *Sutu* family.

But, curious to relate, within the very body of this Sutu family, we meet with *certain* clans (mostly located in the north-western Transvaal and Bechuanaland) who call themselves, not only *baSutu* (Sutus), but also *baKoni* (Konis)—an appellation which the remaining Sutu clans repudiate, declaring that they are not, and never have been, Konis. Further, besides the dialectical differences in their speech, there are also some notable differences between the customs of the two groups; that is, certain important national customs exist among the Northern (or Chwana) clans, where the Konis are numerous, of which the Southern (or non-Chwana) clans seem to know nothing. And yet nowadays both groups, Northern and Southern, equally claim to be Sutus. How did this division in the family come about? Whence came this intruding name of 'Konis'? And what does that name imply? The answer is supplied to us by the tradition of the coastal Nguni folk; which informs us that the present-day Chwanaland is, in reality, none other than the original Nguniland. Wherefore it now becomes clear that the

Konis up there and the *Ngunis* on the coast possess but two variations of the one same tribal-name, and the two peoples are of identical origin ; despite the fact that, since their separation, the *Konis*, by prolonged association and intermarriage with the later intruding 'foreign' tribe, have already become almost completely 'Sutuized'.

And yet the inland *Konis* themselves know nothing of all this—the story of their origins has become submerged beneath their Sutuization, and become long lost in oblivion. "No living Mochuana," writes the Rev. J. T. Brown,² "seems able to give account either of the time when, or the circumstances under which, the Bechuana of long ago branched off from the parent trunk, or separated from some already branched-off stem of the great Bantu race. The most learned of them do not seem able to trace back their history beyond a few centuries."

So wrote the Rev. Brown in the year 1920 ; and for the guidance of the younger generations of Bantu students, we would here draw attention to a fact to be remembered. So long as the Bantu clans, Sutu as well as Nguni, remained independent and intact, and the ancient scheme of Native life survived, the Bantu people cherished a keen interest in their tribal affairs and preserved a considerable knowledge of past tribal history. But this peaceful era came to an abrupt conclusion with the wide-spread activities of the Zulu conquerors, Shaka, Mzilikazi and Dingane. The horde of Nguni fugitives led by Mzilikazi,³ so early as the year 1820, over-ran the Chwana-Koni domain of the northern Transvaal, destroying or dispersing every clan there dwelling. Then, a few years later (1831), the emigrant Boers trekked up from the Cape, drove Mzilikazi northwards and annexed the unoccupied Transvaal country, and so prevented all further clan reunion, and ensured the final disappearance into oblivion of all old clan traditions. On the other hand, among the Nguni clans of Zululand conditions continued more stable. The collapse of *their* independence did not eventuate until 50 years later ; when, after the Zulu War (1879), the British seized their country, but allowed their old Native life and customs to continue (in the main) unaltered until the beginning of this present century, when Zululand was taken over by Natal and opened for the first time to colonization by Europeans. Consequently a great deal of ancient Native lore was there still recoverable from the older Natives (survivors

of the actual Shakan period) by such earlier European pioneers as (like this present writer, from 1883 onwards) cared to seek for it.

Fortunately, however, the Transvaal Sutus (or Chwanas) had earlier investigators than Brown, in the persons of Moffat and Stow. Stow was not only a distinguished geologist, but also one of the foremost of South African ethnologists. As an exploring scientist of the highest rank, he was a person trained to careful observation and accurate recording, and this characteristic accompanied him also in his ethnological researches. Further, he embarked upon these latter so early as the year 1843, and so had the advantage of conversing with a large body of Natives of the older regime, whom his successors were not lucky enough to meet. In the preface to Stow's great work,⁴ Theal writes: "The accuracy of his accounts of the Barolong and Bakwena tribes I can myself confirm, as, independent of researches in books and records, I was on several occasions directed by the High Commissioner, Lord Loch, to investigate territorial claims between rival chiefs of those branches of the Bantu family, and have been for weeks together engaged in taking evidence from the disputants, their counsellors and antiquaries, upon their history as far back as tradition reached, which I find correctly given in these pages."

In the body of the work itself, Stow writes:⁵ "The term, Bakone or Bakoni, which has been applied to them [the Bakwena], has been considered by some as a term of reproach, and of Kaffir [i.e. Nguni] origin, being an appellation bestowed upon them by the latter people, who looked with contempt upon the less warlike character of the interior tribes than that of themselves. Mr. Arbousset states that he has heard that the denomination of Bakoni was applied without distinction by the Kaffirs [i.e. Ngunis] to all the coloured people they had known; that of Basutu, to the Bachoana in general; and the name Baroa, to the Bushman race. Moffat appears more correctly to confine the title [Bakoni] to the group of the Bakuena; while we shall find as we proceed that the term, Basutu, was applied exclusively to those clans which represent the Southern Bakuena [i.e. the pure and original Sutus, or non-Konis, inhabiting the southern Transvaal, Orange Free State and Basutoland]. The Bushmen on the other hand called the Bachoana and Basutu collectively by the name 'Ku, while they

designated the Coast Kaffirs [i.e. Ngunis] '*Tolo*, and themselves '*Khuai* and '*Khuai-khuai*."

"Fortunately," continues Stow, "the connection between the various branches of this [Bakoni] group has been preserved," [—here in a footnote he adds: "The merit of this is largely due to the energy of the Rev. Roger Price, who upon being written to by the author for information, at once applied himself to the collection of this valuable addition to the tribal history of South Africa."—], "which enables us to follow out our enquiry with considerable precision. We will therefore do so under the following heads, viz.:—

1. The Bahurutsi.
2. The Batlaru.
3. The Bamangwato.
4. The Batauana.
5. The Bangwaketse.
6. The Bakuena."

Continuing, Stow says :⁶ "The old Bakuena nation [whether Sutus, or Ngunis, is not clear] came down from the north, and passed through the country in a south-easterly direction until they came to a river which they called the Likwa or Lekwa (the upper Vaal); that near this some of their clans separated from the main body, which again turned their faces towards the north [perhaps the Koni-Ngunis], until they reached the central and western portions of the present Transvaal, where all the great branches of their nation settled."

In another place, Stow says :⁷ "It is evident that the siboko [i.e. clan-name] of the ancient stem was the Kuena or Crocodile, even before the lifetime of the chief, Kuena, the special founder of the Bakuena proper." And again :⁸ "Although the national symbol [Kwena, crocodile] ceased to be the special emblem of their tribe, it is quite certain that the Bahurutsi rulers were still acknowledged as the paramount chiefs of all the others, with the exception of the representative Bakuena."

Some further pertinent remarks, corroborating much of what has been said by Stow above, were penned by J. B. Hicks, a much more recent researcher on the same field. He says :⁹ "The Bahurutsi tribe is an offshoot of the Bakwena, which in the 18th century was the name given to all the people whose chiefs traced their descent from Mogale, though each tribe was

politically independent of the other. The 'siboko' of the Bakwena was the crocodile, and each offshoot of the main tribe adopted an additional totem. In course of time the original crocodile 'siboko', in some instances, was forgotten. Offshoots of the original Bakwena tribe are the Bamangwato, whose 'siboko' was the small duiker antelope, and whose later ruler was the celebrated Khama (the Sechuana name for 'hartebeest'); the Batawana; the Bakatla (whose totem was the monkey); the Bangwaketse; the present Bakwena tribe; and the Bahurutsi. In the old days the Bahurutsi was the highest in rank of all the Bakwena tribes, since its chief, Mohurutsi, was the direct descendant, in the main line, from Mogale. On page 45 of Dr. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, he mentions that the other tribes would not begin to eat the early pumpkins of a new crop until they heard that the Bahurutsi had 'bitten it' . . . The Bakwena tribes used to occupy not only the eastern border of the Kalahari desert, where their descendants are today, but the entire territory between the Vaal River and the Zoutpansberg eastward to the range of mountains that bounds the interior plain." To this we might add, that Livingstone (in Chap. X of the same work) explicitly distinguishes the *Konis* from the *Sutus*, and further cites a number of the Koni tribes, of which the *baKwena* are one.

Sifting out this evidence, the following points stand out conspicuous as Native traditions and beliefs in earlier times, and are to be particularly noted :—

1. That the 'Kaffirs' [i.e. the Zulu-Xosa Ngunis], in the first half of last century, applied the appellation, *abaNgini*, also to certain 'interior tribes' (Stow).

2. That the missionary, Moffat, who laboured in those 'interior parts' during the same period, 'more correctly confined the title, *baKoni*, [in Zulu-Xosa speech, *abaNgini*] to the group of the *baKwena*' (Stow).

3. That the name, *baKwena*, 'was in the 18th century given to all people whose chiefs traced their descent from Mogale' (Hicks).

4. That the 'old *baKwena* nation came from the north; passed through the country in a south-easterly direction; reached and tarried by a river called the *liKwa* (Vaal); that there some of their clans separated from the remainder, and

again retraced their steps back northwards ; and reached the central and western portions of the present Transvaal, where all the great branches of the baKwena nation settled' (Stow).

5. That there, in the central and western Transvaal, that baKwena nation itself, in course of time, broke up into divers independent clans.

6. That these clans were, according to Price and Stow, the baHurutsi, the baTlaru, the baMangwato, the baTawana, the baNgweketse, and the present baKwena.

7. That, therefore, the 'old baKwena nation' had been so called 'even before the lifetime of the chief, Kwena, the special founder of the [present day] baKwena proper' (Stow).

8. That, according to Livingstone, of all the branches of the baKwena nation the baHurutsi branch was the chief ; and, according to Stow, 'the baHurutsi rulers were still acknowledged as the paramount chiefs of all others, with the exception of the representative baKwena'.

When, therefore, some present-day authorities on Native history would tell us that any so-called 'baKoni', nowadays found resident in the Transvaal and thereabouts, are merely the descendants of 'Zulus' fleeing from Shaka (only 20 years before Moffat and Stow's time !), we dare to dissent, and prefer to rely upon the information supplied, 100 years ago, by the competent investigators just mentioned. These had the unique advantage of personal intercourse with the older 'pre-European' members of the tribes ; with the result that *they* heard nothing from them of this quite modern and quite gratuitous assumption of a 'Zulu' origin of the baKoni. For instance, according to Stow, Moffat 'explicitly confined' the term, 'baKoni' to the 'baKwena' ; and everybody acquainted with Sutu history knows that, among the local Natives, the baKwena are universally recognized as one of the oldest of 'Sutu' tribes.

If the 'Kaffirs', as Stow asserts, called certain 'interior tribes' anything at all, it must have been 'abaNgúni' ; for 'baKoni' (Stow's word) is plainly a 'Sutu' expression, and 'Kaffirs' [Zulu-Xosa Ngunis] could speak only in terms of their own language, wherein a Sutu *K* always becomes transformed into a Zulu *Ng* (witness Sutu *Ke*, I ; Zulu *Ngi*, I).

And if the 'Kaffirs' called certain 'interior tribes' *abaNgúni*, we may rest assured that they *were* *abaNgúni* ; for everyone

familiar with the 'Kaffir' mentality and prejudices will know how extremely jealous those people are of their own tribal-names, and how utterly impossible it were for any Zulu-Xosa man to apply his own tribal-name to any mere '*umSutu*' or other 'foreigner', whom he always regards as inferior to himself.

And if those 'interior tribes', which the Kaffirs called '*abaNguni*' were (as Moffat and Stow, our earliest authorities, distinctly declare) the baKwena, baHurutsi, baMangwato and the rest, who, knowing anything of *Zulu* history, could ever assert that such tribal-names were ever existent among the people of Zululand ; whence, some tell us, they were derived ?

Turn now to paragraph marked 4 above. There you will note how Stow (who was probably quite unaware that the Zulu-Xosa 'Kaffirs' also called themselves 'Konis'—or, in their particular language, 'Ngunis') distinctly states that the migrating Bantu horde 'came down from the north' and moved in a 'south-easterly direction' ; and that when they had reached 'a river called the liKwa (Vaal)', 'some of the clans separated from the remainder', and went back northwards. But what became of that abandoned 'remainder' ? Certainly they did not remain permanently on the Vaal. No ; they continued on their course, 'in a south-easterly direction'.

Passing away from the upper Vaal (where the Koni-Nguni ancestors are said first to have settled on their migration from the north) and travelling onwards in a south-easterly direction, we shall soon find ourselves in a broad strip of lowland country, of mixed grassland and woodland, stretching along the coastal area by the Indian Ocean from St. Lucia Bay in the north to the Kei River in the south, inhabited by Bantu people, all of whom call themselves *abaNguni*.

Furthermore, we shall find that these Ngunis distinguish within themselves several minor sub-divisions, of which the principal were (and still are), 1. a *Ntungwa* clan-group (whose home was in modern Zululand) ; 2. a *Xosa* group (wholly in the Cape) ; 3. a *Lala* group (mainly in Natal) ; and 4. an *Embo* group (mainly in upper Natal and Swaziland).

Before proceeding to tell you our own opinion about these several sorts of Ngunis, let us hear, first of all, what they have say about themselves, and, secondly, what the oldest written

records (namely, those of the early Portuguese) report about them.

Taking the first group first, the abaNtungwa clans are those which, within the historic period, have dwelt mostly in the upper or more inland parts of Zululand, and therefore nearest to the old Transvaal home (and present-day Sutu domain). They assert that they entered their present country 'from the west', from a land (now quite unknown to them) which they call '*ebuNgúni*' (Nguniland); secondly, that they came down from there 'on account of the *isiLulu* (i.e. their large grain-storing basket)' and that they 'followed after the grasshoppers' (i.e. locusts—their actual words being *s-EhlangesiLulu*; *sa-Landela iziNtete*). In proof of this rather cryptic statement (considered further on), they point to the actual *isiLulu* baskets still a regular piece of their kraal furniture.

The second or amaXhosa group, now located in the Cape, tells us (like the preceding Ntungwas of Zululand) that they too 'came from the west', from a place which they also call '*ebuNgúni*' (Nguniland); and secondly that, when coming southwards, they passed through East Griqualand, and so forward towards the coast and lower Kei River.

The third (amaLala) and fourth (abaMbo) groups, both now mainly in Natal, likewise agree together in the account of their migration, namely, that they came down to their present settlements, not 'from the west' (as the two preceding groups had stated), but 'from the north-east (*eNyakató*)' that is, from the direction of Portuguese East Africa; secondly, that, in doing so, they passed along the Lubombo range of hills (marking the eastern frontier of modern Swaziland); and, lastly, that they (at any rate, the abaMbo half of them) had once sojourned a while on a certain *iNkomati* river (no longer known to them, but said to be somewhere to the north of the Lubombo hills). And these two groups too brought with them the proof of their wanderings, in the fact that their present speech was no longer pure Nguni, but contained quite an appreciable quantum of 'Tonga' sounds and words—these Tongas (*amaTónga*) being that East African Bantu family resident in Portuguese East Africa, and next adjoining the Lalas and Embos to their north.

With that, the reader has about the sum-total of the major facts or traditions still extractable from the oldest of recently

living Ngunis. Now let us see in how far written history can enlighten us.

The earliest record of any use to us, as bearing on these Nguni people, is that found in an account by the Portuguese Manuel de Faria a Sousa, contained in a book entitled *Portuguese Asia*.¹⁰ Alas! it is hardly more illuminating than are the Native traditions themselves.

The date is about the year 1589 A.D. And this is the layout of the land and its people at that time from Delagoa Bay to the south. Northwards of the 'kingdom of Virangune', we are told, 'is that of Inhaca'. Here, then, in Inhaca we start with the first firm foot-hold on solid ground. This 'Inhaca', we believe, is the Portuguese rendering of the Native name, *iNyaka* (or something similar), of the island that guards the entrance to the bay of Delagoa. The name, as it stands (and undoubtedly stood, when the early Portuguese historian recorded it) looks to us more like a Nguni than a Tonga (i.e. Tembe or Ronga) word, which latter, we think, would have taken the form rather of *Mwaka*; and consequently it makes us surmise that the migrating Ngunis (probably Lalas) may have been in possession of that island and the neighbouring coast at the date above cited.

Southwards of Inhaca, we are next informed, lay 'the country of the Fumos', which means, we take it, country in which the Chiefs were called by the Tonga term, *muFumo* (as distinct from the Nguni term, further to the south, of *iNkosi*). We know from the history of the Tembe Tongas that it was they who, at the time (1589) stated, were in possession of the country (or some of it) around and immediately south of Delagoa Bay. And the Tembes belonged, not to the Nguni, but to the Tonga family of Bantu, the *Fumo*-using people (see Author's *O.T.*, 288).

But this country of the *Fumos*, it is said, rather strangely, belonged to 'the king of the Virangune'. We can find nothing in Tonga history that might help us to 'place' this tribal-name (as it obviously is) of 'Virangune'. What we do know is that, immediately adjoining the Tembe Tongas on their south, all the country (viz. that lying between the Lubombo hills and the sea) was at that period in the occupation of certain 'Nguni' clans. Whence we conclude that by 'king of the Virangune' was meant 'king of the abaNguni'; for, you must know, in Tonga

speech a Nguni *b* often becomes changed into a *v*; whence 'abaNguni' would there become 'vaNguni'. Careless rendering by ignorant Portuguese scribes or printers might easily account for 'vaNguni' becoming changed to 'viraNgune'.

The Portuguese narrative tells us, again, that the Natives who dwelt southwards of the *Fumo*-using Tongas (who themselves, as just said, were settled in the country that belonged to the 'king of the Virangune') were called 'Macomatos'. The latitude given for this Macomato domain is 27° 20' S., which is precisely the region we have just cited, namely, that situated between the Lubombo hills and the sea. The Nguni clans who, we know, resided in that neighbourhood about that period belonged, not to the Ntungwa or the Xosa, but to the Embo group of the family; and this particular group is it which tells us that, prior to coming down to the Lubombo region, they had sojourned by a certain river much further north, which they called the *iNkomati*—a river still retaining that name, and being a tributary of the Crocodile river. Hence we think it probable that the Portuguese expression, 'Macomatos', was simply the Portuguese, or the Tonga, way of saying '*iNkomati* people', subjects of the local Embo-Nguni chief, the so-called 'king of the Virangune'.

Southwards again of the Macomatos lay the 'country of the Mocalapata'. This is more puzzling. There is no tribe or king known to early local Nguni history possessing a name like that. But some slight distance southwards of the Lubombo '*iNkomati* Ngunis', there lived a large and powerful Ntungwa-Nguni clan at about that time (1589) on the Mfolozi-Tukela coast, and ruled by a chief named *Lufúta* (viz. the *aba-kwa-Qwabe* clan). A subject of this chief (i.e. a member of the Qwabe clan) would, in Nguni parlance, have commonly described himself as '*o-ka-Lufúta*' (which means 'one-of-Lufuta's' people). Now, a Nguni *f* often becomes changed, in Tonga speech, into a *pf* (comp. Ronga, *maLepfu*, beard; Zulu, *isiLevu*); and such a *pf*, we think, might possibly, by a Portuguese, have been mistaken for a *p*, and have been so written by a Portuguese scribe—thus, '*o-ka-Luputa*', instead of the more accurate '*o-ka-Lufúta*'; and then, by careless transcribing or printing, have become still further transformed into '*o-ka-Lapata*'. The *m* at the beginning of the word,

Mocalapata, would simply be the normal *m*-prefix attached, in Bantu speech, to 'personal' nouns.

Continuing with the Portuguese narrative, we are told that still further to the south, beyond the 'Mocalapata' country, were settled a people called the 'Vambes', who 'covered a great part of the *Terra de Natal*'. Here, then, at last are we back again in the light; for these *vaMbes* were most assuredly those *abaMbo* (i.e. Embo Ngunis—note our remark above on the changing of a Nguni *b* into a Tonga *v*) who have continued to occupy a part of Natal from that day to this.

Then, finally, we are told that, from Vambeland (which is Natal) as far as the Cape of Good Hope, 'there are no kings [i.e. *Fumos*], but *Ancozes* or lords of villages'. This appearance of the term, *Ancoze*, informs us at once that we are now in the land of the Ngunis; for *iNkosi* is the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) term for 'chief' or 'king'.

With this we have completed all the oldest traditional and historical evidence we can discover; and upon these scant and vague and flimsy data we have to build up our reconstruction of the final chapter in the story of the Nguni migrations; to bring the Ntungwa Ngunis down 'from the west' with their *isiLulu* grain-baskets, and the Lala and Embo Ngunis down 'from the north-east' with their Tongai-ized forms of speech. And our reconstruction of the whole story is as follows.

The *baKoni* Sutus (now populating the north-western Transvaal and Bechuanaland) and the *abaNgini* Zulu-Xosas (now populating Zululand and the Cape) are but two divisions of what was originally one single Bantu family or tribe. The first or *baKoni* section of that tribe we might distinguish as the *Western* (or Sutu) Ngunis, and the latter or *abaNgini* section as the *Eastern* Ngunis (in Zululand) and the *Southern* Ngunis (in the Cape).

We have already mentioned how, somewhere between the years 1500 and 1550, the whole family of Nguni Bantu was settled about the upper Vaal river (in the modern Transvaal); how the family there broke up into two parts, of which one (the ancestors of the *baKoni* or Sutu Ngunis) moved away in a north-westerly direction, where, in course of time, it became badly swamped by the Sutu migrants swarming in from the north; while the remaining body (the purer Ngunis) similarly

moved away, in several separate parties (of Ntungwas, Xosas, Embos and Lalas) and by divers routes, towards the coast, ultimately scattering themselves about the low-lying country along the shore of the Indian Ocean.

We shall now endeavour to follow these four fragments of the old Nguni family on this the last lap of their great march, half a millennium in duration and down half the length of the African continent, from the Nyanza-Kenya region up north to their final, permanent home in Southern Africa.

The four different parties probably corresponded with four closely related clan-groups already existent within the all-containing Nguni family. But apart from the larger mass movements, there is evidence that, in a few cases, single individual clans (especially among the Eastern Ngunis) separated from the larger bodies and launched out on their own, wandering alone about the vast wilderness to the south-east, until they finally came to anchor hundreds of miles away from their nearest relatives. Such, for instance, were the *abaTēmbu* Ntungwas and the *amaMpondo* Embos, both of whom (at the end of their clan-group's wanderings) continued their march still further onwards into the Cape, far away from their kith and kin left behind in and about Zululand. Othersome of this ilk wearied after a spell of this solitary roaming, and returned to their family and permanently settled with them—as did the *Zungus*, the *Cínus*, and indeed the parent-clan of the Zulus themselves. It cannot be stated with absolute certainty that these last-mentioned independently roaming clans (or even the previously mentioned Tēmbus) really were members of the Ntungwa clan-group (though they appear to be so). They *may* have broken away from some other group or groups, and only later on associated themselves with the Ntungwas. Anyhow, in speech and customs they seem to have been identical with the latter group; and, when at length their several wanderings were over, they, all of them (save a moiety of the Tēmbu clan, which proceeded on to the coast of southern Natal), finally gravitated back to them and settled permanently with them in Zululand.

The first of the Ngunis to move away from the Transvaal were, we think, the Lala and Embo clan-groups (collectively known as the *Tekela Ngunis*, from their particular dialect of

Nguni speech). For the first part of their journey (perhaps somewhere about the year 1525), the two parties may have marched together ; but later on they parted company, only, at long last, to come together again and settle alongside each other in Natal.

The route they chose was, first of all, from the Vaal region in a north-easterly direction ; thereafter due east, towards the northern parts of modern Swaziland and Delagoa Bay. This, the first half of their journey, took them through country that was perhaps already sparsely populated by Sutu Bantu. And about here, it would seem, the separation between the two groups took place—the Lalas proceeding forward towards the Delagoa Bay coastlands ; the Embos continuing to tarry still a while amidst the Sutu people, and so, in course of time (perhaps through intermarriage) to become, in some slight degree, 'Sutu-ized'.

Accompanying now the *Lala* party (*amaLala*), these soon found themselves outside the range of Sutu influence and inside that of the Tonga Bantu. The precise locality of their settlement in Tongaland is unknown—though we have heard a tradition that some of them reached as far north as Inhambane (in Portuguese East Africa). Perhaps their settlements were many. Wherever they may have got to, there the Lalas settled down on perfectly friendly, even intimate, terms with their new neighbours. That the two peoples indulged pretty freely in the giving and taking in marriage, seems obvious ; so much so that when (perhaps 50 years later, c. 1600—1650), the old migratory habit urged the Lalas to move on once more, down the coast into Zululand and Natal, their Ntungwa cousins down there refused (and still do so) to recognize them any more as 'Ngunis', regarding them, with contempt, as mere 'Tongas'. Tonga blood was apparent in their faces, and Tonga customs in their daily life, while, as to their speech, its vocabulary and pronunciation, and its grammatical structure (see the Author's *O.T.*, 234), had become so strongly Tonga-ized, that it was hardly longer intelligible to their relatives. These Tongas (Rongas, Chopis, etc.) had a penchant for the weak (or closed) *t* and *ts* sounds (as examples, one may cite the words, Chopi *tiMbwa*, dogs, Ntungwa Nguni *iziNja*, but Lala Nguni *itiMbwa* ; again, Ch. *maTi*, water, Ntu. Nguni *amaNdzi*, but Lala Nguni *amaDi* ;

or the sentence, Ch. *tsiMvuta*, *tsiNguva tsa-tso tsa-kuGya*, Ntungwa (Zulu) *iziMvu*, *iziKati za-zo zo-kuDla*, Eng. the-sheep, the-times-of-them for-to-eat). The purer Nguni, it will be thus seen, had its own penchant for *z* sounds; but by the time the Lala Ngunis had finished their migration and reached Natal, all these original Nguni *z*'s had vanished and been replaced by weak (or closed) Tonga *t*'s (e.g. Ntungwa Nguni *iziNkomo*, cattle, Lala Nguni *itiYomo*); while the old Nguni strong (or open) *th* had become changed into Tonga *ts* (e.g. Ntungwa Nguni *ukuTi*, to-say, Lala Nguni *ukuTsi*). All which sounded so strange to the more orthodox Ntungwa Ngunis, that they dubbed this new dialect of the Lalas *ukuTekela* (to speak with a superabundance of dentalization).

But, as we said, sated at last with Tonga words and Tonga wives, the age-long habit re-asserted itself, and the Lalas moved on once more. They turned about and marched away down the coast to the south. They passed along the Zululand littoral (then entirely uninhabited country), dropping parties as they went (later to develop into brand-new clans, like the *Nibeles*, the *Mletwas* and the *Ngcobos*), and finally came to a stand-still in Natal (already so named, half a century earlier, by the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama), the lower (or sea-ward) half of which they gradually covered with their many clans (the *Celes*, the *Tulinis*, the *Nyavus* and others). A certain section of them, owing to their distinguishing custom of facial incisions (probably learned from the Tongas, where the custom was prevalent), became later dubbed *Debes* (*amaDebe*, face-slitters).

The *Embo* party (*abaMbo* or *aba-s-eMbo*) of the Tekela Ngunis, on their way from the Transvaal to the coast, after sojourning a while in the Sutu neighbourhood (about the north of Swaziland), and becoming slightly 'Sutu-ized' in the process, also moved away further seawards, and there (like their relatives, the Lalas) came into close association with the East Coast Tongas, somewhere apparently about the Nkomati river. They must have remained in that locality quite a considerable time, sufficiently long to get their speech 'Tekela-ized' (probably by intermarriage) with Tonga dentalization, though hardly to the same extent as the Lalas. But once more, like the latter, the Embos too at last hungered for change. So, leaving the

Lalas behind in Tongaland, they (probably somewhere about 1525) wheeled sharply round to the south, proceeded along the outskirts of modern Swaziland, and occupied for a period the flat country between the southern Lubombo hill-range and the sea. There the abaMbo remained (their country being spoken of as *eMbo*, and they, as 'the people of eMbo' or *aba-s-eMbo*). There they still were when, in 1589, the Portuguese traversed their land and wrote of them (following their Tonga interpreters) as *vaMbe*.¹¹ After having found those low, malarious swamplands not to their taste (as a high-land people), the Embos, leaving some of their smaller clans behind, wended their way further inland in search of more salubrious climes. Some, namely, the Ngwanes (*aba-kwa-Ngwáne*), entered the territory to the north of the Pongolo river, and later established there the *Swazi* kingdom. Others of the Embos, namely, the Ndwandwes (or *aba-kwa-Ndwandwe*), occupied the country opposite them, on the southern side of the Pongolo river. Others, again, proceeded still further inland, into the Vryheid and Utrecht districts, where they became the Hlubi (or *aba-s-emaHlutshini*) clan; some, indeed, continuing still further ahead, ultimately crossing the Mzinyati (or Buffalo) river into Natal, the upper half of which they peopled, as the *emaBéleni* and *Dlamini* clans. At the end of it all, only one comparatively insignificant clan (dwelling near the middle Tukela river) still retained (and does so even today) the ancient tribal-name of *aba-s-eMbo* (or *abaMbo*).

Only half a century after Vasco da Gama had first discovered the Cape, the Portuguese ship *Santo Joao*, became, in the year 1552, wrecked on the South African coast about where Pondoland now joins Natal. Looking round for signs of human life, the wretched survivors were cheered by the sight of nine black men; who, alas! when they beheld, slunk immediately away, scared by so strange an apparition. Who may these Blacks have been? Certainly they were Bantu, because no other Blacks existed thereabouts. Forty years more passed away; when, in 1593, another Portuguese ship, the *Santo Alberto*, met a similar fate only a few miles further to the south, near the mouth of the Mzimvubu (or St. John's River). Describing the sorrowful experiences of the survivors, the narrator has left us one single word of the local Native speech—their cry to them of *Nanhata*. To the Portuguese the word was

meaningless ; was may-be fearsome. To us, it seems to be nothing else than a *tekela* (i.e. Tonga or dentalized) rendering of the pure Nguni (i.e. Ntungwa-Zulu) word, *Nanaza* (to-barter, or exchange-in-trade). But, if that be so, then, being a *tekela* word, it is clear that the Mzimvubu Bantu were members of the Tekela-speaking section of the Nguni tribe (i.e. either Embos or Lalas). Indeed, we think they could have been none other than the ancestors of those very Mpondos (*amaMpondo*) who still dwell in those parts—perhaps the first of the Ngunis to enter the Cape. But these *modern* Mpondos, we know, are related, not to the Lala tekela-speakers of Natal, but to the Embo tekela-speakers of Swaziland and northern Zululand. From this fact, then, we draw the conclusion that the Embo Ngunis (and the Lala Ngunis with them)—inasmuch as some of the former were as far south as the St. John's River in Pondoland already in 1552—could hardly have started on their migration from the Transvaal at any date *later* than 1550 ; in all probability, the date was nearer 1500.

Retracing our steps back once more to the starting point in *ebuNguni* on the Vaal River, we find ourselves again amongst those of the old Nguni tribe (fully half the total number) who had refrained from accompanying the Embo-Lala section in its migration away to the north-east. It may have been a full century after the latter event that the remaining half of the Nguni tribe—excepting that portion of them which preferred to stay in the Transvaal, and later to become the *baKoni*—decided to follow the Embo-Lala example and to quit the Transvaal for the coast ; say, perhaps, about 1625. But these moved off, not in a north-easterly, but in a south-easterly direction ; and in that direction neither Sutus nor Tongas, nor any other kind of man (save a few groups of wandering Bushmen hunters), were found to exist. The consequence was that this branch of the Nguni family was able to preserve itself free from that corruption of speech and blood by Sutu-Tonga intermixture, to which their Embo-Lala cousins had been subjected. We have accordingly distinguished these as the *Pure Ngunis* (despite the Bushman linguistic taint, common, more or less, to the whole Nguni family ; and, in a lesser degree, also to the Sutu).

But, in moving away (as with the Embos and Lalas) this half of the tribe also became cloven in twain, namely, into *Ntungwas* and *Xosas*, each party proceeding forward by a different route, though both paths were in a south-easterly direction. Here we have the explanation why the oldest tradition of these two Nguni sections is the same, namely, that they came into their present settlements 'from the west' (not, as with the Embos and Lalas, 'from the north').

Of the two parties, the *Xosas* (*amaXósa*) took the more southern course. These never entered Zululand, but headed for Natal, the northern or upper parts of which they traversed, and so passed on into Griqualand East. Thence they proceeded (not necessarily, of course, in a single journey or single season) over the Ingeli hills into Kaffraria, reaching their furthest point south (the Kei River) somewhere about the year 1670.

It has often puzzled many, why these *Xosas* of the Cape have always given Natal the name of 'Embo' and called the Natives dwelling there 'abaMbo'; whereas that portion of Natal immediately adjoining the Cape has always been inhabited by 'Lalas', and never by 'Embos'. The explanation, we think, must lie in the fact just mentioned, namely, that, on their way to the Cape, the *Xosas* had passed through the *upper* half of Natal and therefore knew that part only, which, even at the time of the *Xosa* passage, was already occupied by the Dlamini and emaBheleni, both belonging to the Embo group; so that that country was quite correctly described as 'Embo' and its inhabitants as 'abaMbo'.

But, in this book, we are solely concerned with that other party of Nguni migrants, namely, that of the *Ntungwas*, because among these *Ntungwa* clans was the parent from which the *Zulus* themselves (i.e. the Zulu clan proper) were subsequently descended. This party, when leaving the Transvaal, set its course straight into what is nowadays Zululand, and spread its constituent clans abroad throughout the upper (i.e. more inland) parts of that country.

These *Ntungwas* (*abaNtungwa*) are they who (as already noted on a previous page), when questioned as to their origin, give us the answer that 'they came down on account of the grain-basket, following behind the grasshoppers' (*s-EhlangesiLulu*; *sa-Landela iziNteté*). This *isiLulu* or big-grain-basket (a huge contraption shaped like a great gourd some three

feet in diameter, and constructed of coarse plaited grass) is the Ntungwas' own hall-mark, none other of the Nguni folk using it. Yet it is not *solely* confined to them ; for the Sutus (who call it *liSiwu*) have it too. The exact meaning of this phrase, *s-Ehla ngesiLulu*, is not immediately clear. The modern Ntungwas are unable to explain it. Grammatically, it might signify either 'we-came-down *by-means-of-the-grain-basket*' (which were nonsensical), or '*on-account-of-the-grain-basket*' ; and it is the latter interpretation which we prefer here—the term, 'grain-basket' being used (according to the common habit of these Bantu people) metaphorically, as having been at the bottom of the Nguni trouble away inland, and so the cause of their present migration. The term symbolized, not the basket itself, but the grain it should have held (and didn't). Why ? We think, for one of two possible reasons. The immediately following reference to locusts suggests one such, namely, that the grain-baskets were empty and their owners starving, owing to the continuous destruction of their crops away inland by that field-pest. True, in such case, we should have expected the statement, 'we-ran-away-from' the locusts, rather than 'we-went-after' them. A possible alternative explanation of the Nguni migration may have been an unwelcome, even forceful, influx of Sutus into their neighbourhood. The Bantu tribes are always very jealous of their 'boundaries' ; and there is a universal weakness among them to quarrel and to fight against any encroachment by 'foreigners' on their arable and pasture lands. Nothing is so productive of strife between families, and infinitely more so between tribes. Even where land is really plentiful, any infringement of what is regarded as prior rights is fiercely resented ; and some contention of this kind between Ntungwas and Sutus may have happened. Of course, it might have been the other way round, and the Ntungwas have been the encroachers on Sutu preserves. Anyhow, the Ntungwas found continuance in that neighbourhood no longer tolerable, owing to some 'grain growing' (rather than any 'grain basket') difficulty. So they packed up once more and sought pastures new—as they say, 'they went off down-country on account of the grain-basket' (*b-Ehla ngesiLulu-ke*).

Another point which may be touched upon here is the presence at all of this unusual type of grain-store among the Ntungwas ; for as such is the basket employed. No other

Nguni group having this article, whence did this solitary section of the tribe derive the custom and its basket? To us, its possession denotes some earlier close and prolonged association between these Ntungwas and the Sutus (among whom the big-grain-basket was an old institution). As a matter of fact, we have heard these Ntungwa people actually declaring, not only that they 'came down from the Sutus', but that 'they *are* Sutus'. Of course, it cannot be definitely stated that the *isiLulu* basket was not from the beginning also a general *Nguni* piece of kraal furniture, having simply later fallen out of use among the other tribal groups; for the *ovaMbo* (of South-west Africa), who, so far as we know, never came into contact with the Sutus, also have such baskets. The *Kamba* Bantu too in Kenya Colony, the *Kavirondo* Nilotics about Uganda, and the Sudanese Negroes of the Shari region, all have similar large baskets, or wicker-work receptacles, or huge clay pots, of exactly the same size and shape, wherein they store their grain.

In the historical sense, these Ntungwas have been somewhat less favoured than the Embo and Lala *Nguni* groups, of whose early movements some dim traces may be discovered in earlier records or traditions. Of the Ntungwas, nothing whatever. We find them already there in upper Zululand, and are informed that they 'came down from the Sutus'. The only method we can conceive for arriving at any reasonable guess as to the date of their coming into Zululand, is a rough calculation based on the genealogies of their several royal houses. A study of these shows us that, as a rule, after eight or ten reigns backwards, the tribal lists of kings come, almost universally, to an abrupt conclusion. Has that fact no meaning? It may, of course, be simply attributable to a natural limitation of the power of human 'traditionary' memory; but we prefer to think that the earliest king remembered in local tribal lore, is really the earliest local head of that particular clan, the clan's 'Moses', who brought the people out of the land of Egypt (which was the Transvaal) into the land of Canaan (which was Zululand), and who consequently sat himself on the throne as the clan's first chief in the new country. Way back home, such a one may not have been a royalty at all; but as far as the present settlement was concerned, he was the party's leader and ruler, its first chief or king; and, as the party gradually grew to the dimensions of a 'clan', that clan named itself after

him, or after the name of his kraal. In such a way was it that the *aba-kwa-Zulu* clan itself (they-of-the-family-of-Zulu), and the *aba-s-emGázini* (they-of-the-emGazini-kraal) and others, came later on into existence. Now, if we assume 18 to 20 years to cover a fair average reign of an African despot, it follows that these Ntungwa chieftainships (reckoning back for ten generations from Mpande's time, 1840—1872) must have started and the clans been founded (in other words, that the parties first entered Zululand) somewhere about 200 years earlier, say about 1625. Such a date would suit well enough the case of the Pure Ngunis (Zulu-Xosas); but it is patent from the reports of the ancient ship-wrecked mariners noted above that representatives of the other Nguni groups (the Embos and probably also the La'as, as well as the Pure Nguni Tembus) had already reached the south-eastern coast as far as Pondoland from 50 to 75 years earlier. Where, then, were these Zulu-Xosas meanwhile? Plainly still somewhere within the eastern Transvaal—with the Ntungwa (Zulu) section, we think, in much closer association with the local Sutus than were the Xosas.

Closely related to this Ntungwa group, may-be even a member of it, was the *Tembu* (*abaTembu*) clan already mentioned—probably the largest, and perhaps the oldest, of all the Nguni clans. Only a portion of this clan accompanied the Ntungwas into Zululand. The other portion, it would seem, had left the Transvaal earlier than the Ntungwas, and, migrating alone, had marched continuously on seawards, until it finally arrived on the Indian Ocean, which it must have reached (somewhere about the Mzimkulu district) at a date not later than the year 1589. The Portuguese narrative (already referred to) distinctly states that in that year, from south of the 'vaMbe' (i.e. the *abaMbo*) to the Cape of Good Hope, dwelt, no longer *Fumos* (Tonga for 'chief'), but '*Ancozes*' (i.e. *iNkosi*, Ntungwa for 'chief'). Since the Portuguese got that term, Ancoze, from the particular Natives themselves who used it, it is clear that these latter must have spoken the Ntungwa (or Pure Nguni) dialect—in the language of the *Tekela*-speaking Ngunis (the Embos and Lalas) the word for 'chief' was *ĩYosi*. And the Tembus were the only Pure Ngunis at that period in that vicinity. The first actual mention of the Tembus by name occurs in the narrative left by the survivors of the Dutch ship, *Stavenisse*, wrecked on the coast of Alexandra County in Natal

in 1689, one hundred years later than the Portuguese record just mentioned. The *Stavenisse* account says that the Natives about the site of the wreck "have tobacco and smoke it", and it calls those Natives (Bird, *A.N.*, 41, 47), sometimes "Temboes" (which is obviously our 'Tembus'), at others 'Emboes' (which is equally obviously our 'Embos'). That both Tembus and Embos (probably the Mpondos) were already settled thereabouts is thus definitely confirmed. But, as for the tobacco-smoking, we should like to believe that, not the Tembus, but the Mpondo Embos, first brought down with them the smoking habit from the Tongas of the Delagoa country, and that it was from them that the Tembus learned the practice (coming, as these latter did, from a remoter interior part of the continent).

In the preceding pages we have several times referred to the *baSutú* (i.e. Sutu Bantu), and shown how profoundly they affected early Nguni history and the early Nguni people, especially that portion of them since known as *baKoni* (the Sutu-ized form of *abaNguni*), which had stayed behind in the Transvaal when the others moved away, and whom the Sutus later incorporated within themselves so completely, that even the Konis themselves no longer know that they are not pure aboriginal Sutus. Perhaps, therefore, at this point a few paragraphs telling more about these Sutu Bantu may be profitably interposed prior to our proceeding with our story of the Ngunis themselves.

Probably before the arrival of the Ngunis (from the west or north-west) in the central Transvaal region, an entirely different 'family' of Bantu had already occupied the country to the north and north-east of the Transvaal, but not yet to the south of it. In origin, speech and customs they were quite unlike the Ngunis. They wore as dress a breech-cloth (passed between the legs); were acquainted with the art of building in stone; and spoke a clickless tongue of the 'monosyllabic-prefix' Bantu type. Their name, *baSutú*, may be of the same derivation as the Nguni word, *Sundu* or *Ntsundu*, signifying 'darkish' or 'dark-brown'. It may also be connected with the large *ūSutú* river (so called from its colour) running through modern Swaziland, and perhaps their first settlement. The

probable accuracy of this last supposition is confirmed by the fact that the name of the 'river' and the Nguni name for the 'country' of the Sutus (wherever it may be) are both identical, namely, *ūSutú* (loc. *ōSutú*) ; which is a form, in Nguni speech, not normally applied to 'countries'.

As just said, we think that the Sutu people had already occupied the north-eastern portion of the modern Transvaal before the Ngunis came down to settle in its more central parts. The fact that the Ngunis chose to pitch their tents in such a locality, would tend to prove that the Sutus had not yet reached so far south. But sooner or later, they did get there. Indeed, it may very well have been the pressure of this Sutu expansion that finally drove the Ngunis from the field and down to the coastlands. Up to this stage in their migratory progress, the Sutus had never yet come into close contact with the Bushmen; so that their language was so far entirely free from 'click' sounds—indeed, the speech of the northern half of the tribe (viz. the so-called *beChwana*) still remains so. But when at length they got so far south as the Orange Free State and Basutoland, they found themselves well within range of the Bushman hunting-parties ; and before long (probably owing to the capture of Bushman women) the speech of these southern Sutus became tainted with some Bushman words and a single Bushman 'click' (the dental).

But not all the tribe thus moved away from the northern Transvaal to the south. Probably the majority of the Sutu Bantu stayed still behind about the upper Limpopo region ; and it was there that the Nguni fragment (which had also remained behind in the Transvaal when the main body left for the coast) found them, when later it too shifted its camp northwards into those regions. Precisely how it all came about cannot now be guessed—most probably it was due to overwhelming numbers and intermarriage ; but certain it is that the last-mentioned fragment of the Ngunis became so swamped by the Sutus, that their distinctive Nguni character became (racially, culturally and linguistically) virtually obliterated, only their old family-name of *abaNguni* (though now in its 'Sutu' dress of *baKoni*) still remaining among them. This tribal metamorphosis was akin to that which later occurred to the Lala Nguni fugitives into Xosaland (at the time of Shaka's invasion of Natal), where, in course of time, they too became

so assimilated by the local population as to be regarded as pure Xosas. Of course, this complete disappearance among the Koni of Nguni speech and culture may have been due, not to any peaceful amalgamation, but to conquest. Yet, even then, who may have been the victors and who the vanquished, we can no longer decide. For when, in after years, the great Zulu nation-builders embarked upon their 'conquest of Africa', while Soshangane's horde established an empire over the whole of Portuguese East Africa and lost their Zulu language and culture in the process, Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi, on the contrary, with similar Zulu followings and at the same period, conquered, respectively, Nyasaland and Rhodesia, and yet preserved their Zulu tongue and habits more or less unaffected.

The result of this commingling of Nguni (i.e. Koni) and Sutu elements explains some of the present sociological and linguistic differences between the northern Sutus (or Chwanas) and the southern Sutus (of Basutoland). We can now understand how the word, *Kosi* or *Kgosi* (from the Nguni *iNkosi*) came to supplant, among the northern Sutus, the *Morena* of the south, as the term for 'chief' or 'king'; how the annual Feast of the First Fruits (with the 'biting' of the pumpkin or gourd) came to be celebrated alike by the Hurutsi (Chwana) and the Zulu chiefs, but not by those of the southern Sutus; and how Sir Harry Johnston could come to write that the Zulu language "in its word-roots is nearest allied to the Sechuana".¹² Moreover, the young (of both sexes) among the Koni Sutus wear, not the typical Sutu breech-cloth, but so-called 'aprons' of dark-brown hanging strings of vegetable fibre—which, of course, is nothing but the old tribal *ubEndle* fringe-girdles of Nguni boys and girls. The Koni boys, at their circumcision ceremony, are severely flogged on the back, just as the Zulu boys used to be beaten upon reaching puberty. And it is whispered that, at these initiation ceremonies, a Koni boy or girl used to be quietly 'removed' to provide the human fat needed as a field-charm for securing good crops; just as this same belief is still held (and acted upon, when possible!) also among the Zulus (vide *umSukulo* in Dictionary).

A Zulu myth tells us how the wife of Nkulunkulu (the First Man, and procreator of the rest of mankind), after

bearing him a child, found it such a nuisance, that she determined to rid herself of it by feeding it on a certain poisonous-looking plant, but that, the more she fed it, the fatter it grew : which was how the nutritive value of the millet plant was discovered, and henceforth became the Zulus' staple food. Now says Casalis of the Sutus:¹³ "Corn was discovered by the jealousy of a woman ; she gathered the grains of this plant, thinking them venomous, and for some time gave them to a rival to eat. To the great astonishment of all, this food produced marvellous effects, and was, from that time forward, in great request." Another interesting statement by the same author¹⁴ may be noted. He writes : "A legend says that both men and animals came out of the bowels of the earth by an immense hole, the opening of which was in a cavern" [presumably the same as the cave of Lowe¹⁵], and that the animals appeared first. Another tradition, continues Casalis, more generally received among the Sutus, is that "man sprang up in a marshy place, where reeds were growing." In these two versions among the Sutus of the same event (viz. the origin of man) we have another confirmation of the composite character of the present Sutu people ; for the first account is that common among the South-central Bantu (including the original pure Sutus), but unknown to the Ngunis ; while the second represents the essentially Nguni (Zulu) account, which is unknown to the South-central tribes.

Despite the fact that Konis and Ngunis were brothers within the same family, the total absence from the present Koni dialect of Chwana-Sutu of all click-sounds (so prominent a feature in the original Nguni speech) need not surprise. At the period of their amalgamation with the Sutus, they were probably an insignificant community of less than a couple of hundred souls ; so that they and their language became easily submerged beneath the Sutu mass, losing their older forms of speech, clicks and all, as absolutely as did the Natal Lallas also lose their language upon becoming incorporated with the Xosas of the Cape.

The preceding paragraph has reminded us of the necessity of finding some method of estimating tribal numbers at the various periods of its history. Now, the only point regarding population about which one can be at all certain, would seem

to be the fact that, under normal conditions, it grows, as time progresses. But what may be the average rate of such growth? Prof. Gregory has endeavoured to supply us with an answer, in his address before the Geographical section of the British Association at its meeting in the year 1924. There he stated that, from world statistics obtained in the opening years of this twentieth century, mankind was now doubling its number every 60 years. Whether, or not, he thereby meant that such had been the case also in past ages, we cannot say.

Now, we know that the present Native inhabitants of the Transkei, Natal, Zululand, Bechuanaland and part of Swaziland, are all, in the main, of Nguni extraction. The written history of these Ngunis we may consider to have commenced about the year 1589 A.D., with the first Portuguese reference to the 'Vambes' (i.e. Embo Ngunis) as then settled southward of Delagoa Bay (as already mentioned above). But the more modern history of the Ngunis, as they are at present located, hardly takes us further back than the year 1800 A.D. It is those two dates that we must especially keep in mind in our considerations here of Nguni population increase.

In the *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, 1910—1924 (the latest we have before us), the Bantu population in the year 1921 is given as:—Cape, 1,643,466; Natal (including Zululand), 1,123,124; Swaziland, 106,961; Bechuanaland, 152,983; and the Transvaal, 1,470,438. The total for the whole of south-eastern Nguniland (Cape, Natal and Zululand) thus becomes 2,766,590. From this number we deduct, at a guess, 266,000 as intruding Sutus, Tongas and other aliens, leaving about 2,500,000 as of Nguni descent. Bechuanaland, with its total of 152,983, has 115,728 attributed to the Koni (reputedly Nguni) tribes of Ngwatos, Ngwaketses, Kgatlas and Tawanas. As regards the Transvaal, the Union Government, by figures supplied to us, reckons that the Konis (i.e. Kwenas and Hurutsis) now resident there amount to 42,760 souls—the number being given as avowedly 'unreliable'. Nevertheless we adopt it for working purposes as a super-maximum. As for Swaziland, we can only make a guess at the present number of Ngunis (members of the Ngwane and other such clans) residing in that country; let us hazard 20,000. This should give us a recent (1921) Nguni-Koni grand-total of, roughly, 2,600,000 souls. Following now Gregory's rule, this present Nguni

population of 2,600,000 should (reckoning backwards) have dwindled by 1861 A.D. to 1,300,000 ; by 1741 to 325,000 ; by 1561 to 40,625 ; by 1441 to 10,156 ; by 1381 to 5,078 ; by 1321 to 2,539 ; by 1261 to 1,269 ; by 1141 to 317 ; by 1021 to 79 ; by 841 to 9 ; and by 661 to 1 !

But how does this 'Gregory's rule' of national increase compare with the actual historical facts of population increase in England ? There the *Doomsday Book* is said to show the number of inhabitants in that country (some 900 years ago) as 1,375,000. The census of 1934 showed the population then to be 37,354,917 ; that is to say, it had multiplied itself some 28 times during the period, or once every 32 years. Had, however, the increase followed Gregory's rule (viz. of doubling the number every 60, instead of every 32, years), then, in 1921, the population of England should have been only 20,625,000 (instead of the actual 37,354,917).

For curiosity sake, let us now apply this actual rate of England's increase to the Nguni people, that is, suppose that they too doubled their number every 32 (instead of the previous 60) years. On that basis, we should find that the present (1921) Nguni figure of 2,600,000 would, by 1825 A.D. (say the middle of Shaka's reign), have decreased to 325,000 (all told—say, Natal, 140,000 ; Cape, 90,000 ; Zululand, 75,000 ; Konis of North-western Transvaal, 19,000 ; and Swaziland, 1,000) ; by 1633 A.D. have become 5,078 ; by 1537 A.D. (the period of the first break-up of the Nguni tribe in the Central Transvaal) to 634 ; by 1441 A.D. to 79 ; by 1345 A.D. to 9 (the first Nguni family) ; and by 1249 A.D. to 1 only soul—the *uNkulunkulu* or creator of the whole Nguni tribe !

So far as our personal acquaintance with Nguni history will permit of any judgment, this last series of figures (especially that of 325,000 in 1825 A.D. and of 5,073 in 1635 A.D.) seems, roughly, to fit the historical demands ; and so we accept them at least as fair approximations. In general, however, we think it extremely unlikely (considering the fact that peoples and conditions throughout the world are so universally different and circumstances so continuously changing) that any single method for calculating population increase could be devised, which could be applicable at once to all peoples, in all countries, and through all ages.

With this, we have completed our account of this *last lap* in the great migration, from north to south throughout the length of the African continent, of the Nguni Bantu people. We have traced them back, through 300 years of time, from their present settlements in the Cape, in Zululand and in Natal, into the Central Transvaal. But there the light goes out, and the spoor disappears in almost impenetrable darkness. Yet not absolutely so; for we think it may be possible to grope a precarious way still further backwards, guided solely by linguistic and sociological clues.

The first and nearest clue of this nature we strike away on the opposite side of the southern continent, in South-West Africa. There dwell certain Bantu tribes, named *ovaHerero* and *ovaMbo*, which, it used to be thought, must originally have formed one family with the Ngunis in the east. A study of the Herero language, and of their customs and beliefs, makes that view improbable, and forces the relationship much further back.

First of all, it is surprising to find that the most northern Bantu tribes (to wit, those northward of the Victoria Nyanza, e.g. the Ganda and Masaba) and the most southern (namely, our Ngunis to the south-east and the Hereros to the south-west) unite together in exhibiting, in the construction of their nouns, an identical exception to the otherwise universal Bantu rule. Both sections place before their noun-roots a *dissyllabic* prefix (thus, Zulu *u-mu-Ntu*, a person, *a-ba-Ntu*, persons, and Herero *o-mu-Ndu*, pl. *o-va-Ndu*; against the Ganda, *o mu-Ntu*, pl. *a-ba-Ntu*, and Masaba, *u-mu-Ndu*, pl. *ba-ba-Ndu*); whereas practically the whole of intervening Bantu tribes employs a *monosyllabic* prefix (e.g. *mu-Ntu*, pl. *ba-Ntu*). It seems impossible to suppose that the Ganda-Masabas at the extreme north of Bantuland, and the Zulu-Hereros thousands of miles away in the extreme south, could each have diverged independently from the common Bantu rule and then, by mere coincidence, each have hit upon precisely the same form of divergence. Consequently it were reasonable to believe that these two Bantu sections are more closely related the one to the other, than is either of them to the intervening tribes. There are even some who, like Sir Harry Johnston, believe that the double prefix (e.g. *u-mu-Ntu*) of the Zulu-Ganda tribes is the older and original Bantu form, and that the single prefix,

(e.g. *mu-Ntu*) of the intervening peoples is a more recent change. But others believe the reverse.

Continuing our Nguni-Herero linguistic comparisons, we not only note the prefixal similarity just mentioned, but find also a large number of Herero and Ndonga (the language of the ovaMbo) words remarkably like others (with the same meaning) in the Nguni. Yet, when we turn to Sir Harry Johnston's list¹⁶ of 240 common Bantu words, we discover that, whereas the Herero-Nguni resemblances number 119 out of the total 240, several tribes much further away to the north show a much larger proportion, e.g. the Bisa (east of Lake Bangweulu in Central Africa) with 135 Nguni resemblances, the Nyamwezi (Tanganyika Col.) with 145, the Ruanda (Belgian Tanganyika) with 143, and the Ganda (Victoria Nyanza) with 145.

Again, assuming that Ngunis and Hereros were originally (say, 400-500 years ago) one people with the one same tongue, could they, in that space of time, have become so changed in speech the one from the other, as they now actually are? Four hundred years ago, the Nguni family split up within itself, and the several fragments (Xosas, Ntungwas and Tekelas) separated, thereafter becoming completely isolated the one from the other. And yet today the languages spoken by the several groups are so nearly alike as to be little more than dialects of the same tongue. The difference between the Zulu (Ntungwa) and the Herero language, on the other hand, is many times as great as is that between the Zulu and the Xosa (separated groups of Ngunis); indeed, it looks more like the difference between the Zulu and the Ganda (far away on the Victoria Nyanza).

Passing from language to sociology, many similarities are noticeable between Zulu and Herero customs; but once again by no means a higher proportion than could be found by comparing the Zulus with almost any other southern or eastern Bantu tribe.

One instance, however, of Zulu-Herero resemblances is worthy of mention *in extenso*; for it is a real trump card. Hereros and Zulus alike unite in 'worshipping the one same god' (the great tribal ancestor); but, what is more, they both call him by the same name (in which, we think, they stand alone). The 'Great-great-One' of the Zulus, who 'brought into being'

mankind and everything else, is by them named *uNkulunkulu* (which is simply a reduplication of the root, *Kulu*, great). The Rev. G. Viehe¹⁷ informs us that, the Hereros being ancestor-worshippers, all the great folk among them become, after death, *ovaKuru* (i.e. Great-Ones); and when a child is born in the tribe, as soon as the navel-cord has fallen away, the infant is taken by its mother to the 'holy fire' (*okuRuo*) and there presented to the family *omuKuru* (whom Viehe calls the 'forefather or deity'). Such a Herero family-*omuKuru* (or Great-One) is termed among the Zulus an *uKulukulwana*, which word is simply a diminutive form of *uNkulunkulu*, and signifies a 'Lesser-Great-great-One' (or minor family-ancestor), as distinct from the *uNkulunkulu* himself (the tribal-Great-ancestor).

The letters or sounds *r* and *l*, being interchangeable in Bantu speech, it is plain that the Herero *Kuru* and the Zulu *Kulu* are one; and the fact that these two tribes alone (amongst the Bantu total of perhaps a couple of hundred) possess identically the same term for their ancestral 'gods', certainly does seem to support the case of those who believe in the original unity of the two peoples. The common choice of such a peculiar appellation for the same object could hardly have been mere coincidence; for the Hereros, it must be remembered, besides the more common 'family' *omuKurus* (Zulu *uKulukulwana*), have also a grand 'tribal' *omuKuru* (comparable with the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*).

This Herero tribal *omuKuru* and Zulu *uNkulunkulu*, we are furthermore convinced, are the one same name and the one same person as the *muLungu* of Nyasaland and the *muUngu* of the Swahili (although the last two names have now lost their original meaning). We think to see here but another example of those 'inversions' so frequent in Bantu speech, *Nkulu* having become turned about into *Lungu*, or vice versa. Indeed, such an inversion is already discernible within the Herero family itself; for, whereas the Hereros themselves call their 'god' or great-ancestor *omuKuru*, their cousins and next-door neighbours, the vaMbos, have already changed his title to *kaRunga* (or *kaLunga*), who, we are told by Viehe, is 'the father of the *ovaKuru*' (i.e. is identical with the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*).

Viehe¹⁸ also cites a rather significant Herero legend, which relates that "beside the country of the *ovaTyaona*

(? *beChwana*) is a very high mountain, on one side of which is a hole in the ground [probably the cave of Lowe, see p. 27]. Through this hole all good people who have died, rise again and ascend up the mountain into heaven." Could this legend have reached the Hereros solely by report? Or does it denote a former sojourn of the Hereros in the vicinity of the Chwanas—the route of their descent, or maybe the site of their separation from the Ngunis?

It were further interesting to note that, if the Herero prefix, *ova-*, be changed into the more normal Bantu 'personal' prefix, *ba-* or *aba-*, we get at once *baTyaona*; which, in turn, suggests a possible origin at once of the names, *maShona* and *beChwana*, both which names have always puzzled the ethnologists, seeing that neither of those peoples seems to have called itself, until more recent times, by such a name.

Brauer¹⁹ mentions the following Herero folk-story. 'Some young girls being pursued at night, at the magic word of the youngest of them, a rock opened before them and they entered a cave. The pursuers heard the voices from within the rock, which had now closed itself up behind the girls. The girls were thus saved, and, by the magic word of the youngest again, they were enabled to open the rock and walk out. Only the eldest, who had done something wrong, remained behind, because the rock closed together before she got out'. Precisely the same idea is met with again in the Nguni (Lala) nursery-tale about the girls and the magic *kwaNtunjambili* rock (south of the lower Tukela river in Natal). Does this again point to some close association between the two peoples in former times, either in the south or in the north? Or is it, once more, mere coincidence?

But while there are certainly some striking resemblances between Hereros and Ngunis, there are also some equally striking differences. We may mention, for instance, the Herero fire-cult (=their 'sacred fire'; reminiscent of a similar 'fire' among the Gandas); and their matrilineal system of descent²⁰ (by which a child belongs to its mother's, not to its father's clan)—both characteristics utterly absent with the Ngunis. Then, again, so altogether different from the Nguni is the Herero style of dress; which Stow²¹ describes as consisting "of 50 to 80 fathoms of thin leather thongs coiled round the hips, and a

small piece of skin between the legs, with the ends brought up and tucked under the cord."

Have the Hereros any tradition as to the date of their arrival in South-west Africa? Haddon²² writes: "The *ovaHerero* reached their present home in German South-west Africa from the east about a century ago [was it from the Chwana neighbourhood—see above?], and drove the Berg-Damara south." But this must refer to a South African 'last lap' migration (like that of the Ngunis from the Transvaal), and not to the original coming down from the north.

In conclusion, then, we are of opinion that the evidence available proves no closer relationship between Hereros and Ngunis than that which exists between both and the Ganda-Kenya Bantu up north. Further, we think the descent of the Hereros was at a time different from that of the Ngunis. We know, however, that a brother tribe of the Hereros call themselves *ovaMbo*; and secondly, that early Portuguese records report that a large tribe called '*Mumbos*' crossed the Zambezi and entered Portuguese East Africa about 1592. Were these the *ovaMbo*? Or is the reference rather to the passage of the *abaMbo* Ngunis (i.e. the Embos) from the Transvaal, past Delagoa Bay, into Natal about the same period?

We shall consider now the second stage of the great Nguni migration from north to south, viz. that between the Upper Zambezi and the Central Transvaal. Whether the linguistic taint of click-using was contracted by the Ngunis from the Bushmen or from the Hottentots, is uncertain; mainly, we think, from the latter, but in some degree also from the former. Two facts, however, seem clear—first, that the taint must have been acquired prior to the departure from the Transvaal to the coast of the Lala-Embo section of the tribe, since they went off (c. 1525 A.D.) already click-infested; and secondly, that it must have been acquired so long before that event as to allow sufficient time for the leaven to permeate throughout the whole Nguni mass (of Ntungwas, Xosas, Embos and Lalas). This makes us believe that it must have been a slow and lengthy process.

Having crossed the Upper Zambezi on their southward march, the Ngunis, it seems to us, wheeled sharply round through north-western Rhodesia, and headed for, and for a time

settled in, northern Bechuanaland, a land which the Konis retain as their own even now. Roving about those vast interior plains were immense herds of game of almost every South African species. And precisely there too was the Bushman's (and perhaps too the Hottentot's) paradise. From the lower Okavango river southwards to the Kalahari Desert, Bushman (or Hottentot) place-names even still everywhere prevail; but eastward of that line, and as far away as the Indian Ocean, Bantu place-names monopolize the field.

From the moment of their entry into the Okavango region, and throughout their forward passage, past Lake Ngami, into Bechuanaland, the Ngunis were continuously up against either Bushmen or Hottentots, or both. The two races contended uninterruptedly for the field, until the Hottentots and Bushmen were driven off to the south, and the Ngunis were left in sole possession of the land, and themselves little the worse, physically, for the experience; though, linguistically, they were somewhat damaged.

That the Ngunis were the first of the Bantu peoples to come into any considerable contact with the greater Bushman and Hottentot masses seems conclusive from the fact of click-sounds appearing in their speech in greatest abundance. The solitary click in the Sutu speech, and among the Ngami tribes, witnesses to a much feebler degree of Bushman association, and probably also a much later. That Bushmen were once settled in Rhodesia is certain, because many of their paintings are there still extant. But these paintings show everywhere a much cruder, and therefore (perhaps) earlier, technique than do those in the Cape and Natal. Further, no Bantu or Arabs are there depicted; from which one may conclude that the pictures were drawn and the Bushmen departed prior to the latest of the Zimbabwe periods, during which both Bantu and Arabs were plentiful and far-scattered. And this latest period of the Zimbabwe industry may have ended at about 1300 A.D. The Bushmen therefore were probably already established on the South African Central Plateau (the great game country towards which they, as hunters, would naturally gravitate) at that period, and nobody can say for how many ages before.

The Bushman-Hottentot meeting, then, may have occurred at any time after 1300 A.D., let us surmise, between 1400 and 1500 A.D.; at which period (according to Gregory's rule,

mentioned above) the Ngunis should have numbered, roughly, 10,000 souls, but (according to the known rate of England's increase) about 300. We should like to believe that they were considerably below the first figure and somewhat higher than the last.

The last stage in the Great Nguni trek from north to south, was that between the Transvaal and the coast ; the second, that between the Upper Zambezi and the Transvaal ; and the first, that between Nyanzaland and the Upper Zambezi, which we are now left to consider. Can we make any guess as to the route they followed on that first trip down the continent after leaving their motherland ?

Both the Ngunis and the Hereros were strongly pastoral people, and in a lesser degree agricultural also. With this pastoral instinct so highly developed within them, we may reasonably suppose that, when, six centuries ago, they first set out from their original home, they did precisely as they have done on similar occasions ever since, namely, they took their cattle with them. Indeed, the search for more spacious and luxuriant grazing-grounds *may* have been one of the most urgent incentives to migrate at all. For, as the Zulu legend has it, did not Nkulunkulu, after making man, next make his bovine helpmates—him to protect the cattle ; the cattle to preserve him ? They were his food, his clothing, his currency. He thrived on the curds of their milk ; he slept in cloaks, and dressed in mutshas and kilts, made of their hides ; and they were deemed the only fitting exchange for a daughter sold or a purchased wife. He could hardly have had the heart to leave them behind (if he had them at all ; and it seems probable he had) now that he was setting forth to establish a new home, to colonize a new land.

But who knows ? Maybe the migration of the Ngunis from the north was not one of choice. They may just as likely have been driven from their homes by some stronger tribe and have fled away precipitately, leaving their herds to the invader ; just as so many of their compatriots were forced to do in the modern times of Shaka. Even so, with their strong innate passion for cattle, we may be sure that, sooner or later, they would take steps to retrieve their loss and, if cattle anywhere existed on their route, make it their business to acquire some.

That they did acquire some seems certain ; and that, we think, not on the southern side of the Zambezi, where the only herds in existence were those of the long-horned breed of the Hottentots—a breed occasionally met with right through Africa, and perhaps existent among the ancient Egyptians. The cattle of the Nguni-Hereros, on the other hand, were always of the short-horned type, smaller in size and infinitely more graceful—the breed found by Livingstone²³ among the Kololos south of the Zambezi about the Victoria Falls ; by Schulz²⁴ among the Hereros beyond the upper Okavango ; the breed which exists among the Shukulumbwes on the Kafue, and even among the Yanzis on the Congo ;²⁵ in a word, right along what we imagine must have been the ancient Nguni line of march.

For, while man may find a way of thriving almost anywhere on earth, it is not so with domestic cattle. On their account the migrating Ngunis had to select always and only such districts as their cattle could thrive in ; and such districts are far from being universal in Africa. If we search these districts out, as they exist between Tanganyika Lake and the Cape, we shall find that they mark out exactly the same line as that just indicated as the probable Nguni route. For, once out of the cattle districts along the eastern side of Tanganyika, one may travel right across the continent to Mbunduland (at the sources of the Kwanza river in south Angola),²⁶ and from south Angola due north as far as the northern Cameroons and the Cross River in Nigeria,²⁷ without ever encountering a sign of bovine life,²⁸ save a few stray herds more recently introduced, about Lake Mweru and along the basin of the Kwango river as far as Yanziland, right on the banks of the Congo.²⁹ Similarly on the eastern side of the continent, no cattle are ever known to have been reared by the Natives throughout the whole length and breadth of Portuguese East Africa, from the Rufiji river on its northern boundary to Delagoa Bay in the south.³⁰ Within those boundaries and right up the Zambezi as far as the Kafue, the Bantu tribesman deems himself wealthy (or did, at least up to 50-60 years ago), if he possess a few goats or fat-tailed sheep. In such poverty-stricken areas a man is content to celebrate his wedding-feast with the slaughter of a scraggy fowl, or with even less, a pot of beer ;³¹ while the local ancestral gods have to be thankful if they be offered a 'sacrifice' of maize or millet meal.³²

Passing along this selfsame conjectured Nguni route, but now examining it rather from the linguistic angle, we shall find, if we compare the Nguni word-forms with those of the several tribes along the way, that, according to Johnston's³³ list of 240 common Bantu words, the mutual similarities are fairly evenly distributed throughout the whole eastern Bantu field, but diminish as one enters the Congo area and proceeds westwards.

Starting, then, from the Transvaal and working backwards, we find—employing here, for shortness, Johnston's own terms, of 'preprefix' for the dissyllabic nounal particle, and simply 'prefix' for the monosyllabic type—that the Chwana (Transvaal) shows 132 resemblances to the Nguni, but with much altered prefixes; Ronga (Delagoa Bay), 140 resemblances to Lala (Natal) Nguni, with closely related prefixes; Sengwe (Inhambane), 133 resemblances to Lala, with prefixes; Ndawu (Sofala), 125 resemblances, mainly to Lala, with prefixes after the Yawo type beyond; Karanga (Mashonaland), 147 resemblances, mainly to Lala, with prefixes like those of Ndawu; Rue (south of lower Zambezi) and Shangane (mid-Sabi river, Portuguese East), showing a large percentage of obviously imported Zulu words; Yawo (East Nyasaland), 119 resemblances, with prefixes; Nyanja (Nyasaland), 121 weak resemblances, with prefixes. Unfortunately many of these south-eastern Bantu tongues have lost much of their comparative value, owing to their several countries having been overrun and largely settled by hordes of Zulu fugitives from Shaka a century ago.

Taking now a more inland course towards the north, we gradually get beyond the range of Zulu infiltration, and, with the Luyi or Rotse (upper Zambezi), find 117 resemblances to the Nguni, but with closely related preprefixes; the Bisa (east of Lake Bangweulu), with 135 strong resemblances to Zulu roots, and likewise similar preprefixes; Mambwe (between Nyasa and Tanganyika lakes), 124 resemblances almost as close as those of the Nyanza group, and with strongly resembling preprefixes; Nkonde (also north of Nyasa Lake), the same as Bisa; Dzalamo (Tanganyika Colony), 116 resemblances less close than those of Mambwe, but with equally as close preprefixes; Nyamwezi (Tanganyika Colony), 145 resemblances, but less strong than the Nyanza group, and with

prefixes only; Kikuyu (Kenya Colony), 112 resemblances (remote), and with prefixes only. Coming to the Nyanza group—Ruanda (south of Victoria Nyanza), with 143 strongly resembling word-roots, and almost identical preprefixes. The same remarks apply to Nyoro (west Uganda), with 127; Hima (Uganda), with 119; Ganda, with 145; and Masaba (Mount Elgon, Uganda), with 114.

We thus find a virtually continuous trail of preprefixal (i.e. using the Nguni *dissyllabic* nounal prefix) speakers, from the Hereros (in South-West Africa), back through Rotseland (on the upper Zambezi), to the Bisas (by Lake Bangweulu), Nkondes (north of Nyasa Lake), Mambwes (south of Tanganyika Lake), Dzalamos (in Tanganyika Colony), Ruandas (south of Victoria Nyanza), Himas and Gandas (in Uganda), and Masabas (near Mount Elgon, north Uganda).

These linguistic considerations may also in some measure favour our conjecture that the Nguni trek from the north followed the path of the cattle, namely, down along the eastern side of Tanganyika Lake, thence by northern Nyasaland and northern Rhodesia, towards the head-waters of the Zambezi. We say the 'upper Zambezi' advisedly; because, on their way down, they must have found their path constantly barred by the formidable obstacle (both to themselves and their cattle) of great impassable rivers. There was, for instance, the mighty Luwalaba (which is the upper part of the Congo), still fully a mile in width and rushing at a speed of 3 to 4 miles an hour even at Nyangwe town, there right athwart their path beyond Lake Tanganyika.³⁴ Further ahead, there suddenly stretched before them the still more alarming Zambezi, another vast expanse a mile broad and flowing with a strong current even at Nyakatoro, in Lovaleland, less than 200 miles from the river's source.³⁵ What was to be done? Even in these present days, the Ngunis have no knowledge whatever of the canoe. The only water-conveyance of which they knew was their *isiHlenga*, a bundle, a foot thick, of long dry reeds (and still used in similar emergencies), straddling or stretched upon which a brave man or woman manages to paddle him or her-self, or be towed by swimmers, across the hazardous, swirling, and generally crocodile-infested, rivers. It is hardly likely they were acquainted with any better contrivance in those more ancient days of their first great trans-continental journey.

Plainly, to such primitive folk, a straight course was an impossibility, and obstacles impassable to man and beast had to be dealt with exactly in the way they are in these present times, namely, by the simple process of always and everywhere circumventing them. Indeed, why worry about getting across at all? To them, and for their purpose, up stream was as promising as over, and infinitely easier. So, like the flowing rivers themselves, the stream of wandering Ngunis ever sought the line of least resistance and followed the open road, leisurely moving along the rivers, up their course to narrower, shallower waters. And so, we imagine, it came about that the route of the canoeless Ngunis followed the same old trail blazed long ago by their Bushman and Hottentot predecessors, namely, along the watersheds of the Congo and Zambezi, the headwaters of each of which they successively doubled.

Inasmuch as the Ngunis reached South Africa with the *Nyanza* models of speech and custom, in the main, so well preserved, we think we may fairly draw the following conclusions:—first, that their route to the South had *not* been along the East African coast (through the wholly monosyllabic-prefix using tribes); and secondly, that they did not make any very prolonged sojourns among the Bantu peoples through whom they passed. Further, judging by the more recent Nguni migrations (e.g. those of the fugitive masses led out of Zululand by Zwangendaba, by Nxaba, by Soshangane and by Mzilikazi only one hundred years ago, when some parties of them penetrated almost as far north as the Victoria Nyanza), we feel that the first and original Nguni migration from that Victoria Nyanza region to the Zambezi *need* not have required for its accomplishment more than half a century in time—though it *may* have taken longer. Such a supposition, then, would make the possible departure from the north somewhere about 1450 A.D., and the arrival on the upper Zambezi about 1500 A.D. And at that period, we surmise that the total membership of the Nguni family may have been, at the start, round about 100 souls, and at the finish, not more than 300.

Having traced our Ngunis back to what was probably, at any rate the region of, their mother-country in the north, it may be interesting now to search that region for any of their

possibly surviving relatives. A marked likeness in custom and tongue may serve as reliable a guide as any other available.

Taking the Masaba and Ganda peoples (both of Uganda) first, we will compare a few of their noun-forms and their phrases with corresponding ones in the Zulu Nguni. In the Table, *M* stands for Masaba, *G* for Ganda, and *Z* for Zulu, *E* giving the English.

E.	s.	<i>the-Native</i>		<i>of-me (=my) they-him-brought-</i> <i>have</i>
M.		umuNdu	wa-Se	ba-mu-Rer-ere
E.	p.	<i>the-Natives</i>	<i>of-me</i>	<i>they-them-brought-</i> <i>have</i>
M.		babaNdu	ba-Se	ba-ba-Rer-ere
G.	s.	omuNtu	wa-Nge	ba-mu-Les-e
	p.	abaNtu	ba-Nge	ba-ba-Les-e
Z.	s.	umuNtu	wa-Mi	ba-m-Let-ile
	p.	abaNtu	ba-Mi	ba-ba-Let-ile
M.	s.	kumuBano (<i>knife</i>)	kwa-Se	ba-ku-Rer-ere
	p.	kimiBano	kya-Se	ba-ki-Rer-ere
G.	s.	omuTi (<i>tree</i>)	gwa-Nge	ba-gu-Les-e
	p.	emiTi	gya-Nge	ba-gi-Les-e
Z.	s.	umuTi (<i>tree</i>)	wa-Mi	ba-wu-Let-ile
	p.	imiTi	ya-Mi	ba-yi-Let-ile
M.	s.	liBali (<i>stone</i>)	lya-Se	ba-li-Rer-ere
	p.	kamaBali	ka-Se	ba-ka-Rer-ere
G.	s.	ejInja (<i>stone</i>)	lya-Nge	ba-li-Les-e
	p.	amaInja	ga-Nge	ba-ga-Les-e
Z.	s.	iliTshe (<i>stone</i>)	la-Mi	ba-li-Let-ile
	p.	amaTshe	a-Mi	ba-wa-Let-ile
M.	s.	iNgafu (<i>cow</i>)	ya-Se	ba-ki-Rer-ere
	p.	tsiNgafu	tsa-Se	ba-tsi-Rer-ere
G.	s.	eNte (<i>cow</i>)	ya-Nge	ba-gi-Les-e
	p.	eNte	za Nge	ba-zi-Les-e
Z.	s.	iNkomo (<i>cow</i>)	ya-Mi	ba-yi-Let-ile
	p.	iziNkomo	za-Mi	ba-zi-Let-ile
M.	s.	luGoye (<i>piece-of-bark</i>)	lwa-Se	ba-lu-Rer-ere
	p.	tsinGoye	tsa-Se	ba-tsi-Rer-ere

G.	s.	oluGoye (<i>cloth</i>)	lwa-Nge	ba-lu-Les-e
	p.	ēnGoye	za-Nge	ba-zi-Les-e
Z.	s.	uluTi (<i>stick</i>)	lwa-Mi	ba-lu-Let-ile
	p.	izinTi	za-Mi	ba-zi-Let-ile
M.	s.	kikiNdu (<i>thing</i>)	kya-Se	ba-ki-Rer-ere
	p.	bibiNdu	bya-Se	ba-bi-Rer-ere
G.	s.	ekiNtu (<i>thing</i>)	kya-Nge	ba-ki-Les-e
	p.	ebiNtu	bya-Nge	ba-bi-Les-e
Z.	s.	iNto (<i>thing</i>)	ya-Mi	ba-yi-Let-ile
	p.	iziNto	za-Mi	ba-zi-Let-ile

It will be noticed that the Ganda possessive has everywhere *-Nge* as its pronoun (e.g. 'of-me'), against the corresponding Zulu *-Mi*. The Zulu, however, also has a particle, *Ngi-* (meaning 'I' or 'me'), but used there, not in possessive, but solely in verbal formations, as a personal pronominal prefix (thus, *ngi-m-Letile*, I-him-brought-have; *u-ngi-Let-ile*, he-me-brought-has). Contrariwise, the Zulu personal pronoun (absolute), *Mina* ('I' or 'me')—no longer *Ngi*, as in the verbal forms—reappears in the corresponding *Mimi* ('I') of the Giryama and *Mino* ('I') of the Pokomo (both on the coast of Kenya Colony—see also the interesting mythological affinities with these Giryama and their Kamba neighbours on pp. 57-59), and also of the Swahili (on the coast of Tanganyika Colony).

Again, in the examples with 'stone' (above), the Ganda shows an apparently more recently evolved singular prefix, *ej-*, of which Pilkington³⁶ remarks: "The singular prefix seems to have been '*li*'; but this does not occur in many words of this class". This older and original form, *li-*, would bring the Ganda at once into line with the Zulu prefix, *ili-*, for the same class. Also it would bring both into line with the neighbouring Nyoro, where the singular prefix is given by Maddox³⁷ as *eri-*. Strange to say, in Nyoro this prefix *eri-*, has become more recently abbreviated into a long *ī-*, exactly as the corresponding Zulu prefix, *ili-*, for the same class, has, during the last century, become abbreviated likewise into a long *ī-* (thus, original *iliTshe*, stone, is nowadays pronounced *īTshe*).

We notice also that the locative nounal prefix, *e-*, supposedly peculiar to Zulu, turns up again in the Nyanza speech (e.g. Ganda, *eMengo*, at-Mengo).

Similarly in Ganda the curious Zulu 'dummy' verb, *ukuTi*, reappears with exactly the same form and the like meaning. It occurs also in Nyanja ; but there it may, or may not, be a Ngoni-Zulu importation. We think, however, that this verb may be a grammatical phenomenon originally common to all Bantu speech. Something similar appears even in certain Negro languages of Guinea.

Numerous other linguistic resemblances between the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) speech and that of the Gandas, Masabas and other Nyanza and Kenya Bantu, will be easily noticed upon perusal of their several grammars and dictionaries.

Turning now from linguistic to sociological, cultural and physical comparisons, we have, alas ! no such comprehensive comparative survey before us as that supplied by Johnston's Bantu vocabularies ; but from what we have been able to discover, it seems to us that not only the nearest linguistic relatives of the Ngunis are to be found among the Nyanza tribes, but also their sociological and cultural.

Sir Harry Johnston³⁸ has stated that "in culture, customs, warfare weapons, the Zulu recalls by many traits the Nilotic Negroes of Eastern Africa (Masai) and the Gala aristocracy (Bahima) of the Victoria Nyanza". We have come to the conclusion that (considering the time at which it was made) this was a very shrewd remark. It agrees entirely with our own independent observations, wherein, both by reading about and by personal investigation among the Kavirondo and other peoples of the Nyanza region, we have always been struck by the many characteristics noticeable there which are strongly reminiscent of the Zulus.

In the north-western corner of Uganda stands Mount Elgon. On the western side of the mountain are settled the *Masaba* (or Gesu) tribe. Though they speak a Bantu language, which Johnston³⁹ thought might "perhaps claim to be the nearest living approach to the original Bantu mother-tongue", they themselves do not appear to be pure Bantu, but an ancient cross between the earliest Bantu arrivals in those parts and certain aboriginal dwarfish Negroes then there resident. They are a degraded, simian-like type, with prognathous jaws, strongly projecting superciliary arches, low brows, flat noses, long upper lips, receding chins and stumpy stature ; in a word,

as Johnston observes, they give considerable justification for the term, 'ape-like men'. Johnston⁴⁰ regarded them as "the most primitive and fundamental Negro race of the continent (of which the Congo Pygmies are a branch)".

Though the speech of the Masabas is so nearly akin to that of the Gandas and the Zulus, their customs diverge considerably, perhaps because more primitive and hybrid. Even so, we note many practices which remind us of the Zulus. Their huts, though low-walled and conically thatched (therefore more like those of the Xosa Ngunis than those of the Zulus), have their floors regularly smeared with the dung of their cows (Zulu fashion), of which they possess a few. Goats are their staple stock, and from their skins (as did the Zulus) they manufacture cloaks (*Z. isiPúku*). The girls wear in front a small apron (6 inches by 3) of fibre (and so resembling the original frontal *isiGégé* of the Zulu girls), or of string-fringe (again resembling the Zulu girl's *isiHeshe*). When a child is born, the navel-cord and placenta are buried near the hut (those of the Zulu being buried within it). Twins, after the manner of those parts (but contrary to Zulu practice) are welcomed. Boys, with faces and bodies smeared with red clay (in place of the white clay of the Ngunis), are circumcised in normal Nguni fashion (having the foreskin simply pulled taut and then snipped off). The girls are also 'initiated'—but with the gift only of a number of 'keloids' (hard lumps of flesh, which form after the healing of lacerations). Their food consists mainly of millet, beans, a kind of 'pea' (perhaps the voandzeia earth-pea, the *iNdlubu* of the Zulus), bananas, and, in more recent times, maize and sweet-potatoes. We hear nothing of the Zulu *amaSi* (sour milk curds). Their fields are cultivated with a digging-stick, beer being first poured on the ground to secure the favour of the 'earth-spirit' (comp. Zulu *Nomkubulwana* rites, chap. 16) and offerings made to that spirit when the crop is ripe. After marriage the women wear a girdle (comp. the *isiFóciya* or waist-band of the Zulu women), to which is attached behind a length of fibre cords which, passed between the legs, are tied to the girdle in front; but when the lady becomes a widow (and is presumably on sale again), she burns her girdle, and appears in public in complete birth-day attire. Polygyny is practised, and marriage is within the tribe (endogamous), but outside the clan (exogamous) all 'gentiles' being strictly tabu: all which (except the clan

exogamy) is contrary to Nguni custom. Both men and women relieve the body of all its hair by shaving; which (except for the retention of the face hair) the Ngunis also like to do. Their religion is, fundamentally, on the Nguni system, with variations. Their dead live still as family-spirits, and a large stone is placed near the hut-door of the deceased, providing him with a new and 'eternal' residence. This 'temple' (unknown to the Ngunis) is termed an *Mboge*, and is regularly provisioned with beer and foodstuffs—which last the Zulus also do, but place the beer in the back part of the deceased man's hut. Certain of these ancestral spirits become apotheosized into minor special 'gods' (unknown to the Ngunis), controlling small-pox and other such plagues. The greatest of all of them has been raised to the supreme dignity of 'creator', and so is comparable with the *uNkulunkulu* of the Zulus, and probably was, like him, the tribe's great-great-ancestor. He is by them, quite appropriately, named *Kubumba* (the signification of which in their language, we do not know; but in Zulu, the verb, *ukuBumba*, means 'to-mould or form-out-of-clay'). Like the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*, this *Kubumba* also is rarely worshipped, mainly (among the Masabas) at the initiation of the boys and in times of sickness.⁴¹

But the Masaba next-door neighbours are infinitely more interesting as a study. For near by dwell the Kavirondos;⁴² and these Kavirondos are an intriguing puzzle. They are divided, geographically and linguistically, into two distinct tribes—one beside the Victoria Nyanza, about Kisumu (hence called the Southern Kavirondo); the other further north, near Mt. Elgon (hence called the Northern Kavirondo). All alike subscribe to the same tradition that they originally descended from some north-westerly locality (Nile region). European authorities agree with this, some relating them to the Nile Baris and Shilluks, others to the Dinkas of the Sudan, others, again, deriving them from the region of Lake Rudolf. Themselves they claim relationship with the Masai.

But while both Kavirondo divisions have similar traditions as to origin and similar, though not identical, customs, each speaks a language entirely foreign to the other. The southern or Nyanza section speaks an obviously Nilotic tongue; which Stigand likens to the Bari; hence these are usually termed *Nilotic* Kavirondos. The northern or Elgon section, on the

contrary, speaks a Bantu tongue of the purest mould and of the Masaba pattern ; hence these are usually termed *Bantu Kavirondos*. Speaking of these latter, Hopley asserts that, physically, they are typical Bantu, and Shrubsall says that, anatomically, they are indistinguishable from the latter. And yet their supposedly Nilotic relatives on the Victoria Nyanza regard a 'Bantu' damsel as beneath their notice and would never dream of marrying her. Ourselves we sometimes wonder whether the northern or Elgon fraternity are really 'Nilotic' and really 'Kavirondo' at all ; whether they are not and always have been, as speech and face and bones attest, purely Bantu, possibly in earlier times subjected by or intimately associated with the more genuinely Nilotic Kavirondos on the Nyanza. They could certainly never have been subjected by the Masaba, whose language they speak ; nor, we think, by any other Bantu tribe at present in their vicinity. Yet there *may* have been such a Bantu conquest (of the Nilotic intruders), and large-scale physical intermingling with them, in the distant past, followed by a later migration away of the whole conquering Bantu tribe. Had our migrating Ngunis any finger in this pie ? Or have the following observations by Purvis⁴³ any bearing on the problem ?

"There is undoubtedly something more than legend," he writes, "in the story that long ago a vast body of people, probably Gallas [why Galas ? We notice nothing 'Gala' here in speech, customs or physique], led by two brothers, came from the east and settled for a time at Masaba. Here they discussed the direction of their further wanderings, and it was finally decided to go off north-east.

"At Bugondo, a large hill in the Teso country, overlooking Lake Kyoga, and from which can be seen the countries of Usoga, Unyoro and Uganda, there are pits pointed out from which the Natives declare these early wanderers quarried the ore with which to provide iron for their weapons.

"After a stay at Bugondo, it was agreed to separate. The elder brother, Lukudi, crossed Lake Kyoga and took possession of Unyoro ; while Kintu crossed to Usoga, where he settled his nephew, and then went on to Uganda, where his name is still well known in connection with legends dealing with the beginning of things in that country.

“Probably large numbers of the Negroid Natives of Masaba joined the Hamitic invaders and went off with them westward, whilst *other Bantu Negroids are said to have gone off independently towards the south, settling throughout Kavirondo and still further south* [our italics]; and some few more daring spirits . . . crossed Lake Victoria to Uganda.

“Certain it is, there seems a wonderful relationship, which can scarcely be wholly due to the similarity of construction that exists in all Bantu tongues, between Lumasaba and Lukavirondo and Lusukuma [i.e. their languages] towards the south, and between Lumasaba and Lugwere (old Usoga), Lunyoro and Luganda.”

We know that this story is usually presented by Ganda historians as an explanation of *Ganda* origins. But there may be something more in it than that—something that *might* have a bearing also on Kavirondo and (dare we say it?) even on *Nguni* origins. Anyway, there must be some explanation as to why these northern (reputedly ‘Nilotic’) Kavirondos possess a ‘Bantu’ physique and a ‘Bantu’ tongue; and, further, why they should show, sociologically, so many likenesses to our *Ngunis*. What was it that moved Sir Harry Johnston (in his statement mentioned a few paragraphs back), from among all the hundreds of other Bantu tribes, to select the ‘Zulus’ (i.e. *Ngunis*) for his assertion that “in culture, customs, warfare weapons, the Zulu recalls by many traits the Nilotic Negroes of Eastern Africa and the Gala aristocracy of the Victoria Nyanza”? Perhaps the reader will be better able to find the answer after considering the sociological comparisons we shall offer between the (supposedly) Nilotic Kavirondo and the Bantu *Ngunis*. Unfortunately, only those familiar with the life habits of these *Ngunis* will be able to detect the similarity continuously occurring in the customs of the Kavirondo, and therefore to appreciate the value and significance of that fact to the full. However, for the benefit of the uninformed we may say that every Kavirondo custom instanced below is equally a custom of the *Zulus*—save only *those enclosed within brackets* [].

The Kavirondo tribe is, like that of the *Ngunis*, made up of several clans, each clan having its own special clan-name (*Zulu*, *isiBongo*). Hopley, we are glad to note, sees in these clan-names *no* imaginary totemism (as so many others, less well

informed, are wont to do), but simply (and quite rightly, we feel sure) the names of founder chiefs.

The clan divides itself into families each family residing in its own separate kraal, as with the Ngunis. Such is the Kavirondo practice still in vogue; but nowadays it marks mainly the higher grades of society—[among commoners, several separate families may reside together in a single large kraal or 'village']. Each such separate kraal (also village) is independent of the rest, all inmates therein being subject to the kraal-head, who, in association with the other older men in the establishment, administers justice, inflicts penalties, and generally controls the affairs of the whole. From his judgment lies an appeal to the clan-chief. [Trial by magic-water ordeal is practised]. Punishments, even for homicide, are almost always stock-fines.

A Kavirondo kraal of the really national type (as evidenced in the homes of the aristocracy) consists of a number of huts each the dwelling of a separate wife and her children) arranged in a circle and surrounded externally by a high circular hedge, generally of euphorbia, aloes or thorn-bush. The principal hut is at the top of the kraal or circle, immediately opposite the kraal-entrance (away at the lower end of the kraal). [The outer hedge in some kraals is replaced by a wall of mudwork, with an entrance-way consisting of an arch of mud. This method, we think, though itself ancient enough, may be of more recent foreign importation among the Kavirondo]. [In the villages of the inferior classes, where several families reside together, the huts are arranged in irregular bunches, each bunch representing a separate family and being surrounded by its own private hedge. A great external hedge then encloses the whole cluster]. In all cases, unmarried men and adult girls have special separate huts of their own.—We may here remark that, among the Ngunis proper, 'kraals' *only* are known (i.e. separate single-family settlements); but among the Konis (i.e. Sutoid Ngunis) 'villages', even large 'towns', exist.

In the centre of the circle of huts (that is, in the centre of the kraal) stands the cattle-fold, itself again surrounded by a hedge. [In many of the inferior villages, however, the cattle-fold, though still in the centre of the whole, remains itself unhedged]. The cattle-fold is the favourite sitting and assembly place of the men.

The huts themselves are not of the Zulu type ; but they are, strangely, of identically the same type of architecture as the huts of some of the South African Chwana (Koni) tribes. They are circular, with wattle-and-daub walls four feet high, surmounted by a thatched conical roof resting upon a central pillar, the roof extending beyond the wall beneath so as to form a poled veranda all round the hut. The hut inside is not one single room, as with the Ngunis. Entering the doorway, one finds oneself in a narrow passage with a mud wall (or one of wicker-work) on either side, partitioning off two compartments, one for the storage of pots and the grinding of grain, the other a pen for small stock (goats, sheep and calves), like the *iTómbe* of the Zulus. Proceeding along the passage (four or five feet long), one emerges into the larger rear portion of the hut, where are the cooking and living quarters of the family. [Some huts have the small stock-pen partitioned off at the back of this living compartment.] Hides are strewn about the floor for sitting and sleeping on.

To all appearances, the Kavirondo are Bantu, much more like the Zulus than are most of the east, central and western Bantu peoples, and are of about the same average height (5ft. 6ins. to 5ft. 8ins.), though, we think, hardly so robust. Johnston⁴⁴ says they are "as a rule, a handsome race of negroes, exhibiting sometimes, especially among the men, really beautiful physical proportions and statuesque forms."

[At an early age (some say, at 8 or 9 years ; others, at puberty), boys and girls have the two middle lower incisors (in the Nilotic section, four or six lower teeth) knocked or pulled out. Their own explanation of this is that, if it were not done, they would stand the risk of dying 'in warfare'. Ourselves we suspect that 'dying of tetanus' were nearer the original truth, that disease being particularly prevalent among the Masai, their reputed relatives ; and was so among the Kavirondo in former times].

The ear-lobe is pierced, and a large ear-ring of some kind worn.

In some parts (? clans) the hair is worn in long dangling strings, like a mop and smeared with red clay. In others, it is kept normally cut and left uncoloured.

The females (as they say, 'for luck') affect lines of 'dots' cut in the skin across the abdomen, and sometimes also the

chest. The flesh, in this operation, is slightly lacerated, then irritated by some medicament, till it finally heals into a small hard lump. Slits across the forehead are also worn, as charms against death in warfare.

[The afterbirth is buried, not (as with the Zulus) inside the hut, but just outside the doorway. Further, twins are welcomed as lucky; whereas with the Zulus, they are so unlucky that one of them was invariably 'removed'].

Some clans circumcise (at 15-16 years of age); others do not.

All sexes and all ages have small reluctance to exposing the *pudenda* unabashed to public gaze. Utilitarian and decorative 'frills' are often however appended. Thus, the men affect cloaks, made of civet-cat, sheep or goat skin. This garment is worn by the married hung over the shoulder and left dangling down the side; by the unmarried, hanging from the neck down the back, with the front exposed. All which is very reminiscent of the practice among the Xosa Ngunis.

The men are partial too to coils of iron wire and bracelets on their limbs, and on their heads above the forehead circlets of hippo-ivory, as well as large bunches of feathers. One is tempted to wonder whether there may be any relationship between these ivory 'head-rings' and the black polished 'vegetable-ivory' head-ring worn by the Zulus. Furthermore, they like to whiten their legs with white clay; [and on festal occasions they manufacture hats three feet high].

Beads having cheapened in these latter times by importation, a waist-belt of such appeals strongly to both sexes. The Kavirondos themselves do not make beads; but the Bantu Kavirondos (i.e. the Elgon group) do what is easier and better—they just pick them up out of mother-earth, pretty blue beads of crystalline material. Who was the generous sower? Says Johnston:⁴⁵ "These beads, and the custom of building clay walls with arched doorways round their villages" [and, he might have added, those little clay oil-lamps too] "may possibly indicate that in ancient times representatives of a superior, not wholly negro, race may have come down from the north, and have dwelt as traders, miners or settlers in these countries to the south of Mount Elgon. We know by the Egyptian paintings and bas-reliefs that they had sufficient trading intercourse with the countries of the Upper Nile and the Western Sudan

to have derived thence specimens of the Congo [or may it have been of Johnston's 'Masaba'] Pygmies (who, according to the traditions of the negroes of the Congo watershed, formerly dwelt in large numbers in the Bahr-al-Ghazal forests), chimpanzees and perhaps monkeys. It would indeed be surprising if the powerful dynasties which arose in Egypt and Nubia from time to time during something like 4,000 years had made no attempt to increase the commerce of their country in the direction of the Black Man's Country."

[As for the females, the Nilotic Kavirondo ladies are more in accord with the modern 'advanced' views of their European sisters than are the Bantu Kavirondo—they wear less clothing. With them, the married lady wears a gown consisting of a rolled-up fringe of papyrus fibres (6-7 inches long), gathered tightly together at one end and so suspended behind, where it falls like a thick compact tassel between the buttocks, the pubes being left exposed. The Bantu Kavirondo lady, on the other hand, while wearing the tail-tassel, conceals the *pudenda* behind a small apron of leather embroidered with beads or made as a fibre-string fringe (resembling that of the girls). It is said to be a serious misdemeanour for any man, even the husband, to handle this sacred veil profanely—penalty, one goat]. The unmarried girls, everywhere alike (but only when in 'full-dress'), don a tiny apron, 6 inches by 3, consisting of a fringe of papyrus or banana fibres, suspended in front; with the rear unburdened with a tail. MacQueen,⁴⁶ however, says that some Kavirondo men have actually advanced to a real Zulu *īBéshu*—"on behind, an apron of deer-skin as large as a handkerchief". The Zulu sporran does not seem to have reached them yet. Johnston's⁴⁷ illustration depicts such a young Kavirondo man attired in this *īBéshu*, and a Kavirondo maid wearing a Zulu *isiGégé* or *isiHeshe* (pudental apron).

The Kavirondos, like the Ngunis, are a people at once pastoral and agricultural, and labour is generally divided similarly with both. Boys and youths attend to the cattle; girls, to the fields and homes (fetching firewood and water). Females are strictly prohibited from herding and milking; though they may clean the milk-vessels. Men and women work together in the fields; as, indeed, they do also with *some* of the Ngunis, though among the Zulus the men regard all field-work as beneath their dignity, a male habitually engaging in such

labour being regarded as effeminate, which with them is no compliment. Kavirondo and Zulu alike dearly love felling a tree, and are consequently equally expert at forest and bush destruction, [the Kavirondo making a bonfire of the wood].

Cattle, sheep, goats, fowls and dogs are their domesticated animals; and of these, especially of the cattle, they are inordinately proud. The Kavirondo cattle are of a short-horned, but humped variety. [A cow is slaughtered by a deft blow with a club on the back of the skull]; goats, by suffocation, the snout being seized and firmly held till the beast expires. Women do not eat fowls, nor goats and sheep.

The staple food-plants of the Kavirondo are sorghum (Kafir-corn), ground into meal for food; spiked millet (Z. *uNyawoti*) and eleusine coracana grain (Z. *uPoko*), used for brewing beer; nowadays maize; and in smaller quantities beans, peas (? voandzeia, Z. *iNdlubu*), sweet-potatoes and sesamum (Z. *uDonqa*), [from which latter oil is extracted and burned in little clay lamps almost identical with those of Ancient Egypt and Rome, undoubtedly an importation from the north]. Although the Kavirondos call their sorghum *muTama*, and the Zulus call it *amaBele*, yet, among the Kavirondos, a man with a rich crop or harvest of the grain is called an *oBele* (a word obviously of the same origin as the Zulu term).

When the corn is in ear, the contents of a goat's stomach is scattered about the field to ward off blight and hail—reminding us of the Zulu practice of 'crying for the corn' (*ukuKálela amaBele*). The grain is gathered in baskets (like the Zulu *iQoma*) and stored unthreshed in huge gourd-shaped baskets like the Zulu *isiLulu*), raised from the ground upon a platform [and covered with a pointed roof of grass, which is bodily removed when grain is required].

Hemp (Z. *iNtsangu*) is grown, and smoked in gourd-like hubble-bubbles of the East African model (and therefore unlike the Zulu cow or antelope horn, which follows the Bushman usage). Tobacco too is now cultivated, snuffed by the men, and smoked by the women in orthodox Xosa long-stemmed pipes.

Males eat alone; women after the men—all religiously washing their hands before the meal and rinsing the mouth after. Food is served in small baskets (Z. *iMbenge*). Sorghum

millet and milk-curds (*Z. amaSi*) provide their main foodstuffs. Meat is indulged in only on ceremonial and festive occasions.

[Whether the canoes account for their fish-eating, or the fish-eating for the canoes, we cannot say; but the Kavirondos both possess canoes and eat fish (the first unknown, and the second anathema, to the Zulus). But they do not shine as oarsmen. To make amends, they do shine as bridge builders, being, as Johnston affirms, the "best suspension-bridge builders in the (Uganda) protectorate."] They catch their fish in the same long conical wicker-traps as are used by the Zulus for trapping small game.

Pottery-making, in red and black clay, is the women's job. Many of their pots are identical in shape with the Zulu *ama-Kámba* pots; but the larger pot (resembling the Zulu *ũPiso*) has its long-necked mouth, not straight up as with the Zulus, but slightly curved outwards. They use the ordinary Zulu grass-ring as pad for carrying the pots upon their heads.

The familiar Zulu grass-plaited baskets are common in Kavirondoland. And the Zulu basketry and mat-work are, we know, largely duplications (we do not say copies) of the same things as found in Ancient Egypt.

We believe the Nilotic Kavirondo smiths are nowadays (as are the Zulus) merely forgers, probably lacking the iron-ore; but their Bantu brothers at Mount Elgon are well acquainted with the smelting art (as were the Zulus), getting their ore from the local hills. Their bellows, moreover, unlike those used by the Hereros, are exact replicas of those of the Zulus.

When the Kavirondo youth has nothing better to do, it organizes a regular old-fashioned Zulu *ĩJadu* dance, which brings together the boys and girls of the different clans for courting purposes, with a view to intermarriage.

Wine, women, war: that is the eternal triangle of these primitive folk. So it comes about that the Bantu Kavirondo have the reputation of being, like the Zulus, sturdy warriors. Their assegais or spears, as with the Zulus, are, some, long-bladed (without blood-channels); others, short. They also carry wooden clubs, [and use bows and arrows (which the Zulus do not)]. Their shields are of the Zulu pattern, made of thick leather, and long ovals in shape with a boss for the handle, but

none of the horizontal Zulu slits. After killing an enemy, a man must go through a process of purification and fortification, an important element in which is, that he must reside in an old woman's hut and wear strips of skin round head and wrists (*Z. amaMbatá*); all in complete accord with Zulu custom.

The Kavirondos, judged by Negro standards, have the reputation of being sexually more moral than most other tribes. Yet the usual Zulu intercourse (*Z. ukuHlobonga*) is permitted between youths and their sweethearts, the latter betaking themselves to the former at night-time. [Girls are said to be betrothed so early as 6 or 7 years of age, and to go to their husbands at 10 or 11—which, we think, must mean at puberty]. Bride-price, 10 to 15 head of cattle, is paid for a wife. The love-sick swain employs a male friend to do the bargaining with the father-in-law. With the latter's consent, the prospective bride is escorted by her girl-friends to the young-man's home, where she remains 10 days, singing and dancing being the order of the day. Thereafter the bride's-maids escort her back home, and there she remains until the bride-price is complete. This done, the bridegroom builds a hut in or about his father's kraal, and the bride is brought over and enters in without further ceremony; all which is somewhat similar to the Zulu course, though not nearly so elaborate as is the Zulu wedding. [As a mark of her higher status, the young wife now assumes a 'tail']. The penalty of adultery (on the part of the wife) is death; and, says Johnston,⁴⁸ "it was thought a shameful thing if a girl was not found a virgin on her wedding day"; which reminds of the customary examination by her mother of a Zulu bride.

All sickness is attributed either to some evil man or to some irate ancestor. But, like the Zulu, the Kavirondo is well armed with effective means for confounding all their knavish tricks—not by medicine alone, but also by magic. The Zulu practice of *ukuBetélela* (fixing up charmed sticks about the kraal) is one of his favourite weapons against thieves; equally so the Zulu practice of *ukuTéleza* (the sprinkling or placing of magical medicaments about the kraal), which will deprive the evil-one of his power or his poisons of their strength, and so render his efforts futile or his capture easy.

When a family-head is about to die, he names one of his sons as his heir. Should he fail to do this, the elders of the clan

will do it for him. Property in the lower-class families is simply divided equally amongst all surviving sons. A mere female can inherit nothing ; not even herself.

After death, the corpse is contracted into a sitting posture and wrapped up in the hide of a sacrificial ox, [portions of whose flesh are placed at the four corners of the grave]. [The body is laid in the grave on its right side]. Elders are buried inside their huts (as is *sometimes* done also among the Ngunis) ; younger people, outside, beneath the veranda of the hut. A kraal-head, however, is buried, not lying on his side, but in a squatting posture (as with all Zulus). [But more than that, his head is left projecting above the ground, and so remains, covered by a cooking-pot, until the ants have cleaned it of flesh, or it has otherwise dried up. Then it is removed and buried outside close to the hut. Later his bones are dug up] and buried (as with certain Nguni clans) in some sacred burial-grove.⁴⁹ In connection with this gruesome head-exposure burial, read the account (on p. 716 of this book) of an exactly similar burial occurring in modern Zululand, the only instance we have ever heard of there.

A general wailing proclaims the demise to the neighbourhood. Then, after the burial, the relatives of the deceased shave their heads, and the females bind a band of banana fibre round head and waist, retaining it there for a year, then burning it and replacing it with a new band of papyrus fibre, the same to be worn for another year : all which is practically identical with the Zulu custom.

The family relies for its well-being on the old man none the less now that he has gone over to the *amaFwa* or ancestral spirits (*Z. amaDlozi*—but note *en passant* the similarity of this Kavirondo root, *Fwa*, to the Nguni root, *Fá*, die ; which *Fa*, among the Lala Ngunis, actually did become changed to *Fw* (e.g. *umFwana*, boy, instead of Ntungwa Nguni *umFana*). The family keeps in constant touch with him in spiritland by sacrifice and prayer. Cattle and goats are the ambrosia in his Hades, and with these he is piously provided. Naturally they cannot be forwarded direct ; [so they erect an altar, in the shape of a heap of stones (comp. *Z. isiVivane*, see Index, under V) placed near the hut, and the blood of the sacrificial beast is poured thereon as a libation]. This presumably he 'licks', as the Zulu ancestral spirit does its 'meat' offering.

But there was no Olympus without its Zeus. So, just as the Zulus have their *uNkulunkulu* (or Great-great-One, the creator of mankind), the Kavirondos likewise have their *Nyasi* (or Supreme One). [And since their great men are all deposited in sacred woods, so Nyasi has his abode, not like Zeus on a mountain-top, but up a large tree. Northcote,⁵⁰ however, tells us that the Kavirondos also 'worship the sun, apathetically'; which again (see oil-lamps, above) suggests contacts with Ancient Egypt].

And here, in conclusion, we come to our major point, namely, the *practical identity throughout of Kavirondo and Zulu life customs and beliefs*. So much so that, personally, we feel convinced that we are right here, among these Kavirondos, in touch with our Zulus' ancient relatives up north prior to their migration to the south.

And it may be noted too that, wherever the Kavirondo custom diverges from the Zulu, it inclines towards, or identifies itself with, that of the Masabas. Which, in turn, provokes the thought as to whether these Kavirondos, despite their 'Nilotic' name, may not have supplied the missing 'Bantu' element in the mixed Masaba-Pygmy make-up.

Turning now to some other of the Nyanza tribes, every traveller among the Tuisis (Himas of Ruanda) will have been struck by their kraal-system as almost more 'Zulu-like' than that of the Kavirondos. Had we been able to find a complete account of these people, we believe an equally impressive budget of Zulu resemblances could have been presented, as has been the case with the Kavirondos. The Ganda and Nyoro ethnographies, again, are loaded with many customs very close to those of the Zulus.⁵¹ As an eloquent instance, turn to the account (p. 561) of the Ganda wedding ceremonies and compare them with those of the Zulus described in the immediately preceding pages, noting the large number of striking similarities, many of them positive identities. Numerous other examples will be encountered throughout the book. Take, again, the Nyoro term, *Ise-nkuru*, signifying 'ancestor'. This is simply the Zulu *uYise-mkulu*, 'great-father' i.e. grandfather. Furthermore, it is obviously none other than the *omuKuru*, ancestral-spirit, of the Hereros, and the *uNkulunkulu* (= *uNkurunkuru*), great-great-ancestor, of the Zulus. And just as the 'Supreme

One' among the Herero *ovaKuru* (ancestral spirits) becomes specifically known as *kaLunga* (=Z. *uNkulunkulu*), so among the *balla* (on the Kafue, north of the middle Zambezi) "there is [apart from and above all the private family ancestral-spirits] one divinity, named *buLongo*, who is revered by all the *Ba-Ila*;"⁵² and who reappears (mostly as *muLungu*) almost everywhere among the Eastern Bantu tribes, right away to the *Nikas* and *Kambas* in Kenya Colony.

For not alone in the Nyanza tribes is it that we meet with these likenesses to the Zulu and his ways. Among the *Nikas*, on the Kenya coast we meet with a fair imitation of the Zulu annual Royal Festival (*umKósi*) unmet with, so far as we know, anywhere else between there and South Africa. Among the *Pokomos*, their neighbours, we find a word, *Ngojama*—we think the *j* here is that of German missionaries, and equivalent to English *y*—signifying some 'dreaded but mysterious forest beast'; and nowhere else such a word again, until we reach the *Zulus* in the south, where *iNgónyama* reappears as a 'lion'. Among the *Kambas* in the same Kenya Colony we find in the *kraals* "gigantic wicker bottles [?] baskets] which are constructed for storing grain".⁵³ They are called *Keingu*, and resemble a calabash in shape—plainly the local counterpart of the Zulu *isiLulu* (already mentioned). The *Kamba* girls, we notice, wear diminutive aprons fashioned like a fringe of leathern strips or tassels, and termed a *muChi*; just as the Zulu girl calls her own similar contrivance an *umuTsha* (= *umuCha*). The same people, when hunting, attach to their arrows detachable iron points which remain fixed in the wound, while the shaft falls away. In older days the *Zulus* too used such detachable javelin-points, called *umPingo*, when elephant-hunting.

Fables too, as well as facts, are sometimes related to each other in Kenya and Zululand. Later on we shall tell of the Zulu 'sky-princess', *Nomkubulwana*, who, when the world was young, taught mankind to plant the millet grain and to brew therefrom good beer, and who now and then still reappears to bring some message to mankind. Herself, say the *Zulus*, she is 'partly a human-being, partly a wood, partly a river, and partly overgrown with grass'. And the Kenya *Kambas* seemingly knew her once, even if she may have now deserted their too sophisticated land. "In another place [in *Kambaland*]", says *Hobley*,⁵⁴ "there is a legend of an unnatural being which was formerly

seen ; one side of this creature was a beautiful woman and the other side was the body of a handsome man."

UNkulunkulu you already know as the great-great-ancestor, the first man, known to the Zulus ; who created both them and all the world around. His wife it was who, distraught with the worries of her first-born, sought release by feeding it on a poisonous-looking grain. But the more she fed it thereon, the lustier it throve ; and thus was the nutritive value of the millet-grain discovered. Such a 'first-man' or 'creator' the Kambas also have ; though nowadays he would seem to have got badly mixed up with the aforesaid 'unnatural being'. Says Hobley,⁵⁵ "the first human being on earth [as far as the Kambas know] was half-man and half-woman ; he was called *muKuu* [comp. Herero *omuKuru*], and lived in the *Kibumbuliu* district [note the Masaba name, *Kubumba* (already mentioned), for the 'great-ancestral-spirit'], near a hill called *iKuuu* ; he brought fire with him to this earth, and was the father and mother of mankind ; his progeny found the various foodplants growing wild in the valleys, and they did not know at first how to cultivate the soil." You will observe how this creator of mankind is called *muKuu* (= *muKulu*) by the Kambas and *uNkulunkulu* by the Zulus ; likewise, any 'old man or woman' among the Kambas is called *muKuu*, just as the Zulus call their 'grandparent' *uKulu*.

The Zulus, taught by sad experience, had learned that the Bushman was a wily and dangerous little dwarf, surviving largely by his wits. It therefore behoved them to keep always on good terms with him. Whenever a Bushman encountered a Zulu, he was said always to put to him the same question, "Where did you first see me ?" Should the Zulu unwisely reply, "Why, I saw you first right here", he had to beware ; for by such an insinuation on the Bushman's tiny size, he had given him mortal offence. But had he replied, "Oh, I saw you ever so far away over yonder", then had the Bushman felt pleased and proud, and at once regarded the other as a good friend. Now listen to what the Giryamas (a little northwards of Mombasa) have to say. "A jinn or demon (*pepo*) called *Katsumbakazi*", says Fitzgerald,⁵⁶ "is said to be occasionally seen. It is malignant, and, being of no great stature, when it meets anyone, is jealous lest it be despised for its insignificant size. It accordingly asks, 'Where did you first catch sight of me ?' If the person is

so unlucky as to answer, 'Just here', he is sure to die shortly ; if he is aware of the danger, and says, 'Oh ! over yonder', he will be left unharmed, and it may be, some good will happen to him." From the presence, even today, of Bushman-like hybrids not far away (just over the Tanganyika Colony border), we may conclude that Bushmen may have once inhabited also the Giriyama country.

The Zulu death-myth, in some form or other, is common enough in those same Kenya regions ; but nowhere more closely approaching the Zulu version than among those self-same Giriyamas. The Zulu version is that *uNkulunkulu*, when making men, despatched the chameleon to direct them to live ; then later, the gecko lizard to tell them to die. The chameleon, alas ! on the way alighted on some *ubuKwébezane* berries, and seeing that they looked good, he wasted his time feasting upon them, instead of obeying his orders. Later reaching his destination, he found that the lizard had already delivered his message, and men had decided to die. Writing of the Giriyamas, "The chameleon," says Fitzgerald,⁵⁷ "was ordered by God [or as they call him, *muLungu*], 'Go, tell the people that they are to multiply, but not die'. But while the chameleon, with his usual slow gait, was departing to go and give (his message), the Mugakha lizard had also heard ; but he went off at a run. At last, when he [the chameleon] had arrived where the people were, he said, 'You have been told to multiply, but not to die.' But those people said, 'Well, where were you ? We have already been told by the Mugakha lizard [to die], and you too come to tell us falsehoods. Had you been really sent, would you not have come before ? Well, we have the word of yonder one, who came and told us first'."

We are fully aware that all these similar legends and similar customs are probably but divers variations of their originals, existent in common among the early Bantu prior to their dispersal. The point we wish to emphasize here is the closeness existing between the versions peculiar to the Uganda-Kenya field and the corresponding versions peculiar to the Zulu Ngunis far away down south. It is this fact that has led us, when seeking Zulu origins, to skip all nearer intervening Bantu peoples (of Portuguese East, Nyasaland, the Congo and Tanganyika Colony) and to fasten on to these Nyanza-Kenya tribes as,

most probably, indicating the region whence, some 500 years ago, the Ngunis set forth on their long migration to the south. It is, of course, possible that the Ngunis picked up a small amount of alien Bantu blood on its way southwards, and given something of its own in return ; so that, when at last they got to Bushmanland, they were, in physique, in customs and in speech, as unlike what they had been at the start, as was the (so-called) *waTuta* horde unlike the Zulus whence it sprang, after it had hacked its way back, a hundred years ago, almost to the Victoria Nyanza,⁵⁸ the cradle of its forefathers.

This theory of ours is nothing new ; it is almost a century old. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Livingstone⁵⁹ had already written, of the central South-African Bantu, that "the natives universally believe that they travelled hitherward from the north-north-east." Speke⁶⁰ was even nearer to the point when, in 1859, writing of the "Kafirs of the Cape" (i.e. the Ngunis), he definitely stated that they are "supposed to have migrated from the region at present occupied by the Gallas." A magnificent guess insooth, which all subsequent investigation tends to confirm.

Having traced the origin of our Ngunis thus far back to some Nyanza-Kenya region, it may interest our reader if we conclude our quest with a momentary peep into what, we surmise, may have been their still more distant past. After all, Nguni origins are, in the remoter sense, but Bantu origins ; and Bantu origins, but Negro. Whence, then, these Negroes ?

Let us start right at the bottom of the ladder, say, somewhere between 50,000 and 500,000 years ago, the age, not perhaps of Man's actual birth, but at any rate that of very Early Man ; and thence work our way, in imagination, upwards to present things.

Judging by the fossil skeletons dug up by scientists from beneath the present earth-surface, there seem to have been, scattered everywhere about the Eastern Hemi phere during the period just mentioned, several distinct varieties of what were indisputably human beings. These human varieties were of two main types—one, the most primitive, possessing such coarse, ape-like features as to be counted a separate human species, distinguished as that of *Homo primigenius* ; the other, more modern, like ourselves, and known as *Homo sapiens*. Of

the first (and presumably the most ancient) type, specimens have been unearthed in Germany (Neanderthal), in England (Piltown), in China (Peking), in Java (Wadjak), in Australia (Talgai), and even in Southern Africa (Rhodesia). Of the second type, specimens have been unearthed, most largely in France (Aurignacian), and, again, even in Africa (Boskop, Springbok and Oldoway). These several specimens, it must be remembered, do not represent merely single individual human 'freaks', but the existence in those localities of whole 'races' of such mankind. Thus, in Germany not solely a Neanderthal 'man', but a whole Neanderthal 'race'; in Africa, not only a Rhodesian 'man', but a whole 'race' of such; in South Africa, not only a Boskop and Springbok 'man', but a whole Boskop and Springbok 'race'. What became of them all? It were perfectly possible, of course, that some of the types became entirely extinct; but it is obvious that the surviving 'some' must have provided the amalgam out of which was eventually moulded the present species of 'Modern Man', alike in Africa, in Europe and in Asia. Where did they all come from; where was Man's primordial mother-land? We shall confine ourselves here to African Negro man.

The 'man' of Peking (China), the 'man' of Wadjak (Java) and the 'man' of Talgai (Australia) are regarded by Keith and other anthropologists as all closely related human types. Now the fact that this type of Early Man was able to spread itself over from the Asiatic continent on to the island of Java, and from Java on to the other island of Australia, suffices to prove that, in those earlier ages, the configuration of the dry-land surface of the Eastern Hemisphere (and that withal within man's lifetime) was not identical with what it is today: Australia, Java and China *must* at that time have been connected.

But were there perchance, at that period, still other land-connections, since broken up, besides that then joining together China, Java and Australia? Why not? Let us for a moment consider the particular types of people at the present time surrounding the Indian Ocean. We find one same Australoid type of man (distinguished by long wavy hair, black skin, thick lips and broad nose) both on the extreme south of the Indian Ocean (in the aborigines of Australia), and a similar Australoid type opposite it, to the extreme north of that ocean

(in the Dravidian aborigines of Southern India). We find one same Negroid type (distinguished by short woolly coiling hair, black skins, thick lips and broad noses) on the extreme east of the Indian Ocean (in the aborigines of Papua), and a similar Negroid type opposite it, in the extreme west of that ocean (in the aborigines of Africa). What does this immense cleavage in twain of what are indisputably identical races imply? Does it not proclaim that, perhaps at the same period as that in which China, Java and Queensland were joined together, a similar land-causeway *must* have existed also linking up Australia with India, and Papua with Africa? In short, does it not render imperative the existence in earlier times of the supposed continent of *Lemuria*, since become submerged (perhaps due to the same, or even a subsequent, upheaval such as broke up the China-Australia causeway) beneath the waters of the Indian Ocean: an ancient Lemurian continent wherein the mother-race of black-skinned '*Torrid Zone*' man was evolved; which in course of time became divided into two (somewhat different) sub-races—an *Australoid* (or proto-Dravido-Australian) and a *Negroid* (or proto-Afro-Papuan)? In due course, these two mother-races spread themselves abroad, the Australoids into India and Australia, the Negroids into Africa and Papua. Then the cataclysm occurred; the central Lemurian motherland became swallowed up by the Indian Ocean, leaving the outposts of the two races stranded where they were, in Australia and India, in Papua and Africa, to provide the *basic* material out of which were evolved our present-day Negro and Dravido-Australian peoples.

Sir Arthur Keith⁶¹ has written: Rhodesian man (of Southern Africa) "nearly answers to the common source from which both Neanderthal and Modern man evolved"; and he describes⁶² the Wadjak man (of Java) as "one which seems to bridge the gap which lies between Rhodesian man and the Australian aborigine", exhibiting "many resemblances to the older and more primitive Rhodesian man on the one hand, and to the Australoid type on the other." Does not all this too presuppose some ancient land-connection between Africa on the one side and Java-Australia on the other?

But when the first batch of those *proto*-Negroid wanderers out from Lemuria arrived in what is now Africa, and there

eventually became isolated from their relatives over the sea (in Papua), there were other diversified types of human beings already inhabiting the African continent. There was the *Rhodesian* race (in Rhodesia); the *Boskop* race (in the Transvaal); the australoid *Cape Flats* race (about Capetown); the *Whitcher's Cave* race (also in the Cape), combining Boskopoid, australoid and mongolian features; the *Springbok* (Transvaal) and *Oldoway* (Tanganyika) race, apparently hamitoid, rather than negroid, in type. What became of them all? What indeed?—unless it was that they provided at least some of, perhaps all of, the basic material out of which were gradually moulded those later African races, of Strandloopers, Bushmen, in part even the Hamites, though in a lesser degree the Negroes (seeing that these last still retain their unaltered likeness to their Papuan cousins). Even before these more recent African palæontological discoveries, Sergi (and later, Elliot Smith) had already suggested that the Hamitic type in Northern Africa may have originated, not (as generally thought) in western Asia, but in eastern Africa. And the since unearthed hamitoid Springbok and Oldoway men would seem to support that view.

The Bantu are, by some, thought to be a race different from that of the Sudanese; indeed, doubtfully 'Negroes' at all. Sir Arthur Keith emphatically denies all that, having stated to this writer that "he does not think one could find physical marks which would separate Bantu-speakers from other African Negroes"; that "he is sure that any differences, if such there be, between Bantu-speaking and non-Bantu-speaking Negroes, will lie upon the surface (face, head, stature, colour, etc.), and not be deep in the anatomy of the body or brain": in a word, that, in his opinion, the Bantu, Sudanese and Guinea peoples form together one physically indivisible 'race'. Nevertheless, there are some who, like Prof. C. G. Seligman, think to discern in the Bantu certain distinguishing traits absent from their relatives in the Sudan and Guinea; and these, they think, are 'hamitoid' in character. Ourselves, we believe that any blood-intermixture (within historic times) between the Bantu and their Hamitic and Semitic neighbours never affected the Bantu *as a race*, but only a few sporadic individuals, families, or ultimately clans; that any hamitoid features (if existent throughout

the Bantu race, *as a whole*) must have been due to an infinitely remoter blood-intermingling between the earliest Bantu ancestors and the aforesaid Springbok and Oldoway men; or, finally (and *most probably*), that any 'finer' (supposedly Hamitoid) features, occasionally noticed even among the Sudanese Negroes, more still among the Guinea, and most of all among the Bantu, have been simply spontaneously developed, and due to the differing effects of different natural conditions—being comparable with similar differences of physical features apparent equally within our own Caucasian race, as, for instance, between Germans, Italians, Indians, and the rest.

Yet there is a great and very remarkable difference between the Bantu and the Sudano-Guinea peoples; but it is a *linguistic*, not a physical, one. *That*, and that alone, is the real 'Bantu problem'. The Bantu and the Sudano-Guinea folk are, roughly, equal in numbers; two equal halves of the one same race. And yet, while all the hundreds of Bantu tribes speak one same language (with local variations), each of the hundreds of Sudano-Guinea tribes speaks a language (apparently) radically different from, and unintelligible to, the others (there being no mutual similarities whatsoever). If, then, as we have said, these two peoples are really brothers in the same family, children of the same mother, how did this linguistic cleavage come about? Some European authorities have wriggled out of the dilemma by assuming that the two peoples are *not* one; that the Bantu have a separate origin, physical and linguistic. Anthropologists, however, have definitely proven that this assumption is utterly erroneous; that the two peoples are, physically, absolutely one. Is, then, this difference in speech perchance also an error—a mere matter of surface appearance, rather than one of fundamental fact?

So long ago as 1904, in the Introduction to our *Zulu-English Dictionary*, we suggested that it is. Since then, our comparative study of Bantu, Sudanese and Guinea word-roots and speech-forms has confirmed us in that opinion. In our book on *Bantu Origins: the People and their Language*, we have shown that the *basic elements* of Bantu speech are all

clearly discernible, scattered everywhere about the Sudano-Guinea language-field. We do not say that, in the course of the ages and under the influence of foreign contacts, newer elements of speech may not have become engrafted on the original Bantu, Sudanese and Guinea language-stem. But that alone, we contend, could not explain the profound dissimilarity, nowadays so striking and strange, between the speech of the northern division of the African Negro race and that of the southern.

What, then, *was* responsible for this present state of affairs ; how did it all come about—this linguistic heterogeneity in the Sudan and Guinea, and this homogeneity throughout all Bantuland ? We can think only of one answer : the Bushmen provide the clue. The Bushmen, you know, from their start ages ago, right onward to the finish, continued ever in the 'hunting-stage' of human development, retained throughout the one same roving life, in innumerable isolated hunting-groups. With what result ? With the result of possessing a multitude of equally isolated, radically different languages. In a similar fashion, we think, did the African Negro race, while still in its infancy (somewhere within the equatorial belt, say, 10,000 years ago), break up into numerous independent hunting-bands, each launching forth on its own in a northerly or north-westerly direction, and finally somewhere settling down in permanent isolation from all others throughout hundreds, even thousands, of years. Human thought, and its expression, were naturally more unstable and fluid in those infant days than they now are, old words becoming, under changed conditions, soon obsolete and new ones constantly coined ; so that, in course of time, original identities became lost and a multitude of differing speech-forms invented—despite the common origin of the several tribes. Such, we imagine, may have been the cause of the present remarkable diversity of speech among the Negro peoples of the *Sudan* and *Guinea*.

But not the whole of the original Negro race thus dispersed and isolated itself abroad in hunting-groups. Quite half of its members remained where they were, in close and continuous association one with another, in and around the mother-land. These, as a result, preserved their mother-tongue comparatively

Chapter 2

They reach the End of the Trail at the End of the Continent (1600 A.D.)

Africa's Spell ! The Lure of the Wilds ! To those who have neither felt its spell nor tasted of its sweets, the *Lure of the Wilds* will be as hard to realize, as it is to us to describe. It is an experience of release from all the boredom, drudgery and restraint inherent in civilized life ; of repose in a newer world of unfettered freedom and care-free bliss. Back of it all lie the balm and the calm of undisturbed Nature, soothing in its vast solitudes of park-land and prairie, thrilling with the spectacle of majestic roaming beasts, of gorgeous birds and glorious sunsets ; while in the foreground stand the lovely forms and idyllic simplicity of Nature's own children, leading still pure Nature's life.

Once upon a time, and that not so long ago, Zululand too was a land with such a lure, well within the range of *Africa's Spell*—that sweet, mysterious call which few travellers can resist ; that inscrutable charm from which none seem able to drag themselves away. Even the rude and unsophisticated Arab has heard her seducing voice and succumbed to her enchantment. " Drink once," says he, " of Africa's waters, and you will return to drink again."

What can it mean ? Is it perchance that, after all, Africa is Man's birthplace, and its attraction that of home ? Or is it that there, in the sunlit solitudes, far from all man-made artificialities and conventions, one feels instinctively the closer presence of that sweet goddess, Nature, mother of all Beauty,

and Peace, and Love ; basking there in all her unspoiled loveliness, smiling, alone, enticing, endearing, till, overwhelmed, one must needs surrender to her warm embrace ? Is it that here perchance is the dreamland of the poets rediscovered ; in whose sylvan glades the pan-pipes of Arcady still sound, real nymphs still bathe, real fauns still roam ?

Happy is that youth who, before too late, can spend his joyful days amidst the delights of these idyllic realities, these wild enchantments, which Poussin could but paint and Ovid only sing. Happy we who, blessed with the call, answered it while yet the lure was strong and the spell unbroken ! For now that Golden Age is passing apace away, and ere long shall be no more. On that hapless day—long may it be deferred !—when the beauties of Africa's landscape shall have become finally effaced by human industry, its noble fauna exterminated, and its picturesque peoples deformed into the ugliness of civilization, then shall at last be stilled the *Call of the Wilds*, and *Africa's Spell* be broken for ever.

The aborigines of Zululand—last of the fauns, the fighting heroes and the nymphs of the ancient poets—we herein collectively call ' the Zulus '. As a matter of fact, they were members of a score of different clans, with different names, of which the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-of-Zulu) were but an insignificant one ; which, however, after conquering the rest, united them all in a single Zulu ' nation ', within the Nguni Bantu family.

After a trek 3000 miles in length and half a millennium in duration they had now, at long last, reached their final destination. Not, by any means, of design prepense ; but because the Whiteman came and barred their way to any further progress. So there they were, brought, for better or for worse, to an eternal standstill. Without any doubt, had the way been clear, and in the lapse of time, they had once more gathered up their goods and chattels, and, driven by the force of age-old habit, headed once more into the unknown ; urged ever onward by that insatiable longing for the better ; drawn ever forward by that undying hope, never to be fulfilled, of ultimately reaching some Paradise overflowing with milk and honey, lured by the mirage of the Promised Land.

This country, this Zululand, of their final destiny, to which they had so long been marching and the last they should ever

call their own, situated in the south-eastern corner of the African continent and lapped by the Indian Ocean, in part (nearer the coast) was park-land, in part (away more inland) was prairie. It rose gradually from the flat-lands along the coast covered with bush, through a varied mixture of lower and higher hills, up to the grassy, treeless plains and downs one to three thousand feet above sea-level. Every variety of landscape was passed on the way—down on the coast, dense jungles lively with monkeys and festooned with climbing plants and carpeted with ferns; next, sandy, palm-covered lowlands; gradually rising to hilly woodlands and open pastures, and finally, a hundred miles inland, to treeless highlands thousands of feet up; and, cutting across and about it all, innumerable dells and valleys twisting this way and that amongst the hills, each with its little stream rushing along the bottom; and occasionally broader, shallower valleys, with sultry climates and overgrown with stunted thorn-bush, leading the greater rivers to the sea.

Down in the sylvan glades of the coast, and all along the low-lying bushy valleys of the greater rivers, the heat was oftentimes enervating and intense, with soil parched, though, when the rain-god favoured, fairly fertile. Fitting home was all this for the more ponderous, indolent fauna—the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, that roamed leisurely through the woods or basked along the rivers. Fitting was it too for the wild-pigs and wart-hogs grubbing, and the leopards and cheetahs everywhere prowling. Away on the more breezy highlands of open grass-veld up inland, the climate was more genial and bracing, and there vast herds of the more agile types—the elands and gnus, kudu and hartebeests, springboks and waterbuck—swarmed in their thousands over the plains, stalked continuously by lions, followed by their parasites, the hyæna, jackal and wild-dog, in their rear.

Though the Zulu was fully aware of the magnificence of this his national game-park—and often fervently (though we cannot say, devoutly) thanked his tutelary ancestor for the gift, whenever his assegai had been favoured in the chase—yet he was all the while wholly ignorant of the wealth of treasure hidden down beneath. Iron and gold, platinum and tin, mica and asbestos, cinnabar (perhaps) and coal, were all there

trodden underfoot as so much dirt—all save the iron, of which a few still held the secret, while all appreciated the worth.

The rainfall of Zululand seems to have been greater and more regular in former times (even 50 years ago, as we remember) than it is today (1930). At present, the average annual rainfall, different in different localities, is said to be about 39 inches, spread over some 120 days in the year ; for in Africa the rain is agreeably accommodating, being massed (in Zululand) into a single half-year (the summer months, say, October to March) ; and when it comes, falling mainly in stormy deluges, that quickly pass away, leaving the rest of the day sunny and clear. The other half of the year (the winter months, say, April to September) is, in the rule, a long, delightful season of unbroken sunshine. And inasmuch as the climate is consistently warm, the average for the year being about 66 Fahrenheit—sometimes, up-country, as low as 28 in the winter, and, on the coast, as high as 120 (even 150 has been recorded) in the summer—the rainfall never seriously inconveniences the Native, despite his being unclothed. The combination of moisture and heat produces a vegetation as varied and luxuriant as any to be found outside the tropics, clothing the land with good pasturage and watering it with abundant streams ; and at the same time it renders the climate fairly mild and quite congenial to both man and beast. Almost all his lifetime, the Native can live practically always (save at nights) out of doors, perfectly comfortable and perfectly healthy in the airiest of attire.

Chapter 3

Enter Jomela's Kraal

When we were young, as Carlyle said, 'the history of mankind was the history of its great men'. Such a history (so far as our Zulus are concerned) we have already attempted in another work.¹ In these present times, however, that definition would cover only half the truth. The bloody strife of kings and the wordy warfare of statesmen no longer suffice us. Today we demand that the history of a country be the history of its People, low men no less than great, and tell us the story of *their* pedigree, their struggles and conquests, their life and thoughts and achievements, up from their origins unto their present state. All *that* we may not be able to accomplish here; but some part of it may well be within the range of our endeavour.

What the Zulus were like one hundred years ago 'before the Whiteman came' (say, in Shaka's lifetime), that they continued to be right up to the time of the Zulu War in 1879 (let us say, right up to the time of our own arrival amongst them in 1883). And what they were a hundred years ago, that they were, in all likelihood, even a thousand, for the obvious reason that their primitiveness allowed no further simplification. Then, and largely still, they were mankind reduced to its simplest terms. "Their dwelling, merely a rough binding together of twigs and grass, marked but one step in advance of the cavern. Their single weapon, an indifferently made stabbing instrument, consisting of a crude iron blade fixed in the end of a stick, indicated only the first emergence from the Stone Age. Their dress,

a strip of hide covering the pudenda, with absolutely no knowledge of any kind of cloth, was the simplest advance on the fig-leaf.^r Their acquaintance with hardly half-a-dozen foodstuffs, all prepared for eating by the merest process of water-boiling, exhibited a culinary art of the most elementary type. Their pottery was almost identical with that of Northern Africa in the days of prehistoric Egypt. That is how we found them a century back . . . Have we any reason to believe they were more advanced than this 6,000 years ago? They could hardly have been less; . . . for this state of life . . . scarcely permitted any further reduction to a simpler standard, at any rate for anything calling itself a human being."² And precisely on that account is their study so alluring.

Peoples grow up, the individual and the mass, like animals and plants; they adapt themselves to their surroundings, and their surroundings make them. It may, or may not, be that—

Man is master of his fate,
He is captain of his soul;

(after W. E. Henley)

but certain it is, he is largely the servant of his environment. *Nolens volens*, primitive man was compelled, and still is, to eat, to build, to dress, to speak, to live, to grow, as that which is around him determines or allows. Whatever his internal lights may be, his means and opportunities are circumscribed by his surroundings, and to them he must conform—or die. Thus has the Zulu been evolved; even as we.

The external forces of his development were chiefly dependent on climate and land. These was it, more than anything else, that determined his food, his habitation, his attire, his physical and mental characters, and numberless other factors in his daily life and being. True, the land of his evolvment was not that in which his modern history found him. Yet it was all in Africa; and Africa, *his* Africa, is alike throughout, unchanged through many long millenniums

Enter Jomela,* one of them. Jomela was not a king; merely a respectable Zulu of the higher class. He was the son

* Zulu vowel-sounds are, *a*, as in 'mar'; *e*, as in 'mare'; *i*, as in 'mere'; *o*, as in 'more'; *u*, as in 'moor'. Stress always on the penult.

of Ndongeni, of the Sibiya clan ; a subject of Mandondo, the Sibiya chieftain.

And this is where he lived. Solitary, on a broad and gentle grassy hill-slope, stood his kraal. Round as a plate, it was built, as it were, in three concentric circles. A high solanum hedge served as an outer wall ; and, immediately inside this, stood a great ring of separated, dome-shaped, grass-thatched huts, all once more encompassing a central arena (wherein a herd of variegated cattle rested) and separated from it by another circular palisade.

Away at the top of the kraal, bathed in the mellow evening sunshine, stood Jomela gazing, his sleek bronze person clad in a girdle of furry dangling tails and crowned with a heading like lustrous polished ebony. With head erect, dignified and proud, he surveyed the tranquil scene, supremely content with all the world, and life. Of aristocratic pedigree, he was wealthy in wives and kine. Each of the seven huts, that stretched like the two arms of a ring, to his right and left, down to the gateway below, represented to him a separate wife and separate family ; and each five cows, or less, within the central cattlefold, another potential bride. There he stood, the embodiment of the average Zulu *paterfamilias* ; and this was his *domus*, in which he ruled omnipotent.

He did not call his place a 'kraal' ; no such barbarous sounds were known in his euphonious tongue. 'Homestead' and 'household' were to him, as to the Roman, one ; and he called all, collectively, the place, the huts, the matrons and their families, his *umuZi* (his *domus*).

Scan now, as you stand at Jomela's side, the encircling landscape. The country before you, unevenly flat, with stunted bush in parts and in the background hills, reveals itself for many miles on every side. Studded everywhere about it, variously from a quarter-mile to a mile apart, you see again many such simple homes as his, each like the other, equally round, equally brown amidst the green veld, each accompanied by its cultivated fields, and further away its grazing herds. Each is the *umuZi* (or *domus*) of a separate family-head (or *paterfamilias*) with his separate polygamous family. Each is in itself a tiny city-state, a private village self-complete, building itself, feeding itself, clothing itself, and, for most part, governing itself.

An Englishman's home is his castle. And precisely this was the Zulu's too to him. His was a detached residence situated within its own grounds, always alone, a dot on the landscape, far away from the nearest neighbour. Thus exposed to attack, the home was specially designed to withstand invasion by prowling beast and besiegement by hostile man. Jomela Castle may not have been impregnable; but its outer wall served the purpose right enough of keeping the lions at bay and of providing a rampart not easily breached by hostile man without some risk.

Each and every such scattered homestead, like the villas in Suburbia, had its own distinguishing name, bestowed upon it, oftentimes quite facetiously, by its owner. Thus the unsociable misanthrope might convey his wish to his neighbours by calling his kraal *kwaDeda* (i.e. Deda Kraal, from *Deda*, get-out-of-my-way); while another, with sad experiences of the past, might name his *enTsa-ngiHambe* (i.e. 'Here-today-and-there-tomorrow', from *Sa*, dawn, and *Hamba*, go-away). A Zulu, when asked where he was going, would, as often as not, simply give in reply the name of the kraal—in fact it was politer to do so, everybody being quite familiar with the names of all the kraals in his own neighbourhood. Jomela called his kraal *kwaBantubahle* ('The-place-of-the-lovely-people', from *abaNtu*, the-people, and *ba-Hle*, they-are-nice—the idea being, not that his own family were exceptionally beautiful, but that his kraal, reposing peacefully on a gentle slope with a western aspect, got the full benefit of the mellow glow of the setting-sun, whose golden sheen was proverbially said to make all people look 'nice').

The outer 'wall' (*ūTángo*) of a kraal, in places where woods were scarce, was usually built of a compact hedge of the thorny bitter-apple (*umTíma*, *Solanum sodomæum*), though the dwarf-euphorbia (*umSululu*, *Eu. tirucalli*), as well as the viciously spiked *uSondela-ng'Ange* ('Come-and-kiss-me') trailing bush and some other plants were used. But in the woodlands, a stout stockade (*umMbelo*) generally replaced the hedge; while, practically everywhere, such a stockade enclosed the central circular cattle-fold. These stockades were built of a double row of long poles (some eight feet in length). The poles, in the parallel rows, were fixed in the ground in a slanting position, so that the tops of the two opposite poles

met and crossed each other at about a foot from their top ends. Stout wattles were then laid horizontally along and within the angular 'trough' thus formed by the crossing pole-tops; and, being tightly bound to the latter, so held the whole circle of fencing firmly together.

An elevated site, a hillside or a hillock-top, was usually favoured, as a point of vantage, safer, strategically considered, and, since open to the breeze, cooler and more salubrious. Anyway, always on a slope, however gentle, to facilitate drainage. For there was no artificial drainage in the Zulu house-system, nor any water-storage. So the slope carried the rain away and the river stored it; whither, shortly after, the busy housewife went to fetch it back again. Much less was there any sewerage, the family members 'going outside' (*ukuYa ngaPánde*), as they said, or 'going out on to the veld' (*ukuYa eNdle*), for physiological needs. A friendly clump of bush in the kraal's vicinity was always an acquisition to any home, providing a comfortable and sheltered 'lavatory', leaves and grass supplying apparently perfectly satisfactory 'toilet-paper'. There was also a special spot near by the kraal, outside the fence, which all the inmates recognized as the family urinal (*isiTóndo*).

The outer kraal-wall, then, stood circling round like a pair of embracing arms. But the two 'hands' of it did not meet. Between the approaching fingers, was left an open space or kraal-entrance (*ĩSango*), three or four feet wide, for entry of man and beast. This gateway was constructed by placing two posts on each side of the opening, with a space of three or four inches between the two posts of each pair. Into this space, the ends of a large number of strong wooden cross-bars (*ũGoqo*), lying horizontally one upon the other, were slipped at night, effectively closing up the entrance-way. Frequently a lintel-pole was laid from side to side across the top of the posts, holding them together and giving the entrance the appearance, so to say, of a square arch.

Entering through this gateway, one found oneself confronted, ten feet or so away, with the circular palisade enclosing the central arena or cattle-fold (*isiBaya*), into which a second gateway, immediately opposite the kraal-entrance, led the way. This central cattle-fold was a clear, open ring, forty feet or more in diameter, usually carpeted with a covering, a foot deep,

of dry, finely crumbled cow-dung, perfectly inodorous and soft and non-adhesive to the tread. It was used also as the family 'hall' for the dances and assemblies occasionally held in the kraal.

Outside and around this central or cattle-fold palisade, right and left from the kraal-entrance, stretched a broad open way or circular courtyard, fifteen feet wide, leading to the upper part of the kraal and having the several family-huts planted along its outer border, with the great kraal-fence beyond the circle of huts. At the top of the kraal, in the central position, stood the biggest and finest of the family-huts (that of the principal wife), often with a smaller private hut alongside (*ĩLawu*) wherein the *paterfamilias* himself resided.

Roughly speaking, prince and pauper had the same kind of dwelling in this Arcadian kingdom, though naturally in the case of the wealthy, the huts were more finely constructed and the kraal generally kept in better repair. Its palisades were regularly renewed, its huts re-thatched, and its open spaces daily swept and kept tidy. The dirty kraals and dilapidated huts now so commonly met with since 'civilisation' entered the land and, by its allurements and its taxation, drew or drove all the young men away from their homes to work for the Whiteman and his Government, leaving only the women and aged men behind, were much less frequently met with in those 'savage' times.

Let us now approach and inspect more closely Jomela's hut.

One would hardly expect to meet with anything instructive in so rubbishy a structure as a Zulu grass-hut. But the work of man's hand is every time a reflection of man's mind; and if, through the primitive hut, we can obtain some insight into the inner workings of the primitive mind, our study will not have been in vain. Indeed, the intrinsic worth of a tree can hardly be better measured than by the fruit it bears; and as a mental product, we shall find that the common Zulu beehive hut is, all circumstances considered, a quite neat little achievement.

The facility with which the Bantu man constructs a perfect circle, as evidenced in his kraal, his hut, his pottery, has always been a matter of surprise to those who have seen it done. This disposition and ability is, in a large degree, inherited and inborn, in short, instinctive.

The Zulu hut, when completed, presents outwardly a perfectly hemispherical beehive appearance, a dome of thatch neatly bound over a framework of wattles and resting bodily upon the ground, the whole being worked out with a natural sense of strength, symmetry, comfort and health, not perfect indeed, yet certainly surprising.

The method of construction is not easily explained in words; but we will do our best to disentangle the process. First of all, a narrow, circular trench, six inches deep by the same in width, is dug. The building operations are started at the back (*ũFíndo*) by inserting a dozen or so of long supple sticks or wattles (*ũTúngo*), already pointed at their thicker lower ends, into the trench, so as to stand upright. Then to these, on their inner side, other wattles are bound, crosswise to the former, yet not horizontally so, but bent into the form of an arch, and with both ends of each stick firmly fixed in the ground within the trench. The first or lowest arc may be six to eight inches broad and rise to a similar height. The second bent stick will rest immediately above and upon the first, and be curved and embedded in the ground in a similar way. If the wattles are sufficient—as they always are when building a first-class hut—they will now succeed one another, bent as before and in close contact, like the fingers of one's hand, without any intervening spaces.

The next step is to form the door-arch (*ĩKótámo*). Two stout wattles are placed upright in the trench where the sides of the doorway will be (of which they will form the 'side-posts') and always exactly opposite the *ũFíndo* (rear point of the hut). A small bundle (*ĩPánde*) of thin wattles is then bound to one of the stout 'side-posts', with the ends of the bundle firmly fixed in the earth within the trench. The top ends of the bundle are next bent sharply over and bound in similar fashion to the side-post on the other side of the doorway, thus forming a low archway, usually about two feet wide by two and a half high. Other curved wattles thereafter follow one another, one above the other and close together, as at the back of the hut.

The third step is to fix the 'uprights' of the right-hand side (*isiNina sa-nga-s-ēKóhlo*—called the 'left-hand side' by the Natives, who look from the back of the hut towards the door). In this case, the semicircular or arched wattles, which will be bound crosswise to the uprights, will be placed, not on

the inside of those uprights (as was the case at the back and front), but on their outside. By this device, it will finally work out that these external, arched sticks of the two sides will come to join up with the bent ends of those other wattles, which formed the original external 'uprights' of the back and front, and so come to form, with them, the perfect dome—a rather complicated procedure, that must be seen to be easily understood.

Finally, the uprights of the opposite side (*isiNina sa-nga-kwesokuDla*—the 'right-hand side' to the Natives; left-hand side with us) are set up, and the process repeated as on the opposite side.

For a certain distance up their length, the 'upright' wattles, all round the circle, are allowed to stand erect, so as to form, as it were, a perpendicular wall (*ūQatáne*) all round the hut; but at a height of three or four feet they begin to be bent inwards, at first gently, but higher up more abruptly, ultimately meeting the wattles coming over from the opposite side and being bound together with them to form the roof or ceiling of the hut.

When all is finished, we have before us a perfectly hemispherical, double-domed framework (*ūPáhla*), in which the one dome of wattles rests immediately upon the other, but with its sticks intersecting (not intertwining with) those of the other at right angles. At every such intersection, the pair of crossing wattles is tightly bound together (*Qáza*) with *umTwázi* cord, the knot being placed outside and so kept invisible. With such a strong ligature at every square inch of the entire surface—and even in a moderately sized hut there must be literally thousands of such intersections and bindings—so great a measure of strength and resilience is secured at every point, that the most furious wind-blasts or other pressure fails to make any impression; while, owing to the universal roundness, the wind, from whichever direction it may come, simply glides harmlessly away.

Inside this apparently fragile framework, and according to the width of the structure, one, two, or even three, rows of stout posts or pillars (*iNtsika*), with usually two pillars to each row, are now set firmly upright in the ground within the hut, each row carrying, horizontally laid along its summit, a single

strong rafter, sometimes running from front to rear (*umJanjató*), at others from side to side (*umShayo*), to support the crown or ceiling of the hut and the weight of thatch resting upon it.

Should the inside wattles of the framework not have been sufficient to allow of their being laid close together, and so have left spaces between them through which the untidy thatch might be visible, this was remedied by covering the outside framework all over with matting (*ĩNxadi*). In all cases the whole structure was finally covered with a layer, six to nine inches thick, of long dry grass, laid in a vertical direction and bound to the framework beneath by stout fibres. This thatch was later bound down externally with grass ropes—a number of such ropes (*umJibe*) being fixed to the crown of the hut and then led vertically down the outside of the thatching to the ground, where they were bound fast to the lowest wattles; other similar ropes were then passed horizontally round the hut, bound to the vertical ropes and so holding them in place.

Another system is to omit the ropes and bind down the grass with numerous rows, running horizontally round the hut outside, of pliant sticks (*ĩKwengco*), about two feet long, each end of which, already pointed, is thrust deeply into the thatch and so holds it firmly down.

The best type of hut, however, has the thatch covered outside with rush-matting (*isiHlandla*), lengths of which, a yard broad, are run horizontally round the hut, overlapping as they ascend and held together in place by a single broad mat passing from front to back over the hut-top and so crossing the others at right angles, the whole being finally roped down as before. The whole structure now, when new, presents the appearance of a smooth-surfaced, straw-yellow dome, quite neat and clean to the eye. Such a completed building the Zulu calls an *iNdlu* (or house).

In this style of architecture, doorway and window are one. This consists of an archway in the front of the building, two feet wide by two and a half high, through which one enters head-first with knees bent low. A square unhinged screen of wicker-work—made by intertwining tough forest climbers of cane-like pliancy in and out of several parallel upright sticks—closes the aperture, as door (*isiValo*), at night, being held in place by two upright posts, one on each side of the doorway on the

inside, through which the screen is slid. The numerous interstices between the intertwining canes allow sufficient light for visibility to enter the hut even when the screen is put up during the daytime on account of wind. When the entire family is away from home, the wicker-door is placed in position and fastened from the outside—not against burglars, who were unknown, but that visitors might know the family was out—by means of a strong wooden bar (*isi Qobolo*) thrust crosswise through a string loop attached to the centre of the door, and so held fast against the two sides of the doorway.

The external frame now finished, the earthen 'floor' inside having been first duly levelled and watered, a thick top layer of very finely-grained soil taken from a termite-heap was then laid down in a damp state and beaten with heavy pebbles till it flattened out into one level and compact surface. This process of breaking up and rubbing down is repeated over and over again, until all cracks (which constantly reappear in the drying) are finally removed; whereafter the floor is rubbed all over with smaller pebbles, which not only flattens out all remaining irregularities, but at the same time confers a certain glaze. By constant shuffling of the inmates' feet, this gloss becomes gradually worn away, and the floor has henceforward to be regularly smeared (*Sinda*) with diluted cowdung to keep down the dust. The cowdung dries as a kind of cement covering the whole surface, is lasting and easily swept, and, *mirabile dictu*, gives to the dwelling the fresh and agreeable odour of a dairy!

The best kind of hut, however, (for instance, those of the wealthy, and the private-huts of the young-men, as distinguished from the family-huts, wherein the young fry and their mothers live) is furnished with a much superior type of flooring. In this case, beef-fat is rubbed into the already glazed earth, which is then carefully polished again with small pebbles, until it obtains the gloss and slipperiness of deep-black marble, and looks quite fine.

In the centre of the hut floor is made, and glazed as before, a gentle depression, round or oval in shape, two feet wide perhaps by three feet long, and having a raised border all round. This is the fireplace (*iZiko*).

At the rear of the hut a similar semicircular raised border is made, forming with the arc of the hinder hut-wall a kind of

elongated oval space. This is termed the *umSamo*, and in it the pots and calabashes of the establishment are neatly stowed away.

It is an amusing sight sometimes to see one of these beehive huts crawling, apparently of itself, over the veld like a huge snail. As a matter of fact, it is a kraal 'removal'. First of all, the soil is cleared away from the foundations, then a number of men, inside and out, lift up the whole framework bodily, with as much of the thatch still left thereon as they can conveniently carry, and off goes the whole structure, with the legs of the inside men moving below, as though the building were crawling along on its feet, and singing as it goes.

The Zulus knew nothing whatever of building in stone, as did the neighbouring Sutus. On the inland frontier, however, among such Zulu clans as were in immediate contact with the latter people, rude wall-building in rough stones (*umTángala*), mostly round the central *isiBaya* (cattlefold), was occasionally met with, in imitation, no doubt, of the adjacent Sutus (see 'Stone building' in Index, Bryant *Bantu Origins*).

Unthinking Europeans are wont to scoff at the absurd simplicity of these poor and primitive dwellings. But we must give the devil his due; for the fact remains that, as an architectural design (and viewed apart from the necessarily poor material employed), the untutored Zulu has succeeded in evolving one of the cosiest, safest and best ventilated types of habitation ever conceived by primitive man. An even temperature is preserved at all times by the thick layer of thatch covering, not only the roof, but also the walls, which keeps the internal atmosphere cool in the intense heat of noonday and warm in the cold of winter and night. Has any simpler and equally effective scheme of central-heating ever been devised? Through the myriad invisible interstices of this all-enveloping thatch, all day long and all night, a perpetual stream of air, so gentle as to be absolutely imperceptible (and yet so strong as to suffice to carry away the smoke from the fire), is passing inwards and outwards in continuous motion. Has a more perfect system of room-ventilation ever been invented? The dome-like form presents the minimum of resistance to the most violent of gales. Has a more efficient form of hut-shape ever been conceived to withstand the strain of furious African windstorms? The doorway, always widely open all day long, admits

sufficient cool air, and diffused light to enable an inmate to sew or read with ease. True, only the early morning or late afternoon sun ever find direct entrance through so small and low a doorway; but even that is more than the tropical bungalows of Europeans, with their all-encompassing verandahs, ever obtain; while there, in place of the Zulu system of perfect and continuous ventilation, we find only a very perfect system for the creation of continuous draughts! The grand defect in the Zulu architectural design lies, first, in the poor durability of its building material, necessitating almost annual repairs, and, secondly, in its inability to carry off the smoke through the thatch as rapidly as it is sometimes produced by large fires and certain fuel, thus causing the hut to become disagreeably smoky and smelly. But this occurs only in the 'family' huts, where the wife and children reside, each wife in the polygamous family having, as already said, such a hut to herself. In the private huts (*ĩLawu*), on the other hand, of the kraal-head and of the young men and maidens—each sex of these young people having its own separate hut—where fires are rarely kindled and a minimum of 'furniture' kept, the air remains always pure and fresh.³

We spoke of the architecture just described as though it were a speciality of the Zulus. To be more accurate, this was, we believe, one of the original types of general Bantu habitation; indeed, we might say, one of the very earliest forms of human dwelling. It is, further, one of the many instances we shall meet with in the course of our story which convinces us that, of all present-day Bantu, our Zulus are among the most primitive, that is to say, that they have preserved more of the ancient mode of life and custom of their race than have most other tribes.

The Congo Pygmies, than whom few humans can be deeper down, build rude beehive bowers of bent sticks, covered with plantain leaves, much after the Zulu model.⁴ The earliest dwellings of Sumer and Akkad were huts made of reeds planted in a circle and bent over; thereafter coated with mud.⁵ The South American Patacho Indians "bend together young growing trees and poles stuck in the ground, so that by binding their tops together they form a framework, which is then thatched over with large [palm] leaves."⁶ Coming back to

Africa in the earliest historical period, we are told by Naville, (*Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 37, p. 204) that, in the most primitive drawings appearing in Ancient Egyptian tombs, the dwellings of those people are shown, and "these dwellings were huts, placed on mounds, and probably of wicker-work. They were surrounded by enclosures made of poles, something like what is called now a 'zeriba', sheltering the inhabitants against wild beasts . . . In these enclosures we see men . . . armed with bows and spears . . . but the inhabitants of these villages do not seem to have practised agriculture; we do not see cattle, neither oxen nor sheep, nor asses, none of the domestic animals. Sometimes men are shown struggling against wild beasts, women holding their hands over their heads, as if they were carrying a jar or a basket." Away at the other end of the continent, we meet the Hottentots, who, rightly or wrongly, are believed by some to have received many of their inspirations, if not indeed some of their blood and their customs, from those same Ancient Egyptians; and their house too was a wicker-work frame, dome-like in form and covered with hides or rush-matting.⁷ Some of the North African Fulas also follow the Zulu model with beehive-shaped, thatched constructions, having a small rounded doorway, and a little tuft of thatch at the crown of the roof, like that of some Zulu huts, where it is called an *isaDla*.⁸ Beehive huts are found again among the Somalis of East Africa—stick frameworks covered with grass matting, and with a small entrance in front.⁹ In Uganda, the earliest form of building was probably the simplest form now in use, namely, in the construction of their 'temporary' abodes, which, "used on journeys, or in time of war, were made of stout green sticks, stuck in the ground in a circle and bent inwards to form a hoop; the upper ends of the sticks were tied together with strips of their own bark; these sticks formed the framework of the hut; grass was laid on it for thatch, as in the case of the regular house."¹⁰ The Chagas of Kenya Colony, make "a loose, round, rather flat-topped framework, thatched with plantain leaves."¹¹ The dwelling of the Taitas near by is somewhat similar, though conical—"a circular upright fencing of two or three feet in height, with a small hole for a door, and covered with a cone-shaped, well-thatched roof of grass, looking like a large beehive."¹² In old Basutoland too "the huts were made of thatching-grass in the

form of a beehive, the thatch laid on poles fixed in the ground in a circle, with the tops bent in and lashed together."¹³ The present-day walled hut, with semicircular grass roof now in vogue among the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape, is evidently quite a modern idea. In former times, they also followed the old Nguni style (viz. that of the Zulus). Writing about the year 1825, Kay¹⁴ says, "the Kaffer *inhlu*, house or hut, is of the most simple description, and far inferior in every respect to that of the Boschuana . . . A circular frame is first set up, consisting of long, straight branches, the upper extremities of which are bent and bound together with *umxeba* or wooden fibres. The thatch, which is like that on the houses of the South Sea Islanders, extending from the ground to the top, is bound on with the same sort of cordage, or otherwise with *intsontelo*, a small rope made of rushes, after which the inside is lined with *utyabeka*, a strong plaster of clay and cowdung. When complete, the form is exactly that of a beehive; and the doorway too is shaped in the same manner as the *entrée* of those little insect dwellings." The Chwana house, to which Kay refers above, was an entirely different and certainly a much superior type of building. Says Kay,¹⁵ poles, nine feet high, are stuck up forming a circle 40 to 60 feet in diameter. These support the roof. The spaces between the poles are then filled in with a mud wall, two feet thick, and seven feet high. A conical grass roof rests upon the top of the poles, and projects 3 or 4 feet all round so as to form a verandah. The doorway is the height of a man. In the centre of the greater hut, another smaller circular apartment of wattle and daub is built round the centre pole, having its own little doorway, and being used as a sleeping apartment.

This general subject of African architecture furnishes quite an entertaining little study of itself, into which we may perhaps be permitted for a moment to digress. Passing from tribe to tribe through Africa, we shall find ourselves rising gradually, by almost imperceptible steps, from the simplest notion of a mere shelter against the elements to a culmination in those very ideas and fashions upon which the building art of the highest civilisations is based. Pediment and arch, gable, spire and dome, all alike will be met with there in their embryonic stage. In order to follow our argument satisfactorily, the reader should consult, where possible, the several illustrations

displaying the various styles of Negro architecture, to be found in the works hereunder referred to.

From the round, scooped-out earth-hole of the Limpopo Katea or Vaalpens, "the most perfect embodiment of the pure savage still anywhere surviving",¹⁶ we proceed one rung up the ladder into the more sheltered, and still more or less rounded, mountain-cavern of the Bushman, or, when cavern failed him, into his Vaalpens-like earth-hole, now improved by a hemispherical super-structure of sticks overlaid with mats or hides.¹⁷ When, further north in the continent, the sunny treeless veld has given place to dank forest gloom, then, for the earth-hole of the Bushman, his Central African brother, the Negrillo, substitutes a bower, 3 feet high by 4 broad, constructed with rudely bent sticks and thatched with branches and leaves.¹⁸

Taking another bound of a thousand miles across the continent, we alight in the territory of the Nika Bantu of Kenya Colony, to find that the bent-stick, leaf-covered arbour of the Negrillo has already bloomed into a real, if ragged, grass-thatched, dome-like hut.¹⁹ Away in the extreme south of the continent, this same dome-like grass-hut attains its perfect development in Zululand. In the shape of this hut and in its round-topped doorway, we have the 'idea' of our cupola and Roman arch already emerged. Dwellings of this selfsame type are to be met with among African peoples as far apart as the Somalis of East Africa,²⁰ the Himas of Uganda,²¹ the Bantuized Nziri Negroes of the Mubangi river,²² the Kredi Negroes of the Sudan,²³ and the Gabri Negroes of Bagirmi.²⁴ It looks as if here we have the very earliest type of Negro dwelling. Again away at the continent's extremity, but on the other side in South-west Africa, the Dama-ra Bantu affect the same style of dwelling, but now covered with hides or plastered all over outside with clay;²⁵ while in Xosaland in the Cape Province, as well as among some Tongas in Portuguese East Africa, the same clay plastering is confined to the first few feet near the ground;²⁶ in which we see the distinction between 'side-wall' and 'roof' gradually materializing.

An innovation met with in Toroland, near by Uganda, is a squaring of the hitherto round-topped doorway;²⁷ with the lintel of the Greeks and the square arch of Ancient Egypt in the offing.

In the Lomami-Ruwenzori region, the dome-like grass-hut, until now perfectly rounded at the top, is already assuming a slight pointedness at the crown ;²⁸ a fashion favoured also by the Kambas of Kenya Colony²⁹ and by the Kanem Negroes of the Sudan,³⁰ the latter, furthermore, laying on their grass 'stepwise', like tiles or slates. With this pointing of the dome's crown we get the notion of the so-called ogee arch.

The Yambos of the Sudan not only raise the crown of the grass-dome into a point, but start an entirely new idea by raising the whole structure bodily from the ground and resting it upon a low wall.³¹ This simple move marks an epoch in the history and art of building ; for it signifies the actual birth of the true wall and the true roof, two ideas which have always been principal features in all civilized architecture, but neither of which has yet so impressed the Bantu mind as to impel it to coin distinct indigenous terms for ' wall ' and ' roof ' in any of its languages.

A further architectural epoch is marked in the device of the Kalosh branch of the large baLuba tribe of the Congo, who, while retaining the dome-like roof, base the structure upon a *square* foundation, thus producing a kind of quadrilateral or four-sided dome,³² to which the Karagwe Bantu on the Victoria Nyanza add a projecting porch.³³ Herein, again, we see the transition at once from the round to the square dwelling, and from the flush doorway to the portico.

The Angola Bantu still retain the dome-like grass-hut resting on the ground, but now raise its crown, not indeed to the sharp point of the Kambas and Kanem-bu, but to a rounded one, giving the whole structure a semi-oval shape, resembling that of the half of an egg.³⁴ Elevate now this semi-oval dome on to a 2 foot wall, and you will have the dwelling of the Magomero region of Nyasaland.³⁵ Raise, further, the crown into a *sharp* point, and you will have the hut of the Sudan Negroes of the Shari.³⁶ Arrange the thatch 'step-wise,' and you will have that of the Negroes of Lake Chad.³⁷ Pass from Lake Chad to the Nile, and among the Nuer and Anuak Nilotics you will encounter the pointed dome of the Shari now raised upon a wall of wooden posts, and gradually passing from the dome to the cone.³⁸ Return to the Musgum Negroes of Bagirmi, and note to what a remarkable development the Nuer and Anuak style has reached. The supporting wall has vanished,

and so has the thatch. The old semi-oval structure has been replaced on the ground ; but it has now become narrowed and elongated into the form of a sugar-loaf ; while, in place of the original sticks and grass, the building is entirely constructed of sun-baked clay and decorated externally with curious ornamental relief-work.³⁹ The which brings us to another epoch-making innovation in the house-building trade—the transition from wood and grass to the more enduring material of sun-baked earth, later to develop into the sun-baked, then fire-baked, brick, and ultimately into concrete and stone.

The Nuer Nilotics have already suggested to us the transition from the dome or beehive to the conical form of structure, and the hint has been duly taken and worked out in multifarious ways by numerous peoples all over Negroland. The Pokomo Bantu beyond the Tana river in Kenya Colony rest their grass-cone right on the ground⁴⁰—the Zulu hut now with a conical shape. Elevate this structure on to a wooden or a plastered wall of various heights, and you will have the dwelling of the ovaMbo⁴¹ of South-west Africa, of the Angola baYaka⁴² on the upper Kwango, of the Natives of the Cameruns,⁴³ of the Sudanese Bongos⁴⁴ and Mangbetu,⁴⁵ of several tribes of Northern Congoland,⁴⁶ of the Kikuyu⁴⁷ of Kenya Colony, and of the Hamitic Somalis and Galas.⁴⁸ The Gandas allow the conical grass roof, while perched in front upon a wall, to descend, at the rear of the hut, right to the ground, thus presenting the appearance of a low dunce's cap when tilted over to the back of the head.⁴⁹ The baNalya of the Aruwimi so narrow and elongate the cone—as the Musgums did with the dome—till it becomes a tall tapering spire.⁵⁰ May, then, the church-steeple of Christendom be more truly traced back to such primitive huts as these of the Aruwimi, than to the comparatively recent Pharos lighthouse of Alexandria (300 B.C.), which is given by Breasted⁵¹ as the original source of our spire ?

How the transition was effected from the circle to the square would have presented us with a tough problem to solve, had not the Kalosh Lubas of Central Congoland and the Karagwes of Victoria Nyanza (see above) provided us with a solution. It does not surprise us, therefore, to find neighbouring tribes, and others in various parts of Africa, who have already fully developed the idea, and advanced to the pure square and oblong

dwelling, with its concomitant, the gable roof. Along the Busira or Jwapa river to the north of the Lubas, in Central Congo ;⁵² among many tribes along the Congo river ;⁵³ among the peoples of Angola ;⁵⁴ in the Cameruns ;⁵⁵ among the Abanga Negroes of the Sudan ;⁵⁶ and elsewhere, we come across habitations of this square or oblong type.

Thus, here in Darkest Africa we may find, if we seek, the germ of almost everything that is characteristic of the architecture of Europe and the Mediterranean. The source of these things has been hitherto traced back no further than to Ancient Egypt and Sumer, to Greece and Rome, as though those highly civilised peoples were the creators of such conceptions. The study of the primitive races, however, not in Africa alone, but in every region of the world, will take us back far earlier than that. We may trace the colonnades of Karnak back to the rows of pillars in a baGenya hut or in the audience-hall of Mteza ; the walled cities of Assyria, to the palisaded kraal of Zululand or the fenced zareba of the Sudan ; the oblong temple and sculptured pediment of the Parthenon of Athens, to the long square dwelling and simple gable of the maNyema and the baPoto of the Congo ; the concrete dome of the Pantheon of Rome, to the mud-covered hut of the Dama-ra of South-west Africa or to the stuccoed baked-clay sugar-loaf of the Musgums of the Chad ; the spires of Cologne, to the tall, tapering cones of the Aruwimi ; the portico, to the porch of Uganda and Zimbaland ; the lintel, to the Zulu kraal-entrance, or the square doorway of Toroland ; the Babylonian and Roman arch, to the doorway of the Zulu hut ; the Gothic arch, to the semi-oval hut of Angola and the Shari ; the ogee, to the curved, pointed cone of the Yambos and Kambas.

We thus find that the fundamental principles of our forms of building had been conceived and become well known to the Negro race probably as early as was the case with the Caucasian ; and no evidence will prove more clearly and conclusively the remarkable difference between the mental equipment of the two races than will their present respective positions architecturally. Whereas the White mind has been able, from these infantile beginnings, to proceed continuously forward to the elaborate and complicated engineering and architectural achievements of the Caucasian world, the Negro mind, after

having risen equally as rapidly in the elementary stage, thereafter absolutely failed to progress any further. You will here put to yourselves the question, And why was this? and find yourselves up against the great Negro psychological puzzle; consideration of which is beyond our purpose here.

1. Bryant, *O.T.*
2. *ib.* *Z.M.*, 2.
3. Purvis, *M.E.*, 252; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 231; Lloyd, *U.K.*, 180; Haberlandt, *E.*, 109.
4. Geil, *Y.L.P.*, 203; Harrison, *L.P.*, 9.
5. Delaporte, *M.*, 172.
6. Tylor, *A.*, 230.
7. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. I, 220; Shaw, *M.*, 41.
8. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 255.
9. Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. I, 149.
10. Roscoe, *B.*, 377.
11. New, *L.E.A.*, 457.
12. *ib.* 336.
13. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 293.
14. Kay, *T.C.*, 117; Shaw, *M.*, 58.
15. *ib.* *ib.* 227.
16. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 121; *B.S.*, 71.
17. Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 36; Stow, *N.R.*, 43.
18. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 203; Harrison, *L.P.*, 9.
19. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 24, 44.
20. Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. I, 148.
21. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 82.
22. Dorman, *T.C.*, 107.
23. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 226.
24. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. I, 104.
25. Galton, *T.S.A.*, 116; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 74.
26. Kay, *T.C.*, 117.
27. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 162.
28. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 752.
29. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, II.
30. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 222, 282.
31. *ib.* *ib.* vol. 1, 214.
32. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 107, 108.
33. Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 245.
34. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 174; vol. 2, 43.
35. Macdonald, *A.*, vol. 2, 10.
36. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 194.
37. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 67, 68.
38. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 234, 244.
39. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 126, 132.

40. New, *L.E.A.*, 207.
41. Galton, *T.S.A.*, 135.
42. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 120, 236, 314.
43. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 148.
44. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 123.
45. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 56.
46. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 132.
47. Dugmore, *C.A.*, 130.
48. Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. 1, 178; Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 78.
49. Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 123.
50. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 513; Geil, *Y.P.L.*, 275.
51. Breasted, *A.T.*, 462.
52. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143, 144.
53. *ib.* *ib.* 132, 736, 741, 742.
54. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, 287.
55. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 148, 287.
56. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 251.

Chapter 4

Jomela's Fine Family

Having inspected Jomela's kraal, make now the acquaintance of his family. They are as typical of their tribe as was their home. They are a variegated crowd, twenty souls all told, and each of them a tribal sample. There are tall men and short women; blackamoors, brownies and a single yellow-skin. There are broad faces, and long ones; flat noses, and straight. Every one of them is sleek and robust in build, and all alike are dressed in the breezy costume of their skin—and smiles. And now to a closer examination of their persons.

The Zulus have a world-wide and merited reputation of being very fine fellows. And such they are. Was there ever one who knew the African Negro better than did Sir Harry Johnston? Hear, then, him. "The Zulu is perhaps the most typical Bantu and the comliest development of the true Negro".¹ Of still earlier travellers, Barrow² may be cited. Speaking, at the beginning of last century, of the Xosas of the Cape (who, you know, are the Zulus' brothers, and members of the same Nguni Bantu family), he gushes rhapsodically as follows: "The men were the finest figures I ever beheld . . . they were tall, robust and muscular; their habits of life had induced a firmness of carriage, and an open, manly demeanour, which, added to the good nature that overspread their features, showed them at once to be equally unconscious of fear, suspicion and treachery. A young man about twenty, of six feet ten inches high, was one of the finest figures that perhaps was ever

created. He was a perfect Hercules ; and a cast from his body would not have disgraced the pedestal of that deity in the Farnese palace. Many of them had indeed very much the appearance of bronze figures . . . There is not perhaps any nation on the face of the earth, taken collectively, that can produce so fine a race of men as the Kaffers ". " These Zulus," says Arbousset,³ " are a fine race of blacks, superior in stature, in elegance of shape and in muscular strength to the Bechuanas." Isaacs⁴ goes further and, like Barrow, demands superlatives— " the Zoola men are, without exception, the finest race of people which Southern or Eastern Africa can furnish, or that I have ever seen. They are tall, athletic, well-proportioned and good-featured . . . capable of enduring great fatigue, both in war and in hunting excursions, and their agility is almost beyond comprehension." Yes, adds Threlfall,⁵ " they have the finest figures of any of the natives."

One can hardly suppose that the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) physique has deteriorated since then ; and yet nowadays we notice nothing extraordinarily arresting therein, when compared with Nordic European man ; though, within their own Bantu race, we certainly do think that the Zulu-Xosas (or Ngunis) outstand. Still, they are a race neither of Samsons, nor of Goliaths, much less of Apollos. Judged by their appearances, they might well be called a race of athletes. To that distinction their stalwart build, their well-proportioned figures, their unusually fine stature and their erect pose would reasonably entitle them. This attractive form has been acquired, no doubt, by the natural, manly life they have always led, supported by adequate nourishing food, in a comparatively healthy and temperate part of Africa. It has not been acquired by any system of special athletic training, such as we degenerates of Europe must needs resort to. At those exercises, the Zulu, despite our epithet of ' athlete ', would prove ridiculously incompetent. Any third-rate European amateur could beat him at the high or long jump ; but few could surpass him at long-distance walking over broken country. Any school-boy could kick the football further than he ; but none could dare face him with the cudgels. He looks as though, with the requisite training, he might make a good wrestler, even a good boxer ; and with similar schooling, he might vie with the Highlander with caber or weight.

Despite the opinion held by some, that the Bantu (and consequently also our Zulus as part of them) are not pure Negroes, the contrary is the actual fact, as authenticated by scientific investigation. None less than Sir Arthur Keith is our authority for the statement; and what he has said, we have already told on a previous page (63).

The Negro race is differentiated from the Caucasian by certain physical characteristics, which characteristics, if the Bantu are Negroes, may be looked for also in the Zulus. They are, principally, the coiled or spiral hair; the comparatively slenderer limb-bones, and the proportionately greater length of the lower limb-bones when compared with the upper, than is the case in Europeans; the fusion together of the two frontal eminences (in the forehead); the presence of a bony elevation in the palate; specialized nasal bones, and so on (see A. Keith, *Nature*, vol. 84, 1910, also *Antiquity of Man*, 1929, vol. I, 66-7, 487; and Elliot Smith, *Human History*, 137 sq.).

The Zulu men fluctuate in stature from medium to tall, with a tendency rather to tallness than to shortness; but the great majority are simply of good medium height. Keane⁶ tells us that the average height of the Bantu race is 5 ft. 9 ins. to 5 ft. 11 ins. Fleming,⁷ writing of the Xosas of the Cape, says their stature varies from 5 ft. 9 ins. to 6 ft. 2 ins., averaging 5 ft. 11 ins. We believe all this to be exaggeration. Maugham⁸ seems to us a more accurate observer, stating that, among Zambebian Bantu, 5 ft. 7 ins. is probably the average for the male, and 5 ft. 1 in. for the female. Seligman,⁹ following measurements given for Johannesburg mine-labourers, gives 5 ft. 6½ ins. as the average stature of the Cape Xosas, but offers nothing for the Zulus. All this reflects what Keith (*Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 41, p. 42) has already remarked, namely, that Bantu stature differs very considerably from tribe to tribe. Of 15 men of the baSoko tribe (Congo), he gives 1658 m.m. (c.—5 ft. 5½ ins.) as the mean; and of 20 men of the Bushongo tribe (Congo), 1747 m.m. (c.—5 ft. 9 ins.). He observes, further, that apparently the Nigerian Negroes (of whom 51, resident in the S.E. corner, adjoining Bantuland, were measured) are generally taller than the Congo Bantu, although some specimens of the former possessed the most diminutive of the statures and some of the latter the tallest.

Fortunately, in the year 1927, Prof. Cipriani, of the University of Florence, visited Zululand, and has since kindly provided us with the most recent and most reliable specifically Zulu anthropological measurements available as we write, and from them we have here mainly drawn our figures. The fuller and more detailed Tables will be found published in the *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, LX—LXI, 1930-1931, (Florence University).

Cipriani gives the average stature of the Zulu male as 169.6 (about 5 ft. 6½ ins.); female, 157.8 (nearly 5 ft. 2 ins.). The men, therefore, according to Haddon's scheme, fall just within the 'tall' class; the women, in the 'short'. The 'sitting height' of the men is given as 85.7 (c. 2 ft. 10¼ ins.); women, 81.1 (c. 2 ft. 8½ ins.). It may be added, however, that all these people, dressed as they are in nature's 'tights', give an impression of greater tallness than actually exists.

The Zulu always holds his body perfectly upright in true military fashion, with head well thrown back, looking one straight in the face, a picture of frankness and boldness and pride. His body-form is described by Cipriani as robust in about 59% of the males and in nearly 65% of the females, the remainder being more or less slender, and a few actually graceful. The Zulu form is not sculptured after the Grecian model. Its torso is too long and too square or broad in the waist, and its limbs, especially the legs, too massive. The man with stiff, bulging muscles in body and limb (*isiKónyololo*) is well known among the Zulus, but not particularly loved. They prefer the sleek, even-bodied type. Such a gentleman they call an *umGémbelezane*; and they possess names too for him with exceptionally broad back and loins (*isiXwebedu*); him with very broad shoulders, but a small waist (*isiPíka*), or thin nether limbs (*ũTshubungu*); one with bulky upper and lower body, but an unduly slender waist (*ũGámfu*); a person with small, insignificant stomach (*ũKécesi*), and half-a-dozen names for the several varieties of 'corporation', some of which latter are especially admired.

Their facial musculature seems to be more rigid than is that of the European; on which account they are unable to display the emotions in such variety and expressiveness as he. We have not encountered any specimens capable of moving their ears or scalp; but think they may exist.

Substantial buttocks is the Zulu taste, and with him is an essential to female beauty. No maiden there would wish or dare to diminish her good points with one of those 'reducing' contraptions so beloved of the modern Bright Young Things. To her, every inch of reduction would entail so much off her value in the Beauty Show, if not also in the cattle-market. The Zulu male, on the contrary, regards an exaggeration of this feature on himself as 'effeminate'. "In all Negro and Bushman children," says Johnston,¹⁰ "and in the men and women of many Central and East African tribes, the development of the nates is actually less than in Europeans." We will not say quite that of the Zulu man; with him, development of the part seems normal. All the same, he has devoted a good deal of study to this particular feature of his anatomy, and has worked out the evolution of the nates with scientific precision. He distinguishes between the 'massively bulky' variety (*Shikilile*); the 'far-projecting' (*iMpentsula*); the 'turned-up', due to a fine spinal curve (*isiBélu*); the 'insignificant' (*iNtsheshelezi*), and the 'none-at-all' (*isiShwapá*). Another example of his special aptitude for nature studies is his careful classification of penial types—that of a dog he calls an *ĩKĩngi*; that of a sheep or goat, an *umNqambo*; that of a cow, an *umNqundu*; that of a horse, an *umBoko*; that of a man, an *umTóndo*.

Steatopygy is occasionally met with, especially in females; but it is not common. We do not think this is due to any special association with Bushmen or Hottentots (among whom it is notoriously prevalent), but rather that it is a chance characteristic of the whole Negro and Pygmy race.¹¹

This same remark may be made also in regard to the extraordinary elongation (*amaLebe*) of the *labia minora* sometimes occurrent in the Zulu females. The elongation may extend to four or five inches in extreme cases; while in some persons it affects only one of the *labia*. It is not removed; though disliked, as a natural deformity. The neighbouring Sutus, on the other hand, are said to cut away 'some portion' of the overgrowth; and some Nilotic tribes, the whole of it; but the Zambebian Natives, on the contrary, so admire it, that they are said to cultivate it artificially. It is prevalent right through Africa, Hamitic as well as Negro, having been reported among the lower Zambebian Bantu,¹² the Abyssinians and Egyptians,¹³

the Kikuyus, Galas, Somalis and other East African peoples. Indeed, even "European women are sometimes slightly longi-nymph".¹⁴ Bush and Hottentot women are, of course, notorious in this connection, and with them, elongation of the clitoris frequently accompanies that of the nymphae.¹⁵ A strange custom (which we have not heard of among the Zulus) has been reported by H. de Carvalho as practised among the Wanda Bantu of the Congo. There the 'lower abdomen' is said to be pulled downwards till it hangs like a flap over the pudenda.¹⁶ We believe this practice is (or was) in vogue also among the Bush-Hottentot females.

Monorchs (or one-testicled men) are heard of, though very rare, among the Zulus, and are called by them *ĩTéku* or *ĩTékwa*. One case of hermaphroditism (*uNcukubili*) has come our way. The party, being supplied with mammæ as well as with male equipment, found it more convenient (owing to the Zulu practice of covering only the pudenda and leaving the chest exposed) to pass through life as a lady! But she never found a beau—or should we say, a belle? We heard rumours, some 40 years ago, of a boy with a 'tail', in the upper Mzimkulu district. This also might seem possible, seeing that the human embryo, in the earlier stages, is said to wear as definite a tail as any tadpole or monkey embryo. A 'horned' Sutu, likewise once reported, would seem less credible. Hybrids too of man and baboon have been mentioned to us as a 'positive fact' by Native doctors, 'who ought to know'. A habit common to Zulu men (and probably to women too) of involuntarily discharging hard, dry lumps of excrement (*Qatáza*) when overcome with fear (as when the approach of an execution-party has been reported)—and as is the wont of felines also, when enraged—is well authenticated. Cases of colostrum in the breasts of unmarried females are not uncommon; while the famous Baca chief, Madikane, is said to have possessed the secret of making an uncovered heifer produce milk, and himself regularly to feed on its *amaSi* (sour curds). The secret unfortunately died with him!

The Zulu body is dressed in a soft, silky, unctuous skin, of every grade of colour from 'Chinese' yellow to Christy Minstrel black. Despite the guide-books, the colour is never 'brown' (chocolate or otherwise), but always a sepia-like 'black' slightly tinted with yellow. Normally, the yellow shows through

only on those parts (e.g. the cheek-bones) where the skin is distended (such individuals being said to *Kánya*, 'be light'). Abnormally, either colour (black or yellow) may get the upper-hand—the pigment becoming so thick as to prevent any of the yellow appearing (this variety being called an *iNkwishela*); or becoming so thin that the whole body is hardly darker than is that of a Chinese or Southern Italian (this is called an *iGáwozi* or *umHanga*).

When born, Zulu babies are normally, not black, but a pinky-yellow or yellowish-pink, the colour gradually and perceptibly darkening within the first few weeks after exposure to sunlight. Rarely, however, they are already darkening at birth, that is, show a larger measure of black mixed with the basic yellow, so as to approach the tint described above as '*ukuKánya*' (to-be-light).

This skin-colour business is a still unsolved physiological puzzle. It is agreed that the human skin-cells can develop pigment; but under what pressure or influence? One line of argument attributes it to climate. "Colour almost certainly developed in strict relation to climate," says Marett.¹⁷ White men and white animals are consistently found inhabiting the colder regions; black men and darker animals, the hot. "The Caucasian is a bleached race—its fairness is the result of long exposure to the intense cold of the glacier period."¹⁸ Negroes passing from Africa to North America and Europe lose their blackness, and become light brown or even yellow, while, contrariwise, Europeans long resident in India acquire, even beneath their clothing, "a skin as brown as that of a Brahman."¹⁹ And yet brown American Indians run from north to south of the continent, from extreme heat to extreme cold, and neither darken nor lose colour in the process. There is no doubt that the yellow Bushman dwelt within the tropics in former times. The Lapps, again, and the Eskimos are both decidedly off-colour. But, then, it is protested, they live in six months of continuous sunshine; hence their tan. Yet the Congo Forest Pygmies live in practically continuous shade, and still remain, many of them, as black as pitch. All which, thought Darwin,²⁰ leads to the conclusion that, "although, with our present knowledge, we cannot account for the differences of colour in races of men through any advantage thus gained, or from the direct action of climate, yet we must not quite ignore the latter agency;

for there is good reason to believe that some inherited effect is thus produced."

The Zulus present a goodly percentage of the medium-coloured (yellowy black) type; and we have observed that, when these have travelled from the drier inland parts down to the lower coastlands, they there develop more pigment and return home much darker. The same colour-change is observable also when this type of Native works in smithies; there too they tend to darken after a time. Livingstone²¹ noticed all this long ago. "The Batoka of the Zambezi," he says, "are generally very dark in colour, while those who live in the highlands are frequently of a lighter hue." "All [the baSongo, of the Congo region] are dark, but the degree of darkness varies from deep black to light yellow. As we go westward, the light colour predominates over the dark, until we approach the coast, where under the influence of damp from the sea air, the shade deepens into the general blackness of the coast population."²² Maugham²³ also noticed that the waterside people "who inhabit the shores of Lake Shirwa and the course of the Lurio River, as well as others from the basin of the Luapula, are amongst the blackest I remember to have seen." Is, then, the deduction to be that heat plus humidity is the factor that makes for darkening of skin? The Whites are confined to the northern or temperate latitudes, the Blacks to the tropical; and we know that, in the northern hemisphere, the amount of water is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of dry land (with a low temperature), whereas in the southern it is 6 to 1 (with a high temperature).²⁴ This heat with humidity theory, however, did not satisfy Darwin. He writes:²⁵ "A very damp or a very dry atmosphere has been supposed to be more influential in modifying the colour of the skin than mere heat; but as D'Orbigny in South America, and Livingstone in Africa, arrived at diametrically opposite conclusions with respect to dampness and dryness, any conclusion on this head must be considered as very doubtful." Yet Prince Kropotkin²⁶ accumulated a mass of evidence proving the change to darker or lighter colour under the influences of heat and cold and humidity, and the subsequent inheritance of such changes. Even moderately warm temperature, together with moisture, produced an increase in the dark pigment in lizards. These climatic influences, moreover, affected the general vigour of the insects concerned, and the

differences of general vigour may weaken or reinforce certain physiological functions, which result, in turn, in important changes in size, reproduction and so on. But to become heritable, these modifying agencies, according to Tower, of Chicago University, must be in action at a certain definite period, namely during the period of growth of the germ-cells. According to Kammerer and others, cannibalism produced an increased size of head and teeth.

Darwin²⁷ thought that the white colour assumed by animals in the polar regions might be merely protective. He did not suspect that black might have similar advantages. Yet since then chemistry has progressed apace and proven that it has. The short infra-red sun-rays are said to heat the body-parts on which they fall, but the dark pigment in the Negro skin acts as an insulator to them, absorbing them as they come and preventing them from passing through to overheat the blood beyond. The pigment itself, however, becomes warmed in the process, and this warmth excites the local nerves, which in turn provoke the sweat-glands to secrete, which, by the evaporation of water, cools the body. Thus the Blackman's body is permanently protected against harmful overheating by his black skin, while the Whiteman's protects itself, when coming to the tropics, by tanning; though it seems incapable of darkening itself sufficiently to ward off sunstroke.

It would seem, then, that Negro man has perfected the pigmentation process through long ages passed in powerful sunlight combined with humidity, and that the European has partially lost the power through long ages passed in less sunny and drier climes, or never had it. Which at once suggests the problem of man's original colour.

"Agassiz has pointed out that, in Asia and Africa, the large apes and the human races have the same colour of skin";²⁸ and it is apparently suggested that this dark colour may have been the original colour of man, and that the European has become 'bleached'. Keith²⁹ propounds the reverse idea. "The negro baby," he says, "has only reached a brown stage at birth; two months earlier, its skin is not darker than that of a Southern European; still earlier, in foetal life its skin is as little pigmented as that of the Northern European. The negro child passes through all the stages which lead from the

lowest to the highest in the scale of pigmentation." "The fairness of Nordic man is an inheritance from the womb; he retains in adult life a stage which is transitory in the development of other races. Many human characters have been acquired by the operation of this [Bolk's] law—the tendency for developmental stages to be delayed until childhood or adult life is reached." Thus, "the negro tends to retain the hairless body and beardless face of youth; on his skull and brain we find many examples of retention of the same kind. On the other hand, we see in the negro's body certain new characters which owe nothing to Bolk's law. Woolly hair is peculiar to the race, whereas other races have retained the older and more primitive hair-forms."

Whatever may have been man's original colour, it looks very much as though the present colour scheme was developed and fixed long æons ago, when terrestrial conditions were very different from what they are now, for instance, during the extremes of heat and cold, of humidity and dryness, such as may have occurred during the glacial and interglacial, and other such abnormal past ages. The causative influences having ceased, the colours attained, and already become an inheritance, remained as they were, fixed as we still find them.

The Zulus liken the naked European body to that of a white pig. And they were not far wrong; for when the European skin (as was that of the murderer, Corder) is turned to the useful purpose of binding books, it much resembles pig-skin!³⁰

The so-called 'Mongolian spot', or at any rate a distinctly darker patch of skin about the end of the spine and upper buttocks, is occasionally met with in Zulu new-born babes. Cipriani noticed it also among the Zambebian Bantu. We have noted too the presence in many adult Natives of a relatively darker stripe passing from the pubes upwards to the navel (*umNyele*); and, in others, of a long swollen stripe (without discolouration) passing from the navel upwards to the breast-bone (*umTála*).³¹

The average cephalic index of the Zulu males is, according to Cipriani, 75.4; for females, 75.6. This places them just above the dolichomesaticephalic border-line (=75). The general Bantu average is given in some anthropological works as about

73.³² This would place them in the dolichocephalic or long-headed class. Such a figure, however, when applied to the whole Bantu race, is at least misleading; for it is well known that quite a large proportion of the Central (or Congo) Bantu are decidedly mesaticephalic (or medium-headed), and many even brachycephalic (or broad-headed)³³—all which is due perhaps to Forest Pygmy or to southern Sudanese (Nyamnyam, etc.)³⁴ intermixture. The crania of the Congo tribes (i.e. of the specimens he examined), says Keith,³⁵ are relatively wide (i.e. are proportionately broad to long) or brachycephalic; while the Gambian Negroes in the extreme north-west and the Dinka in the extreme north-east carry the heads with the greatest length. The Nigerian or Guinea type is flat-sided and narrow, with height prevailing over breadth; that of the Congo is broad and bulging at the sides, breadth prevailing over height. This difference in relative height is due to the fact that in the Nigerian skull the frontal region is thrust more forward (the growth of the brain being more towards the bregma), and in the Bantu (Congo) it is more receding (the growth of brain being more towards the lambda). Yet, according to Seligman,³⁶ this dolichocephaly is by no means universal in Guinea, many of the tribes being distinctly mesaticephalic.

Some Nigerian (e.g. the Korawp), some Bantu (e.g. the Congo baShongo), and some Equatorial (e.g. the Nyamnyam) peoples, says Keith,³⁷ carry 'large' heads; others, like the Bantu baSoko and the Sudanese Bongo, have them 'small'. As samples of cranial capacities, Keith cites the Gambian and Nigerian tribes with 1450 c.c. (presumably male), the Eкои Negroes (Guinea) with 1430 c.c. (male), but the Congo Bantu baTetela with only *m.* 1342 c.c., *f.* 1206 c.c., and the Niger Delta Negroes with only 1240 c.c. for the males. The average cranial capacity of the 'Bantu race' is given by Quatrefages and Hamy³⁸ as 1424 c.c.; of the Sudanese and Guinea Negroes as 1495 c.c.; and of the European as 1497 c.c., presumably in all cases males. Sir W. Flower, of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, gives the same European average, but places that of the Bantu at 1485 c.c.;³⁹ while the French anthropologist, Topinard,⁴⁰ found the Negro brain, when weighed, to average 1263 grams (perhaps equivalent to about 1329 c.c.), and Keith⁴¹ found the average for Europeans to be, for males, 1480 c.c., and for females, 1350 c.c. All these figures, however, lose much

of their value owing to the paucity of the specimens examined, and to their dearth of precision and discrimination.

When viewed in profile, the Zulu face presents the characteristic Negro flatness; but the head often nicely rounded at the back. Viewed from the front, the Zulu face is mostly broad and round; but there are also some long and narrow faces, and still more with a pleasing intermediate type of oval face. Keith⁴² thinks this difference may be due to the character of the food generally eaten, with resultant differing degrees of mastication. There are, of course, quite a goodly number of long and narrow faces among the Zulus, accompanied by straight, thin noses and other more delicate features—a type much more agreeable to us, and oftentimes really beautiful. This may, or may not, be due to Caucasian (Hamitic, or Semitic) intermixture in centuries past. The Zulu himself, however, regards his own particular type of broad, round face as the more lovely and lovable, and he attributes the narrow, flat-sided variety to the mother, at some time in life, having partaken of guinea-fowl (which also possesses such a head)! This supposed peculiarity in certain animals of passing on their characteristics to those who eat them, is termed an *ũFuza* (or resemblance-transmitting power). Thus, a woman eating a hare would be liable to produce long-eared children, and one eating a swallow, children who could not even make a decent 'nest', i.e. hut, for themselves. An hereditary *family* trait, physical or moral (as of baldness, or stealing), is termed an *ũKóndolo* (or continuous-trail).

The Zulu forehead has the appearance of being quite respectably high, owing to the fact that it is (when measured up to the hair-line) usually 50% (or more) longer than the nose, which is comparatively short. In over 69% of the males the forehead is slightly retiring; in 23%, more or less perpendicular; and in about 8%, prominent, occasionally even independent. With females it is nearly always prominent. It shows in all cases the typical Negro roundness. This roundness is due, says Keith,⁴³ to the two frontal eminences, which in European and Asiatic races are usually some distance apart, in the Negro tending to approach each other and fuse at the middle line; so that the slight flatness or depression in the European forehead is absent in that of the Negro. Keith regards this again as the persistence of an infantile character.

The supraorbital ridges, so massively developed in the anthropoid apes and Neanderthal and Rhodesian, man, are said to be less prominent in the Eastern Bantu (who include our Zulus) than in Europeans, who thus become more 'ape-like' than the Africans! Among the Western Bantu, on the other hand, the brow-ridges become more pronounced, a character they share with the Negroes of the Pacific.⁴⁴ Cipriani places 54% of Zulu men in the category of 'strongly' developed brow-ridges; the remainder, 'slightly' so. Almost all females come within the latter class.

How the different varieties of hair-form and hair-colour arose, is another physiological problem as yet unsolved. The Negro (including our Zulu) has a monopoly of his own particular brand, which, once again, is less 'simian' than is our own. It grows in glossy, black, flat coils or spirals ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter), like tiny wire springs. These, when longer, cling together and form numerous little tufts ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch high) scattered over the head. When fully grown and combed out, these tufts become a dense, frizzly mass or mop, enveloping the round or oval face in a quite becoming fashion (resembling that of the Papuan), a coiffure formerly much favoured by the Zulu youth of both sexes; it was called an *isiHlutú*. The hairs of this mop, when drawn out, may be fully five inches long in the male, and in the female even ten.⁴⁵ The spirality is said by Haddon^{45a} to be due "to two main factors, the great curvature of the hair follicle, and its compressed lumen; so that the emerging hair is started in a spiral, and is a narrow oval in section", as against the straight follicle and rounder lumen of the straight-haired peoples. Such spiral hair is peculiar to the Negro race, whether it be that inhabiting Africa or that in Pacific Oceania. Torday and Joyce, however, say^{45b} that the Bantu hair is also sometimes almost round (like that of the straight-haired folk), sometimes oval and at other times bean-shaped; and yet it appears always to be spiral. Probably the straight hair was the original human type, from which that of the Negroes diverged. Indeed, the transformation may still be seen in actual progress in some Zulu babies. The hair of most Zulu babies when new-born is rather on the curly, than on the spiral side; and in a few exceptions it is positively straight and long, being at the same time either jet-black, or 'bleached' to a dirty yellowish black. In all cases, however, before the first year is completed, the

spiral form and deep black colour have ousted all others and become definitely fixed. The black colour, of course, is due to the pigment contained in the hair. This black substance is said to be insoluble in heated sulphuric acid diluted with twice its volume of water, it floating on the surface clotted together with the oil. The hair colour, however, is liable to change under the influence of a changed environment. Some Sudanese Negroes are said to grow tresses three feet in length, or (as among the Nyamnyam) to display long plaits reaching to the waist.

To the Zulu, the hairy body of some Europeans is not lovely; indeed, is decidedly 'monkey-like'. The human ideal to him is clearness and cleanness of skin—which Keith considers another 'infantile retention'. In 59% of Zulu men hairiness of body and limb is practically absent, and on the face no sign of beard or moustache appears until about the 23rd year of age, or even much later. Notwithstanding which, hairy Zulu males (*ĩHwanqa*, *ĩKlalatĩ*) are not unknown, whole 'forests' (as they say) of hair overgrowing the face, throat and chest, and, in a lesser degree, the arms and legs. Most Zulu men have a certain amount of hair about their upper lip and chin, and some grow quite respectable moustachios (*ĩDevu*) and beards (*isiLevu*). Indeed, the latter take so many different forms, that the Zulu distinguishes them by different names; thus, the short, scrubby variety he calls an *ũQuntu*; the pointed, an *ũTshatshavela*; the long and stiff, an *iNtshebe*; and the long flowing variety, beloved of the Boer Baas, an *ũCelemba*. Baldness is not common. It is met with in two types—that in the frontal region (*iMpandla*), and that on the crown (*ũKóngolo*). Most Zulus become grey at about fifty years of age, some earlier, some later; while the very aged may, rarely, become quite white. The softer kind of hair (*ũNakazane*) is said to lose its colour much sooner than the thicker, coarser variety (*iNgqangasi*).

Pudendal depilation used to be practised regularly in former times by the youth of both sexes. Nowadays it is more common with the females than with the males, the object being cleanliness and comfort. The pubic hair is usually plucked out (*Hlutá*) or shaven off. It must be owned, however, that in these more sophisticated times, even the females are growing much less fastidious and much more 'untidy' than they used to be in this regard.

The Zulu eye is classed as 'prominent' in 51% of individuals, and in 33% as slightly so. The conjunctiva is usually somewhat bleared and discoloured, rarely perfectly clear, owing probably to continuous living in smoke-filled huts. The iris is always of a soft, deep brown. Elliot Smith says that the iris of the Negro new-born babes is blue. Our personal experience is that it is always nearly black, though in some cases an overlying deep-blue glint is noticeable, disappearing very soon after birth. Schweinfurth⁴⁶ noticed among the Nyamnyam (of Equatorial Africa) that "almond-shaped [eyes] and somewhat sloping . . . are of remarkable size and fullness." Landor⁴⁷ says of the neighbouring Golo Sudanese that "they have a considerable development of the upper portion of the lid and the eyebrow, a development which almost amounts to a swelling." We have noticed in a few Zulu eyes a distinct suggestion of both these peculiarities—the fatty fold hanging over the upper eyelid they distinguish by the name, *iFúku*. Ward,⁴⁸ on the other hand, noted the remarkable smallness of eye among the Congo Bantu. Such small eyes (*ūNungu*) occur here and there among the Zulus. The epicanthic fold (a growing down of the upper eyelid over the fleshy triangular canthus at the inner corner of the eye), said to be peculiar to the Mongolian race, has not been observed among the Zulus. Needless to relate, all sorts of squints and similar distortions are known (though very uncommon) and duly catalogued as *iNgxemu*, *iMpendu*, *isiYalu* and the rest. One may note, too, the agreeable, though rather monotonous, soft, gazelle-like 'look' about the eyes of all Zulus, as against the great variety of 'look' seen among Europeans—except in the case of Zulu medicine-men and, still more so, of the so-called 'witch-doctors' (*izaNgóma*), whose eyes almost always have a peculiar piercing sharpness, which may denote greater mental activity or power. The eye-lashes are never pulled out, as with some other Bantu tribes, e.g. the Kambas of Kenya Colony;⁴⁹ and as for the eyebrows, the Zulus adore a thick, glossy black curve over fine, large dark eyes in their females. Beetled-browed men (*amaNkonkoma*), often over deep-set eyes (*isi-Góbé*), are occasionally encountered; and such brows may perchance conceal superciliary ridges more pronounced than the normal.

Whether 'savage' peoples have, or have not, better eyesight than we, is still a contested point. Darwin⁵⁰ accepted the inferiority of Europeans, in comparison with savages, in regard to eyesight, as a fact, and attributed it to "no doubt the accumulated and transmitted effect of lessened use during generations; for Rengger states that he has repeatedly observed Europeans who have been brought up and spent their whole lives with the wild Indians, who nevertheless did not equal them in the sharpness of their senses. The same naturalist observes that the cavities in the skull for the reception of the several sense-organs are larger in the American aborigines than in Europeans." And, continues Darwin, "I have had good opportunities for observing the extraordinary power of eyesight in the Fuegians." But if the American Indians beat the Europeans at eyesight, the African Bantu beat the American Indians. Fritsch,⁵¹ who specially studied the races of mankind in regard to sharpness of vision, concluded that the Hottentot-Bushman race excelled all others, while the African peoples (including the Bantu) were superior both to American Indians and to Europeans. The Cambridge Anthropological Expedition (1891) demanded further evidence, and went forth itself to Torres Straits (Papuan islands off north-eastern Australia) to get it. Having duly reported its findings, "the results show," says C. S. Myers,⁵² referring both to these Papuans and to the Todas of India, "a visual acuity . . . perhaps on the whole slightly superior to the acuity of Europeans living a corresponding out-of-door life;" but Loram,⁵³ speaking of these same investigations plus those of Prof. R. S. Woodworth at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, says "the conclusions arrived at by the two studies are in general agreement. The widespread notion that uncivilized peoples are more acute in vision and hearing is not borne out by the results." It seems time, therefore, that we added our own contribution to the general confusion; which is, that personal experience with the Zulus has definitely convinced us that vision with them is considerably stronger than with Europeans, not in any ability to see *further*, but in the clarity of their long-distance seeing; that is, given the same distant object, the details stand out much more clearly to the Bantu eye than to the European. Bergh⁵⁴ noticed something similar among the Bantu Kambas of Kenya Colony—they "can see a long distance and can describe an

animal accurately when we can scarcely see the beast." Woodworth, too, had apparently remarked this in the subjects he examined, and he suggests that even "if small differences do exist, it is fairly certain that the wonderful feats of distant vision ascribed to savages are due to practice in interpreting slight indications of familiar objects."⁵⁵ As regards near-distance vision, we would say that we have been astonished over and over again at the facility with which Zulu boys and girls find (i.e. discern or detect) small objects lost, for instance, in dense, tall grass, they apparently 'seeing' them with ease and almost immediately, when Europeans have been long searching for them without success. Myers also, it seems, had heard of this strange aptitude, and, like Woodworth, offered his own—not quite convincing, we think—explanation thereof, namely, that the reported "marvellous acuity of vision among primitive people" unquestionably depends, "not on a vastly superior visual acuity, but on the power of interpreting signs which are meaningless to the European and hence escape his notice." If this be true, then the Native still gains over the European in powers of observation what he is denied in eyesight. Personally, we fear that most of these European 'authorities' on the eyesight of primitive peoples have themselves had so little actual experience of long living among those peoples, that their opinions are practically of no real worth.

The Zulu nose and lips are made to fit the face—the round or broad face usually having full lips surmounted by a moderately broad nose with a moderately low bridge; the long face having thin lips under a narrow straight nose. These two types are supposed (though we do not think with any certainty) to indicate—the former, the purer Negro breed; the latter, a Negro-Hamitic blend. The Sudanic up-turned lip (*isiPékula*) is occasionally met with amongst the Zulus. The bridgeless nose (*isápuke*) likewise. The sharp-pointed, aggressively projecting 'beak' of the Caucasian brand, which the Zulus sometimes smile at among the Europeans, they term an *ũGódlolo*. Keane⁵⁶ has remarked that "the Papuan nose . . . is often so arched as to present the outline known as 'Jewish'." Arched, or rather slightly arched, noses are not entirely unknown among the Zulus, and are still more frequently seen among East African and Rhodesian Natives; but they are not of the heavy, fleshy Papuan or 'Jewish' type. About 51% of

Zulu noses are classed as straight-ridged, 41% as concave, and 8% as slightly convex. The nose-point in 74% is slightly retroussé; in 15% the under-line is horizontal; and in 11% the point is drooping.

What may have caused the flattening of the Negro nose, were not easy to divine. It may have been wrought by the same cause as gave the up-tilt to the Negro lip, to wit, by Mother Nature, for reasons of her own. But it may also be man-made. Darwin⁵⁷ gives several instances of barbarous peoples, Huns, Tahitians and American Indians, who deliberately flatten the nose of their infants by bandages and otherwise; while "Jannequin attributes the flatness [among Guinea Mandingos] to their method of carrying their children" (with their noses constantly banging against the maternal back).⁵⁸ The observations of Dr. Walter Kidd, published in the *Contemporary Review* some years back, relative to the inheritance by draught-horse foals of certain 'patterns' produced by harness-friction on the under-surface of the necks of their parents, would seem to support this view.

The evidence regarding the sense of smell is like that regarding eyesight—conflicting. Sir Harry Johnston⁵⁹ declared the former to be so extraordinarily developed among the Congo Pygmies as to be "nearly as keen as that of a dog". "Blumenbach has also remarked on the large size of the nasal cavities in the skulls of the American aborigines, and connects this fact with their remarkably acute power of smell".⁶⁰ As for our Zulus, their nose is extraordinarily sensitive and extraordinarily insensitive to odours. The effluvia arising from putrid hides, rancid milk and odoriferous bodies amidst which they were born and grew up, are utterly imperceptible to their olfactory nerves. On the other hand, standing one day in the kraal, on a hill-top, of an old woman, at the time the first rail-road was being built in Zululand, some seven miles away from where we were standing, across the distant plain, she suddenly exclaimed, "Oh my! what a stench". Upon being questioned as to where and what, nothing being perceptible to this writer, she pointed to the distant ballast-train belching forth clouds of black smoke—a thing she had never before seen or experienced in her life. She declared the smell, wafted to her over those seven miles of space, to be simply 'bopile' (suffocating). The mint-like smell of the *umSuzwane* shrub is to us perfectly

agreeable, but to the Zulu positively nauseating. On the contrary, the odour of *umSimbiti* wood, which is refreshing perfume to the Zulu, is found by some Europeans as repulsive as is that of bugs—although personally we agree with the Zulus, finding the smell suggestive of cedar-wood. Evidently the sense and appreciation of fragrance varies among mankind as widely as does that of beauty.

The Zulu's mouth is externally broad and internally cavernous, and the accompanying pair of jaws powerful and massive. Prognathism is described as total in 41% of the men; slight, in 25%; in 24%, subnasal. Among females, the 'total' and 'slight' classes are about equal. The lips are thick in 77% of the males, and medium in 20%, with a small percentage of thin. The female percentage is practically the same. The Sudanese inverted lip occurs, but is not common. In the great majority of individuals the thick lips protrude considerably, causing the chin (which in reality is well developed) to appear at times somewhat weak. The 'aggressive' chin is unknown.

The Zulu is supplied by nature with an exceptionally fine set of teeth; but 'civilization' is rapidly spoiling them. The coarse-ground food of older times is being supplanted by the finely ground meal of the European stores. This, coupled with the growing neglect of what was formerly a universal habit, religiously performed, namely, of rinsing out the mouth (*Xubá*) every time after eating, is having its expected result in the multiplication of decayed teeth. The Zulu molar has sometimes four cusps (like that of the European); sometimes five (like that of the Tasmanian and anthropoid ape). And those molars can be pretty strong at times. We once knew a Native who, taking hold by his teeth of a rope attached to a coil of fencing wire (that must have weighed nearly seventy pounds), could raise the whole from the ground with apparent pleasure. We have noticed a single case, in a small boy, of evenly-meeting front-teeth; which, of course, is simian dentition.

Dental mutilation, so common elsewhere in Bantuland, is entirely absent among the Zulus. Where the Hereros obtained their habit of hammering out their lower incisors and chipping the two upper like an inverted V,⁶¹ we cannot say; but we notice that their particular Λ pattern is that worn also by the Sena tribe on the lower Zambezi.⁶² The Tshopi women, near

Delagoa Bay, have extended this pattern by pointing both the middle upper incisors.⁶³ Johnston⁶⁴ and Livingstone⁶⁵ tell us that front teeth are thus filed to points, into semicircles, or wholly removed, sometimes from the upper jaw, sometimes in both, among many of the tribes of the East Coast, of Zambezia and of the Congo. Stanley,⁶⁶ however, noticed the custom for the first time among the waBwire on the Upper Congo. The Kikuyus in Kenya Colony knock out one or two of their lower incisors; while the Kavirondos knock out the whole half-dozen.⁶⁷ Even among the Pacific Papuans, says Wollaston,⁶⁸ "a good many men file or chip the upper incisors to a point, but this has not, so far as we know, any significance." It certainly has this significance, that, to have spread right round the Old World from Australia (where one or more upper incisors are hammered out⁶⁹) to Papua, and from the Papuans across the Indian Ocean to their brother Negroes in Africa, the custom must plainly have come down to us straight from the cradle-days of mankind, the days when the Australo-Negroid race was one. That is why its underlying meaning has become irretrievably lost. Livingstone⁷⁰ once tried to discover what that meaning may have been; but all the baToka Bantu of the middle Zambezi could tell him "was that they wished to look like oxen, and not like zebras . . . The custom is so universal, that a person who has his teeth is considered ugly . . . 'Look at his great teeth'." Cannibalism has been suggested by some as the original *causa causans*. In our opinion, a more plausible surmise is that of tetanus (lock-jaw), which is even still rather prevalent in the central parts of Africa, and might have been universal in primordial times. Or else it may be a survival, like red-ochre, from Cave Man days, or rather from the days when man was everywhere still in the 'hunting' stage of his development, and when pointed teeth were discovered to be more effective when dealing with tough animal steaks. Oldoway man, you will remember, unearthed some years back in Tanganyika Colony, was reported to have had his teeth filed in quite orthodox Bantu fashion. And Oldoway man is reputedly of the Chellean Age, and therefore something like 50,000 to 100,000 years old.⁷¹

The Kamba Bantu of Kenya Colony have invented something much cuter than pointed teeth; for, while they know how to knock out some of their teeth, they know also how to put

them back again! "It is unbelievable," says Bergh,⁷² "that the Wakamba should be able to insert these artificial teeth so skilfully that they won't come out after they are screwed into place; but it is a fact notwithstanding that the Ukamba youth whose picture I have . . . has no less than six of these artificial teeth screwed into his upper jaw. He took one of them out before the camera, and put it back again." How is it done? Simple enough: a hartebeest tooth is filed to shape, then inserted into the cavity and hammered till it is firmly fixed!⁷³

The orang is said to wear small flat ears, and the chimpanzee large out-standing flaps. The Zulu ear is carved after the model of the orang, even males as a rule having ears of the smaller, flat-lying type.⁷⁴ Those of the females are frequently really dainty little shells. The lobes of both sexes are always pierced (*Cambusa*) with an awl or Native boring-needle (*ũSungulo*), the puncture being then distended by thrusting into it small pieces of reed of gradually increasing size, until it is large enough to receive an ornamental stud of ivory or clay, or a thin, barrel-shaped snuff-box of horn. A person with ears unbored was ridiculed as an *isiCuté* (a deaf person, one with ears 'unopened'), or as an uncouth rustic (*o-Dlela emKómbeni weMþaka*, one-who-eats out-of-the-trough of-the-wild-cat). This ear-piercing business must be another piece of prehistoric survival; for we find it well spread around the earth.^{74a} Out-standing ears (*ĩHwabadiya*) are rare among the Zulus; but nearly lobeless ears are commoner. This latter is a Bushman (or probably an all-Negro) trait, as well as a simian.

Ferguson⁷⁵ says the European has a sense of hearing superior to that of the Negroes. This may fit the Negroes of America; but it does not fit in with the experience of ourselves and other observers in Africa. Says Mohr,⁷⁶ "I cannot imagine how the old Bushman got an inkling of the arrival of the game, for from our position it was impossible to see anything on the other side of the steep bank. He gave me to understand, by pointing to his ear again and again, that he had heard a noise; and if so, all I can say is, that the ears of a Bushman must be differently constructed, or rather, very differently trained, from ours". Speaking of the Bantu in Kenya Colony, Bergh⁷⁷ writes: "What makes the Wakamba such fine trackers and gun-bearers is their abnormal sense of hearing. This sense is so acutely developed that a whiteman in pursuit would have no

chance with them. Their sense of auricular perception is as phenomenal as the sense of odour in an elephant". As with all other senses, no doubt training goes a long way towards reaching these results; but that does not alter the fact of their better hearing. Although we have no actual note on the point, we think it probable that professional Zulu hunters (*iPisi*) of former days would have displayed the same power as the Kambas. Continuing, Bergh⁷⁸ says of these latter people that "they can speak to one another in ordinary conversational tones at a distance of one hundred yards without difficulty". Feats of this kind are an everyday occurrence also among the Zulus. Though it has ever been a surprise to all foreign observers, none has quite discovered how it comes about. Personally, we think it may be partly due to the Bantu vocal organs (their greater flutiness and sonorousness of tone) and partly to the Bantu language (with its multitude and clarity of vowel sounds).

The primitive peoples are held to be superior to Europeans also in the sense of touch. In some aspects of touch, says Myers,⁷⁹ Papuans are considerably better than English or Scotch; the Todas of India and the Murray Island Natives being more sensitive and discriminating. "The capacity to discriminate between lifted weights" is "greater among the more primitive than among the more civilised".⁸⁰ This also Loram⁸¹ concedes—"Primitive people appear to be superior to Europeans in their sense of touch".

The Zulu's hands and feet are a grade shorter in both sexes than are those of Europeans of a corresponding class (labouring or peasant) and stature. But they are also a grade broader, that is to say, are more naturally developed in the fore-part (owing to the absence of deforming footwear), which is never so pointed as with us, but well spread out, with a 'squarer', clean-cut toe-line. Their big-toe is relatively stumpier than ours, the which tends to decrease the slant of the toe-line and so the general 'pointedness' of the foot. All this gives rise to the fact that, stature for stature, the Native usually requires a larger size of boot in order to feel comfortable, the discomfort arising from the boot's narrowness rather than from its shortness. Ward,⁸² himself a professional sculptor, who specially studied the Congo Bantu on the spot, agrees with us that the Native's hands and feet are normally smaller than ours, as

well as being well-proportioned. Hrdlicka,⁸³ on the contrary, states that those of the American Negroes are longer than ours.

The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are always of a light-yellowish tint (as is also the case with the simians in a lesser degree); and about the sides of the foot the colour becomes almost white. The state of these white foot-sides (*iNgqakala*) is, with the Zulus, regarded as a sure criterion of the wearer's general personal cleanliness; wherefore all decent people take special care, by rubbing them in water with a rough stone, to keep them always nice and white.

A Zulu walking on hard moist sand over a straight line of string is found to leave a footprint diverging from that line by anything from the almost parallel to an outward slant of eleven degrees, and with a space of 1 to 2 inches between the heels. A tread-angle of $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees may therefore be taken as the mean, as it probably also is with Europeans. The arch (*amaTé oNyawo*) of the Zulu foot is less high than is that of the European and Indian, though quite definitely showing right across the foot, but more especially on the inner side, and despite the fact that the Indian equally belongs to a race whose feet have never been cramped by boots. The Zulu print is furthermore broader than ours and that of the Indian, for the reason already given. There is nothing among the Zulus corresponding with the curious gait of the Dyaks of Borneo, who "in walking place one foot exactly in front of the other".⁸⁴

"With some savages," says Darwin,⁸⁵ "the foot has not altogether lost its prehensile power, as shown by their manner of climbing trees." He might have added also 'and their manner of riding horses'; for the Cape Natives and Sutus (who possess horses) habitually grip hold of the stirrups with their big-toes; as do the Zulus also reposes and such things, when plaiting them.

Six-fingered and six-toed people occur, though rarely, among the Zulus, the superfluous limb (*umHlaza*) growing outside of the little finger or toe. Further, left-handed folk (*iNxele*) are numerous enough, and even double-handed (*iKábe*), using both hands with equal ease, are sometimes met with.

The people of Zululand never practised what they call the *iNdiki* custom (i.e. amputation of one or more joints of the little finger); but some of their brother Nguni tribes did (e.g.

the Tembus^{85a} and Ncamus). The practice was certainly introduced from the Bushmen, ^{85b} whose blood runs in many of those tribesmen's veins. Strangely, the Hereros, in South West Africa, also have the custom, probably obtained from the Hottentots. This *iNdiki* custom is very ancient indeed; for it was existent even among the prehistoric Magdalenians of Southern France (perhaps 15,000 years ago), and is still today spread throughout the world—among the Australians, the American Indians, the Bush-Hottentots, and the baBong of the Cameroons.^{85c} Sollas believes the original motive was 'the idea of sacrifice'. Ourselves we prefer to think it was never anything more than a tribal or clan-mark.

The Zulu head is longer than is that of the European in proportion to the whole length of the body. Again, given a Zulu and a European of the same stature (minus the head), the Zulu trunk will be found to be longer and the legs shorter than are the corresponding parts of the European; but the Zulu legs are proportionately more massive at the thigh and thicker at the calf than are those of the latter. Thick calves are a beauty point with the Zulu, and are always demanded by him in the perfect female. Strange to say, it was so likewise among the Amazon Indians of South America.⁸⁶ The forearm of the Negro is said by Scott-Elliot⁸⁷ to be 81.9 per cent. of the length of the upper arm, against 73.4 in the European. This Negro figure would probably fit the Zulu also. "Negro soldiers," says Tylor,⁸⁸ "standing at drill bring the middle finger an inch or two nearer the knee than whitemen can do, and some have been known to touch the knee-pan".⁸⁹ Long arms, of course, and short legs are regarded as characteristics of the Negroes. And yet the Nilotic Negroes are among the most long-legged of the human race. Short legs and long arms naturally give a longer arm-span in regard to stature; thus, as Keith observes, the short-legged Korawp Negroes (on the Cameroons border) have a span 7% greater than their height, but other tribes only 2—3%. Topinard gives the span of the American Negroes as 8% above their stature. Cipriani gives the double arm-stretch for the Zulus as about 5 ft. 10¼ ins. for men, and a little more than 5 ft. 4½ ins. for women.

The male breasts, in very exceptional cases, may be extraordinarily long, hanging down for a length of four or five

inches.⁹⁰ This abnormality is not unknown also among Europeans; for Walsh⁹¹ tells us that the medieval surgeon, Bruno of Lungoburgo, so long ago as 1252 A.D., had "seen [presumably among northern Italians] overgrowth of the *mammæ* in men, and he declares that it is due to nothing else but fat, as a rule. He suggests that if it should hang down and be in the way on account of its size, it should be extirpated." The Zulus recognize several varieties of female breast, to wit, the *umNqadula* (hardly larger than normal male size); the *iNkomana* (in which it hangs in a round lump from a narrow neck); the *isiPófiú* (in which it sits full and evenly rounded on the chest: this is the Zulu ideal of beauty, and is nearly always found in the 'fair' or yellow-skinned girl); the *umVongotó* (in which it is large and reasonably pendulous, as in normal married women); and the *uBelendlovu* (in which it hangs down to an extraordinary length, indeed so long that it can be thrown over the mother's shoulder to the infant carried on her back)! Stanley⁹² remarked on such breasts on the Bantu women of Kerewe on the Victoria Nyanza; and Sparrmann⁹³ speaking of the Hottentots of the Cape, says: "In this [the hood of their kaross] they carry their little children, to which they now and then throw the breast over their shoulders, a practice that likewise prevails with some other nations". The baYaka women of the Congo seem to glory in such magnificent appendages, tying them down in order to stretch and lengthen them.⁹⁴ It is a remarkable fact, well known to the Zulus, that baboons and monkeys clearly distinguish a female from a male in their depredations on cultivated fields. And more than that, they know that from a female there is nothing to fear, and so they proceed with their pillaging without concern. Darwin⁹⁵ knew of this, and thought they recognized the female, first by smell, then by appearance, and he cites the Zoological Gardens authorities as declaring that baboons become furiously amatory at the sight of certain (not all) females. We have ourselves noticed that this occurred also in the case of some European males (even when clothed), who seemed to be preferred to other Native males standing by, unclothed.

Most Zulu females develop (perhaps owing to their habit of carrying heavy weights on their heads) a fine spinal curve—a trait which seems to be distinctly human, seeing that neither the ape nor the human embryo displays it, these resembling

more the modern Bright Young Thing, who, unwittingly, is aping the ape in her fad for simian slimness.

Albinism is not uncommon among the Zulus, or rather is not unknown. Such people (who are much disliked, and accordingly stand no chance with the girls) are scornfully referred to as home or kraal-monkeys (*iNkawu ya-s-ēKáya*). They have the appearance of a coarsely featured, freckled, white person, with dirty lightish woolly hair and sore eyes. These latter organs, with their weakly-bluish irises, possess very poor eyesight in the daytime, though improving after sundown (the sunshine apparently dazzling them). Very rarely, albinism occurs in patches only on the skin.⁹⁶ The Sudanese traveller, Gessi Pasha, was amazed to strike upon a 'white' Nyamnyam. "His whiteness," he writes,⁹⁷ "is something astonishing; his face is rosy, his hair is red, his eyes blue. He is very robust, and about forty years old." Being questioned, he replied, "My parents are black. I had a brother as white as myself, but he is dead. I know no other whites." "At first," continues Gessi, "I thought he was an albino, but as he had neither the hair nor the eyes of such, I could not understand the phenomenon. But I know that Miani also saw white men who were not Albinos among the Niam-Niam of the west."

Every African traveller is familiar with the *bouquet d'Afrique*, "the peculiar rancid scent by which the African negro may be detected even at a distance . . . The odour of the brown American tribes is again different," says Tylor,⁹⁸ "while they have been known to express dislike at the white man's smell. This peculiarity, which not only indicates difference in secretions of the skin, but seems connected with liability to certain fevers, etc., is a race character of some importance." But all this must not mislead us. Among the Zulus (and we believe equally among all other Negro peoples), the body, when cool, and in the rule, gives off a smell no more perceptible than is that given off by European bodies: what is usually disagreeably noticeable to Europeans in Native people is the smell of long-unwashed clothing, or of 'perspiring' bodies; for perspiration naturally accentuates the odour, and under such conditions the presence of some individuals (European no less than African) becomes decidedly unpleasant. Probably not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the Zulus possesses a body-smell beyond the normal. But the occasional exceptions are certainly

impressive, and are as disliked by the Zulus as much as by ourselves. They distinguish at least four varieties of disagreeable body-smell, difficult to explain in words, but termed by them—the *ūHlofú* (the smell of a bitter pumpkin), the *iNgóso* (the shrew-mouse smell), the *īQuqu* (the he-goat smell), and last, but least-loved, the *umSanka* (the nauseating umSanka-bush smell). This worst type, to us, suggests Irish stew, flavoured strongly with onions and asafoetida. To the Zulus, perspiring Europeans are classed as perfumed à *l'īQuqu*.⁹⁹

Longevity is, without any doubt, less among the Negroes than among Europeans. 'Old Colonists', who ought to know better, are wont to point out to us old Native men and women "over a hundred years of age". As a matter of fact, they are probably hardly ever above their early nineties. Similarly, Native boys, really fifteen or sixteen, are put down as eighteen or nineteen. Puberty once reached, the Native boy quickly becomes a 'man'; and, at the end of his course, as rapidly grows 'old'. There are several times as many old men and women (80 to 100 years) among Europeans as among the same number of Zulus. Natives over 70 years of age are few and far between; though, of course, they are to be met with, even a rare one over 90. And among these latter it has been noticed that most of them retain their sexual instinct still active, though probably without any further power of procreation. Many of the most competent and reliable African travellers have remarked on this comparative shortness of Negro life. "The Mandigoes" [of Guinea], says Park,¹⁰⁰ "seldom attain extreme old age. At forty most of them become grey-haired and covered with wrinkles; and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty." Speaking of elephant-hunting among the Sudanese Bongo, Schweinfurth¹⁰¹ states that "it is only the oldest of the men—and here the number of men that are really old is very small—who appear to have any distinct recollection of it at all." Coming to Southern Africa, Livingstone¹⁰² mentions an 'old man' among the baMangwato, and adds, "he may have been about seventy-five or eighty, which is no great age; but it seemed so to people who are considered superannuated at forty."

The reason for all this can lie only in the unwholesomeness of the home the Negro lives in—his insanitary kraals, his ignorance of diseases and an effective treatment of the affected,

a diet often badly prepared, and a probable deficiency of some necessary vital factors favouring attainment of old age. For even though he die younger, our Zulu seems blessed with a natural constitution quite as strong as our own. He can resist the injurious influences he is up against, as well as persons of our own race were able to do in centuries past; and were it not for that, we might have expected him, with such odds against him, to survive for even a shorter period than he does.

The most critical time of life with the Zulu, as probably with most others, is that of infancy. There are no statistics available as to infant mortality among the Natives of Zululand either in older or in modern times. The African traveller, Declé,¹⁰³ gives it as the result of his general observations throughout Bantuland that "mortality among children is enormous . . . More than seventy per cent. die before they reach the age of five months." Sollas¹⁰⁴ says of the Australians that "the statement is supported by independent evidence, that from one third to one half of the newly-born were allowed to perish." We surmise that about 35 per cent. of mortalities (i.e. say, one infant death in every $3\frac{1}{4}$ births) would roughly meet the case of Zulus living their own life in their own territories. These infant deaths are due mainly, we think, to bad feeding, aggravated by harmful medical treatment in the homes, and accompanied all the time by general insanitary surroundings. The infants are left for most of their time in the care of small girls, 8 to 12 years old, who, whenever the babies attempt to exercise their lungs, immediately, and a dozen times in a day, stuff their mouths with bean-mash, boiled maize-grains, fowl milk-curds, or anything else handy, to stop the row. Stomach ailments frequently following, the mother then vigorously plies the child with purgatives and enemas, until it eventually succumbs to infantile diarrhœa (perhaps responsible for the majority of deaths) or other consequence of ill treatment. In brief, the infant is killed by its own mother through her ignorance or neglect.

The outcome of all this is that those who survive the ordeal consist wholly of those more strongly constituted, and who have meanwhile become partially immune to their many unhealthy surroundings. Such was the state of affairs under the older purely Native system. But in modern times things have changed, introducing other, but equally harmful, conditions;

so that the general Native physique may be expected to degenerate still further before finding its level in the new environment ; or, aided by the newer advantages, it may at best retain the balance *in statu quo*. In former days, for instance, a girl seldom married before the robuster age of 25 to 30, while every man was already in his prime. Healthy delivery and stronger offspring was a natural consequence. Now, on the contrary, quasi-child marriages of boys and girls of 20 years of age are, especially among the Christian communities, common, resulting in puny children and, with the old habit of injurious feeding still retained, an even higher infantile mortality. The habitual wearing of European clothing by a people with no understanding whatsoever of the hygienic use of clothes, has also been detrimental to health and caused a general weakening of the system in various ways. No doubt a paternal Government will some day come to a recognition of its duty to introduce a system of Native *adult* education, teaching the fathers and mothers how to meet and overcome all these ills.

Never was there a greater delusion than that which supposes the African females, more especially in these present days, to be free of all pain in their sexual functions. One has only to compare the position in a European girls' school with that in a Native, where menstrual disorders are much more common. Perhaps 30 per cent. of Native girls seem to be condemned to the monthly misery of a more or less painful menstruation. Menorrhagia, metrorrhagia, suppression, fibroid tumours and other such uterine maladies are apparently commoner among modern Native girls than among European. We are therefore not surprised to note that sterility appears to be definitely on the increase.

Hysteria is also extraordinarily rife among Native girls ; but it usually disappears after marriage. It is regarded by them, not as a natural disposition, but as due to the magic of ill-disposed, if amorous, youths.

It seems rather paradoxical to say that the Zulu is blessed with a general constitution as strong as that of a European, and is at the same time less healthy. Yet all school-managers and employers of Native labour will have remarked how much more frequently young Natives of both sexes are incapacitated by minor stomach, liver and bowel derangements, attributed

by them, with a fair probability of accuracy, to *iNyongo* (or bile). Climatic influences, working through their particular brand of liver, may be responsible for this ; for it seems strange that the same phenomenon should not be noticeable among Whites.

There is no doubt at all that the Zulu people, prior to the Whiteman's coming, had fewer diseases to contend against. Endemic and epidemic outbreaks, of malaria and dysentery, chicken-pox and measles, were periodically prevalent. But malaria was practically unknown among the Natives living eight miles or more from the coast prior to the White colonization of Zululand and the concurrent construction there of the first railroad (running right through the malarious coastal region) during the first years of this century. It was immediately carried about to every part of the country by Native labourers, already badly infected, returning in thousands to their homes ; so that it is now a universal curse. Scrofulous swellings, often suppurative, called *umZimb'onubi* (bad-flesh, or, as we might say, bad-blood), were and still are wide-spread. Consumption, formerly very rare, but now rapidly increasing, was well known even in the earliest times to be infectious ; on which account the corpse, even when that of the kraal-head himself, was always buried far away from home (a course altogether exceptional), lest other members of the family should become infected.^{104a} All the preceding ailments were recognized, even in earlier times, as 'natural' diseases, not caused by human magic or malice ; and most of them were grouped together under a vague generic name of *umKühlane* (roughly, a 'fever'). Whether typhus and typhoid existed is extremely problematical ; probably they did not. Cancer likewise is doubtful, and even today it must be rare in Native territories ; though we have heard of a case in Natal so diagnosed by the European profession. Leprosy and venereal diseases were absolutely unknown among the Zulus ; and so, we believe, were scarlatina, whooping-cough and a host of other maladies common to civilized communities. Mungo Park¹⁰⁵ was struck by a similar paucity of diseases among the Mandingos of Guinea. "It appeared to me," he writes, "that their diseases are but few in number . . . Fevers and fluxes are the most common and the most fatal." Despite the fact that pock-marked faces are, and long have been, quite a

frequent sight among the neighbouring Tonga Bantu along the East African littoral—tribes for centuries in intimate contact with Arabs and Portuguese, the Zulu people made their first acquaintance with small-pox (*ūBíci*) during Mpande's reign, about the middle of last century. Constitutional diseases, on the other hand, as well as organic, were many of them well known in the Zulu country long before the advent of the European. Rheumatism, heart and blood diseases, respiratory (pneumonia, asthma and bronchitis), kidney, liver, stomach, uterine, bowel and throat complaints were among the commoner causes of sickness and death. These, then, were the maladies which were held to be quite 'unnatural' to mankind, being attributed solely to malicious or magical origin (*Tákatá*, destroy by poison or magic). Umbilical hernia, represented in children by a protuberance about the navel (often as large as an egg, and said by Natives to be sometimes filled with intestinal worms), was, and still is, frequently met with, due perhaps to faulty obstetrics. It is not regarded as an ailment, but simply as a disfigurement, and usually diminishes or passes away in course of time.

To some of the more prevalent local diseases, like malaria and tuberculosis, the Zulus had already gained some degree of immunity. In the *Report of the South African Institute of Medical Research, April, 1932*, it was stated that of the Natives working on the Johannesburg mines 72 per cent. were found to be afflicted with the virus of tuberculosis; but it must here be remembered that among the Johannesburg mine-workers Zulus are conspicuous by their absence, they preferring domestic, store, office or police work in the open or in the town. The former healthy mode of life of the Zulu people, spent almost wholly out of doors, probably held their tubercular tendencies in check; but these conditions now having largely passed away, the disease may be expected to assert itself more powerfully. On the coast, too, where malaria was always a hardy annual, few Natives who permanently lived or were born there, were ever seriously affected thereby; though to unwise visitors from up-country during the bad-season, it was very frequently fatal. Darwin¹⁰⁶ entertained the idea that the Negro skin and hair might be responsible for something of this immunity; but, of course, in Darwin's time the mosquito origin of malaria had not yet been discovered. "Various facts, which I have

given elsewhere," he says, "prove that the colour of the skin and hair is sometimes correlated in a surprising manner with a complete immunity from the action of certain vegetable poisons, and from the attacks of certain parasites. Hence it occurred to me, that negroes and other dark races might have acquired their dark tints by the darker individuals escaping from the deadly influences of the miasma of their native countries, during a long series of generations . . . This immunity [from yellow fever and other diseases] in the negro seems to be partly inherent . . . and partly due to acclimatisation . . . The negro regiments recruited near the Soudan and borrowed from the Viceroy of Egypt for the Mexican war, escaped yellow fever almost equally with the negroes originally brought from various parts of Africa and accustomed to the climate of the West Indies." Taking this cue from Darwin, Prof. H. Fleure¹⁰⁷ has said that the dark type of man, though usually gifted with less energy and initiative than the fair, is better equipped than the latter to fight many forms of disease. "Tuberculosis seems to be less fatal to him than to the fairer types. Thus the character of the skin and hair, both among ourselves in Europe and among the various races of the world, seems to be in some degree an indicator of the general constitution, and especially of the mechanism of heat regulation. And these differences of constitution seem to connect themselves not only with adaptability to certain climates, but also with resistance to various diseases, of which I have taken tuberculosis as an example." Alas! under the altered conditions of the present day, when the Native is being removed from the open air of the veld into the vitiated atmosphere and congested dwellings of European towns, there may be reason to doubt whether 'skin and hair colour' alone will longer suffice—if indeed it ever did so—to withstand the strain and continue the former immunity.

To *new* diseases, the Black race seems to be particularly sensitive. At the same time, we think it possesses a larger share than we, under similar circumstances, of that animal vitality and recuperative power so potent in helping one through. Only experience will prove whether these innate powers will be able to stand up against and overcome the onslaughts of these new and unaccustomed enemies. As far as tuberculosis is concerned, a doctor with much Native experience

has stated that the Zulus do not respond so well as Europeans to the orthodox 'open-air cure'; although we ourselves have found such treatment very helpful, at any rate in the earlier stages.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the general death-rate in the Zulu country; but we might venture to surmise that it may be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 30 per 1000 of the population per annum.

Muscular strength, on the whole, we believe to be about equal in both European and Zulu; though Darwin¹⁰⁸ and Quatrefages¹⁰⁹ and Gobineau¹¹⁰ have stated that civilized man has "been found, wherever compared, to be physically stronger than savages." This generalization, however, appears somewhat misleading; for strength of muscle depends so much on practice and training. A European coalman could certainly carry on his back a two-cwt. sack of coals with greater ease than could any Zulu man of like age taken at random from the kraals. But we have known Zulu men who, long accustomed to wagon-transport or to cargo-clearance at the Durban docks, could lift and carry extremely heavy cases equally as well as any Whiteman. The Zulu male wrist, owing to their habit from childhood of carrying and constantly using heavy sticks, is said to be stronger than that of the average European. Similarly, the neck muscles of the Zulu female have such power, that no German *Hausfrau* could compete with her at carrying heavy weights upon the head; nor, for a matter of that, on the back, whereon Zulu women habitually carry about their babes. Hrdlicka¹¹¹ was therefore probably right when he wrote that Negroes, at all ages and of both sexes, are three or four pounds stronger with each hand than corresponding Whites.

Regarding endurance, Darwin¹¹² says that civilized man appears to possess powers quite equal to those of the savage, as has been proved in many adventurous expeditions, a view which Gobineau¹¹³ repeats. It may be so. Yet the generalization is again misleading. For instance, in the 'adventurous expeditions' referred to, the European was buoyed up by many mental influences (of interest, ambition, hope and so on), which were quite absent from his savage companion, who was mindful of and felt only the fatigue. Endurance, like muscular strength, depends largely on mental impulses, as well as on

practice. Were a hundred young men selected at random from an English country-side and a hundred Zulus from their kraals, and both tested at long and fatiguing *safari* work over rough country, we believe the Zulus would get further and hold out longer on smaller rations than would the others, if only because they are accustomed to that kind of labour.

Taking the evidence of pain as our criterion, there is little doubt that the Zulu would win every time. During the Zulu War, Natives quite commonly hacked away at their own flesh until they had extracted the disagreeable bullet within. A Zulu boy, knocked down and run over in Durban some time back, calmly got up and walked away home—with a shattered arm. A few days ago as we write (July, 1932), the Durban *Mercury* reported the case of another Native walking into a hospital with a split skull. Schweinfurth¹¹⁴ wrote of the Sudan: "Instances far from unfrequent have been known where the sufferers have had the fortitude to perform the operation [of amputating a mortifying hand or foot], hazardous as it is, upon themselves." Examples like these are constantly encountered in the Zulu homes; but all that they seem to prove is that the Zulu nervous system is less sensitive than is our own. Since civilization has arrived, however, with European surgeries easily reached and habitually patronized, the Natives are rapidly losing their former habit and spirit of brave endurance and hardy venture, and their nervous system is softening accordingly.

The young Zulu is agile enough in his own environment, as, for example, at tree or precipice climbing; but his heavy build would be a serious handicap against him in fast running, jumping, or dancing in the European fashion. In none of these quick-movement activities could he compete with the slenderer and sprightlier Whiteman. Horses and canoes are non-existent in the Zulu country, and consequently also riding and rowing. The Zulu is quite obviously not of water-side origin; wherefore he can swim but indifferently (using only the dog-paddle stroke), and is nauseated at the very idea of eating fish. We imagine he ought to prove, with training, a good heavy-weight lifter, even fighter, and a formidable tug-of-war's man.

The sense of rhythm is developed in the Zulus (as in all Negroes) to a quite extraordinary degree. It manifests itself

in all kinds of ways, and proves helpful in all kinds of group-activity. Whenever set to work in a party, they always prefer to operate in unison. Thus, when engaged at pick-work on a road-cutting, when hoeing a field, moving weighty cases or carrying heavy rails, they invariably strike up a song, form themselves into a choir and leader, and get into the regular rhythmical movement of a machine. Singing-choirs (in church or school) find themselves disturbed by European instrumental accompaniment; but, if left alone to go their own leisurely way, they perform with the precision and unanimity of a trained band. The same is noticeable in their national dances (when well performed, as they used to be), each thunderous stamp of the fifty dancers, all dressed in line and mutually out of sight, being heard at exactly the same instant, as though it were done by one. This strong sense of rhythm in primitive peoples shows how much nearer nature they still are than we; for this regular succession of action and state is one of the fundamental principles in this cosmos.¹¹⁵

Migeod¹¹⁶ has observed that "the decline of fertility of Europeans among themselves, even though not apparent in the first generation, when they reside in the tropics, bears witness that change of locality, when widely different, cannot be attempted by a race without injury to reproduction." The obvious remedy to that, provided by nature herself, ever so solicitous for the preservation of her works and yet so often balked by man's petty interference, lies in the mixing of the breeds. But the blend, it seems, to become a perfect success, must be between the suited races, the dark and the fair, the temperate and the torrid zone; not between two comparative likes. It is rather surprising to find such a one as Gobineau,¹¹⁷ so consistently grudging towards the primitive peoples, actually advocating these 'misalliances'. "It may be remarked," he says, "that the happiest blend, from the point of view of beauty [and probably, we might add, of that of self-preservation and profitable consequences, under the particular circumstances], is that made by the marriage of white and black. We need only put the striking charm of many mulatto, creole and quadroon women by the side of such mixtures of yellow and white as the Russians and Hungarians. The comparison is not to the advantage of the latter. It is no less certain that a beautiful Rajput is more ideally beautiful than the most

perfect Slav." Antagonism to such alliances is therefore biologically a mistake, and based solely on racial prejudices. "Advocates of the polygamist theory," says Tylor,¹¹⁸ "that there are several distinct races of man, sprung from independent origins" [which, of course, is counter to the belief of Darwin, Keith and most other first-rank authorities], "have denied that certain races, such as the English and native Australians, produce fertile half-breeds. But the evidence tends more and more to establish crossing as possible between all races, which goes to prove that all the varieties of mankind are zoologically of one species." Darwin¹¹⁹ cites evidence that "known mulatto families [of America] have intermarried for several generations, and have continued on an average as fertile as either pure whites or pure blacks". Some have thought that the Latin or Southern European makes a better blend with the Negro than does the Nordic. Such a mixture might, perchance, in course of time produce not only a strong and enduring tropical blend, but one also of outstanding beauty, fertile of artists and musicians of a new and eminent type.

A belief in the influence of the moon on human beings, as well as on animals and plants, involves subscription neither to astrology nor to superstition. It is simply a well authenticated natural fact. That there are more things in lunar rays than are dreamt of in our philosophy, is more than 'poetry'. At the Anthroposophical Agricultural Institute at Bray-on-Thames in England, Mme Kolisko found that peas planted two days before full-moon yielded two and a half times as much as those planted before that time; while beans produced half as much again, and tomatoes nearly double. Dr. Mirbt explained that the moon made its influence felt through the water in the plant. The Zulus, too, hold to the teaching of Galen, the famous medieval physician, in that they implicitly believe in the influence of the moon on their actions and themselves. We once had in our establishment a Zulu girl who suffered in the ears and became partially deaf with persistent regularity whenever a certain phase of the moon reoccurred. Others have their eyesight or brain affected, or some other nervous disorder aggravated at similar periods. Livingstone¹²⁰ mentions a 'witchdoctor' among the Sutus of Sebitwane who, as he says, 'probably had a touch of insanity, for he was in the habit of retiring, no one knew whither, until the moon was full'. That experiences of

this kind occur also among Europeans is well authenticated. The London *Observer* of Jan. 10, 1932, reported a case in Berlin where a bride obtained a divorce from her husband on the ground of his regular wandering in his sleep at the time of full-moon. The London *Sunday Express* of July 5, 1930, told of a boy of eighteen charged at Liverpool with repeated stealing. "This young man," attested the probation officer, "is affected by the rising of the moon, and at those times does strange things." The astrologist, Naylor, explains such phenomena in his own way by declaring that "if one happens to be born at moon-rise or moon-set, i.e. when the moon is near the eastern or western horizon of the place of birth, or when the moon is on the mid-heaven or nadir, then one is all the more susceptible to lunar influences." The African traveller, Landor,¹²¹ writes: "But not many people are aware that moonstrokes are also frequent . . . I myself . . . who was never affected in the slightest by the rays of the sun, was always somewhat inconvenienced, especially if the moon was full, if I sat outside my tent without a hat. On one or two occasions, when I neglected this precaution, I felt a peculiar sensation in the nape of my neck and very nearly dropped backwards." Evidently a fruitful field for enquiry lies open here for the curious and ambitious scientific researcher.

1. Keane, *L.R.M.*, 384.
2. Barrow, *T.*, vol. 1, 157.
3. Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 133.
4. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 285.
5. Shaw, *M.*, 51.
6. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 104.
7. Fleming, *S.A.*, 200.
8. Maugham, *Z.*, 297.
9. Seligman, *R.A.*, 189.
10. Johnston, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 43, p. 379 fn.
11. *ib.* *G.G.C.*, 504; van der Bergh, *T.P.*, 261.
12. Maugham, *Z.*, 333.
13. Peringuey, *S.A.M.*, 200.
14. Sollas, *A.H.*, 373.
15. Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 1, 182.
16. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138, 508.
17. Marett, *A.*, 83.
18. Sweet, *H.L.*, 30.
19. Westermarck, *H.M.M.*, 269-270.

20. Darwin, *D.M.*, 196 ; also 32, 192.
21. Livingstone, *T.*, 348.
22. *ib.* *ib.* 256.
23. Maugham, *Z.*, 297.
24. Newbigin, *M.G.*, 21-2.
25. Darwin, *D.M.*, 192.
26. Kropotkin, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1915.
27. Darwin, *D.M.*, 542.
28. Schaafhausen, *Anthropological Review*, VI, 418.
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Chapter 5

The Jomela Wardrobe

Fine forms deserve fine feathers ; and the Zulu and his trappings were particularly well matched. Never has any suit of clothes been better designed than his to reveal the beauty of man's figure, and never a finer figure than his ever created to adorn with finery.

Our search may have been unlucky ; but, so far as we can remember, the major anthropological works have dealt rather sparingly with this important topic. Not even in such modern works as those of Kroeber and Lowie do we find 'Clothing' specifically mentioned in the Index. And yet one would have thought such should have been regarded as one of the principal 'customs' of Primitive man.

This is due perhaps to the fact that the origin of clothing can be only a matter of speculation. Elliot Smith¹ suggests as follows : "The cowry and its surrogates were supposed to be potent to confer fertility on maidens ; and it became the practice for growing girls to wear a girdle on which to suspend the shells as near as possible to the organ their magic was supposed to stimulate . . . This practice probably represents the beginning of the history of clothing." This is rather far-fetched, we think. Perry,² on the other hand, thinks the clothing habit first started by decorating the body to make the wearer's person more attractive or imposing.³ To us, it seems most probable that this earliest of human inventions was, first of all, thrust on the prehistoric Cave-man when he shivered with the cold, for the purpose of self-preservation and comfort ;

secondly, on the prehistoric Cave-woman when out to lure the amorous male, for decorative purposes; and, thirdly, much later on, after the attractively decorated sexual parts had long become accustomed to be regularly covered, for purposes of shame. We prefer to believe, not that shame gave birth to the fig-leaf, but that the fig-leaf gave rise to shame; for it does somehow seem, at any rate in modern man, to be the fact that whatsoever part of the body has been habitually concealed for a long time, a feeling of shame eventually comes into being when that part becomes again exposed.⁴

Aesthetically considered, clothes-wearing is something of a comedown, a reversion to the ugly. Surely no Bond Street tailor or Paris modiste by their fripperies ever could improve upon or even attain to the natural beauty of the unadorned body of the ancient Greek, or indeed of the average Zulu youth. No human artifice can excel the handiwork of the Creator, whatever the pruders may say to the contrary. To move among these superb art-types is like passing along a gallery of living statuary. Imagine an Apollo Belvedere dressed in a coat and trousers, or a Venus de Milo draped in a crinoline or a skirt and blouse, and you will at once grant the æsthetic difference between the raw Zulu of the kraals and his 'civilized' brother of the European town. Had our friend, Jomela, promenaded down Regent Street in company with his wife and family in home attire, he would certainly have been 'taken in charge' and escorted to Vine Street, for 'indecent' conduct on a public place. Thank goodness, no police laws, and consequently no indecency, ruled in the Zulu country, where physical beauty and the airiest of costumes could parade uncensured and unabashed, and be regarded at all times as distinctly chic and *comme il faut*. The human mechanism, it would seem has been so designed that it acquire 'habits', become 'accustomed to' conditions, which, when abruptly altered, tend to 'shock the feelings'. This is so equally in the moral as in the physical realm; so that, while the body habitually clothed readily 'takes a chill', its unaccustomed exposure immediately 'gives a shock'. But we have not yet met the European man or woman who, after having lived for a few years in the African Native territories, where the upper body is universally exposed, has been unable to look upon the bared female breast with perfect unconcern, and to regard the pudenda, in those tribes where they too are

exposed, with absolute coldness. It is all a matter, not of morality, but simply of habit.

Strange is it, but true, that fashions in dress are as varied, as capricious and as weird among the unsophisticated barbarians of Negroland, as they are among the civilized tribes of Europe; and they are generally more natural and becoming and hygienic. Among them all, none are more original, more picturesque and more primitive than are those of the Zulu. There the dress of man is still hardly a step beyond the hunting stage, and yet is already advanced to some measure of refinement. At its gala best, it is more elegant than the hanging loin-cloth of the East African⁵ or Congo⁶ tribes; more neat than the breech-cloth (passed between the legs) of the Sutus,⁷ the Congo baNgata⁸ and the Aruwimi⁹ people, or than the long shirt, reaching from neck to ankle, of Uganda¹⁰ and Bagirmi;¹¹ and more graceful than the multiple-skirts of Bushongoland.¹²

Jomela is our Zulu fashion-plate; and, like all such Zulu gentlemen, he possessed a wardrobe of at least three suits of clothes. The first and best, his court-dress, was reserved for regal ceremonies; the second, for festal occasions (for instance, weddings); and the third, for daily wear.

The base and backbone of the whole series was the last-named, the work-day suit, or as he called it, the *umHambakáya* (the going-about-at-home thing). In this, there was practically no distinction between herdboyc and king; all dressed in the same fashion. This work-day suit was therefore the typical Zulu attire. It consisted, with both sexes, wholly of dressed skins, mostly of the useful cow.

“And the eyes of them were opened . . . and they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons” (Gen. 3-7). The Zulu also began his day, and his wear, by affecting a fig-leaf, of sorts. For the morning toilet of the adult male commenced by the attachment of the penis or prepuce-cover (*umNcedo*). This was a hollow, feather-weight, spherical box, brown in colour and about an inch and three-quarters in diameter, with a circular aperture left on the lower side, through which the prepuce, gathered together by the fingers of the right hand, was stuffed; whereafter, slightly distending itself inside the box, the prepuce held the box firmly in position, dangling at the end of the penis, and effectively preventing any inconvenient protusion of the internal glands. For, rather strangely,

what the Zulu felt most ashamed of was, not so much an exposure of the penis itself, as that of the internal glans. These covers were manufactured by a special craftsman out of strips of the skin of the wild banana-stalks (*strelitza augusta*), so woven together as to form a small round box. Immature boys wore no cover at all. When the circumcision custom was still in vogue among the Zulus (it finally became obsolete a century or more ago), there being no longer any prepuce to use, in place of the aforesaid box, a tight-fitting leather penis-stall (*isiZiba*), resembling the finger of a glove, was worn by males. This penis-stall was then generally tied, by a string at its end, to the inner side of the sporran, so preventing any inconvenient exposure of the organ. Such a leather covering is still worn in Xosaland (Cape), where circumcision is still practised. But there, the Xosas having no sporran, the covered organ was suspended or drawn upwards by a leather string to the waist. The suspended penis being with them normally otherwise exposed, its stall and string were often decorated with brass beads and rings.¹³ The Kare Negroes (neighbours of the Nyamnyam of Equatorial Africa) had a similar habit in regard to the penis, "which they pulled up in front as high as the wasit" and there fastened it with a string.¹⁴

The above fashion of penial attire was no Nguni invention. It reappears all the world over, and takes us right back to the beginnings of clothing and the birth of human shame. The Tembe Tongas, abutting on the Zulus to their north-east, sported a sheath of plaited palm-strips, an inch or more in diameter and one to two feet in length, according to taste. The Mada Negroes of the Sudan use a cover, usually of a pointed shape, two or three inches long.¹⁵ To the extreme west, in Gambia, the Basari Negroes wear, as their only encumbrance, a cutlass and "a small conical-shaped cover of plaited matting worn by the men only over their Phallic member and secured around the loins" by a piece of twisted gut.¹⁶ In Nigeria too the only male garment is sometimes "a little basket-like object".¹⁷ Over the Atlantic, the Bororo Indians of South America wear a "penis-cuff" (whatever that may be), which they call a *ba*.¹⁸ Over the Indian Ocean, in Papua, "the more usual covering is the bamboo penis-case, which is kept in position by pulling the preputium through a hole in the lower end of the case" (apparently exactly after the Zulu manner).¹⁹

But the most magnificent contraption of this type, as a counter-balance to their insignificant stature, is that affected by the Papuan Pygmies, whose only article of clothing was "made of a long yellow gourd, about two inches in diameter at the base and tapering to about half an inch at the pointed end. It is worn with the pointed end upwards and is kept in position by a string round the waist. As the length of the case—some of them measure fifteen inches—is more than a quarter of the height of the man himself, it gives him a most extraordinary appearance".²⁰ Speaking of the basket penis-cover of certain Sudanese Negroes, H. R. Palmer²¹ observes, "the explanation of all these coverings seems to be connected with the primitive idea that, in the case of a slain animal for instance, unless the apertures of the body are closed, the spirit will escape and may do harm". That may, or may not, apply to the Sudanese; but it certainly does not fit the Zulus, where the motive is simply one of personal convenience and shame.

From the fig-leaf, Adam proceeded to skins—"and the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife coats of skins and clothed them" (Gen. 3-21). The Zulus followed his example: from banana-leaf box to skin-sporran. Having satisfactorily fixed his prepuce-cover, Jomela took down from the rack on the hut-wall, where it was hanging, his *umuTsha*, and therewith girded his loins. This *umuTsha* was the Zulu equivalent for a pair of trousers, being in fact a loosely hanging apron of supple hide behind and a bunch of furry tails in front; for the Zulu gentleman, nautically speaking, was a fore-and-aft rigger. Despite its quaint and, some might think, indelicate appearance, this airy style of trouser seemed to suit very well its dusky 'surroundings' and always 'sat' on the Zulu man much more becomingly than would have done the finest tailor-made garment. It consisted, to begin at the top, of a stiff, flat belt-like top-piece (*isiPénama*) made of three overlapping strips of hide, which rested across the upper part of the buttocks, and from which depended a posterior curtain (*ĩBéshu*),^{21a} formed of a square (perhaps 12 inches wide by 15 or more long) of dressed calf or goat skin (with the fur outside) hanging loosely over the buttocks. In front was suspended a sporran (*isi-Nene*),^{21b} formed of a bunch of artificial 'tails' or of several flat strips of calf-skin, the sporran being held in place by a slender thong which, passing above the head of the thigh-bone

on both sides, was tightly attached to the top-piece of the posterior curtain. Occasionally, from this thong on one side, was suspended a small bag of weasel or polecat skin containing the wearer's snuff-box, without which he never moved abroad. This was, so to say, his 'pocket'. But sometimes, the snuff-box was contained in a larger kind of bag (*isiTomotiya*) made of the skin of an unborn calf or kid, and carried in the hand. Such, then, was the Zulu man's daily dress, cool, breezy and hygienic, perfectly decent and quite becoming in appearance.

Fashions, as we have said, are no monopoly of civilisation. All civilisations have them; indeed, the multiplicity of fashions might almost be taken as a measure of a civilization's advancement. Tight trousers, bell-bottoms and plus-fours all had their counterpart in the several styles of Zulu *umuTsha* and its varied makes of sporan—its exceptionally short posterior curtain (*isiPimpiyana*), the long trailing (*eli-ziTóle-zi-Miti*), the swallow-tailed (*uShindindi*), the goat-skin (*uTshavu*), the girdle of long tails (*ṽGqibo*), and others. There were even fashions of wearing the garment on the body—for instance, well up, or low down, over buttocks and pubes, and so on.

The most primitive type of '*umuTsha*' we know of, is that worn by the Bari girls on the Nile, to wit, a small bunch of leaves hanging before the pubes; perfectly Adamic. The only dress of the Putooa tribe in India is also a string round the waist, from which, every morning, is suspended a fresh bunch of leaves dangling before and behind.²² An embryonic *umuTsha* appears among the Kavirondo of the Nyanza region, where some men wear "on behind an apron of deer-skin as large as a handkerchief".²³ This posterior 'apron' among the Dyur of the Sudan has developed into a two-piece suit; for there the men "only wear round the back of the loins a short covering of leather, something like the skirts of an ordinary frock-coat; a calf-skin answers the purpose best, of which they make two tails [or flaps] to hang down behind".²⁴ Still a two-piece suit, these 'frock-coat tails', among the neighbouring Sudanese Bongo, already assume the fore-and-aft *umuTsha* form; for there the men wear a bit of cloth or skin fastened to a girdle and hanging down before and behind;²⁵ while, on the Upper Congo, "men wear a strip of grass-fibre cloth or beaten bark (the bark of the fig-tree, from which the sap has been beaten) suspended in front and behind from a waist belt."²⁶

Something like the sporran or frontal covering of the *umuTsha* existed also among the Hottentots, who used to conceal the penis behind a square piece of skin, with the fur outside, and hanging by two strings from the waist. The two lower corners of this apron were sewn together to form a kind of bag in which the organ rested.²⁷ This cute idea may have suggested that particular style of Zulu sporran (known as an *iGobela*), in which the lower ends of the hanging skin-strips had been bent round backwards (while the skin was still wet and supple, and being afterwards allowed to dry hard), so as to provide an effective covering for the penis under certain circumstances.

The name, *umuTsha*, must be an aboriginal, ancient Bantu word, because away in Kambaland, in Kenya Colony, we find that the diminutive apron made of leather tassels worn there by the girls, is also called by them a *muChi*; while the fibre kilt of Bechwana circumcision boys is again termed a *moShu*.²⁸ Perhaps the Nika (Portuguese East Africa) *muChira*, the Herero *omuTyira*, the Ganda *mKila*, and the Swahili *mKia*, all said to mean 'tail', may also have something to do with it.

There are good grounds for believing that in the remoter past our Zulus were not so utterly ignorant, as they now are, of the art of cloth making. Indeed, Ludlow²⁹ distinctly mentions a tradition that the Zulus in pre-Shakan times were accustomed to weave a coarse cloth-material with bark-fibre. Dampier³⁰ too, writing of the men in Natal in 1770, explicitly states that they "go in a manner naked, their common garb being only a piece of cloth, of silk-grass, as an apron. At the upper corner it has two straps round the waist; and the lower [? border] is fringed with the same [? silk-grass] and hangs down to the knees". Furthermore, until almost recent times (first half of last century) members of the Wushe tribe (on the upper Mngeni river in Natal) still wore (as we have personally heard from old tribesmen, who had seen it) a sporran and posterior curtain manufactured, not of skin, but of finely woven grass-cloth, likened by the Natives to a well-made modern *isiTébe* (Zulu eating-mat), also woven of fine grass. The illustration of Rhodesian grass-cloth shown by Bent³¹ will most likely describe its appearance. At the initiation ceremonies among the bamaNgwato of Bechuanaland (also thought to have been of Nguni extraction) are still to be seen "young maidens wearing short petticoats of plaited rushes";³² while

among the neighbouring beChwana a 'fibre kilt' (called a *moShu*—see above) is said to be worn by circumcision boys.³³ Loin-cloths of palm-fibre are also worn by the baYaka in the Congo.³⁴ So long ago as 1593, the survivors of the *St. Albert* noticed among the Natives of Natal "some youths dressed in reeds [? rushes] fashioned like mats".³⁵ But these may have been *umShopi*, or circumcision, costumes.

One might therefore be led to wonder whether, after all, the custom of skin garments might not have been a quite recent substitute among the Zulus for an earlier bark-cloth covering of a similar shape—a habit adopted perhaps, along with the click sounds of their speech, during their contact with the Hottentots further west; for these latter also, we must remember, wore a dress made of a piece of jackal skin suspended in front and a strip of prepared hide behind.³⁶ But this too would appear unlikely, if Roscoe be right. According to him, the oldest dress-material in Uganda (from which region the Zulus are thought to have descended) was skins or hides, not bark-cloth, which was a later introduction. "In early days," he says,³⁷ "skins were scarcely ever dressed, beyond being dried in the sun, stamped on and rubbed with the hands to make them soft enough to use as loin-cloths . . . Later on the people learned to dress skins", and the method employed was practically identical with that of the Zulus, the skin being pegged out above the ground, then moistened with water, scraped with a knife (*Z. Pála*) and scratched (*Z. Kúhla*) with needles protruding from a piece of wood (*Z. iNdlwandlwa*), then softened (*Z. Cápa*) with clotted milk, and suppled (*Z. Shuka*) by rubbing between the hands.

Again, seeing that the Cape Xosas (the southern branch of the Nguni family) know nothing of the *umuTsha* as a male covering, wearing simply a blanket wrapped round the body, one might conclude that their Zulu brothers had also originally followed the same practice and only later adopted skins. Fortunately, the early records make it clear that it is the Xosas who have abandoned the ancient rites, and the Zulus who have preserved them; for Paterson,³⁸ writing before the year 1789, distinctly states that the Xosas "wear tails of different animals tied round their thighs", which indicates plainly nothing other than the present Zulu *iGqibo* girdle (see ahead). Since that time, therefore, must it have been that the Xosas have abandoned,

not only their national type of hut, but also their national dress.³⁹

The truth, then, probably is, that the Ngunis (Zulu-Xosas) migrated from the Nyanza region to the south already acquainted both with bark-cloth and with dressed skin clothing. We can hardly believe that the art of cloth-making was a later discovery of the northern Bantu, made after the Zulus had already departed and disappeared to the south, first, because there is evidence that the early Ngunis were actually acquainted with the art, and, secondly, because we find that art universally dispersed throughout all Bantu peoples, as well as among the Negroes of the Sudan,⁴⁰ to say nothing of the Negroes of Papua.⁴¹ Everyone knows of the beautifully made and decorated specimens of cloth met with in the Congo and other parts of Central Africa.⁴² Speaking of the Karagwe Bantu on the Victoria Nyanza, Stanley⁴³ says: "Some exquisite native cloths, manufactured of delicate grass, were indeed so fine as to vie with cotton sheeting, and were coloured black and red, in patterns and stripes." The whole cloth-making industry, perhaps, came down into Negroland from Ancient Egypt, where already in the 1st Dynasty a cotton material was manufactured resembling our coarser calico, and by the 3rd Dynasty it had become almost as fine as lawn.

The first 'foreign' cotton fabrics to be introduced into Southern Africa, subsequently to the commercial invasion of the Whites, seem to have been of some flimsy, dark-blue, gauze-like material resembling Indian salem-pore; which suggested to the Zulus the idea of a 'spider's web' (*Z. ūLemū*), by which latter name they called it. As its use spread further inland from the coast, the legend passed along with it that, like the coloured glass-beads that accompanied it, it came 'up out of the sea', where it was made. Gradually, the sea became transformed into 'a pool' (any river pool), wherein the particular beings who made the stuff supposedly resided. The Zulus of a century ago used to tell their children that this underwater being was named *Nana-hulé* (which signifies 'barter-with-us, you-hurray-man'), or *Nana-bahūle* ('Barter-with-us, you-hurray-men'), or *Nana-bulembu*, or *Ntatá-bulembu*—all of which were probably the earliest Zulu names for a 'Whiteman'. Coming then to the river pools, these children would shout to the mysterious *Nanahulé*, and beg for clothes.⁴⁴

The Zambebian Rotses (formerly resident further south in Southern Rhodesia) also "have a rooted idea that woven fabrics are produced by water-sprites in the sand at the bottom of the sea and deep rivers".⁴⁵

In daily life the arms and legs of the Zulus were always entirely bare, save that young men were wont to wear armlets of brass or other wire (*ubuSenga*); as did also the Nyamwezis of Tanganyika Colony.⁴⁶ The Taitas, too, in Kenya Colony wore coils of brass or iron wire on the upper arms (New, *L.E.A.*, 331). Thick iron wire, actually called *Sengenge* in Zanzibar (cp. *Z. ubuSenga*), used in former times to be regularly carried on safari for bartering purposes.

As every Zulu, male and female, had both ears bored, ear-studs (*isiViliba*) were frequently worn by men, and consisted of circular, slightly conical plugs, an inch in diameter, made of polished ivory, horn or baked clay. Strange to say, the so-called 'buttons' of prehistoric Neolithic man in Britain, also made of ivory and stone, were identical in shape with these Zulu ear-studs.⁴⁷ Instead of the studs, some Zulu men inserted pretty little snuff-boxes (*isiGqobela*), made of polished horn, and shaped like a slender, elongated barrel, four inches long by five-eighths wide.

Every Zulu man of mature age (say, over 40 years old) carried on his head the 'crown' of manhood. To all appearances, of polished ebony, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick (but a full inch in Natal), this crown was an oval ring, placed becomingly round the top of the head and with a slight tilt to the rear. It was called an *isiCoco* (head-ring), and, as a matter of fact, was not ebony at all. Nor was it removable, but a permanent fixture. It was assumed only after a specific order from the king or chief to some particular regiment of appropriate age. It was a formal and public recognition by the clan that now these men had attained their majority, as men, and conferred upon them a new dignity and superior status (that of *amaKehla*, or 'ring-men') in the clan. More prized than the decoration itself, however, was the privilege which accompanied it, namely, that of marriage, a right hitherto strictly withheld (at least during the reigns of Shaka and Dingane).

The head-ring itself was manufactured and fixed in position on the head by special craftsmen. Collecting from the *umZungulu* (*Dalbergia obovata*) and *uSaku* bushes the milk-white,

solidified substance, soft and slightly crumbly (like half-dry putty), found attached to them, and called *uNgiyane* (apparently a latex, but asserted by some Natives to be the product of a flying insect), the craftsman broke the stuff up in his palm, in order to extract the small reddish larva (said to be that of the aforesaid beetle) always found deposited inside each lump. Thereafter he chewed the substance in his mouth,* spitting out from time to time the clear, water-like liquid pressed therefrom. In this chewing process, the previous white colour became changed to gray, and the stuff itself became tenacious and elastic, somewhat as do fresh wheat-grains when chewed long enough in the mouth. The chewed lumps were now collected together and crushed to an even texture on a small grindstone. The material was then placed on a potsherd over the fire (generally in the cattle-fold), where it soon melted and boiled, the colour meanwhile darkening still more. While boiling, animal oil and finely ground charcoal were mixed in, resulting in a smooth, even consistency and a deep black colour. The craftsman now took a small oar-shaped stick and, twirling it round in the already cooling mixture, collected the latter on the stick (treacle-wise) in one large, soft lump. This dough-like material he next kneaded on a stone, drawing it gradually out

* The Biblical '*Manna*', you will remember, was believed by the credulous Children of Israel to have been "rained down from heaven", to provide them with a much needed foodstuff during their wanderings through the Sinaitic desert. Less credulous, but better informed, modern investigators, however, inform us that, in reality, this *Manna* originated right there 'on mother earth'; thus, the traveller, C. S. Jarvis (in his *Yesterday and Today in Sinai*, p. 169), declares that this *Manna* was really "the deposit left by a small insect on the tamarisk tree" (common in those parts); while Odham's *English Dictionary* (recently published) says, it was "the gum exuded by certain wild plants".

Now, the substance (technically known by the Zulus as *uNgiyane*) employed in the manufacture of a Zulu man's 'headring', is, we were informed, "the material attached to the branches of certain bushes by the larvæ of a particular flying-insect; which material, after collection by the Zulu headring-maker, was "chewed up in the mouth into a gummy or putty-like substance", and so used for forming the headring.

All which looks so suggestive to us, that we have wondered whether by some strange chance this Biblical *Manna* and this Zulu *uNgiyane* may not have been one and the same thing?

By-the-way, we note that the Sinai Beduin Arabs call their 'water-pot' a *Gula*, while our Zulus call their 'milk-pot' (or calabash) likewise an *iGula*.

into one long sausage-like roll, which he carefully wound round the outer and upper sides of an oval framework (called the *ūQondo*). This framework, consisting of a ' rope ', half an inch thick, made of palm-fibres, had been already previously placed in position on the client's head, and been firmly sewn to the underlying hair with tendon or string. Applied when still soft and warm, the *uNgiyane*, hardening as it cooled, clung to the internal framework as firmly as does the putty to the window-frame. Finally, the hard black latex was rubbed with grease, and polished with a small pebble or with the stone-like root of the *isiDwa gladiolus*, till it attained the gloss and appearance of polished jet. Inside the oval framework and around it outside, the hair was shaven away, so that the ring sat cleanly and alone upon the head. As the hair to which it was attached, grew longer, the ring rose higher, and sometimes reached a height above the skull of four or five inches, being then termed an *umPatsha* (a name in more recent times applied by the Natives to a Whiteman's top-hat).

The head-ring, as known in our own times, seems to have been a more recent development of something else much earlier. Stangely, the Xosas of the Cape, who separated from the Zulus about the year 1600 A.D., know nothing of this head-dress.⁴⁸ But Capt. Rogers,⁴⁹ writing about the year 1770, tells us that at that time the Ngunis of Natal wore on their heads " caps made with beef-tallow of about nine or ten inches high [note the *umPatsha*, above]. They are a great while a-making these caps ; for the tallow must be made very pure, before it is fit for use [comp. the careful preparation of the latex, above]. Besides they lay on but little at a time and mix it finely among the hair, and so it never afterwards comes off their heads. When they go a-hunting, which is but seldom, they pare off three or four inches from the top of it, that so it may sit the snugger, but the next day they begin to build it up again, and so every day till it is of a decent and fashionable height. It would be a ridiculous thing for a man here to be seen without a tallow cap. But boys are not suffered to wear any, till they come to maturity, and then they begin to build up their heads "

Whether or not the Ngunis of Zululand had a similar fashion at the same date, we cannot say. The earliest reference to the hair-dress of the Zulus is that found in the narrative of Capt. Owen, who visited the Delagoa Bay region about 1822-3,

and personally met in that neighbourhood a large body of refugees driven out of Zululand by Shaka. He says: "The chiefs of Mapoota and Temby [Tongas] wear their heads shaved, except a large tuft on the crown, on which is placed a small pad or roller [? ring], into which the wool, after being combed out straight and tight, is tucked with much neatness. The Zoolas or Vatwas, on the contrary, shave the crown, and leave a ring of wool round the head, but similarly dressed by being trussed over a pad and kept in place by wooden skewers".⁵⁰ Lieut. King, who was actually in Natal and Zululand a few years later, says:⁵¹ "Their heads [the Zulu men], in general, are kept shaved, except a circle, neatly made with the hair, in imitation of the mode adopted by Chaka, and from each side is suspended a bunch of feathers". No mention is here made of any manufactured headring. Nor does Isaacs, present with Shaka about the same time, make any reference to so conspicuous an object of body-wear, when he describes the Zulu dress. On the other hand, it is passing strange that, when Harris, about the year 1836, visited Mzilikazi (who had fled from Zululand somewhere about the year 1823, and therefore even prior to Isaacs' time), he drew a sketch of him with what certainly appears to be a small, though genuine, headring on his head!⁵² Where did he get it from? The successor to Shaka was Dingane (1828—1840), whom Capt. Gardiner visited in 1835. So far as we know, he makes no reference to any Zulu headring in his book: but he does say⁵³ that the neighbouring Swazis "adopted the headring first in Shaka's reign". Does he there intend to imply that the headring 'first originated' with the Swazis? In his picture of Dingane, the Zulu king, he depicts him wearing something very like a headring of the modern type. Furthermore, he definitely states (ib. 286) that Ncapayi, the Baca chief, was at that time actually wearing such a ring: and Ncapayi had never been near Zululand, but was a Natal chief, then a refugee beyond the Mzimkulu river.

From all this, it rather looks as if the modern *isiCoco* (headring) first came into fashion among the Tekela (i.e. Embo and Lala) Ngunis of Swaziland and Natal, and that it was introduced among the Ntungwa Ngunis of Zululand (perhaps from Swaziland) somewhere about Senzangakona's time. Indeed, it looks as if the 'ebony' (or latex) headring was the actual

invention of those Embo or Lala folk, being their local improvement on the earlier simple 'hair-ring' (see above), which they had met with among the Tongas about Delagoa Bay. But wherever it came from, the earliest headring was everywhere much smaller than those worn in these later times, as Ludlow⁵⁴ tells. Indeed, we have ourselves seen such a tiny headring on an aged Native (Baca) southwards of the Mzimkulu (in Ncapayi's old territory) so recently as 1889. The ring was not more than half an inch in thickness, and was worn well forward over the forehead (not tilted backward, in the modern fashion), encircling a space not much greater than would contain a large duck's-egg.⁵⁵

Having thus arrived at the crown of his head, we have now completed our description of Jomela's 'everyday' suit of clothes. But Jomela possessed a costume much more elegant than this. Indeed, he would have felt much humiliated and displeased had he been aware that we were here presenting him to the world in his shabby day-clothes.

Now, by some strange coincidence, there happens to be a local wedding on this very day, and at the general dance there, he, the several Mrs. Jomela, the Misses Jomela and the Messrs Jomela Jnr., will be expected to appear; aye! will be most certain to do so, for a free feast of meat and beer, to all and sundry, will be there provided.

It is already forenoon; and all alike, having first washed their bodies at the river, are now at home anointing them with lard or other grease (*umNembe*), mixed together with a little red-clay (*iBonvu*) to give the skin an agreeable flush and glossiness, and preserved in a special pomade-gourd (*umFuma*). The women, in addition, ever more finicky about favourable impressions, take the further precaution to rub both body and leathern kilt with fragrant powder (*amaKá*). This scent-powder is made from various sweet-smelling leaves, woods and berries, like the *umTómbotí* (*Excæcaria africana*), *iNtsindwane* (*Peliostomum calycinum*), *umDlonzo* (*Mikania capensis*), *umGxamu* (*Schotia brachypetala*), *isiGcence*, *iNkuzwa*, *uHlazazana* and others, and is always kept in stock for occasions like the present. With bodies thus fragrant and glossy, all now betake themselves to their respective dressing-rooms and wardrobes, and extract their festal costumes from the lavender.

The Zulu's dressing-room is, of course, the same as his bed-room, sitting-room and kitchen ; and his wardrobe contains the following outfit. In the glorious days of ' savagedom ', no ugly piles of cheap store-boxes disfigured, as now, the Native harmony within the hut. And yet all their simple finery was stored away in suitable furniture of their own design, and with all the care and concern of the Victorian lady for her silks and furs. The Zulu civilization was still in the earth and grass stage ; and their furniture, like their homes, was mainly constructed of those materials. At the back of every man's *iLawu* (private hut)—such as were possessed by most of the better-class kraal-heads and young men, and where things were always kept neat and clean—there stood a large, globular, earthenware pot (*iMbiza yeMpahla*), eighteen inches high by as many broad, in which were preserved the ornamental fur ropes (*imCilo*) for garlanding the upper body, as well as the less precious feather head-dresses (e.g. the *isiDlodlo*, a bunch of feathers worn on the top or the back of the head ; the *ubuTékwane*, a bunch worn dangling away behind ; the *̄Jomela*, a bunch of black finch tails worn on the head-side ; the *̄Hunu*, a compact bunch of feathers clipped short, so as to form a ' rose ' worn protruding before the forehead ; the *ubuShokobezi*, a bunch of several dressed cowtails worn erect on each side, or in front, of the head, when in regimental costume ; the *isiYaya*, a circlet of standing feathers worn round the head ; and other such. Then, from the hut-wall hung the *isaMbo*. This was a portion of the trunk of some soft-wooded tree, hollowed out so as to form a cylinder some three feet long, closed at each end by a tight fitting cap (shaped while the hide was still wet and then allowed to dry hard) with a loop attached, by which the whole contrivance was tied, standing up, against the wall. In it were carefully laid out at full length the more-precious head-plumes of ostrich (*umBóngo*), blue-crane (*iMbangayiya*), or black finch (*umNyakanya*) feathers. The *umBúma* was a mat of bulrushes (*̄Búma*), four feet wide, in which such articles as cow-tail fringes (*iNgeqe*) and girdles of dangling furry ' tails ' (*̄Gqibo*) were wrapped. To prevent the ingress of smoke, the mat-ends were drawn together by a string and tied so as to form a pointed bundle. In this way it was suspended horizontally from the hut wall by a couple of strings. In cases of distant weddings, it was borne on the head by a carrier-boy (*̄Dibi*), serving as a

'suit-case' wherein to convey the festal outfit. The *iDlelo*, likewise suspended from the hut-wall, was a bag, about 2 feet square, very tastefully woven of fine rushes (*iNcema*) and sometimes of hyphæne-palm leaves (*īLala*), and sewn together on all sides, but open at the top. Sometimes it was even made of a cow's bladder. In it were kept the more frequently required men's girdles (*umuTsha*), side-tails (*iNjobo*), beadwork and other such articles.

So Jomela dived into his private hut, and the remaining Jomelas into theirs, and all alike made for the *umBúma* (above) on the wall. Therefrom Jomela Snr. drew forth a style of *umuTsha* (loin-girdle) entirely different from the everyday affair he then had on, and called an *īGqibo*. Instead of the ordinary posterior curtain and sporran, this consisted of a kind of fringe, eighteen inches long, of dangling furry 'tails' compactly strung together and sufficient to encircle the whole body. Really, these apparent tails were long strips of lamb, goat or, in the best makes, genet skin, with slits cut along both edges and then twisted, with the fur outside, so as to resemble, let us say, the appendage of a Persian cat. Besides the *īGqibo*, there were also other varieties of this type of *umuTsha*, e.g. the *isiTinti*, the *isiTóbo*, and the *īDlaka*.

At each side of Jomela's *īGqibo*, there hung, down the thighs, a huge bunch of blue-monkey 'tails', longer than the girdle itself (and called *iziNjobo*), which had been presented to him by none other than his Majesty, the King. In front, beneath the *īGqobo*, he wore that particular sort of sporran or penis-bag known as the *īGobela*, constructed of sheep-skin or of genet.

Then from the *iMbiza* pot, the *iDlelo* and the *isaMbo*, Jomela extracted other trappings of divers kinds, not worn when simply walking to the wedding, but to be donned upon arrival on the dancing ground. All these he packed inside the *umBúma* mat, and handed the whole over to the *ūDibi* boy to carry on his head.

So, with his sons, he departed for the wedding. His sons wore girdles of the same fashion as those worn every day, but of newer and finer materials—posterior curtains of glossy, black-and-white calf-skin, with sporrans to match, and now, in addition, a heavy, tassel-like bundle of genet-tails (*iziNjobo*) dangling down each thigh. Some young men also wore, as an

anklet, a string of dried caterpillar cocoons (*umFece*), in each of which a small stone had been inserted, in order to make a continuous rattling noise, when dancing. This anklet was called an *īFóhlowane*, and had been adopted from the Bushmen or the Hottentots.⁵⁶

Arrived at the dancing place, Jomela opened the *umBúma* mat borne by his carrier-boy, and took therefrom numerous long, silver-white fringes (*iziNgeqe*) made of cow-tails.⁵⁷ Three of these he tied round each arm—one above the biceps, another above the elbow, the third above the wrist, the fringes hanging down and covering the whole outside of the arm. Another such fringe was attached to each leg above the calf. A thick coil of black glossy ropes (*imCílo*), made of twisted calf or lamb skin, he then hung over his left shoulder and under his right arm; and then a second over his right shoulder and under his left arm, the two crossing over his breast. Finally, on his head—where also was stuck away (into the hair on the inner side of his heading) the bone face-scraper (*uPépéla*) for removing sweat—he set a pair of plumes (*umNyakanya*) of long, black, finch feathers (*īSakabuli*). Each plume consisted of several feathers fixed on the end of a small pointed stick, which latter was inserted, so as to stand erect, into the hole in the circlet (*umQéle*) bound round his head below the heading and tied behind the head—the circlet itself consisting of a bulrush stem bent into a ring and covered externally with leopard or other skin. To this circlet, furthermore, were attached two flat strips of blue-monkey (*iNtsimango*) or leopard (*iNgwé*) skin, which fell loosely down alongside the cheeks to the shoulders, almost like blinkers (*amaBéqe*). Through them the eyes peered out, rather fiercely; which was admired. Then, taking up in his left hand his dancing-shield (*īHawu*) of black-and-white cow-hide, and in his right his dancing-stick (*isiCópó*), finely polished, with a small knob at the end, he strutted away to take his place in the long file of dancers.

Such was the orthodox festal attire of the Zulus.

Once a year came Christmas-time; and with it came the Grand National Festival of the Zulu tribe, the Royal Festival (*umKósi*), celebrated at the king's kraal, and at which every man of the tribe, in full panoply of war, was compelled to appear in company with his own particular regiment.

Now, Jomela enjoyed the rare distinction of being an *isiLomo* (a personal friend or favourite) of the king, and, as such, had been presented by his Majesty with a special court-dress appropriate to such dignity. It was called an *um Qubula*, and was kept carefully stored away in the capacious interior of an *iMbiza* clothes-pot. Thence Jomela now extracted it. It was a three piece suit, and consisted of three separate, heavy, fringe-like girdles of blue-monkey (*iNtsimango*) or genet (*iNtsimba*) skin. This skin was cut into narrow flat strips, whose upper part, with the fur outside, was tightly twisted into a rope, the lower portion being allowed to remain spread out flat. So many such ropes were then strung together as would suffice to encircle the whole body. Each of the three girdles consisted of three overlapping layers, each longer than the other (after the manner of the old-fashioned coachman's cape), so that the lower or flat portion of each layer was alone left visible. One such triple-caped girdle encircled the neck and reached to the waist; a second encircled the waist and descended over the buttocks; the third rested over the thigh-bones and descended to the knees. Thus the whole body was thickly wrapped round with a dress of dangling strips of monkey or genet skin. The whole outfit was termed an *um Qubula*.

Having packed all this, together with other necessary trappings, inside the aforesaid *umBúma* mat, Jomela set forth on his way to his own regimental head-quarters or special military-kraal (*ĩKánda*). There, on the appointed day, he removed the dress from his suit-case, and transferred it to his body. On each bare arm he then tied three separate, silver-white frills or ruffles (*isiPúnga*), made of the dry *isiKólokotó* (*Sansevieria*) bulb—some were made of monkey or goat skin, and termed an *isiPándla*—one above the biceps, another above the elbow, and the third above the wrist; save that on the lower right arm, instead of a frill, he wore a heavy, serrated glistening ornament of brass, called an *iNgxotá* (likewise a present from the king), and resembling in shape the upper part of a gauntlet (without the glove).⁵⁸ Sometimes, on each upper arm, he wore also a couple of brightly polished brass arm-rings (*ĩSongo*).^{58a} Round his neck he strung a necklet of lion-claws. Finally, into the *um Qéle* circlet (above) on his head, he stuck a couple of long blue-crane feathers (*iMbangayiya*), one on

each side. Then, taking his war-shield (*isiHlangu*), some four feet long, in his left hand and his dancing-stick (*isiCópó*) in his right (leaving, like everybody else when entering the royal Presence, his assegai behind in the military-kraal), he proceeded with his regiment to the Great Kraal (*k'omKúlu*) of the king.

As already said, all men alike, great and small, had to attend the annual Grand National Festival in ceremonial attire; and the ceremonial attire of the common people, including Jomela's sons, was the uniform of their regiment. The regimental uniforms were, in the main, all alike, save for certain minor 'facings', which distinguished one regiment from another (differences of head-dress and other body trappings); for example, the circlet of otter skin, bearing erect on the head four bunches (*ĩPóvela*) of cow-tails, marked the *isaNgqu* regiment, while the broad belt of white cow-hide (*umBémbeso*) worn round the waist, marked the *umTwísazwe*. But all warriors alike carried round their necks, in front and behind, a lengthy fringe (*imKlezo*), two feet long, of silver-white cow-tails, entirely covering their upper body. Round their loins they wore the ordinary gala *umuTsha* of dressed calf-skin; while three fringes of white cow-tails (*iziNgeqe*) adorned each arm and one each leg, being placed as already said above. In his left hand the warrior carried his war-shield, and in the right a dancing-stick (of the usual cudgel kind).

There is no evidence that the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu ever made use of the breech-cloth (passed between the legs—*ukuSubela*), as do their neighbours, the Sutus, and other Bantu peoples. We think this fashion must have been learned in ages past by East African tribes from either Indians or Arabs.⁵⁹

Turning now to the females of the family, we find their dress much simpler than that of the males.

There seems to have been a common tendency throughout Negroland—it was the same also in Tasmania⁶⁰ and elsewhere—that where one sex covered the body, the other went naked. In Equatorial Africa the Mambetu men are exceptionally well dressed; but the women are satisfied with a tiny patch of plantain-leaf in front. The Sudanese Dinka women modestly conceal their shame; but their husbands go perfectly unabashed.⁶¹ On the Congo, at Urangi, the men wear an ample

loin-covering of grass-cloth, while their women go nude;⁶² and among the baHima of Ankoleland "the men are scantily dressed; except for a bit of cow-hide on their shoulders, they are absolutely nude"; but "the women are profusely dressed, they wear two large cow-hides, one fastened round the waist, while the other covers the head and shoulders and extends to the feet".⁶³ Among the pure Bantu, male nudity seems rarer, but female more common. There appear to be few Bantu tribes, except the North Nyasa folk, the Central Zambezians, and (since comparatively recent times) the Cape Xosas, in which the men go wholly uncovered: the male nudity noted by Isaacs⁶⁴ in pioneer days among the Zulu and Lala refugees round Durban, was probably due to the extreme poverty in the then generally disordered and undisciplined conditions. On the other hand, male nudity is quite the rule among the Nilotic Negroes (on the Nile).⁶⁵

So, therefore, it came about that, among the Zulus, the Mesdames Jomela had to content themselves with one only, simple and drab costume for both home-life and wedding. It consisted of a 'Highland' kilt (or *isiDwaba*). Their universal tartan was—all black, on suppled leather. Arms, torso and legs were entirely bare, the only extra body-wear being the grass-belt (*isiFóciya*) round the waist and the bandage-of-respect (*umNqwazi*) round the head (both of them a universal rule with married women), and, perhaps, a circlet of beads round the neck on festal occasions. Not only the Zulu ladies, but, in former times, also those of Xosaland,⁶⁶ as well as Mpondoland,⁶⁷ wore such a costume. The only difference between a lady's working dress and her gala gown was that the latter was newer, fuller and longer, and distinguished from the mere *umHambakáya* (working kilt) by the higher title of *iNgúbo* (festal kilt). An old *iNgúbo* often served as a coverlet for the children at night; while the name was also occasionally applied to the original Zulu skin-blanket or kaross (*isiPúku*). We have already conjectured that, prior to the universal adoption by the Zulus of skin coverings, they were probably acquainted with the manufacture and use of the common Bantu bark-cloth; and the fact that this word, *Ngúbo*, turns up again everywhere throughout Bantuland as the common term for 'cloth', confirms our supposition; thus Zambezi Toka, *iNgubo*, piece-of-cloth; Swahili, *Nguwo*, cloth; Rega, *Nguwo*, cloth; Herero,

Nguyu, cotton-cloth ; *Kuwa*, *iKuwo*, cloth ; *Ganda*, *Mbugu*, bark-cloth.

One half (*umBando*) of a large bullock-hide (*isiKúmba*) provided the material for one Zulu lady's gown. How the hide was prepared for use by the skin-dresser and then manufactured into a garment by the seamstress, will be found described in Chap. 10. The finished kilt had the form, not of a cylindrical sack (like a European skirt), but of one long, extended piece, which was simply wrapped round the body above the thigh-bone. When donning it, the wearer first rolled up the top border, with the roll (*umQulu*) running along the outer side of the kilt and carrying a leather thong through it, by which the garment was tied on towards the side.

Nowadays, all female kilts are cut rather shorter (like the modern skirts in Europe), although the best-wear dress (*iNgúbo*) is still somewhat longer than that worn at work (*umHambakáya*). But in older times, there were 'fashions' in ladies' kilts, just as there were in men's girdles. In Shakan and Dinganean times (the first half of last century) ladies of rank wore a confection which reached to the ankles in front and had two extended strips (*amaSondo*), about a yard long, trailing behind, like a Victorian lady's train.⁶⁸ But ordinary women, even at that period, confined themselves to the shorter fashion of present days, reaching only to the knees.⁶⁹ The long Victorian train went entirely out of fashion during Mpande's reign (middle of last century), and is now unknown.

This female leathern kilt is a very ancient Bantu, or even Negro, survival, and is not peculiar to the Zulus. Strabo,⁷⁰ speaking of the women of Ethiopia (east bank of the Nile), says, some of the women there "wear small skins or girdles of well-woven hair round the loins" (the 'hair' being probably the 'furry' side of skins). Even nowadays, the Shilluk women resident thereabouts wear an 'apron' of calf-skin bound round the loins and reaching to the knees.⁷¹ The Kagoma Nigerian females cover their loins with short pieces of cloth ;⁷² while the Carayu Gala women have real "skirts of tanned leather".⁷³ The Nika Bantu, above Mombasa, have "a curious petticoat very similar to a Scotch kilt";⁷⁴ and, among neighbouring tribes, the Chagas "wear leathern girdles, faced with beads, around their loins",⁷⁵ and the Tavetas "a small skin, worn as a girdle round the waist" and reaching to the knees. Away on the

lower Congo, Merolla,⁷⁶ three centuries ago, wrote that "the Noble Women have a sort of Straw Petticoat call'd Modello, which reaches to the Middles"; and Livingstone⁷⁷ says that, in the middle of last century, the Makololo women on the middle Zambezi were wearing a kilt of soft ox-hide reaching to the knees. The Hottentot ladies, about the year 1700, affected a 'divided skirt', there being a square apron of skin suspended from the waist in front, and a second hanging over the buttocks behind.⁷⁸

The head is another part of the body that from the earliest of prehistoric times was selected for special adornment. Where the Zulu man had his head-ring, his wife counterpoised with her top-knot (*iNtloko*). This latter, in earlier times (up to the first two or three decades of last century) consisted of an oval, or sometimes circular, patch of hair, known as the *iMpiti* (Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 43; vol. 2, 113, 289; and Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 100), of about the same size as the then corresponding 'hair-ring' of the men (see p. 144), left on the crown of the head after the rest had been clean shaven. This hair-patch or *iMpiti* of the women, with the hair about half an inch long, was then reddened by smearing with a mixture of fat and red-ochre, whereafter the hair was rubbed with a circular movement of the palm (*ukuSokohla*), so as to form it into a mass of tiny, red and glossy, bead-like balls. The Zulu females, wrote King (append. to Thompson, *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 417) at the time, "have their heads shaved, except a small part on the crown, which is, like the men's, perfectly round, and kept plastered with red clay and oil; at a short distance it has the appearance of several rows of beads". And now listen to Speke, writing of Nyoroland (Uganda) in the '50s of last century. "The great king, Kamrasi," he says (*D.S.N.*, 403), had his hair, half an inch long, "worked up into small pepper-corn-like knobs by rubbing the hand circularly over the crown of the head". So, we see, *this* may have been the hair-dressing fashion with which the Zulus came down from the north half a millennium ago. And even today it is still an occasional mode of hair-dressing in vogue among the girls of Zululand, and is still called an *iMpiti*, though nowadays the hair, though greased, is usually left black: in southern Natal, however, it used still to be reddened, resembling a mat of brick-red beads, as recently as 40-50 years ago.⁷⁹

Naturally, in due course, the hair of this patch would grow long ; and it was probably that fact which later suggested its being worked up into a ' tuft ' (*isiCólo*), sitting, in a receding manner (not standing straight up) on the top of the head, like a small truncated cone some three inches in height (see illust. in Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*). There seems to have been also another fashion, called the *ubuSuda*, still earlier than the *isiCólo*, in which the central tuft was not shaven round, but was surrounded by a ring of shorter hair peculiarly twisted and coloured red, the central tuft remaining black.

The neighbouring Swazis (the Ngunis to the north of the Zulus) had by Mpande's time already developed the original small tuft into a much longer or higher ' top-knot '. This, being soon afterwards introduced into Zululand, was jocularly referred to as an *iShona-li-nga-Shoni* (the thing which, when gone over the hill-top, still remains visible). This form of *iNtloko* (top-knot), however, never became popular among the Zulus ; whose head-piece remained a tuft, never exceeding five or six inches in length.

This ' hair-tuft ' fashion of some sort, was pretty common and widespread throughout Africa. Even among the Bush-women, heads were " sometimes even shaven, but a quantity of hair was left and arranged as a tuft on the crown, and always plastered with ochre, fat and the powder of an aromatic plant called buchu " (Stow, *N.R.*, 45, 139). The baPedi Sutus (adjoining the Swazis, in the north-eastern Transvaal), men and women alike, carried their heads completely shaven, save for " an oval tuft in front " (Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 34). The baMbala women (of western Congo) are likewise said to " shave all round the head, leaving only a long top-knot " (Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 579). The baLoi, too, (of the lower Mubangi river, in northern Congoland) " shave their heads . . . leaving only a patch of short wool behind ". An illust. in Johnston (*G.G.C.*, 581) shows that the head-dress of the Mangbetu women (near by the Nyamnyam mentioned below), as well as that of the women of the Bwela country (in northern Congoland) resembled the *iNtloko* of their Zulu sisters very closely indeed. Still further north, the semi-Nilotic Dodinga women wear the head shaven, with the exception of a little round patch on the crown, which looks like a small black cap (Cotton, *U.A.*, 403).

In making the Zulu top-knot, the bunch of hair (which in a Zulu female may grow to a length of nine inches, or more) is straightened out by combing with any pointed instrument, e.g. a long thorn; then, held together in a circular compact mass, is sewn round, throughout its whole length, with horizontal stitches passing through the hair near to the outside. The top of the tuft is so flattened as to give the whole the appearance, as said, of a truncated cone. In quite modern times, several new styles of top-knot have been invented in Natal; but they are not yet favoured in Zululand. A kind of magnified *iNtloko* is in vogue also among the Nyamnyam Negroes of Equatorial Africa. There "the coiffure of both sexes is alike; the hair of the top and back of the head is mounted up into a long cylindrical chignon, and, being fastened on the inside by an arrangement made of reeds, slopes backwards in a slanting direction". The hair of the local ladies, like that of the Zulus (who, however, always use grass for the stuffing), being sometimes insufficient to complete the head-dress, the deficiency is supplied from the hair of those fallen in war, or indeed with such hair as is procurable on the market.⁸⁰ Thus we find that 'false hair' is no European invention; and even some Native women of South African towns have already discovered the secret of the magnificent locks of their European mistresses, and as a consequence now invest their savings in buying *iFólosi* (false-hair) in the stores.

Zulu matrons, then, were not overburdened with raiment. Their unmarried daughters still less so. These latter moved about the world like dusky Venuses, with no further attempt at concealment, in earlier times, than a light and delicate fringe (*umKíndi*),⁸¹ four inches to a foot in depth, of dark-brown strings (attached to a waist-band or *umQondo* of plaited fibre), made of the twisted under-skin of *ubEndle*, *isiHlabamaKóndlwana*, and other plant-leaves. This fringe-girdle encircled the body, not round the waist as with Europeans, but, according to the general Zulu custom, resting low on the buttocks, then passing over the thigh-bones, and so before the pubes. Such a costume was usually worn at home; but when 'walking out', it was replaced by another, a species of leathern frill or ruffle, about six inches deep, likewise attached to a fibre waist-band, the whole being termed an *umNenezo*.

Beads, in and before Shaka's reign, were the fortune of the few, the daughters of the rich.⁸² But during the reign of Mpande, European store-goods penetrated into Zululand pretty freely from Natal, and they rapidly ousted the old-fashioned fringe-girdle from the land. It was now replaced by contrivances of beadwork—sometimes by a stiff patch of beadwork (*isiGege*), six inches across by three deep (see illusts. Bryant's *O.T.*, 122, 240) ; at others, by a fringe (*isiHeshe*) of dangling bead-strings, and of the same size as before. Both were suspended from a beaded waist-belt, and allowed to hang before the pubes. The whole costume, whatever the type, was generically referred to as a girl's *umuTsha*.

It is interesting to note that the ancient Egyptian dancing-girls wore beaded girdles exactly like these of their modern Zulu sisters ; and they wore them in exactly the same fashion, over the thigh-bones, not round the waist.⁸³ The Manja girls, in Equatorial Africa, also wear a girdle almost identical with the Zulu girl's *umuTsha*.⁸⁴ Among certain Nigerian tribes, too, girls wear the *ivyan*, which is " a girdle of loose native strands of string, not plaited or twisted in any way, which is fitted round the body a little lower than the waist ".⁸⁵ Masaba girls, about Mt. Elgon, use a frontal of fibre, or fringe of strings, six inches by three in size.⁸⁶ Kamba girls, in Kenya Colony, have a tiny apron of leather tassels ;⁸⁷ while the Chaga maidens, not far away over the Tanganyika border, wear a kind of fringed *umKindi* (above), much like and about the same size as that of Zulu girls.⁸⁸ Some Kavirondo women, too, sport a small fringe frontal of papyrus fibre.⁸⁹ Boloki women, on the Congo, have girdles of palm-frond fibre like the fringed *umKindi*, but somewhat longer ;⁹⁰ and the maNywema of both sexes, further up the river, wear a dress of long grass-tassels from waist to knee.⁹¹ Down south, in the early part of last century, Mpondo girls had a " small apron " decorated with beads.⁹² Even away in Australia, unmarried girls don a narrow little apron or fringe made of fur or strings of hair, attached to a hip girdle,⁹³ and in South America, young Amazonian women wear " the *tanga* or small apron of beads ".⁹⁴

Beads have always had a strong fascination for primitive folk. Even in the remote prehistoric times, they had them ; and the simple idea of that period has been preserved right up to our own days in the ostrich-shell beads of the Bushmen.

In the civilization of Ancient Egypt, coloured glass and other beads held an important place as body decorations; and it may have been from there that the Negroes first made their acquaintance with the article. In the Mt. Elgon district of north-east Uganda, blue crystalline beads are quite frequently picked up out of the soil, and are thought to have been brought down there in ages past (along with the typically 'Roman' lamp, also unearthed there) either from Ancient Egypt or ancient Nubia.⁹⁵ Glass beads, declared by Sir Flinders Petrie to have originated in the Eastern Roman Empire in the 5th or 6th century, have also been dug out of the old copper mine at Messina, in the Transvaal. Blue glass beads, again, reputedly of the 15th century, were found by Miss Caton-Thompson beneath the Dlodlo ruins in Southern Rhodesia; while 24 feet below the present surface of the Acropolis Hill at Zimbabwe, she extracted "80 beads in coloured glass, blue, green, yellow, red and black", thought to be of Arab importation, perhaps from India.⁹⁶ Beads of gold are known to have been used by the Ancient Egyptians in the earliest times; and one such gold bead was unearthed beneath the Conical Tower at Zimbabwe. "The Katanga [Congo] people at an early date, some say six hundred years ago, as soon as they were influenced by the Hima metal-working civilization, made blue beads out of the vitreous substances in the slag of the copper-smelting furnaces".⁹⁷

Blue seems to have been a favourite colour with the bead-making and bead-wearing ancients; and the taste has been maintained right down to our own times. Nyamnyam,⁹⁸ Kavirondo,⁹⁹ Kikuyus,¹⁰⁰ and some Galas,¹⁰¹ all show a preference for that colour. The choice of the Sudanese Bagirmi was for blue and white,¹⁰² as it was also of the Xosas of the Cape early last century.¹⁰³ The Sukuma Bantu of Tanganyika Colony loved best the flat transparent blue and red varieties.¹⁰⁴ Beads of a blue or a white colour, resembling portions cut from the stem of a clay-pipe, passed as currency at Ujiji and thereabouts on the eastern side of Tanganyika Lake up to the year 1890.¹⁰⁵ Similarly shaped beads, called *iNtlalu*, were in vogue in former times also among the Tongas of Delagoa Bay; but there they were green, the cinderella among the colours.¹⁰⁶ Red was the preference of the Masarwa Bush-Bantu people;¹⁰⁷ while with the Carayu Galas the red and white beads were most fashionable.¹⁰⁸ Some tribes remained obstinately old-fashioned in

their tastes. Thus, the Madi on the Nile, even in the middle of last century, preferred beads like small shirt buttons, made of native ostrich shell, rather than any of the imported kinds;¹⁰⁹ while the Sudanese Dyur preferred beads of iron.¹¹⁰

So we see that Landor¹¹¹ was right when he wrote: "There are fashionable colours among the African tribes as there are in Europe, and fashions change continually". Colenso,¹¹² speaking of the Zulus about 1855, said, "the choicest kind are the *umGazi* (blood), a small deep-red bead; the next are the *ĩTámbo* (bone), a small white bead; then the *ama Qanda* (eggs), a round blue bead, rather large. A beautiful new sort has just come out, likely to have a large run; but Panda will not allow any of the people to buy any, until he has seen and approved of the pattern; so the traders have taken them up to his sable majesty". However, "there is one large bead [probably the *iMfibinga*, see below], like a pigeon's egg, which no one but himself and his great captains are allowed to buy". Thirty years later, in 1880, Ludlow¹¹³ noted that in Zululand "in one district black and white beads were much sought after. Girls crowded into our hut for them, and many of them came from long distances to get the precious beads. At another kraal, green and pink [these colours, by-the-by, were those beloved also by the Makololo on the Zambezi¹¹⁴] were in great favour, and they would not look at black and white ones . . . Those which seemed most to take their fancy were some very large red beads [*iMfibinga*] worn round the neck, and for these they would have bartered almost anything, and for the reason that . . . only Cetshwayo's wives and daughters were allowed to wear them". These opaque, light-red *iMfibinga* beads, sacred to royalty, became so revered among the Zulu people, that they swore by them as a form of oath—" *Ngi-yi-Hulule iMfibinga kaMpande!* " (I-would-slip-off-from-their-string the-*iMfibinga*-beads of-Mpande—if I be not speaking the truth!). During the final decade of last century, our own experience in Zululand was that the small black (*isiTimane*), the small white (*ĩTámbo*), the small blood-red (*umGazi*), the small light-blue (*uZulu-cwatile*) and the small transparent crimson (*umLilwana*) beads were the universal favourites; above all, the first two colours; which, being neither flashy nor gaudy, seemed to us to denote quite a refinement of taste. The pink (*isiPófu*), the yellow (*iNcombo*), the

green (*ūHlaza*), the clear transparent glass (*iNtlaka*) and other beads, though obtainable, were in small demand.¹¹⁵

With different coloured beads strung on a string in a special order, the Zulu girls used to make what they called an *iNcwadi* (a letter or book). Telling the beads one by one, they would 'read' the 'letter', saying, "My heart today is white (happy); my heart is black (depressed), and so forth". The same idea seems to have occurred also to the Indians of South America, who used a 'readable' cord, with smaller pieces (*quipu*) dangling from it. These latter "are often of various colours, each with its own proper meaning; red for soldiers, yellow for gold, white for silver, green for corn, etc." (Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 155). But most of all, the Zulu girls made with their beads a multitude of ornaments, wherewith to bedeck their own and their sweethearts' bodies. There were circlets for the head, necklaces, shoulder-ropes, belts, wristlets, anklets and pendants of various sorts, all differently designed by the maker herself, in multi-coloured stripes, crosses, squares, circles, chevrons and divers other geometrical patterns, as well as being worked by different methods of stringing; each of which articles, patterns, and modes of working possessed its own distinguishing name.

Brass and copper provided body-ornaments of several kinds much more precious than beads. These metals (i.e. copper and brass) were regarded by the Zulus as simply two differently coloured varieties of the same metal, viz. white *īTúsi* (brass) and red *īTúsi* (copper; this last was also sometimes called *uSokele*). These two metals were, so to say, the 'gold' (which metal they did not know) of the Zulu people, indeed we may say, of the whole Bantu race. Copper and brass were introduced into Bantuland, by way both of the eastern and the western coast, by the early Portuguese, after their discovery of southern and eastern Africa at the end of the 15th century. Prior to that, Masudi,¹¹⁶ describing the East African Bantu at the end of the 10th century, distinctly states that their metal was iron, which they used alike for implements and ornaments. Subsequently to the founding of the settlement of Delagoa Bay in 1544,¹¹⁷ Tonga hawkers (*abaHwebi*) regularly visited Zululand and adjacent territories—though we hardly think earlier than the times of Ndaba and Jama (1740-1780)—trading in heavy brass and copper rings (*umDaka*) of various sizes (but usually about 4 inches inside diameter and about an inch in thickness) and selling

them mainly to the chiefs and aristocracy. Such rings (coming probably from the Portuguese of West Africa) became in the Congo region¹¹⁸ (where they were called *nTaku*, pl. *miTaku*—comp. Zulu *umDaka*), employed as regular currency. No doubt, iron rings had been used for the same purpose prior to the arrival of brass. Referring to the 'Monbuttoo' of Equatorial Africa, Schweinfurth¹¹⁹ writes: "As a general rule, no special form is given to the iron used as a medium of exchange, unless the great semi-circular bars in the royal treasury be considered as currency, and which remind one of the rough copper rings that are brought from the mines of Darfoor." "Iron rings of the heaviest caliber are current in Wandala, south of Bornoo."

No doubt commercial convenience first suggested the idea of moulding the metals into rings, which were so much more easily and safely carried about in that shape. Then later, the metal ring-shape itself suggested the introduction of metal arm and neck bangles. The Egyptian Pharaohs started the fashion by conferring on their favourites heavy collars of gold exactly resembling the collars of brass (*ūBédu*) similarly distributed by the Zulu kings at the beginning of last century.¹²⁰ About the Mubangi river (northern tributary of the Congo), massive iron and copper collars, called *moLua*,¹²¹ are worn by the local ladies. Lighter rings, of brass, half an inch in thickness, are worn, several together, by both sexes about the Kwango-Kasai junction.¹²² The Boloki dames, on the contrary, favour solid brass collars like the old Zulu *ūBédu*, but double the thickness, a single one sometimes being 28 lbs. in weight.¹²³ At length, with the opening of Delagoa Bay, the metal trade rings reached Zululand and Natal, where they became known, as said, as *umDaka* (see above). Later on, English and other slave-hunters found them more prized in those parts than a human being. So it came about in April, 1719, that Robert Drury landed in Natal (Durban) with a cargo of such "large brass rings, or collars" and received in exchange therefor "seventy-four boys and girls",¹²⁴ who were taken off to colonize America. And while the Whitemen bought slaves with the rings, the Natives themselves, following suit, bought wives, one fine ring being held equivalent to one fine girl. And thus were wives bought right up to Shaka's time (the beginning of last century).

Out of these rough brass and copper rings, the local smiths manufactured various body-ornaments, but chiefly neck and

arm rings. The metal was melted and poured into circular hollows, of appropriate sizes, cut into a flat stone. The rough rings were subsequently shaped and polished by rubbing with rough stones ; then, rendered pliable once more by re-heating, the finished neck-ornament (now known as an *ūBédu*) was pulled open and the person's neck passed inside, whereafter the arms of the ring were pressed together again and so allowed to remain. Removal was effected by tying a hide thong to each side of the ring and then having the thong pulled by a couple of local stalwarts.¹²⁵ These *ūBédu* brass and copper neck-rings were finally distributed by the Zulu chiefs and wealthy aristocrats¹²⁶ to their favourite gentleman and lady friends. Some of the favoured individuals received more than one, perhaps three or four, and courtesy compelled them to wear them all ; with the disagreeable consequence that, becoming intolerably heated by the tropical sun, a special boy had to be kept in attendance to cool them with water. Such were the 'stiff collars' of ancient Zululand. The Mantatee (*baTlokwa*) Sutus, says Moffat,¹²⁷ had "large copper rings, sometimes eight in number, worn round their necks" ; and so eager was Sikonyela, the Tlokwa chief, to become possessed of more, that, when Motsholi, a Hlubi refugee from Zululand, reached him wearing one, he promptly chopped off his head to get possession of it.¹²⁸ The Zulu men, on the contrary, soon found them so infernally hot, that they relegated them solely to the gentler sex, who (like their European sisters of today) seemed prepared to endure gladly any kind of torment, if only their charming appearance could be thereby enhanced.

At last, in 1824, English pioneers landed in Durban (Natal) ; and having come there solely for their own 'uplift', they were not long in interesting themselves in the neck and arm ring trade. So they introduced a much lighter, if more flimsy, type of hollow brass bangle, which, costing the importer only one quarter of the price of the older and heavier solid article, was no doubt disposed of at the same old price. This new and more comfortable style of neck-ornament became known as the *umNaka*, which name, we very much suspect, was simply a Zuluization of our own word, 'neck'. "Twenty large neck bangles" presented to Shaka, is an entry in Isaacs' day-book ;¹²⁹ then later he adds, after Shaka had already distributed them among his harem sweethearts, these latter "had

each of them four brass bangles round their necks, which kept them in an erect posture, and rendered them as immovable as the neck of a statue".¹³⁰ This neck-ring fashion gradually died out in Mpande's time.

But the less troublesome forms of ring-ornament continued to flourish. For out of the rough brass trade-rings were fabricated also plain arm-rings (*ĩSongo*) and decorated gauntlets (*iNgxotá*). The former were worn, in any number, usually on the upper arm, but also round the wrist. The gauntlets, however, were always presents from the Zulu king, and were worn on the right lower arm, which it encircled for some 5 or 6 inches, and had its outside filed into a number of deep serrated circles. The Galas wore an almost identical ornament, but without the serrations.¹³¹

Up from the Hottentots of the Cape¹³² came, in later times, the magic *umNembe* shell, a mottled black-and-white, cowry-like, sea-shell found on the shore south of the Mzimkulu river, highly prized and highly priced, which, when strung on a string, were worn as a wristlet, and gave the wearer the power of securing a 'bull' every time he hurled his assegai.

Other bracelets (*isiGqizo*), as well as anklets, were made of wire and beads, and were worn both by females and young men.

Nowhere is the modern 'degeneration' of the Zulu people more manifest than in their present complete neglect of their hair. In former days, and right up to the last decade of last century, the Native men, both in Zululand and Natal, were most fastidious about their hair, and they had several quaint, but becoming, modes of hair-dressing, now every one of them fallen into obsolescence, and to the present generation utterly unknown.

We have already spoken of the head-ring (*isiCoco*) of the elder men. This was always, except with the very aged who no longer entered 'society', kept brightly polished by rubbing with rough-surfaced leaves, and the hair round them inside and outside kept cleanly shaven. When the hair had grown an inch or more in height (the ring rising with it), the hair below the ring was regularly dressed by a process of picking-out or picking-up the hairs with a thorn or other pointed instrument, so as to give them a neat and even appearance (*ukuCwala*).

Sometimes the hair below the ring was more daintily arranged into small vertical 'combs or furrows', called *ĩKlezelo*. Among the un-ringed, younger men (*iNtsizwa*), several fashions of coiffure were in vogue. No youth with any self-respect ever dared to appear at any public assembly or before his sweetheart, unless his hair had been previously somehow dressed. The most artistic of these young men's styles was that known as *ama-Ngéngé*.¹³³ Here the hair, already long, was picked up (as before) and carefully arranged in several 'combs' (like those of a cock), standing about three inches in height, with corresponding deep furrows in between, the furrows crossing the head either from front to back or from side to side. In the *isiHlutú* style, the hair was again 'picked up' into one neat and even frizz,¹³⁴ rising two or three inches all over the head, and suiting certain faces admirably. Sometimes this *isiHlutú* was combed or brushed up in front, so as to present a straight, erect face, called an *umPéndlemana*. Short hair also was sometimes 'picked up' with a thorn, so as to stand puffed out in an even frizzy fashion, termed *ukuQíkiza*, and giving a dressy appearance. Hair left to grow in short pointed twists or tufts was called *iziMpukane*. The *umYeko* (unknown among the Zulu-land tribes, save to the 'witchdoctor' profession) was formerly practically universal among the Embos and Lalas of Natal. It was called by the Zulus an *isiYendane* (after the drooping ear of a certain kind of Kaffir-corn); which name was also applied to those Natal people themselves, the 'drooping-haired people'. It consisted of a number of long twisted strings, generally blackened, though sometimes reddened, hanging down on all sides from the top of the head, so as to resemble an inverted mop. This mode of hair-dress must have been very ancient, because it is found throughout the whole of Negroland.¹³⁵

Corresponding with the head-ring of the men was the top-knot of the Zulu wives, both already described; and it is interesting here to note how, among the Hereros,¹³⁶ the heads of some small girls are shaven "all round, except a small tuft at the top, called an *oNdomba*" (like the top-knot of a Zulu woman); while the heads of other girls are "shaven on the top, leaving a circle of hair round the head" (like the ring of the Zulu men). In earlier times, unmarried Zulu girls were normally shorn; but by the middle of last century they were already daring to grow their hair and to dress it in various ways.

The *isiHlutú*, as well as the *uku Qikiza*, of the young men (both described above) were favoured also by many girls. In preparation for the *isiHlutú*, the girls would wear their hair, for some time before, twisted together with grass in rigid spike-like tufts, two or three inches long, in order to straighten it out. But, as a girl's hair-dress, the *uMagqibane* was more common; in which the hair, after being clipped short, was patted or gently rubbed round, so as to form it into an even surface of tiny ringlets or coils all over the head.¹³⁷

Depilation of the genital parts by a process of plucking out the hair (*uku Qitá*) was universal among the Zulus of both sexes for the sake of cleanliness and comfort. Sometimes the parts were shaven, or the ash of the *isiFúce* tree (*Rhus longifolia*) was used as a depilatory. Depilation was a common practice in Africa from the most ancient times. Even the Ancient Egyptians had the custom, not only, as Herodotus says, shaving clean the whole head and face, but also removing "the hair from the whole body". The Zulus, however, confined their attention strictly to the genitals, and did not, like the Nika Bantu of Kenya and the Bongos of the Sudan, pull out their eyelashes and eyebrows, nor, like the Masai, carry about tweezers with them for plucking away pertinacious hairs from the chin, nostrils, cheeks and elsewhere.¹³⁸

As will have been noticed already, shaving entered largely into the Zulu methods of body-care. The whole head of small boys and girls used to be kept constantly shaven (probably against vermin), as well as parts of the heads of their parents, as already described. Such shaving entered especially into their mourning rites. For the shaving process, in olden times, a sharpened piece of iron, resembling a large knife-blade, and called an *iNtsingo*, was employed. When this was not available, they followed the method of the Bushmen, who, when lacking another cutting instrument, looked about for a flint-like stone and knocked off therefrom a suitable flake.¹³⁸ Such small flakes the Zulus called an *iNtsengetsha*, perhaps after the eNtsengeni hill near Hlobane (or *vice versa*), where they were in the habit of procuring them. With civilization (about the middle of last century) came glass bottles, and fragments of these were soon found to possess a beautifully sharp edge, besides being dirt-cheap; so that they soon came into common use.¹³⁹

Now, while the Zulus carefully rid themselves of their hair because it proved an inconvenience, they of the higher classes, males as well as females, cheerfully endured the discomfort of wearing finger-nails of quite respectable mandarin length, sometimes an inch or more long. And not only that ; but when, by some regretful mishap, the nail chanced to get broken, they carefully collected the fragment, enclosed it within a lump of moist cow-dung and buried it within the cattle-fold, in order thereby to ensure a speedier re-growth of the damaged limb. These claws, if on both hands, were a sure sign of high birth and standing ; but ladies merely of the upper middle class, who occasionally had to do some work, aped the aristocracy by wearing the decoration on one only, the left, hand. Anyway, all alike endeavoured to keep their mandarin nails scrupulously clean (more or less). This, again, appears to have been an old Bantu custom ; for Roscoe¹³⁹¹ tells us that the Ganda royalties also habitually wore such talons ; while ordinary women were permitted the extravagance only when mourning.^{139b}

Such talons were the prescriptive right only of the elders. But the young girls too had their own vain foible. The Zulus, unlike some of the Natal Nguni tribes, knew nothing of tribal-marks or facial incisions ; but cicatrization was much practised by unmarried females in earlier times. One method was to decorate their arms with what they called *iziMpimpilizi*. For this purpose they dropped a pinch of wood-ash or dry cow-dung on the arm, then cauterized the skin beneath by applying there-to a glowing firebrand. The result was a pretty little scar, several of which were worn along each arm. We said before, that the Zulu young-men were collected together into ' age-groups ' or (later) regiments, and that each regiment had its own distinguishing mark, in head-dress or body-decoration. Now, the girls too had their ' age-groups ', and their own particular manner of distinguishing them. This was accomplished by a form of cicatrization called *uku Qakaqa*. Here, by picking up the flesh with a sharp thorn and then slitting it with a sharp knife, it came about, upon healing, that a small raised lump, the size of a pea, was formed on the spot. These lumps were arranged in various patterns by the operating ' artist ' and made in different parts of the body (chest, abdomen, shoulders and sides, and even on the calves), and effectively served to differentiate the one age-group from another. Towards the

end of Mpande's reign, the custom of age-groups, and largely of cicatrization too, gradually died out.

Remembering what we have already said on Zulu origins (Chap. 1), we are not surprised to find that the waNika Bantu of Kenya Colony decorate themselves just as do the Zulus, on abdomen, shoulders and arms, and that they do it in the same way, "picking up the skin with the fingers and snicking little pieces of flesh almost off with a knife".^{139c} This particular type of the cicatrizing art seems to have reached its 'greatest' development among the Bololo Congolese, where "lumps of flesh as large as pigeon's eggs" adorn each temple, chin and above the nose.^{139d} Between these two extremes, one finds every degree of cicatrization prevalent throughout Negroland.

Indeed, this cicatrization was the aboriginal African equivalent to the tattooing of Polynesia. But in comparatively recent times, tattooing, as well as body-painting, has been further spread about Africa by Arabs, Indians and Europeans, and is now sporadically met with in several parts of the continent. As Bantu still of the purest and most primitive type, the Zulus know nothing of these new-fangled notions. The expressions, 'tattoo' and 'cicatrice', however, are frequently confused by African travellers in their writings; as was the case with Thompson^{139e} when he wrote of the Zulus' brothers, the Xosas of the Cape, that they 'tattooed', especially on the shoulders. As an oriental importation, on the other hand, we are not surprised to hear that about Delagoa Bay "some [Tshopi] women tattoo their faces all over with small pricks, in which the juice of the cashew nut is rubbed; and occasionally one sees a Chobi woman with stomach, chest and back tattooed into the most elaborate patterns".^{139f} At the other end of the field, in Senegambia, among the Mandingoes, "women were fond of tattooing their arms and breasts with a hot needle, making figures which seemed like the flowers wrought in silk on handkerchiefs, and never wear off".^{139g} In between these two points, both tattooing and body-painting appear in many directions; but nowhere does the painting art appear to such perfection as among the Mangbetu women of Equatorial Africa, where one beholds the female form divine still further beautified in "an almost inexhaustible variety of patterns. Stars and Maltese crosses, bees and flowers, are all enlisted as designs; at one time the entire body is covered with stripes like a zebra,

and at another with irregular spots and dots like a tiger [? leopard] ; I have seen these women streaked with veins like marble, and even covered with squares like a chess-board." So Schweinfurth.^{139h 139i}

Everybody has seen the illustrations in African travel-books of that hideous mouth-piece worn by many Bantu ladies in their upper lip, commonly known as the *Pelele*.^{139j} Well, the Zulus, we are glad to state, had not yet reached that advanced stage of civilization. We say 'civilization' because we think the idea may have been first learned from some northern, or oriental, 'foreigners'. So long ago as Strabo,¹⁴⁰ the Ethiopian women (on the east bank of the Nile) were already wearing "in the upper lip a copper ring" (which may really have been a 'stud')—indeed, we are told by Gessi that "a small button" is even still worn by the Jur Nilotics, but now in the lower lip. In later times, another form of civilization entered Bantuland through the Portuguese on the west coast ; so that we are not surprised to hear that "not unfrequently [in Bengwela] one may see the cartilage of the nose of both sexes ornamented with a piece of stick, run through it",¹⁴¹ in correct Papuan fashion. On the east coast, the Yawo Bantu, in place of the stick, had substituted "a small stud in the nose",¹⁴² like the Indian ladies ; but which stud the Eskimos of the Arctic regions, we understand, wore in their cheek.¹⁴³ The Kuwa Bantu, of east Africa, had already lowered the nose stud (of the neighbouring Yawos) down to their upper lip,¹⁴⁴ and by the time the stud had reached the Kondes (more inland), it had already grown to be some two inches in diameter, and gave the ladies there the appearance of human spoonbills.¹⁴⁵

When Shaka went forth with an army to meet the Ndwandwe host, and his poor feet had become sore with trudging over the rough, stony veld, he noticed that the Hottentots accompanying pioneer Fynn (who was with him) had taken the precaution to provide their feet with a second sole (in the shape of a patch of hide), which seemed insensitive to pain ;¹⁴⁶ for, you must know, these Hottentots had such a habit, of wearing "a kind of bullocks' hides upon the feet, which, in case of necessity, are boil'd or broil'd and serve them as food".¹⁴⁷ Well, it occurred to Shaka that this was an uncommonly cute idea, and forthwith commanded that his own feet be similarly

armour-plated. And these were the first, and the last, of sandals ever known in older Zululand. May-be the Hottentots had learned the trick from the early Boers ; just as the Nilotic Suks, Masais and Turkanas have since apparently learned it from the Arabs or the Whites.¹⁴⁸

But though he had nothing on his feet, the Zulu youth, whenever he walked abroad, be it a-courting, to dances, or merely on friendly calls, always had something useful in his hand ; for at any moment he might be attacked by snake, by dog, or by aggressive man. What he therefore always carried was a couple of stout cudgels (*umZaca*), roughly cut from some exceptionally hard-wooded tree, each stick being about 3 feet long by an inch in thickness. These were always in pairs (unless a protective shield was being carried ; in which case one would suffice), so that one could be used for striking (always at the opponent's head), the other for parrying : at both of which exercises the Zulu men were extremely expert. A similar, but shorter stick (*isiKwili*), was used, along with the smaller shield (*ĩHawu*), when dancing. Occasionally, the *umZaca* cudgels were pointed at one end (*iMpiselo*) ; others were pared to a chisel-shape (*iNtlabela*), both being used for stabbing. A finely polished, but much more wicked, type of stick, called by us a ' knobkerry ', by him an *ĩWisa* (or feller), about two feet long with a heavy spherical knob at the end, was sometimes carried in place of an *umZaca*, as a weapon of offence. The knobs were of different shapes and sizes, one sort being as large as two fists together (*iNtsulungu*). Some were further fortified with brass nails or studs inserted all over the knob. A particularly heavy-headed, but shorter-handled, kind (*isiMonqo*) was employed for throwing at an enemy out of reach. For ordinary bird-hunting, a rough knobbed stick (*isaGila*), as cut from the tree, was used.

The only dress of small boys and girls was an armlet (*umBijazane*) made of the twisted stalks of *isiKónko* grass ; though some boys, in imitation of their elders, donned a tiny prepuce-cover consisting of a dried caterpillar cocoon (*umFece*). For the rest, all the young fry went entirely naked, until they reached puberty or had their first menstruation, in both cases termed *ukuTómba* (to have the first sexual discharge).¹⁴⁹

Having now completed the story of the day-wear of the Zulus, we may add that, at night time, prior to the introduction of cotton and woollen blankets by the Whiteman, every Zulu had his or her cloak or kaross (*isiPúku*).¹⁵⁰ This was made, either of a supple cow-hide, dressed in the same way as a woman's kilt, with the fur removed; or of a number of goat-skins sewn together, with the hair remaining and worn outside. The goat-skin variety (*ũSu*), worn by women, often had a broad stripe of hair scraped away down the centre of the back. Such a cloak made of sheep-skins was termed an *isiQáma*.

Thus warmly wrapped up in their respective *iziPúku*; we leave Jomela and his family to be wafted away into the arms of Morpheus.

1. *E.D.*, 153, 155.
2. *O.M.R.*, 15.
3. See also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138 note; Migeod, *E.M.*, 49, 50, 76; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 291; Haberlandt, *E.*, 33; Hoernes, *P.M.*, 12; Tylor, *A.*, 236.
4. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 199.
5. Maugham, *P.E.A.*, 286.
6. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 159, 182.
7. Lagden, *B.*
8. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 537.
9. Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 254.
10. Purvis, *M.E.*, 187.
11. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 93.
12. Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 201.
13. Paterson, *F.J.*, 93.
14. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 60.
15. Illust. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 42, p. 198.
16. Reeve, *G.*, 51.
17. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 89.
18. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 386.
19. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 113.
20. *ib.* 161.
21. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 22, p. 123.
- 21a. New, *L.E.A.*, 331; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 255; Bird, *A.N.*, 58; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 99; Petric, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 94; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 42, 340; vol. 2, 313.
- 21b. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 596; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 193; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 30; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 186; Harrison, *L.P.*, 12, 17, 7; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 99; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 113; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 313.
22. Samuels, *J.A.S.B.*, XXV, 295.
23. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 257.

24. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 77.
25. ib. ib. 136.
26. Ward, *V.C.*, 257.
27. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 190.
28. Willoughby, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 39, p. 233.
29. *Z.C.*, 193.
30. *V.A.*
31. *R.C.M.*, 310.
32. Mohr, *V.F.*, 137.
33. Willoughby, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 39, p. 233.
34. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 41.
35. Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 317.
36. ib. *E.S.A.*, 99.
37. *G.*, 409; also Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 134.
38. *F.J.*, 93.
39. Kay, *T.C.*, 42, 112, 269.
40. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 49; Ward, *V.C.*, 257; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, vol. 2, ch. X; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 16; Hore, *T.*, 86; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 93; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 131; Tylor, *A.*, 244, 246.
41. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 115.
42. Johnston, *G.G.C.*
43. *T.D.C.*, ed. 1878, ch. XVII.
44. See Bryant, *O.T.*, 11.
45. Coillard, *T.C.A.*, 536 fn.
46. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 78.
47. Munro, *P.B.*, 143.
48. Fleming, *S.A.*, 202, 206; Kay, *T.C.*, 116.
49. Quoted by Dampier, *V.A.*, vol. 2, 388.
50. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 78.
51. Append. to Thomson, *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 415.
52. See Harris, *W.S.*
53. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 168.
54. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 119.
55. See also Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 34; Livingstone, *T.*, 364; Johnston, *C.*, 279.
56. Stow, *N.R.*, 46, 111.
57. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 210, 264.
58. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 206.
- 58a. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 109; Shooter, *K.N.*, 357; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 78.
59. See Reeve, *G.*, 191; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 105; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 112.
60. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 161.
61. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 50, 51; vol. 1, 32, 50.
62. Stanley, *T.D.C.*, vol. 2, chap. X.
63. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 94.
64. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 23, 150.
65. Johnston, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 43, p. 389; also *G.G.C.*, 137, 367, 558, 655; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 39, 60, 170, 187, 190, 193; vol. 1, 348, 356; Livingstone, *T.*, 362; Peters, *N.L.*, 227; Cotton, *U.A.*, 78, 80, 216, 312, 319, 467; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 418; Angelo, *V.C.*, 621-2; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 161; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 42; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 30;

- Oswald, 53 ; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 475 ; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 289, 291, 307 ;
Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 289, 293, 313 ; Roscoe, *B.*, 443 ; Gomme,
E.F., 178-9½.
66. Thompson, *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 359.
 67. Steedman, *W.A.*, 260.
 68. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 314 ; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 474.
 69. Dampier, *V.A.* ; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 23.
 70. Strabo, XVII, ch. 2, 3.
 71. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18.
 72. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 106, 128.
 73. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 51, 140.
 74. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 27.
 75. New, *L.E.A.*, 358, 456.
 76. *V.C.*, 696.
 77. Livingstone, *T.*, 127.
 78. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 193.
 79. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 100 ; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 474 ; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 403.
 80. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 51-2 ; vol. 1, 33.
 81. See Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 34 ; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 91 ; Johnston,
G.G.C., 579, 581 ; Stow, *N.R.*, 45, 139 ; Cotton, *U.A.*, 403.
 82. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 314.
 83. See illust. Engel, *M.A.N.*, 196, 249.
 84. See illust. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 172.
 85. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 104, 106, 128.
 86. Roscoe, *G.*
 87. Hopley, *K.*
 88. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 186, illust.
 89. *ib.* 277.
 90. Weeks, *C.C.*, 118.
 91. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 312.
 92. Steedman, *W.A.*, 260.
 93. Sollas, *A.H.*, 221.
 94. Wallace, *T.A.*, 204, 343 ; also Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 286 ; Schweinfurth,
H.A., vol. 2, 50 ; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 419 ; Casati, *T.Y.E.*, vol. 1, 212 ;
Junker, *T.A.*, 26 ; Harrison, *L.P.*, 12, 17 ; Shelford, *N.B.*, 288.
 95. Johnston, *U.P.*, vol. 1, 210.
 96. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 29, p. 134, 137.
 97. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 790.
 98. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 239.
 99. Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 137.
 100. Dugmore, *C.A.*, 122-3.
 101. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 166.
 102. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 102-3.
 103. Kay, *T.C.*, 114.
 104. Declé, *S.A.*, 376.
 105. *ib.* 314.
 106. Stuart, *B.*, 51.
 107. Declé, *S.A.*, 52.
 108. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 50.

109. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 459.
110. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 79; see also Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 142; Baldwin, *A.H.*, 68; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 7.
111. *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 166.
112. *T.W.N.*, 30.
113. *Z.C.*, 78.
114. Livingstone, *T.*, 127.
115. See also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138-9; New, *L.E.A.*, 332; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 50, 66, 209, 245, 261, 330, 345, 347, 388; Hinde, *T.C.S.*, 428; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 24, 51, 78, 139, 239; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 59, 328; Elliot, *P.M.*, 267, 357; Johnson, *P.A.*, 48, 49, 50.
116. See Bryant, *B.O.*
117. Bryant, *O.T.*, 294.
118. Johnston, *G.C.C.*, 794-5.
119. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 54 fn., 224.
120. Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 115-6.
121. Ward, *V.C.*, 257; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 129, 111, 151.
122. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 151, 588, 587, 590, 591.
123. Weeks, *C.C.*, 102, illust.
124. Kay, *T.C.*, 396.
125. Martin, *B.*, 31.
126. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 94.
127. *M.L.*, 95.
128. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 48.
129. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 85.
130. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 122; also Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 27, 39, 94.
131. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 190.
132. Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 1, 190.
133. See illust. Bryant, *O.T.*, 370; also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 579.
134. See illust. Bryant, *O.T.*, 122.
135. See illust. Bryant, *O.T.*, 147; also Baines, *E.*, 45, 125; Bird, *A.N.*, 42; Livingstone, *T.*, 242-3; Monteiro, *D.B.*, 78; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 59, 595; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 166; New, *L.E.A.*, 126, 331, 357, 413; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 97, 194; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 39, 169; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 58.
136. Viehe, *F.L.J.*
137. See Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 286; Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 2, 362; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 275-6; Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. 1, 83; *Man*, VI, 101; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 275, 304, 286; Hillier, *N.R.A.*, 32, 34; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 275; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 303; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 359, 370; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 128, 226; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 23, 24, 25; Darwin, *D.M.*, 32, 603, 160, 559, 57, 575, 600; Sollas, *A.H.*, 100; Tylor, *A.*, 71; Frazer, *T.P.S.*, 268, 275-8; Laing, *H.O.*, 133.
138. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 367; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 141, 156; New, *L.E.A.*, 126; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 78; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 44; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 25; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 309; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 17; Wallace, *T.A.*, 336; Herodotus, 1, 131.
- 138a. Stow, *N.R.*, 66.

139. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 222; Kay, *T.C.*, 201; Roscoe, *B.*, 443; New, *L.E.A.*, 126; Kassner, *R.E.*, 50, 157; *Man*, XXI, 90; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 248; Tylor, *A.*, 238; Herodotus, II, 269, 271, 284; Galton, *T.S.A.*, 109; Chaillu, *K.M.*, 67; Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 1; Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 146; Stow, *N.R.*, 66.
- 139a. *B.*, 144; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 112.
- 139b. See also Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 51; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 303; Tylor, *A.*, 140.
- 139c. New, *L.E.A.*, 127.
- 139d. Ward, *V.C.*, 255.
- 139e. *T.*, 359.
- 139f. Monteiro, *D.B.*, 82.
- 139g. Reeve, *G.*, 183, 191.
- 139h. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 51-2.
- 139i. See also Livingstone, *T.*, 185; Cotton, *U.A.*, 239; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 194; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 30, 34, 54, 55, 63; Kassner, *R.E.*, 147, 159, 163, 189; Haberlandt, *E.*, III; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 372; Roscoe, *B.*, 442; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 76; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, III; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 112; Sollas, *A.H.*, 222; Maugham, *Z.*, 300; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 182, 197; Frazer, *T.*, 28; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 118, 127, 138, 139, 143, 562, 563; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 139, 276; Casalis, *B.*, 151; Decle, *S.A.*, 81, 298; Weule, *E.A.*, 56-7.
- 139j. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 126; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 323, 351, 353; Ward, *V.C.*, 143; Rankin, *Z.B.*, 236; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 50, 192; vol. 2, 53, 155, 242; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 168, 188; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 416; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 596; Keith, *A.M.*(1), 255; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 110, 111, 280; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 170; Tylor, *A.*, 242; Kassner, *R.E.*, 250; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 285, 307; Maugham, *Z.*, 300; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 71; Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 278, 296; Darwin, *D.M.*, 575-6.
140. XVII, ch. 2, 63.
141. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 198.
142. Weule, *E.A.*, 33.
143. Lubbock, *O.C.*, 42.
144. Weule, *E.A.*, 47.
145. *ib.* 56, 220.
146. Bryant, *O.T.*, 590.
147. Rhyne, see *Awnsham's Voyages*, IV, 768.
148. Cotton, *U.A.*, 79, 171, 366.
149. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 289, 293-313.
150. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 472.

Chapter 6

Daily Life in Arcady

Free and cheerful as a lark, the Zulu smiled and sang his way leisurely through a lifetime of peace, content and romance in a land of perpetual sunshine. That gloomy old yarn, so often trotted out, about the pitiable conditions under despotic chiefs and the perpetual nightmare of superstitious dread in which the Zulu lived, is mostly bosh and bogey, conjured up by Europeans whose 'knowledge' of Native life is the product solely of their own imaginations. Hardships and injustices insooth there were (from our point of view) ; but to them they were the normal and natural state of affairs, to which they were accustomed from birth. Other conditions simply did not exist, as unknown. In older Zululand, law-abiding tribesmen, who knew how to live on friendly terms with their chief and their neighbours, had no more to fear than we have from the police or from the terrors of our own 'religious' beliefs. The political upheaval, with its manifold suffering and unrighteousness, due to the licentious aggression of Shaka, was entirely exceptional and abnormal to previous Nguni history.

The hardy Zulu constitution was little sensitive to pain, and subject to few diseases. Do as you like, work when you will, but don't infringe on others' rights, was his country's rule of life and law. No living to earn, no fortune to make, no dignities to aspire to ; no ambitions, no disappointments, no worries. He knew nor money, nor shops, nor taxes, nor police ; but helped himself freely from bountiful Nature's cornucopia ; from the woods, the arable land, the edible game. Few were

his needs, and such as they were, he himself supplied—a self-built house, home-grown food, home-made raiment. Practically law-free was his land, and free from lawlessness; for everybody there was trained to discipline and self-restraint. No child ever went to school; for every home was such. Court-houses, gaols and churches were alike unknown; and yet every family-head was both priest and policeman within his own domain. Open house was kept for all who cared to come in every home; for home was bound to home by a common bond of tribal relationship and mutual help. Free meat, free beer, free love; no demands for payment, no moral responsibilities, save to one's own and one's neighbour's sense of honour, decency and right. And no fearsome penalties threatening in another world. Blest with such unhampered freedom and unruffled peace, the Zulu gloried in the fullness of the *joie de vivre*, in a lovely climate and a beautiful land. Was not this Utopia in actual being? Was it not Arcady re-found? Certainly it was Zululand in olden times, before that blight came down upon it, which was Shaka, the Hitler of his world and time; when each clan was still a large and happy family, enjoying full liberty within its own estate, and its joys unenvied, benevolently ruled by its own hereditary chieftain, personification of all the clan's great ancestors.

Into those halcyon days, the Zulu's Golden Age, Jomela was born. And knew not how blest he was and happy; till the White man came, and told him he was a savage and a slave!

The daily life of the Zulu Bantu was simplicity reduced to its lowest terms; but it was the reverse of savage. As we mentally pass a day with them, we shall be surprised to find how civilized these so-called 'savages' really were; how like our own were their social rules and simple culture, despite the fact that right up from Adam they had been self-evolved, never touched by Aryan or Semitic influence. We shall consider their life as it used to be under the older Native conditions, 'before the Whiteman came' to disturb and drive their race into an unstable and disorderly transitional stage—at present one mainly of degeneration—hardly of any ethnologic worth, with the ancient idols wrecked and nothing yet replacing them.

Were the adage true, this poor and benighted Zulu ought to be the wisest and wealthiest of men ; for few could better him in the practice of early rising and early retiring. The blackness of night had hardly dissolved into the greyness of dawn, than tiny clouds of blue-white smoke rose from every hut on veld and hill, announcing to all that the busy housewife was already up and doing. There, wrapped in her kaross, just risen from her mat near by, she kneels beside the central fireplace kindling the family fire. Her matches are not in a box, but on the hearth ; for, before she went to rest last night, she had not forgotten to leave a blazing log, and, when she woke, she found a tiny ember always there still glowing. Therefrom, with a little tinder and much blowing, she at last produced a flame, and so, with the store of firewood in the hut, soon made up the fire anew.

Presently Jomela himself turned on his mat and yawned ; then, sitting up, he himself drew near and squatted on the opposite side of the hearth with kaross around him. So the couple sat for some time, gazing drowsily at the fire, with palms outstretched to catch its warmth and heads drawn back to escape its smoke, in perfect silence ; for neither yet (as they expressed it) had sufficiently ' thawed ' (*ukuNcibilika*) to speak.

The same procedure was repeated about the same time in all the other huts. Ere long, little nude figures of boy or girl, sent by their mothers on some errand, would flit across the open courtyard from hut to hut. Presently, more stately figures emerged, the men of the home, who, with both hands clasping their karosses toga-wise tight around them, stood there a while, gazing out on the world and weather with all the dignity of Roman senators. A moment or two, and they also crept back indoors, not into their own private huts (*amaLawu*, where fire was seldom made, owing to the disagreeable effect of smoke on their finery), but each into that of his mother. There they squatted, along with the smaller boys, on the right-hand side of the hearth, with their mother and sisters on the opposite side, and the fire blazing between them. Gradually the silence was broken, and they all commenced to talk in undertones, which, in half an hour, had developed into a general hum and awakening activity throughout the kraal.

At length, in the principal hut, Mrs. Jomela, now thoroughly awake, arose from her knees, and, while still holding her kaross hanging from her shoulders, put on her leathern kilt. Then, rolling up her sleeping-mat of woven rushes, she placed it within the string-rack suspended from the hut-side, and hung her folded kaross over a grass-rope also tied there for the purpose.

Her lord and master, as became his greater dignity, remained seated where he was, having no menial duties to perform. But at length he too, already comfortably warmed, got up (not always so particular as his wife about retaining his kaross), donned his girdle, and called loudly to one of his daughters to bring him a wash-basin (a broad, shallow earthenware bowl reserved for this purpose, and called an *umCengezi*) filled with water, wherein he washed his hands and face, allowing the water to dry in the air, neither soap nor towel being provided.

Along with one or other of his elder sons, who had come in to keep him company, he now proceeded to enjoy his 'breakfast'. This meal consisted of nothing more substantial than an apparently exhilarating smoke with the hemp-horn. This 'hemp smoke' seemed to serve as a kind of national cocktail. Thereafter everybody felt thoroughly revived and ready for the duties of the day.

In the Zulu social system, every kraal was self-contained and self-supporting, and, by a tradition that bore the force of law, the work of the home was clearly, though far from equally, apportioned between its male and female inmates. It was the peculiar province of the males to provide and preserve the fabric of the kraal and to tend the cattle; of the females, to provide the 'family' and to cultivate the fields, in other words, to find the food and cook it. The men were the artisans and pastoralists; the women, the housekeepers and agriculturists. To the Zulu men, then, it fell to build the framework of the huts; to erect and repair the various fences (of the cattle-fold and kraal-enclosure); to cut away the bush and long grass from such spots as the *paterfamilias* allotted to the several wives for cultivation; to milk the cows and herd the stock. In these duties, it is important to note, all took some part, from the kraal-head himself, even when he was a person

of rank, down to the smallest herdboys. All who had passed beyond the age of infancy (that is to say, were already above their sixth year), be they male or female, were expected to work or be ready to do so when called upon, the males under the direction of the father, the females of the mother.

Besides the aforesaid general duties pertaining to the daily needs of the kraal or family, every man had some small private task of his own, wherewith, in a leisurely sort of way, to occupy his time, e.g. a new stick to pare or polish, an *umuTsha* to make or repair, a hatchet or assegai to grind, his hair or headring to have dressed, a snuff-box or ornament to manufacture, a wooden post to seek and fell in the forest, a medicinal herb for himself or family to search for on the veld, or a visit, friendly or on business, to pay some neighbouring kraal. Then, again, many of the maturer men were constantly engaged with special offices, professions or trades, as state-messenger, as doctor, diviner, smith, wood-carver, basket-maker, skindresser, stock-castrator, headring-maker, shield manufacturer, and so forth. And when no more serious business presented itself, an occasional hunt, in parties or alone, or, much more frequently, a courting expedition in search of an exogenous girl to woo, or a visit to a sweetheart already won, all added spice and variety to one's daily life.

The boys, up to the age of eighteen or more, daily went out with the stock—those of seven or eight with the sheep or goats, those older with the cows—when the dew was off the grass, returning with the cattle, first, towards midday for milking (*iNtlanzane*), and finally, in the evening after sundown, thus spending the whole of their days in the exhilarating sunshine and in the invigorating free life of the open veld. On rainy days, and in very cold winter weather, the smaller boys were permitted to stay at home, but the elder lads had to stick manfully to their guns: a fine, healthy life indeed, that could hardly have resulted otherwise than in weeding out the weak and breeding up a vigorous and robust type of manhood.

On the wives and their daughters, as already said, devolved the duty of keeping house and cultivating the fields. Immediately after break of day, these hardworking drudges cheerfully shouldered their hoes and wended their way to sow or weed in their respective allotments. The Zulu, through milleniums of experience in all the needs and defects of polygamous

conditions, had long learned the wisdom of bowing to female jealousy, and of so maintaining peace in the home by rendering to each of the wives her due, and, for the rest, keeping them all severely apart. As each wife was provided with her own hut, and oftentimes also with her own family milch-cow, so likewise was she allotted her own separate garden-plots to be cultivated by herself and her daughters, so as to furnish the foodstuffs for the sole use of her own family.

Referring to this palming off of the arduous field-work on to the females, Shooter¹ makes the following observations:—"It seems that this extremely barbarous treatment of the female sex prevails only among the Zulus and those tribes whom they have influenced. Mr. Fynn says that among the Amampondo and Amaswazi, the fields are cultivated by the men as well as the women ; and I have been told that the same thing may be seen among the Amatonga. It would appear also that the coast tribes in the Zulu-country were accustomed to this better practice ; a Dwandwe man told me that his father worked in the garden during the reign of Dingane, and that old men among the Mtetwas did it still. He added that these representatives of the ancient usage very much lamented a change which had diminished the supply of food, and ascribed it to Tshaka and the Zulus." We think Shooter is here, in the main, correct ; though we must not forget (as he probably did) that, from the beginning of man's history, the woman, and not the man, had been the family agriculturist. It will be noticed that all the clans that Shooter mentions pertained to that particular group of the Nguni tribe which we have herein called the *Tekela* or *Tonga* Ngunis, from the fact of their having come, in the course of their migrations, under strong East African or Tonga influences ; and these latter Bantu are well known as a markedly peaceful and industrious type of Bantu. The Pure or Ntungwa Ngunis, on the other hand, possessed instincts that were as markedly 'Spartan'. Whether this 'Spartanization' of the Ntungwa Ngunis came in with Shaka or not, is not clear. -Anyway, with them a man who 'went to the fields to work with his wife' was ridiculed as effeminate, an 'old woman', or, as they said, an *uMkandumba*, a-wife-of-the-Ndumba-beans (from *uMka-*, wife, and *iziNdumba*, beans).

Throughout the early morning, while their mothers and elder sisters were in the fields, smaller girls, each with her

appointed task, were engaged minding the babies, sweeping the huts and surrounding courtyard (each family being responsible for its own particular *ĩCi* or patch of yard surrounding its hut), fetching water in gourds from the neighbouring river; while one of the elder girls crushed the boiled maize-grains for the midday repast.

Towards eleven o'clock each morning, the family re-assembled. The men came back from the forest with posts or wattles on their shoulders; the women with their hoes from the fields; the herdboys with the cattle from the veld. The cows went into the fold, and were either milked at once, or were first allowed to rest a while (*ukuPúnga imKónto eKáya*). In any case, the herdboys could not partake of food until the cows had first been milked. During the milking, the smaller children brought and placed near by, outside the cattlefold fence, the already washed milk-gourds (*ĩGúla*) pertaining to the several huts, each of which received its share. Meanwhile the mothers had been preparing each her own family-meal, the first of the day, to which all now repaired, each to his or her own mother's hut.

The men and the boys of the family took their place on the right-hand side of the hut (after entering), which was that strictly sacred to the males, no female being permitted to seat herself thereon. Save the smaller boys (who simply squatted on the ground), the men all sat on special sitting-mats (*isiCepú*) of rushes, or perched on low wooden rests; for it were ill-mannered in any adult, especially if a male, to sit on the bare floor inside a hut. A common bowl of food—these were earthenware basins (*imCakulo*; and *imQéngéle*) specially manufactured for serving food—with the requisite number of clean, wooden spoons standing round it, their ladles resting on its brim, was placed before the men by one of the girls, who always acted as servants to their brothers.

On the opposite, or left, side of the hut (after entering), equally sacred to the females, there assembled, in one or more groups, each round a common bowl, the mother, her daughters and the smaller children of both sexes. It was a strict rule, not only that the males should be first served, but also that the females should eat apart, and eat, moreover, without the use of spoons, the hand providing an adequate substitute. The fingers of the right hand were extended and a small portion of

the mash slowly and decorously scooped up from the common dish, the food being then licked with the tongue from the fingers. Over-haste and greediness were considered bad manners and sternly checked in the young. This mode of eating, somewhat uncouth to our tastes, was performed by the females and children in a cleanly and even pretty manner; for it was a rigorous observance throughout Zululand, that previous to partaking of food, a person, even a child, should first carefully wash his hands, the men being provided with a special basin (*umCengezi*) for the purpose. This morning, or rather noonday, repast usually consisted of sour clotted-milk (*amaSi*), thickened with a course paste (*umCaba*) of crushed boiled maize-grains. In season, fresh green maize-cobs, boiled in water or roasted on the embers, furnished a much appreciated addition.

The meal completed, each person rinsed the mouth and teeth (*ukuXubá*) with cold water (as, by the way, is done also in Uganda)^{1a} and, if need be, re-washed the hands, there being no knives or forks. While the girls cleared away and washed the dishes, the elders, having refreshed themselves with a pinch of snuff and enjoyed a gossip, leisurely separated, and betook themselves each to his self-imposed occupation for the afternoon. The younger men, having performed the rougher jobs during the forenoon, occupied themselves with minor private tasks; or, if nothing else detained them, went down to wash their bodies in the river (which they were rather fond of doing—the herdboys, in good weather, enjoying an almost daily bathe), then anointed them with a pomatum of fat mixed with fragrant herbs and a little red-clay (to render the skin supple and smooth, and give it an agreeable flush and gloss), donned their best attire of fine skins and bead ornaments (see illustration, Bryant, *O.T.*, 240), and so went off to flirt with the girls, whom, at that hour, they usually found collecting fire-wood in the woods.

The females, during the hours of the early afternoon, generally employed themselves with light household duties or agreeable personal jobs, such as beadwork, mat-making and the like. But somewhere about two or three o'clock, they again shouldered their hoes and returned to their work in the fields. Later still in the afternoon, the girls betook themselves to the neighbouring bush (where roaming swains frequently stood

waiting), for the purpose of gathering dry sticks for firewood (*iziNkuni*), which they afterwards bore home on their heads in huge and heavy bundles, four feet long and one foot thick.

After sundown, the whole family was back again in the home. The cattle were back from the veld, and the cows, again to be milked, were lowing for their calves, the latter in Bantuland always feeding from the udder. The milking over, the second and last meal of the day was partaken of, in the manner already described. At this evening repast, something more 'substantial' (or, as they said, *oku-nomSwani*, 'something-providing-some-cud-to-chew', that would carry them through till tomorrow midday) was served. Such consisted mostly of soft-boiled maize-grains (*iziNkobe*), eaten whole, the great Zulu stand-by; varied at times with sweet-potatoes boiled in their jackets, Kafir-potatoes (*Colocasia*), and mashes of boiled beans or of crushed maize-grains with pumpkin.

The Zulu, like most healthy animals, felt happiest and slept best on a full stomach. That was why, when the meal was over, this was always the hour selected for 'Old Wives' Tales'. Grandmother and the children alike at this time became infused with a bright and cheerful humour such as they had displayed at no other time of the day. So grandma relaxed and smiled, and re-told to the little ones the old, old stories of weird and wonderful creatures half-man half-monster, of cannibal witches and magic snakes, of handsome princes and love-sick maidens, that had come down the ages from the dim past, as she in turn had heard them all from granny.

So, after a cheerful chat all round, during which the indispensable 'nightcap' of a generous pinch of snuff was quietly enjoyed, one after the other 'retired' for the night. Sleeping-mats and karosses were taken down and spread by each on his or her, by habit appropriated, sleeping-spot (*isiLili*), a large log was set on the fire to maintain the warmth all night, and in a few minutes all were wafted away to the wonderful land of African dreams. Each individual adult had his or her separate mat and covering. Though at times a couple of small boys or small girls might occupy together the same 'bed', the two sexes were always kept strictly apart, the boys on the right (or male) side of the hut, the girls and

their mother on the left (or female) side. If, as was always the case in a high-class kraal, the unmarried youths and elder girls possessed *amaLawu* (private huts) of their own, they now betook themselves to them ; otherwise, the mother and all her offspring slept in the same hut. By eight o'clock in the winter and nine in the summer, cattle and man were wrapped in sleep, and one big hush enveloped all the kraal.

Such was the general routine of daily life among the Zulus in days of yore, and, in the main, is so still in the remoter Native territories. Though by no means always 'beer and skittles', and despite the poverty and frequent dearth of food, when the pangs of hunger (with the reduced ration of a single meal a day, in the evening, and occasionally not even that) were especially painful for the children, yet all in all a happier kind of life could hardly be imagined. In that life, all the fundamental features of our own civilization stand revealed in simpler forms ; which fact should force the truth upon us, that these 'savages' are after all, in a lower degree, perfectly 'civilized', plodding slowly forward after us, along the selfsame road as we ourselves once trod.

The reader is not to suppose that we here suggest that we have found at last something perfect on earth ; for even the Golden Age had its faults and deficiencies. The great Cosmic principle of dual balance had ordained that wheresoever perfection is, there also shall imperfection be. So it came about that the Zulu life-system had its defects as well as its virtues. True, it had attained the ideal of the 'simple life' ; but at the expense of equal losses. It had reduced man's wants and cares to a minimum ; but only at the cost of much poverty, discomfort and dirt. It had rid itself of all troublesome aspirations and disappointments ; and consequently had remained utterly stagnant, destitute of every improvement and advance. Its purely material outlook had rendered it at the same time intellectually poor, unspiritual and unmoral. Its unhampered freedom was enjoyed in a vacuous world, where there was little use for it. Its unruffled calm engendered indolence ; and that indolence engendered, not only much suffering from ever-present poverty and ever-recurrent famine, but also that mental lethargy and inertia which proved at last the tribe's complete undoing, and ensured its subjugation by those who were

strengthened by the might of productive thought. And yet, somehow, this low-grade, animal life of mere sensual existence had evolved a remarkably strong sense of social law and order, with a system of child-education and character-formation that went very far indeed towards ennobling the brute.

One of the greatest calamities that ever befell the Zulu people was the break-up of its home life, which followed the introduction of European industries and government. The home should be to every man, as it is to every child, the dearest, most hallowed spot on earth ; for upon that spot he came into being, there his progenitors lived and he with them ; there he received his nationality, his religion, his language, such mental and physical powers and moral character as he possessed—in a word, his very life and all that made him man. Despite our better understanding in these modern times, the old fallacy still persists that a child's only ' school ' is the room wherein he learns to read and write ; his only education, that which gives skill to the hands and loads the memory with impersonal facts. That idea, in spite of the protests of the few, is being rapidly instilled also into the minds of the Natives. Yet the first and greatest school in life, responsible for most in the making of the man, is, and ever has been, the child's own home. So important is a recognition of this fact, that we shall not apologise for repeating here what we have already said elsewhere (Bryant, *O.T.*, chapter 9).

The Zulu home was the very basis of the whole Zulu social structure. A Zulu kraal was the whole clan-system in miniature. For within the kraal were many huts, each with its separate family of mother and children, the embryo of many future kraals ; and all those huts and families were ruled by one common head, at once father and king, who governed all, at once his children and his subjects, with a benevolent despotism of affection, protection and care. Indeed, a Zulu kraal, a Zulu home, in the good old times of so-called savagedom, was a model to civilized man of stern family discipline and refined manners. Amidst the crudest of surroundings, the brightest of social virtues flourished ; and by their practice, taught. Great and salutary and lasting were the lessons there taught and there learned by the developing child.

It used to be the universal custom that from birth till puberty, with the boys, and with the girls till marriage, the

Zulu children never left the parental kraal or its immediate neighbourhood, save, perhaps, for a very rare journey with their father or their mother. When, towards the end of last century, we ourselves first entered Zululand, before the country had yet been opened to European entry, practically the whole population of boys and girls (and of these many were already from twenty to thirty years of age) knew nothing of the world further than two or three miles from home. That little home-spot was all their world, the only world they ever knew or cared about. There all their affections, all their concerns, all their interests, all their thoughts, were wholly and solely centred.

The one great law that ruled in that little kingdom was the law of complete submission to paternal authority. Unquestioning, unanswering obedience to the supreme power was demanded without distinction of all alike ; of mothers, of sons (some of them strong men, already with families of their own), of every child. Every failure to obey was immediately followed by drastic reprisals ; persistent insubordination led infallibly to the disgrace of expulsion ; while open revolt might easily have terminated in the death of the transgressor. And what each inmate of the kraal saw and experienced in the father, that he in turn practised in a lesser degree himself, demanding from all below him in the scale of age or position, exactly the same measure of submission as was demanded of him by those above. Alongside, or out of, this practice of complete submission was gradually evolved something more than mere respect, almost a holy awe (*ukwEsaba*, as the Zulus called it), for those in authority over one. And this again was mutual and universal, the little boy respecting the bigger boy ; the bigger boy, his elder brother ; and all, their parents.

The child-mind having thus been once reduced to this happy state of perfect docility, it was capable of being moulded in a hundred other fashions. By precept and by example the child was led or forced into ways innumerable of nice and proper behaviour—how it should be sympathetic and generous towards its companions, treating the little ones with consideration, and unselfishly sharing every good thing with all ; how it should accustom itself to the tasks of daily life, by herding the calves, by minding the babies, by fetching water and firewood ; how it should take a pride in personal

appearances, in cleanliness and neatness ; how boys should associate with the males of the family, and grow manly, and the girls with their mothers, and grow womanly. There were strict rules of etiquette governing almost every phase of daily life—how to deport oneself before elders and superiors ; how to behave at meals ; how to respect the places and property of others. In such ways as this were habits of order and orderliness, of civility and cleanliness, of unselfishness and self-respect, of industriousness and sexual propriety, constantly encouraged and gradually acquired in this admirable and efficient school of precept and practice.

But Zulu mothers were hard-working folk, who had scant time for toying with their children. From the age of four or earlier, girls and boys, especially the latter, were largely left to their own devices and thrown upon their own resources. Within the limits of the kraal and the adjacent veld, the little ones might roam at will and mind themselves. Then the bigger boys went out with the cattle, and spent the day hunting on the hills and partly feeding themselves on roots and berries. Yet all the while they must remain alert on sentinel duty, guarding and guiding their herd of cows or goats (in days, you must remember, when ferocious beasts still roamed at large), and each bearing an increased weight of responsibility according to his age. On to the gentler habits of respectfulness, obedience, generosity and decency, the manlier virtues of love of freedom, of sense of duty and responsibility, of trust and trustworthiness, of self-reliance, of self-control and self-defence, were now superadded.

Meanwhile, a huge amount of nature-study was quietly proceeding, and a huge amount of nature-knowledge was being accumulated. The small girls with the babies were learning many of the secrets of human anatomy and of the care of children ; while the bigger ones were passing through a complete course of domestic art and science alongside their mothers in the home and on the field. Out on the veld, the boys were busy studying the nature of every plant and tree, the habits of every insect, the peculiarities of every rock, and ere long could interpret the meaning of the winds, the clouds, the mists ; could give one the names of all the grasses, and the medicinal uses of many herbs and trees ; could describe to you the qualities of different kinds of wood, the shapes of different kinds

of tree-leaf, and explain to you the internal bodily structure of every bird and fowl, and wild and domestic animal within their little world. Thus, through the ages, this admirable system of forming character and imparting knowledge continued, until at length was evolved a Zulu race, noble of heart, dignified of bearing, refined of manners and learned in natural science—qualities, alas ! now rapidly becoming lost before the destructive and demoralizing accompaniments of European 'civilization'.

Arrived at about the age of 14-16 years, the former herd-boy blossomed into an *ūDibi* (carrier-boy), that is to say, was now deemed big and strong enough to carry the baggage of his father (or other kraalhead with whom the latter might place him) when travelling. The peculiar privilege of this new status was the delight of seeing now a bigger world and, as said, the honour of accompanying his father or other gentleman on their distant journeyings, bearing on his head their kaross, wooden pillow and sleeping-mat all rolled up together, cigarette-wise, inside the usual *umBúma* mat, with the paternal hubble-bubble dangling at the rear end of the roll, and, as often as not, his equally essential *isiKigí* (chamber; more familiarly referred to as 'the-boy', *umFana*), the high-water mark of Zulu civilization! Elevation to this high rank was an epoch-marking event in a boy's life. Final withdrawal from the herd-boys on the veld marked the closure of his boyhood's school-days; and the pride he felt at first being permitted to carry a man's luggage, was the pride of the white lad when first going out to work. It was the first consciousness of budding manhood and, quite appropriately, generally occurred about the period of the boy's attaining puberty (*ukuTómba*).

Two or three years after this, the boy would move another rung up the social ladder. With other lads of a like age (*iNtanga*), he would go up to one or other of the king's numerous military-kraals (*amaKánda*), where some regiment had its headquarters, there to tend the royal herd of cattle there stationed (which was the chief purpose of his going) and at the same time to 'milk direct from the udder into his mouth' (*ukuKleza*). All this was another established process in a boy's up-bringing ('going to college', one might say), needed, it was said, to 'make him grow well', which, no doubt, the plentiful supply of fresh milk, at this particular period of life, did help to bring about. Strange indeed does it seem that, despite this

habit of fresh-milk drinking in his boyhood, no Zulu man would ever drink thereof again in after-life : along with eggs and fish, he found it quite too nauseating.

So soon as there seemed to the king a sufficiency of youths in the land of about 20 years of age, a brand-new 'age-group' or regiment (*ĩButó*) would be created by royal proclamation for their enrolment, and a brand-new military-kraal be erected as their barracks. In that kraal, save for occasional 'vacations' to his home, the young man would sacrifice the better part of manhood's prime in the service of the State. At length, perhaps when approaching 40 years of age, but by no means with virility impaired, he would be released and permitted to retire into the 'reserve' of private life, wherein his first most urgent concern was to assume the heading and then to marry.

Life and manners in a Zulu military-kraal were much as they are and ever have been in other barracks. That spirit of geniality, comradeship and *esprit de corps* so strong in the African character, was here at its best, and fully maintained the highest standard of England's public schools. While ease and freedom were abundant, stern discipline continuously reigned ; but it was a wholly moral force and rarely put in action, the men being entirely thrown on their honour, without regulations and without supervision : and they seldom disgraced that trust. They were there for the sole purpose of fulfilling the king's behests. Though they had no drill, they acted as the State army, the State police, and the State labour-gang. They fought the tribe's battles, made raids, on foreign herds when State funds were low (and the State funds were the royal cattle), 'ate-up' kraals and destroyed condemned families in the king's name, brought to justice contumacious offenders, built and repaired the king's kraals, cultivated his fields, manufactured his war-shields : for all which they received spare diet, no wage, not one word of thanks. It was their duty to the State as men, and they did it without question or complaint. The one outstanding flaw in this otherwise excellent organization was (at least, from the warrior's point of view) the chronic dearth of food and the dearth of girls. The life of a Zulu man, felt they, in the vigour of his prime, is, without these two essentials, hardly worth the living. Save for a batch of oxen slaughtered from time to time, but by no means regularly, no provision whatever was made for the body's needs. Each was

left to fossick for himself as best he could, and, what is more surprising, actually did it, keeping himself in perfect form by sponging on surrounding kraals or by sharing in the constant 'parcels' of foodstuffs sent up to himself and his brother-warriors from their several homes.

In the Zulu system, girls, as well as boys, were embodied into age-groups or regiments (*ĩButó*); but in the case of girls, only nominally so. Adult girls throughout the land, of like or equal age and not yet enrolled in any age-group, received, from time to time, from the king a common group-name; but receiving no barracks, they continued as before to remain at home. Whenever a male regiment was released as free to marry and to wear the headring (*ukuKéhla*), the king at the same time commanded (*ukuJuba*) the then eldest female age-group to assume the top-knot (also *ukuKéhla*) and to marry them. Prior to such royal injunction, neither man nor maid dare enter the wedded state.

Thus was each and every individual in the Zulu State taught, boys and girls, maids and men alike, first to their father, then to their king, to be ever obedient, docile, disciplined, unto the last.

*Now, these are the laws of the jungle, and many and mighty
are they ;*

*But the head and the hoof of the law, and the haunch and the
hump is—Obey! (Kipling).*

From the general, we shall now proceed to the particular; from the rough sketch above of the Zulu daily routine, to a closer examination of some of the more arresting details in the picture.

Structurally, we have already declared the Zulu beehive hut to be a quite passable contrivance, considering; and, as Dr. Oswald² has observed, "if kept scrupulously clean, a structure eminently adapted for a hot climate, from the point of view of coolness during the scorching heat of the day and of freedom from chills at night". But when the excellent structure is examined in actual working order, it becomes quite a different proposition. Ninety per cent. of the kraal huts are what we have described as 'family huts', wherein live a wife and her

offspring. Being what Europeans euphemistically call 'one-room flats', they accordingly serve at once as bedroom, living-room, dining-room and kitchen, and that for a whole family of half-a-dozen human-beings, plus very frequently a calf or two. With their accumulated clabashes of sour-milk and fermenting beer, their badly-cured hides, their numerous unwashed personal garments reeky with the smoke of ages, the garbage and droppings of the preceding meal, to say nothing of the deposits of the family babe (removed, when liquid, by being well rubbed into the earthen floor with the household grass-brush, or, otherwise, deftly collected with a handful of grass or leaves), these things all together rendered the atmosphere around hardly salubrious, and the huts themselves hardly cleanly, orderly and savoury resorts. That was why the young men and adult girls preferred to get out of them and into private apartments (*amaLawu*) of their own, which they took a pride in keeping always sweet and clean and neat. Nevertheless, they were, none of them, an over-squeamish or fastidious people, and even the young men and girls did not object to taking their meals *en famille*; though it did sometimes happen that the young men ordered their food to be served in their own 'room'.

These *amaLawu* or private-huts of the youth of both sexes were not peculiar to the Zulus. Although not universal, they were common to several other Bantu and Equatorial Negro tribes. Schweinfurth³ says: "The peculiar huts appropriated to boys, which I have mentioned as being adopted by the Niamniam and called 'bamogee', are found here, and are always built in a style that is most symmetrical". Among the Teso Bantu of Uganda, Purvis⁴ writes: "Care is taken to protect the unmarried girls by making it compulsory for all young unmarried men of a family or village to sleep together in a hut set apart from the rest; and it is said that after these youths have retired, the elders prepare the ground in such a way that trespassers are easily traced". But among the Eastern Bantu of Zambezia, children must be exceptionally passionate; for "when they reach an age of three or four years, by which time they are almost, if not quite, as advanced as a European child of seven or eight, they are sent out to reside in a large hut inhabited in common by the boys, and called *Gwero*. Small girls also have a dwelling of their own".⁵

We have described the Zulu hut as dome-like in shape ; consequently, upon entering, by a creeping process through the front doorway 2 to 2½ feet high (though the Natives themselves manage it by a mere stoop and a bend of one knee), one finds oneself inside a tiny panorama of the flat earth below and a dark night-sky above, with several wooden posts confronting one like so many upright trees. Between two of these pillars, one opposite the doorway, the other towards the back of the hut, lies the hearth (*ĩZiko*), encircled by a raised oval border. Away, against the left-hand wall, leans the family grindstone, with a large round pebble for grinding concealed behind it. Within string racks suspended from both wall-sides, rest piles of rolled-up sleeping-mats. A similar hanging arrangement, on the right-hand side, is the *isiPándla*, holding a bundle of assegais and sticks belonging to the youths of the family. Still higher up on the wall, hangs a kind of 'shelf' or 'cup-board' (*ĩTála*), in reality a hanging basket or bag made of fibre net-work, in which small objects are kept out of reach of the children. At the back of the hut, a semi-circular raised border cuts off the rear portion (*umSamo*) of the floor, for the storage of the numerous earthen pots, calabashes, meat-dishes and the like. On the left (or female) side of the hut, another segment of the circular floor space is frequently cut off (by a wicker-work partition), so as to form a pen (*ĩTómbe*) for the family calf or goat. Into the thatch everywhere round the hut, various oddments such as knives, spoons, clyster-horns and other such, are thrust for safe-keeping ; while the whole of the 'ceiling' may be covered by the housewife's crop of Kafir-corn-ears thrust into the thatch in a similar way, the perpetual smoke effectually keeping the weevils away from the grain. Once a week the floor is smeared with diluted cowdung to keep down the dust ; but beneath the earthen floor, in the older huts, lurks a whole host of disagreeable beasts (known as *amaTúku*, and apparently the larvæ of some dipterous insect), which swarm out at night to graze on the would-be sleepers. Small beetles in their myriads rove about the thatch above, and ultimately find their way down to their feeding-ground in the milk-gourds and food-dishes.

The Zulu fire-arrangements take us straight back to pre-historic times, into the age of Neolithic, if not even Palæolithic,

man. The most momentous discovery ever made by humanity was that of making fire. By it the whole later life of mankind became entirely revolutionized. It was, furthermore, probably the very first of man's major discoveries, seeing that its secret seems to have been already in the possession of the man of Neanderthal, some 30,000 to 70,000 odd years ago,⁶ if not indeed in that of him of Peking, twice or thrice his age. Some surmise that it must have been a discovery already made before the dispersal, in man's first home ;⁷ but, though it may have been so, there is equal likelihood that the discovery was made independently in several places at various times. It is not difficult to imagine how this might have come about. A flash of lightning, for instance, might have set the dry veld or forest on fire. This might have provided a source from which fire could be taken, preserved and transported by firebrand from place to place—as is indeed still the habit with Australian tribes,⁸ who, moreover, do actually state that fire first descended from heaven.⁹ But even so, that would not have taught man how to produce the element for himself.¹⁰

There are several plausible explanations as to how that might have happened. With thousands of men, all over the world, diligently engaged, throughout thousands of years, chipping flints for the manufacture of weapons and tools—and particularly note that it was flint or similar hard stone that they were chipping—it could hardly have avoided happening here and there, now and again, that a stray spark of fire should chance to alight upon some dry grass hard by ; whereafter the wind would soon complete the process, and awaken the tinder into flame. The method of producing fire by concussion in this way was actually known to such distantly separated primitive peoples as the Eskimos and Patagonians.¹¹ Another habit common with Palæolithic man was that of drilling holes in hard stones ;¹² when a similar result might have followed, eventually leading to the invention of the fire-drill, or stick-and-hole, method of producing fire, which appears to have been that most universally in vogue amongst primitive peoples, from Australia to the Veddahs of India, from Northern India to Kamchatka, from the Eskimos to Mexico and Tierra del Fuego.¹³ Then, again, it is further well known that, when the siliceous external rind of two bamboos is continuously rubbed together by the wind, fire is sometimes generated, which may

set the whole forest in a blaze—the dry, easily powdered, internal substance probably acting in this case as tinder, after a portion of the hard external surface has already been worn away.¹⁴ Certain other trees are known to produce the same result.¹⁵ Further, two pieces of bamboo, when vigorously rubbed together by their sharp siliceous edge (as is actually done by certain Negritos¹⁶), or even when simply struck together with force (as is done in some parts of Malaysia¹⁷), will readily produce fire. In these facts, no doubt, will be found the origin of the friction or stick-and-groove method of producing fire so common amongst the primitive peoples of Malaysia and Melanesia.¹⁸

Our Zulus, then, were quite familiar with the art of making fire long before we came and sold them matches ; and, further, they belonged to the Australia-Kamchatka-Patagonian persuasion, who believed in the fire-drill (*ūZwati*), or the stick-and-hole, method. Two small sticks, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick or more and about 18 inches long, were cut from the same soft-wooded (liable to be bored by insects) tree, e.g. the *īPáhla* (*Brachylæna discolor*), the *umTómbe* (*Ficus Natalensis*), or the *uPúlule*. When thoroughly dry, one of the sticks was laid on the ground and firmly held in position by the two feet of the squatting driller, or by the knees (if kneeling), or by a second person. The second stick, held upright between the extended palms, was placed with the slightly pointed lower end resting in a small hole cut into the upper-middle part of the other stick, lying horizontally on the ground. The upright stick was then rapidly twirled by vigorously rubbing the two palms together, the hands (which, in twirling, gradually descended down the stick) being repeatedly and quickly raised again to the top. Soon a little wood-dust was produced (in the hole of the ground stick), at first yellowish, then becoming darker, and finally, after two or three minutes twirling, red-hot or glowing. The glowing dust was then removed on the point of an assegai, or simply cast, on to a tiny heap of tinder (*iMvili*), e.g. the dry leaves of the *iNkondlwane* plant, the *uPéhlwacwati*, the *umQaqongo*, or perhaps merely dry cowdung ; whereafter a little blowing with the mouth immediately produced a flame.

The only people we have heard of, in our age, who, though possessing fire, are said to be unable to produce it, are the

Adamanese¹⁹ and the extinct Tasmanians.²⁰ The Papuans produce fire, like the Zulus, by friction, but by a different method, namely, by rapidly drawing a rattan cord across a dry stick.²¹

Fire-making, among the Zulus, was a man's job; some Bantu tribes (like the Kambas of Kenya Colony²²) making it definitely unlawful for the mere female to tamper with the firesticks.²³

The flaming tinder having been duly produced (as above), the housewife placed it on the hearth, and upon it a few small dry sticks, which, after a good deal of blowing (*ukuFútlela*), became in turn ignited (*ukuVúttá*), and so the fire was 'made' (*ukuBasa, ukuPémba*). The process of 'keeping it up' was called *ukuKwézela*. For fuel, any dry wood was used; and the females by long experience soon learned which varieties were the best. In treeless parts, cakes of dry cowdung (*ĩLongwe*),^{23a} and dry maize and millet stalks (*ũHlanga*), provided a substitute. Especially in winter time, the fire was kept alight all night, and in the morning re-kindled from the still-glowing embers. But sometimes it went out. In that case, a child was sent off to a neighbouring kraal (perhaps a quarter of a mile distant) to fetch new fire, that being less troublesome than working the firesticks. For this purpose, the *ĩNkondlwane* plant (*Helichrysum*) was employed, this retaining fire in a smouldering state for a very long time.²⁴ The fire-ashes, when the hearth was cleaned, were thrown on the family rubbish-heap (*ĩZala*) outside the kraal.

In country infested by nocturnal beasts of prey, a high platform was sometimes erected inside the central cattle-fold, supporting a thick layer of earth, upon which a fire was kept blazing throughout the night to scare off from the stock any contemplating intruders.²⁵

The Zulus, unlike the Hereros (of South West Africa) and the Gandas (of the Victoria Nyanza), knew nothing whatever about any 'sacred fire' to be kept perpetually burning in the home or clan—unless the kindling of the fire at a royal installation (see Chapter 12) may be a survival of such. The Hereros maintain such a fire in every home; but in Uganda the duty seems to be the prerogative of the king, near whose hut the fire is kept burning, and is carried about with him, when

he travels.²⁶ The custom is said to have been introduced by its first king, Kintu ; and the existence of the custom among the Hereros in far-away South Africa provides a possible proof of a former relationship between these two peoples.

The elemental facts of mathematics was another of the earlier discoveries of mankind. Having discovered the circle and the square, and introduced the idea into the structure of his dwelling, man now lighted upon the triangle, and put it on his hearth. From the earlier Neolithic times, when the first cooking-pot had to be put upon the fire, three stones, forming a triangle, were found to supply the safest and easiest support. The eternal triangle thus became universal among mankind, at any rate among African man. The Bushmen of the Karoo,²⁷ the Guanches of the Canary Islands,²⁸ the Hamites of Galaland,²⁹ and the Bantu of Negroland,³⁰ all alike build themselves a three-cornered cooking-stove.

We have already said that at each end of the Zulu oval hearth there stands a wooden pillar, supporting the roof. Now, that hearth-stone (*ĩSeko*) which forms the apex of the aforesaid triangle, always stands close to the pillar nearest the doorway. This particular stone is especially sacred (as imaginative ethnologists would say) ; for it is honoured with a distinguishing name, *umLindaziko* (the-hearth-guardian), and is always religiously left in its place, none ever daring to remove it. On the other side of this same pillar (that is, immediately facing the doorway, and outside of the hearth) may frequently be seen a bone (*umGúlugúlu*) protruding out of the floor. This is a charmed 'peg' (*isiKónkwane*), formerly part of the anatomy of a baboon or other weird animal, appropriately medicated by the local practitioner and set up by him to render null and void any machinations of the local *aba-Tákati* (secret workers of evil). It is possible that the Zulu *umLindaziko* stone (above) may be related to the large stone set up by the Masabas of Uganda near the hut-door, which stone is called by them the *Mboge*, and is regarded as the residence of the family manes, for whom offerings of beer and food are there placed.^{30a} In New Guinea, " Mr. Chalmers tells us that . . . ' pigs are never killed but in one place, and then they are offered to the spirit. Pigs' skulls are kept and hung up in the house. Food . . . is placed near the post where the

skulls hang, and prayer is said. When the centre-post [of a new house] is set up, the spirits have wallaby, fish and bananas presented to them, and they are besought to keep that house full of food, and that it may not fall when the wind is strong'.^{30b}

The Zulu corn was ground in the most ancient of mills. It was a simple flat slab of sandstone, about 17 inches long by 12 inches broad and 5 thick, whose upper surface, in course of time, by constant rubbing, was rendered concave in the middle. It is interesting to note that this so important household commodity has not even yet, after all these thousands of years, received in Zulu any distinguishing name, being simply called 'the-stone for-grinding' (*iTshe lokuGáya*). At one end of this grindstone (which was laid flat on the ground), the woman or girl, who was doing the grinding, knelt on the floor. With a large, smooth, oval river-pebble (*iMbókode*), grasped with both hands and continuously rubbed backwards and forwards, with the full weight of the leaning body to give pressure, she crushed the grain—if hard and dry, into a coarse meal; if previously softened by boiling, into a coarse dough. At the other (or front) end of the stone, a small eating-mat (*isiTébe*) was placed on the ground to receive the crushed grain as it was rubbed forward by the grinding-pebble. To see the Zulu girl taking her daily place behind this same old grindstone, was to have a vision of the Ancient Egyptian girl,³¹ or the maid of Old England,³² doing precisely the same thing in the same way 6,000 to 10,000 years ago. Such was the corn-mill of the Neolithic Age. By-the-bye, we fail to find, in the *Ethnological Handbook* of the British Museum, any reference whatever to this very important object in all ancient and primitive civilizations.

Turning now to Zulu crockery, we find ourselves once more in Neolithic times. The manufacture of these wares was the prerogative of the women, who probably invented the art. It was one of the female 'trades', and as such will be further considered when we come to deal with (Chapter 10) the Zulu arts and crafts.

Meanwhile, we may say that the wares produced by these simple craftswomen were by no means works of art. Most of

them were pure 'Neolithic' pots and bowls without any ornamentation whatsoever.³³ The only 'pattern' these Zulu women ever achieved was the affixing to the outside of some pots a number of mammillæ or (as they called them) 'warts' (*amaSump̄a*), arranged variously, either in a single multiple band (*ũHanqu*) encompassing the pot, or as several circles (*iziDlubu*), swallow-tails (*iNkonjane*), and other devices (*iNgotá*, etc.). The vessels were nearly always rimless, like those of predynastic Egypt 7,000 years ago. But the lack of art was somewhat compensated for by the excellence and variety of form. Right at the bottom of the ladder, was the rough-surfaced, lidded cooking-pot (*ĩKánzi*) in various sizes, which became completely ousted (that is, in quite recent times) by the iron cauldron of the European stores, and is now quite unknown. The largest type of vessel was the *iMbiza*, similarly rough-surfaced, and likewise in various shapes and sizes (e.g. the *ũHoho*, the *umNdindimana*, the *ũGágá*), but generally some 2 feet high by 18 inches wide, and used principally (though by no means only) for fermenting beer. The *iMbiza* always stood at the back of the hut in the *umSamo*, and was sometimes partly embedded in the earth. Turning now to the polished pots, all of them black, and nearly all with wide, open mouths, we may start by saying that out of the *imBiza* the already fermented beer went into the *ĩPángela*, a large globular vessel (a foot wide by another high), into which it was strained. If the beer was going to be drunk in the home-kraal, out of the *ĩPángela* it was poured into the *isiKámba*, an equally high, but narrower and less globular pot. In this it was 'sent to table', that is to say, was conveyed by the girls to the 'company' assembled in the several huts. Arrived there, from the *isiKámba* the beer was poured into the several 'tankards', the Zulu tankard being another smaller polished pot (*ũKámba*), seven or eight inches high, with a broad mouth, and, not globular, but slightly oval in shape, so as to allow of easier drinking. A very small kind of *ũKámba* or beer-drinking pot was called an *umNcishane* (the 'stingy-one'). But when beer had to be conveyed to distant kraals, it usually went in an *ũPiso*, which was a large globular pot, polished, with a narrow (say, three inches) mouth surrounded by a straightly upright rim (some two or three inches high), which kept the beer from spilling while in transportation on the girls'

heads. Besides these beer-pots, there were also several kinds of vessels for eating from or other purposes, e.g. the *umCengezi* or wash-basin, a broad, shallow, flat-bottomed dish, 15 inches wide, for washing the hands and face; the *umCakulo* or food-basin, for eating from; the *umQéngele*, a broader basin, for porridge and mashes; the *iNgcungu* or food-pot, a small globular vessel, fitted with a small rim to hold a grass-work lid, and in which the *umVúbo* (crushed boiled maize-grains mixed with sour clotted milk) was preserved from the beetles.

All these pots stood marshalled together on the floor at the back of the hut (*umSamo*). But not they alone. Alongside or mixed up with them were divers calabashes. These were the emptied shells of the gourd-plant, each with a hole, one or two inches across, at the top. There were larger ones (*ĩGóbongo*), 9 or 10 inches wide by a foot in height, for storing water and carrying beer; others (*ĩGúla*), equally large, but with an extra hole (*umuNgé*) at the bottom (for drawing off the whey), used for preparing and keeping the sour clotted milk (*amaSi*); and still other smaller kinds (*isiGúbi*), mostly used by children when fetching water, or for serving drinking-water to the thirsty, or for keeping baby's clotted milk.

The heavier and dirtier business of pot-making had been relegated to the gentler sex; while the male sat down and made the lighter and cleaner basket-ware. Like all the rest, these too displayed many shapes and sizes and modes of workmanship. There was a small size *iMbenge* in several varieties, shaped like a bowl, for serving certain dry foodstuffs, or for holding small goods; an *iNgcungu* or food-basket, of small globular shape, with a rim and grass lid, in which crushed boiled maize-grains (*umCaba*) was kept from the beetles; a medium-sized grain-basket (*umHelo*), like a bowl, a foot across; a larger size (*ĩQoma*), likewise bowl-shaped, but 18 inches or more in width, and serving as the ordinary grain-carrying basket; and, finally, the *isiDinganiso* or grain-measuring basket, which was simply a magnification of the preceding *ĩQoma*, being two to two and a half feet in width, though only about six inches high. A large globular basket (*isiCúmu*), a foot in breadth and height, and fitted with a lidded rim, was so finely woven that it was used, without the

slightest leakage, for carrying beer. The Cape Xosas used a similar basket for holding clotted milk (*amaSi*). These various baskets, being all day and every day in constant use, were to be found scattered everywhere about on the female side of the family-huts; though some of the smaller ones might be hung up on the hut-wall. Some of these smaller baskets (*iMbenge* and *iNgcungu*) were oftentimes very excellently worked and decorated with patterns (mostly squares) in red and black,³⁴ the black colour being obtained by boiling the strips of palm-leaf (*iLala*—with which they were woven) along with the indigo plant (*Indigofera erecta*), and the red, by boiling them along with old, reddened sorghum-leaves.

Food needed stirring, as well as cutting, at times in its preparation. For this purpose, the housewife was provided by her husband with a stirring-stick (*iPini*—an oar-shaped piece of wood), and a knife (*umuKwá*). This latter was an iron blade, seven or eight inches long by one and a half wide, rounded at the end (not pointed, like an assegai), having an edge, sometimes on both sides, sometimes on one, and with a tang fitted into a wooden handle.

With the passage from eating to sleeping, we pass over from baskets and pots to mats—sleeping-mats (*iCantsi*), sitting-mats (*isiCepú*), and eating-mats (*isiTébe*). All these were the product of female industry, just as were the pots.

The Zulus had never risen to the same height of bed-chamber culture as had the Gandas, who slept on raised wooden frames spread with a cow-hide. But even with these latter, the raised bed seems to have been a comparatively recent advance; for, in earlier times, they too slept on the ground, but ground elevated to the rank, as Roscoe³⁵ says, of a "dais of beaten earth, spread with grass and bark-cloth". Raised earthen beds of this type are frequently met with also elsewhere throughout Bantuland.³⁶ The Zulu bed and bedstead, on the other hand, was never higher than the thickness of a piece of matting. Their sleeping-mats were made either of the fine round stems of the *iNcema* rush (these were the best kind, called *iNketá*, and appropriated mostly by the men), or of the inferior *iGceba* rush; or, again, of strips from the flags of the *iKwáni* and *iBúma* rushes, the which mats, being softer

and warmer than the preceding, were retained by the women for themselves, and called *isiKwábukwábu*. The *iNcema* variety was always 'sewn' (*ukuTúnga*), that is, a hole being pierced through the rush stem with an awl, the fibre-string (*ūZi*) was passed through it, so binding together stem after stem until the full mat-length had been attained, the string itself remaining invisible. The other varieties (*īGceba*, *īKwáni*, and *īBúma*) were 'woven' (*ukwAluka*), that is, working with a double string, one string was passed *over* each rush and the other *beneath* it, the rushes thus forming the weft and the string the warp of the mat. The spacing of the warp-strings, further, differed in different mats. Sometimes the strings were placed at regular half-inch intervals right across the mat (then called an *iCitintambo*); at others, several strings were placed close together, forming 'stripes' or 'bands' right down (not across) the mat. If such 'stripes' were narrow (containing only 8 to 10 strings in each) but many in number, such a mat was called an *uBangazana*; but if the 'stripes' were greater in width but fewer in number (each stripe containing 20 to 30 strings, with only 3 or 4 stripes down the whole mat), then the mat was called an *isiDlidli*. In the Cape Town Museum will be found specimens of Ancient Egyptian mat and basket work found at Tarkhan, and attributed to the first of the Dynasties (c. 6,000 years ago). It will there be noticed, not only that the large grain-basket is constructed in exactly the same manner as are the Zulu *īQoma* (above) grain-baskets of today, but also that the rush-mats are woven exactly as are the Zulu mats of the *isiKwábukwábu* type (above); while the reed-coffins are 'sewn' together (with strings passing through each reed) exactly as are the Zulu *iNcema* mats (above).

Besides the sleeping-mats (which might be six feet long by three in breadth), there were smaller sitting-mats (only three feet long by a couple wide) 'woven' (above) of *iNduli* rushes. This *iNduli* held rather a superior place among the rushes; because it had been its privilege from all time to supply the material for the royal 'throne' or seat (*isiHlalo*). This royal seat was really an extremely long *iNduli* mat, which, when rolled up and set upon a cowhide, furnished a soft and well-sprung throne for his Majesty, whenever he was called upon to preside over any assemblage in the open. As for the

commoner, it was regarded as quite improper for any decent man to sit upon the bare ground inside a hut ; while not to offer a sitting-mat to a visitor was the height of ill-manners. Flattened goat-skins, with the hair left on, often performed the role of sitting-mats. Were those sitting-skins a 'survival' from pre-mat days?³⁷ Skins and hides, says Roscoe,³⁸ were the only chairs in Gandaland "until the Arabs introduced the art of making them [mats] in the middle of Suna's reign". With Ancient Egyptian matting (as said, often identical in make with that of the Zulus) so close at hand, this last remark of Roscoe's seems rather surprising. Certainly, the Arabs did not teach the Zulus the art of mat-making.³⁹

Then there is the eating-mat (*isiTebe*—it may be noted that the Masai Nilotics also call their eating-mat *madeba*), usually not more than 18 inches square, were generally 'woven' (above) throughout with *umūZi* rushes, these furnishing both warp and weft, without any string work. They were often decorated with red and black colouring, like the *iMbenge* baskets (above).

It was the women's work both to thatch the huts and to make the mats. The thatching needed a good deal of rope, generally $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, and made by simply cross-plaiting (*ukwAluka*) strands of long grasses, like the *isiKónko*, *umTshiki* and *ūHashu*. Stouter ropes (*īGóda*) were made by the men (for binding cows when milking, etc.) out of fibrous bark (*iNxoza*) of the *umSasane* and *umunGá* mimosas, the *iNdola* (*Triumfetta rhomboidea*) and other trees.

Mat-making, again, and beadwork both required a constant supply of fine string or thread. This was manufactured by the women and girls themselves from the fibre (*ūZi*) of several plants. The bark was stripped off the plant, then sun-dried and pounded with a stone ; whereon the constituent strands would become separated and visible, and so easily pulled apart in fine, strong threads. The ends of two such pieces of thread were then joined together, by deftly rolling or twirling them to and fro together with the flat palm on the bare thigh (*ukuPótá*). For providing the finer threads required for mat-making, beadwork and general sewing purposes, the following were commonly used—the inner bark of the *isiSanto* coast-bush ; of the *iNtozwane* shrubs (*Lasiosiphon anthylloides* and

Peddeia Africana); of the trees, *umTómbe* (*Ficus Natalensis*), the *umSasane* and *umNgámanzi* mimosas, and the *iMpcngo zembe* (*Urera tenax*); and the roots of the climbers, *umNxwazibe* (*Vigna* or *Glycine*) and *umTókwe*. For rougher, stouter rope-work, the *umTwázi* (*Cissus rhomboidea*) and *umZungulu* (*Dalbergia obovata*) were commonly employed. It is probable that some of these barks were used in earlier times for manufacturing bark-cloth.

The women were the tribal beasts of burden, and so were constantly occupied carrying about huge faggots of firewood and sundry other bundles on their heads. All which necessitated much binding and the employment of knots (*ĩFindo*). The simple knot formed by the contra-twining a single string, as well as that formed by joining together two strings by our 'overhand' knot, had no special names in Zulu, being simply called an *ĩFindo* (knot). But the sailor's 'reversed' knot was called the *ĩFindo leNja* or 'dog-knot' (so called after the back-to-back contingency often occurring in the process of dog-copulation). The 'slip-knot' was known as the *iNtlubuyela*.

Having drawn out his sleeping-mat from the rope-rack, and with a quick throw unrolled it on the floor, the retiring Zulu next looked about for his pillow (*isiGqiki*) and set it at its head. And his pillow was as hard as wood; indeed, it was wood, being nothing more than a smoothed block, ten inches long by three wide, with the upper surface (where the head rested) slightly concave, so that the head might not easily roll off. The oblong block (itself some 3 inches thick) stood upon a couple of stumpy legs, three inches in height. Sometimes both sides and legs of the pillow were decorated with carved grooves forming diamonds or squares (*ĩShisa*), afterwards blackened by burning with a red-hot iron. It is rather surprising to find that the Ancient Egyptians also had not been able to invent a more comfortable pillow than this crude Negro contrivance; for they too used an almost identical headrest, though theirs was much more deeply concave at the top, and rested upon a single central pillar.⁴⁰ Such wooden headrests are universal also throughout the Hamite and Sudanese domain, though there they have usually a couple of

legs at each end, frequently carved in many artistic and original designs.⁴¹

Obviously, with sleeping arrangements of this type, it was not possible to conceal the night-convenience 'under the bed'. So it had to be placed anywhere within easy reach, usually near the hut-wall. These vessels were sometimes specially manufactured, but as a rule any old pot furnished a suitable 'chamber' for the lady of the house, who referred to it euphemistically as her 'daughter' (*iNtombazana*). The husband, however, always preferred a small calabash or gourd-shell, with an appropriate aperture at the top, to any of these earthenware vessels; and he lovingly called it his 'son' (*umFana*). Only superior persons, like family-heads and the aged of both sexes, were deemed entitled to the use of these chambers (*isiKigi*), all younger and middle-aged persons betaking themselves outside, to the rear of the hut. In the morning, the 'maid' (who was a daughter of the family, or a wife) passed out with the vessels through the *iNtuba* (or small exit on each side of the kraal)—not through the main kraal-entrance (*̄Sango*); only the ashes went out that way—and cast both chamber and contents on to the appointed place (*isiTóndo*, urine-place) outside of the kraal; whence they were fetched back again in the evening, after deodorization in the sunlight throughout the day. The Zulus' relatives away in Gandaland also made use of a chamber. "In the capital, chiefs, and often peasants too, used vessels made from plantain-leaves tied together at the ends; these vessels were thrown away in the morning." But more generally both husband and wife had each a separate 'fixed urinal' inside the hut for night purposes only, this being a hole dug in the earthen floor, filled with soft gravel, into which the urine sank. The excuse given was fear of wild beasts.⁴²

The Zulu hut was never brilliantly illuminated, neither by day nor by night. After dark in the evening, either the blazing fire shed a cheerful flicker on the scene, or a Zulu 'candle' was lighted. Above the doorway was always kept a bundle of the small reed-like stalks of the andropogon grass (*ũ Qunga*). When the fire no longer blazed, a small boy was appointed to light and hold one of these in his hand, flicking away the

burnt end from time to time. There by the fire he sat, perhaps for an hour or more at a time, replenishing his supplies from the bundle above as each long stalk was consumed. More effective lamps were manufactured by mixing into a cake suet and dry cowdung, and burning the cake (*iLongwe lōNwali*) on the hearth. For outside purposes, when wild beasts or *abaTákati* (evildoers) had to be scared away, flambeaux (*isiHlonti*), made of a bundle of dry grass or sticks, were employed.

Once a week the whole floor of the hut was smeared (*uku-Sinda*) with a thick dilution of cowdung and water. This was a girl's job, who, kneeling on the floor, poured some of the mixture on the ground; then, with a sweeping stroke, cleared it away again with the side of her hand (bringing the excess of cowdung forward in the direction of herself); and so continued to do, until the whole floor-surface had been smeared. In a short while all was dry again, leaving a thin, cake-like covering all over the hut-floor, giving off a fresh, dairy-like smell, that was by no means disagreeable. A similar method is employed in the mud-huts of India.

Among Africans and other such primitives who rest solely on the ground, there are modes of sitting now entirely lost to us denaturalized humans, who know only how to perch and dangle and sprawl on elevated seats. They are mostly varieties of squats, always more natural and quite as graceful as our own rigid and formal perchings on bench or chair. If on a journey and tired, the Zulu man may sit down on the roadside as we would do, with knees up and buttocks on the ground; or, if he be working on some object at home, he may sit flat with legs outstretched before him. But round the morning fire, or when enjoying a quiet gossip, a pinch of snuff or a pot of beer with his friends, he more generally assumes that particular squat more proper in polite society. Planting himself on his feet (at a convenient distance apart), he allows the body to sink till the haunches are resting on the slightly inclined calves and the buttocks slightly above the ground between his ankles. Such is the politest sitting posture among the Zulu males.

But the females likewise have their own particular squats, different from those of the males and more appropriate to their sex. Should a wife be engaged on some light manual work, as

when preparing the vegetables for dinner, weaving mats or working in beads, she may often sit with the knees well apart and the buttocks well down between the feet behind. But when eating her meals, paying visits, or sitting amongst friends or strangers, she will always assume the 'more genteel' posture (corresponding with that of the males above) of bending both legs towards the right or left side and then resting the body with the off buttock or ham flat on the floor—a rather curious posture, which even the Zulu male finds it not easy to imitate. The Ganda women (and probably all other Bantu females) sit in the same way; and, what is more, the Ganda men do likewise.⁴³

“Bishop Codrington,” writes Hartland,⁴⁴ “comparing the statements of Mendana, the Spaniard who discovered the Melanesian Islands in the latter part of the sixteenth century, with the customs and conditions of society that he himself found four hundred years later in the Solomon Islands, decides that they were essentially unchanged”. Though, under the quite abnormal pressure of European influences, Zulu ways of life and thought have changed very considerably since the days of which we are writing—days of the last two decades of the last century—it is fairly certain that most of the habits and customs described in the preceding and following paragraphs have come down unaltered from most ancient times.

Being one of the best of nature's own gentlemen, the Zulu never approaches or accosts a superior person, whether on the road or in the home, without first saluting him. At the same time he never dares to address him with any verbal greeting, unless the two are on friendly or familiar terms. Now, the salute the Zulu gives is virtually the same as that given by all the civilized armies (including that of Ancient Rome), as well as by the uncivilized peoples, of the world. The action would therefore seem to be a natural impulse; for in every case, be it in India, in Africa or in Europe, it consists in a raising of the hand; and the hand that is raised being everywhere the right (that which carries the weapon), it is supposed that the original purpose was that it be a sign of friendly intention. But whereas the Roman, when raising the arm, thrust it forward, and the European bends it towards his head, the Zulu simply raises it straight upward from the shoulder, with the palm to

the front, at the same time ejaculating ' *Nkosi!* ' (Sire), or ' *Mnumzana* ' (Sir), as the case may be. Being furthermore a born democrat, he never bows, not even to his king. Such self-abasing cringes are essentially an Oriental conception, unknown to him. He never cringes, but always presents a proud, upright, frank and courageous front, even in the face of that most fearsome of majesties, Death. This salute of high respect he terms *ukuKúleka* (to-show-obedience).

King, then, and commoner are to the Zulu equally worthy of respect, and both accordingly receive the same form of salute. Whenever a Zulu enters a kraal (which everyone is entitled to do), he walks boldly up the courtyard; then, standing a moment outside the doorway of the principal hut (at the top of the kraal), announces his presence (if the door is open) by one or other of the above exclamations. Should he be a very inferior person (a messenger, for instance) and the kraal-head a very superior, he will deliver his message there standing. But under ordinary circumstances and society, after announcing his arrival by the method of *ukuKúleka* (as above), he would then immediately enter the hut and squat himself down (laying his sticks on the floor behind him) on the mat offered him by one of the inmates, on the right (or men's) side of the hut. There he would sit in complete silence.⁴⁵ Meanwhile the inmates, all equally hushed in silence, would each cast a respectful glance at him, and, after a minute's duration, greet him (*ukuBingelela*) with the expression, ' *Sa-ku-Bona!* ' (We-have-seen-you, and are satisfied—the particle, *Sa*, may here be rather a contraction of *Si-ya*; thus, *Si-ya-ku-Bona!*, we-do-see-you). This is their equivalent to our ' Good morning ' or ' Good afternoon '. To this, the visitor would then reply, ' *Ngi-Bona wena!* ' (And-I-see-thee), that is, Good-morning also to you. The principal inmate then happening to be in the hut would now enquire his business (if he be a stranger) by asking, Where he comes from; where he is going to; what he is fetching there, and so on. Satisfied that he is a perfectly honest customer, normal conversation would then be resumed; and, if it be mealtime, a spoon and food would be placed before him without any asking, and if there be beer, he would be served with a pot. It is the invariable rule, alike in the home and on the field, for the person on the spot to offer

the greeting to the comer ; never *vice versa* (as often with us). It were the extreme of impertinence for one entering a kraal or hut to address the inmates first himself, or to start the conversation prior to the preliminary silence and its succeeding greeting by them.⁴⁶

When travelling along a road or path, and encountering a high personage whom he knows, a man would give the same formal salute (of *Nkosi !*, *Sire !*, or *Mnumzana !*, *Sir !*), but would expect no friendly acknowledgment in return. But should it be a mere commoner or a friend or acquaintance, male or female, he would omit the formal salute, and the pair would straightway greet each other with the expression, *Sa-ku-Bona* (Good morning), and then proceed to ply each other with the selfsame personal enquiries as before. It would be very bad manners for two persons to meet upon a path and pass each other without this greeting and simple conversation ; so that within the space of a single mile, a traveller may be detained by stoppages of this kind quite half a dozen times. European employers are often at a loss to understand how it is their Native servants take so long a time when sent on errands. Here is, in part, the explanation.

Females, being ranked always as minors or children, were not expected (unless them themselves were 'superior persons') to give the formal salute (*ukuKileka*), but simply to stand demurely silent, or silently to pass by, when in the presence of the great, or quietly to enter the hut without previous announcement. But, at the same time, they were expected to receive and to give the ordinary personal greeting, whether in the home or on the highway.

It is interesting to note how these Zulu forms of salutation when compared with those of other Bantu and Negro peoples, are as dignified and natural as he is himself, when compared with those peoples. Spitting at a person, though considered a mark of high respect in the Sudan,⁴⁷ among some Nilotics, and even among the Kamba Bantu of Kenya Colony⁴⁸ (who possibly acquired the habit from the neighbouring Masai), among the Zulus is an expression of the most extreme contempt and disgust. The Masai, as Purvis⁴⁹ remarks, "are quite adepts at sending out the saliva through the notch filed between the two upper incisors, and of course you must take

the salutation in the spirit in which it is given". Stigand,^{45a} however, says the Masai (as is the custom also with the Suk^{45b} and other Nilotics) first spit only on their own palms, thereafter shaking hands with their friend. Masai children have a much weirder way of greeting their elders, namely, by butting them in the stomach with their heads.^{49c} The Monbuttu, to the north of Congoland, also shake hands, "at the same time cracking the joints of the middle fingers".^{49d} In the south of Congoland, some Natives, after shaking hands, "then twist the hands and grasp the thumb in the palm of the hand".^{49e} Others thereabouts first "slap the left hand on the thigh and then raise it in salute".^{49f} About Tanganyika Lake, some Bantu "touch hands twice, and bring the hand to the breast".^{49g} But among the Tumbwes in the same neighbourhood, upon meeting, "the two natives kneel on one knee. Each take a handful of earth from the ground and strews it crosswise over breast and arms".^{49h} The Kalangas of Mashonaland, "on joining a group to talk, or eat or drink, the new-comer claps hands before sitting down, and again when the food or drink is offered him".⁴⁹ⁱ On the Lower Zambezi, the two forms of greeting, clapping and kneeling, are combined, denoting perhaps a composite tribal origin. There "between men, the hands are clapped, with varying intervals between the claps. A woman responds to this form of greeting by bending the knees slightly, and making a stiff, short bob-curtsey".^{49j} But when a local Native meets a white man, "he bends his body slightly at the hips, and scrapes his feet backwards one after the other".^{49k}

It will have been noticed from the preceding paragraphs, that the 'savages' we are considering, were a surprisingly polite and courteous people. Some of them were consequently quite touchy about the forms of address used towards them. One might sometimes hear a man rebuking another with the indignant taunt, '*Zal'owaKó, u-mu-Té ngaLo*' (Go-and-beget-your-own child, and-call-him by-it—that name you are applying to me). This signified, 'I am not your child, to be addressed in that manner; give me my proper courtesy-title'. It was said to check a person who, contrary to Zulu etiquette, had called a man by his birth-name (as is done to children

only), instead of by his clan-name, or that of his regiment ; or a woman, by her father's name.

The polite form of address for a man, therefore, was to give him the 'address-name' (*isiTákazelo*) peculiar to his clan. Each and every clan, besides the actual 'clan-name' (*isiBongo*) (e.g. *aba-kwa-Zulu*, the-Zulu-clan ; *aba-s-ēLangeni*, the-eLangeni-clan—which was usually the name of the clan's founder, or of his kraal), possessed also an *isiTákazelo*, or name whereby to address the members of the clan, perhaps originally the name of the founder's father, or name of some other celebrated clan personality (e.g. *Ndabezitá*, for the Zulu clan ; *Mhlongo*, for the eLangeni clan). In polite conversation, a clansman was accordingly addressed, not by the clan's *isiBongo*, but by its *isiTákazelo* ; thus, one would say, ' *Sa-ku-Bona, Ndabezitá* ' (Good morning, Ndabezita), to the Zulu clansman, but ' *Sa-ku-Bono, Mhlongo* ' (Good morning, Mhlongo) to the eLangeni clansman. An alternative form, equally courteous and common, was to address a man by the name of his regiment ; thus, Good morning, *Túlwana*, (thou-of-the-Tulwana-regiment). In no case was he to be addressed by his birth or childhood's name by any other man or woman, save only by his own father and mother, to whom he remained always their 'child'. Boys, after reaching the age of puberty, liked to have their 'majority' recognized by their age-group mates ; so they frequently coined for themselves, or the latter coined for them, a brand-new nick-name (also euphemistically termed an *isiBongo*, or 'praise-name'), by which in future they would be referred to by their companions, instead of by their former birth or childhood name ; and so forward, until they too were old enough to be enlisted in a regiment.

With females, the etiquette of address was even more complicated. Girls, up to the time of their marriage (i.e. the actual wedding) were called by their birth-names by everybody. But after marriage, a woman was referred to, conversationally, by the *father and mother* of her husband simply by her father's name (not by her own) ; thus ' *U-pi uNdwandwe ?* ' where-is Ndwandwe ? (i.e. the daughter of Ndwandwe). By her *husband*, and his *married brothers*, and their *wives*, and by the *public* in general of an equally adult age, she was referred to with the prefix, *o-ka-* (she-of), placed before her father's name ; thus ' *U-pi o-ka-Ndwandwe ?* ', where-is she-of

Ndwandwe? But when she was personally addressed, the prefix, *ka-* (of) was used alone; thus, 'We! *ka-Ndwandwe*', I-say, of-Ndwandwe; or, again, '*Ngi-ye-Zwa, wena ka-Ndwandwe*', I-hear, thou of-Ndwandwe. The younger members of her husband's family (including unmarried youths and girls), as well as by the *public* of the same young age as the latter, referred to her by the name of her *first-born child*, male or female; thus, '*U-pi uNina ka-Zitwána?*' where-is the-mother of-Zitwana; or, again, '*We! Na ka-Zitwána*' (the *Na* being a contraction of *Nina*), I-say, mother of-Zitwana. Members of her *own kraal* or family, or even home acquaintances, would call her still (in familiar conversation) by her birth-name; thus, '*We! Nomiti*', I-say, Nomiti.

Girls had a quaint way of making requests for presents among themselves (but not from males). *Qóboli!* she might say to her companion. To which the other would enquire, '*U-ngi-Qóbolisa ngoBani?*' on-whose-account do-you-ask-of-me? Whereupon she would reply, '*Ngi-ku-Qóbolisa ngaMi*', I-ask-you on-account-of-myself, or, '*Ngi-ku-Qóbolisa ngoSibanibani*', I-ask-you on-account-of-So-and-so. If her request was made in the name of somebody whom the second party loved, then the latter could not refuse her; but otherwise, the reverse.

An inferior always received an article from a superior (e.g. a man from a chief, a woman from a man, a child from everybody—and even though the article were but a single small object, like a penny or a key) with *both* hands outstretched side by side, palms upwards (*ukuKángeza*). To receive with one hand only, would imply superiority in the receiver, or at least equality or familiarity between the parties. On the other hand, it was permitted to give another 'a handful' (*uKwéshe*) of anything upon occasion, as a mother giving her child a handful of food; but in such a case, the mother would call for an *umNyaba* (a single hollowed palm).

It is sometimes averred that the Zulu possesses no sense of gratitude and has no word for 'thank', seeing that the word which he employs, viz. *ukuBonga*, signifies simply 'to praise'. One forgets that words can express more than one meaning. When receiving a gift, the Zulu always acknowledges it by

saying, ' *Ngi-ya-Bonga* ', which here means ' I-belaud thee, or give thee thanks ' ; or, if the giver be an exalted person, he might convey his thanks by simply paying him the formal salute of respect, saying *Nkosi!* (Sire or Sir).

Whenever high personages visited a kraal, they were, upon arrival, always presented with something to ' slaughter ' (*ukuHlabisa*), perhaps a cow or a goat, as an acknowledgment of their rank. Once, when visiting ' Princess ' Ntonjane, a daughter of the Zulu king, Mpande, and being, according to customary rites, presented with a goat, in a moment of forgetfulness and out of sympathy with her present comparative poverty (since the family's deprivation of their position and wealth by the conquering British), we had the audacity very courteously to decline. This was immediately regarded by our hostess as a personal affront, a refusal to ' accept her food ', and some little tact and time was needed to appease and reassure her. The correct course would have been, first, to accept the gift with thanks, and then politely to have made a present of it back to her. In older days, it was customary with the Zulu kings to confer presents or rewards (*ukuXoshisa*), usually cattle or body-ornaments, on those who had done them some good service. On such occasions, there was a special manner of returning thanks. Says Isaacs⁵⁰ of king Dingane, " I thanked him in the usual manner, and with the rest of the people who had received cattle, namely, by each holding up the fore-finger, and simultaneously exclaiming ' eezee ' [*ya-yizi!*] three times. The ceremony is performed as often as the king makes presents ".

The Zulu ' winks ' with his eyebrows. The eye-wink is unknown and without meaning to him. Should he wish to give another a sly and silent hint, he raises and lowers sharply both eyebrows.

Again, when he beckons to one, instead of raising and bending back the forefinger, he points the whole hand downwards and, with a ' pawing ' motion, draws it towards himself.

Extreme disgust or contempt for a person may be displayed by squirting spittle between the teeth ; which, to a person, is always a highly insulting act, equivalent to calling him ' a dirty dog '.

When overcome with amazement or wonder, the Zulu makes his feelings known by 'catching hold of his mouth' (*ukuBamb' umLomo*), that is to say, he holds the side of his doubled fist before his slightly opened mouth, and tries to look as dumbfounded as he can. The same practice is followed also by the Sudan Negroes.⁵¹ The Zulu woman, however, expresses her astonishment by simply placing the palm before the open mouth; after the manner of the Congolese, among whom, says Ward,⁵² "astonishment is expressed by placing the hand before the open mouth and elevating the eyebrows".

Exaggeration is a universal African weakness; or even, one might say, is with them quite 'proper form'. When a man's cattle stray into a neighbour's field and help themselves to a few ears of corn, the owner of the field invariably describes the damage to the owner of the cattle as 'a clean sweep'. This fact he conveys by rapidly passing his open hand before his lips (as though wiping something off), at the same time blowing upon it. Perhaps he learned this trick from the Bushmen. "Chapman informs us," writes Stow,⁵³ "that a raging sickness of this kind having decimated some of the Kalahari tribes, an old Bushman named Cassé emphatically passed his hand before his mouth and, blowing against it, strove thus to indicate the clean sweep the extensive mortality had made amongst them. 'There are no people left,' he said, 'only stones.'" So the Zulu says to the owner of the cattle, after a few plants have been destroyed, 'There is nothing left; only a trampled down field.'

When pointing anything out, the forefinger (*isiKómbisa*) is used, as with ourselves; but when merely showing one the direction, the full hand is employed. Such, however, is not the custom throughout Bantuland. Among the Northern Rhodesian Lambas, for instance, when pointing, the whole hand, horizontally outstretched, is said to be used, sometimes palm upward (e.g. for a human being), at others palm downwards (e.g. for an animal). That the Lamba chief is pointed at (when not looking!) with the palm downwards, is no doubt due to his being regarded as some very fearsome kind of beast; just as the Zulus think to 'praise' their chief by calling him a lion or leopard, and by greeting him, whenever he appears, with the shout, *hayizi!* a cry used to scare such beasts away.

Native children have their own way of 'pointing the tongue' at their granny. Taking the precaution to get well behind her, they hold their hand in a clutching manner over her head, saying at the same time (or thinking it) *klibi!* (perhaps something like saying, 'You silly old fool'; anyway, a gesture of childish derision).

Smacking the extended fingers together (*ukuShaya imiNwe*), in order to emphasize a statement, was much commoner formerly than now; though one still meets with it. About 1835, Gardiner⁵⁴ wrote that "a Zoolu can scarcely speak without snapping [i.e. smacking together] his fingers at every sentence; and when energetic, a double snap is often made, and that between every four or five words". In other parts of Bantuland, this gesture indicates joy or greeting.⁵⁵

Handshaking upon meeting was entirely unknown among the earlier Zulus. The Xosa Ngunis of the Cape applied their word, *Xáwula*, to the action as they saw it practised among the Whitemen in their neighbourhood. Later they themselves adopted the practice, which, along with their word, gradually spread north into Natal and Zululand. The custom of 'finger-shaking' nowadays observed among the Zulu girls is quite modern.

Hand-clapping, on the contrary, was always a favourite habit with the Zulu females. It constituted an important factor in many of their national dances (e.g. the *isiGekle* and *iMpendu*). But there were several methods of clapping. At the wedding-dance, the form employed was termed *ukuShaya iHlombe* (to-clap an-iHlombe), in which the two hands were brought together point to point (not crossed); but when the dancing men had attained their full head of steam, the clapping girls responded by the more resounding *ukuMahla*, in which the hands were banged vigorously together crosswise. At the menstruation dance (*iNgcekeza*), however, and upon the arrival of the bridal party at a wedding, still another mode was employed, termed *ukuNqukuza*. In this, the two hands were brought together crosswise, but now with the palms deeply hollowed, which produced an entirely different type of noise. The clapping process (simply *ukuShaya izaNdla*, to-clap the-hands) employed by the consultants at the local oracle (*u-mNgoma*) was identical with the simple *iHlombe* above; only much gentler. At times, too, girls clapped spontaneously from

sheer joy ; and in some Bantu tribes they do so when greeting.⁵⁵ But the Zulu male never clapped, save when consulting the oracle.

All humans sneeze, at times ; but woe betide him who yielded to the impulse in Shaka's presence. You see, the sneeze used to be regarded as a proof that the sneezer was still 'alive' and going strong. But that king regarded it quite otherwise ; to him it was a direct challenge to his sole prerogative to prove the contrary ; which prerogative he was apt to put into immediate execution. Himself, however, he was above the law ; and every time his Majesty sneezed, everyone present wisely roared out *Títúka, Zulu, u-Be ngangeNtaba* (grow-still-bigger, O Zulu, and-become as-big-as-a-mountain), as though they rejoiced at his Majesty's robust health ! Gqugqu, brother of king Mpande, was once unlucky enough to sneeze in his sovereign's presence. He became immediately suspect ; and it was not long before he was summarily removed. When a child sneezed, its mother expressed her joy by exclaiming *Cítá!* (out-with-it—the nasty thing inside). Or she might say *Có!* (there goes another head-louse). Among the Temne Negroes of Sierra Leone, "there is a curious custom connected with sneezing during a meal. A man will say that the dead are begging, throw food behind him, and say, 'Old people, here are yours'."⁵⁷

The Ancient Egyptians, says Herodotus, were rather partial to a kiss ; but never so a Greek. To the Spartan Zulu male, kissing, as savouring of effeminacy, was (at least, among adults) felt to be repulsive.⁵⁸ Father and mother never knew what it was to be kissed even by their own daughters ; and father reciprocated by doing the same, and kissing nobody. Even when his dearest son returned unscathed from battle (and, further, only on that occasion), he merely greeted him with the ejaculation, *ameHlo a-Mhlopé!* (happy-are my-eyes—to see you back). But otherwise was it with mother. She (though never to be kissed herself) kissed away all round ; but never hubby. To her grown-up son the kiss combined both affection and reverence ; and so was delivered, not upon the cheek, but on the lower arm (above the wrist), as became a superior person. On her unmarried daughter (as became a child) and on all her other small children, she bestowed a

smacking kiss on each cheek ; but were the daughter already married, she too was kissed, like the son, reverently upon the wrist. Infants in arms were kissed (by the women) lovingly on the pubes,⁵⁹ a taste possessed also by the Bushwomen. Some early English travellers in the Zulu country, refer to 'hand-kissing'. Thus Ludlow,⁶⁰ writing about 1880, says ; " When we dismounted, an old dame took my hand, kissed it, and, claspng it between her two palms, pressed it to her breast in a most demonstrative manner ". Gardiner⁶¹ writes similarly. It may have been so ; though, more probably, we think, while ' the hand was grasped ', the kiss itself was delivered above it. There was no doubt, however, about the location of Isaacs' kiss. " The girls [of Sidunge's kraal] were glad to see us, and saluted us on each cheek with a kiss, an unusual compliment to a white man, though a common custom among themselves ".⁶² And even with the males, it appears likely that their usual restraint sometimes succumbed to the stronger urge of sentiment. Indeed, that reputed ogre, Mzilikazi himself, is said to have melted clean away at the mere sight of his two little daughters come to visit him, and, as Moffat⁶³ declares, actually " kissed each of them on the brow and then on each cheek. I observed others kiss them on each cheek, the brow and chin. This seems to be the mode of Matebele kissing ; it is done by men too, when they meet after a long absence " This latter remark is a little surprising ; and yet it is confirmed by the hunter, Leslie,⁶⁴ who traversed Zululand in the latter half of last century, and wrote : " I noticed a custom the Zulus have. A man coming home kisses all his wives, a young man his sisters, and so on ". Whether the ancient Zulu left home away in Nyanzaland already kissing, or whether he acquired the habit down south, one cannot know ; but up in Uganda, " no mother ever thought of kissing her child ; there was nothing known among the people like kissing," if Roscoe⁶⁵ be right. The Mangbetu of Equatorial Africa are equally undemonstrative ; they simply touch or stroke their children.⁶⁶

Some way back, Gardiner said the Zulu could hardly speak a sentence without snapping his fingers. Nowadays he has almost lost that habit, but can hardly make a statement without an oath. The oath consists in calling on some ' awful ' or ' highly revered ' person (like the speaker's father, or his king, or his sister, or his mother-in-law, whose names he could

hardly be expected to 'take in vain') to witness to his truthfulness; or he may threaten to commit some heinous abomination (like having intercourse with his sister or his mother-in-law), if he be found lying. Having no gods to swear by like the Romans, the Zulu therefore swears by his king—*Ngi-Fúnga uMpande* (I-swear-by Mpande), or simply *Mpande!* (by-Mpande). Or he might say *Ngi-Lale kwa-Monase* (I-would-sleep in-Monase's-hut—she being Mpande's favourite wife), or *Ngi-Fúnga uBaba* (I-swear-by my-father), or *Ngi-Fúnga amaTámbo kaBaba* (I-swear-by the-bones of-my-father), or *baKwekazi!* (by-my-mother-in-law). Young men prefer to asseverate by their sisters; thus, *Ngi-Funga uDadewetú* (I-swear-by my-sister), or simply *Dadewetú!* (by-my-sister). Women do not swear by the king, but by one, to them, still more 'awful', their father-in-law; thus, *Ngi-Fúnga uMamezala* (I-swear-by my-father-in-law), or simply *Mamezala!* (by-my-father-in-law).

Women, again, when wishing to affirm (but without taking an oath) in a specially compelling manner, have the habit, when making a statement, of throwing, as it were, both hands, outstretched and together, over their left shoulder, and at the same time turning their face, with a fierce look thereon, in the opposite direction (towards the right). This done, no honourable person dare longer doubt their word!

If one Zulu man says something offensive, or utterly incredible, to another, the latter may express his disbelief or indignation by making some 'solemn' retort, like *Kō-Ba kw-Endza abaKwekazi* (it-must-be your-mother-in-law's-people who-will-do-that); or if it be a woman, *Kō-Ba kw-Endza ōNyokozala* (it-would-be your-father-in-law's-people, etc.). Upon hearing so 'awful' a profanity, the first speaker will at once take up his hat (that is to say, his sticks) and immediately march off highly offended. Should it be afterwards proven that he spoke the truth, the second party, who disbelieved his word (and is said to have *Fúngisela*'d him), is in honour bound to make amends in the shape of some small gift.⁶⁷

The curse (*ukuYolanisa* or *ukuLoyanisa*) is a much more serious matter, because it does, sometimes, happen! The unsophisticated Zulu possesses a profound belief in and an extensive experience of the occult, together with an

extraordinarily powerful mind, intuitively and emotionally. Experience has taught us that, among these primitives, mind possesses quite uncanny powers over mind, and mind over body, such as are to us quite unsuspected and incredible, because with us inoperative. The curse most dreaded by a man, and the most effective, is that hurled against him by his own father ; for to him that father will, ere long, become the greatest of his gods, the most potent of his ancestors ; and the son's conviction of the impossibility of his ever escaping the father's curse, is no doubt the explanation of the evil actually befalling him. This evil, in the Zulu dispensation, may take many forms :—gradual decline in health with ultimate death, insanity, mania for divers forms of crime, impotency to beget, persistent ill-luck with family or stock, disfavour with his chief or neighbours, in brief, in some sort of physical or social ruination. Purvis,⁶⁸ writing at the other end of the Bantu field in Uganda, was not romancing when he wrote ; “ The word ‘ Kutsuba ’ is dreaded, for to ‘ Kutsuba ’, or curse, one's child is the severest punishment a father can bestow. The son so dealt with becomes a wanderer, not because his father has cast him out, but because he believes in the power of the curse, and, by the action of his own mind, brings upon himself what his father's words would have been totally incapable of—utter destruction of health and wealth ”. Happily, fathers in Zululand very rarely inflict this terrible punishment. He who does infinitely more cursing is the professional *umTákati* (secret worker of evil) ; but *his* methods are through the medium of magic. A sinister threat hurled by one man against another, used to be, *Namhla, Bani, ngi-Ti, Langa! Válela* (today, So-and-so, I-say-to-you, Sun, good-bye!), the implication being a determination on the speaker's part (usually through some *umTákati*) to bring about the death of the other party. This reminds one of Sir Walter Scott's making the Norman knight, De Bois-Guilbert, cry to Ivanhoe, his antagonist, ‘ Look your last on the sun ! ’ before they clashed on the lists.

The females had their own way of making their power felt. We constantly meet with them in history deliberately denuding themselves before men and gods, in order to urge their case more impressively. The ‘ prophetesses ’ of old habitually played this trick ;⁶⁹ and it was staged again, with the usual success, by Zwide's mother, when he determined upon a raid

against which she was as strongly opposed. So when the warriors were mustered, she suddenly rushed into the presence of the departing soldiery, threw away her kilt and hurled every imprecation she knew upon their wicked venture. Utterly cowed by so hideous a portent, Zwide and his army stood all of them aghast, and all calmly went back home again.⁷⁰ On several other occasions, as at the *umShopi* and other ceremonies, formal female nudity was regularly employed to scare the males away. Similarly in everyday life, should a woman see a certain hated man approaching her way, she might cause him to scoot by this selfsame procedure of tearing off her skirts and otherwise insulting him.

Women had frequent ructions too among themselves. And when one woman fell out with another, the fall was apt to be foul indeed ; for, to the manner born, she would grab up the most murderous implement within her reach (the *isi-Qobolo*, or heavy stick used for fastening the hut-door, was her favourite weapon) and slash away therewith, without concern or discrimination, at any available spot on the enemy's person. When this failed, they would fall to in a close-quarters grapple, banging, biting, tearing each other to pieces, till at length the weaker would be thrown upon the ground with the victor bestraddling her, pinching and pummelling here, there and everywhere, till the black conquered body was blue all over.

Granny, too, well-trained thereto by long experience, had a similar way of dealing with unruly children. Waiting quietly till sundown brought the naughty boy back home again, when well inside the hut, she would pounce upon him, throw a large blanket over him, then, forcing him on to the ground, sit on him and mightily pinch his body through the blanket, till he yelled for mercy. Such a punishment was jocularly referred to (by the onlookers) as the painful maul of the ' wild-beast of-the-blanket ' (*isiLo seNgúbo*).

The custom of tabu, universal throughout the primitive world, is a natural issue of superstitious awe ; and, as such, the subject pertains more properly to a chapter on ' Superstitions '. But it enters so largely into the Zulu daily life, and consequently crops up so constantly in this volume, that some explanation of the practice is here advisable. Like so much else, it too is a ' survival ', still preserved by the more ' childlike '

racés, of those 'bogy fears' peculiar to all mankind in its infancy.

We have used the expression 'superstitious *awe*' advisedly; because the Zulu word, *ukwEsaba* (usually explained as 'to-fear'), really implies something more than 'fear', covering, as it does, a compound sentiment combining at once a feeling of 'dread' and of 'reverence'; to which the English word, 'awe', seems the nearest equivalent.

The outcome of this sense of awe is a large number of abstentions (or 'mustn'ts'), which we, following the Polyynesians, call *tabus*. These *tabus* enter largely into Zulu life, where they are termed *ukuZila* (to refrain from, out of awe). They take the form both of 'restraint' from certain actions and restraint from certain speech; and they may be referable alike to persons, places, or things. When the 'awesomeness' reposes in a person, and the resulting abstention is in regard to such person, then the *tabu*, whether one of action or of speech (mostly the latter), is usually distinguished by the name of *ukuHlonipá* (to do out of reverence for or of respect to).

All forms of *tabu* affect mostly the female sex; less frequently the male. They come into operation principally in connection with the events of birth, marriage, war and death; and mention of them will occur again and again, when we deal with those matters.

In their general life among mankind, the Zulu women are quite remarkable for their 'respectful' behaviour. Indeed, as already stated, they have in their rule of life, a whole complicated system of 'respectfulness', which they term *ukuHlonipá*, and which affects them constantly in both speech and action. This *Hlonipa* custom, however, is by no means a Zulu monopoly. It occurs here and there, and in varying measure, throughout the whole of Negroland, as well as among the Australians, the Arabs of Tunisia, the Caribs of Central America, the Indians of California, in Borneo, in Fiji and elsewhere.⁷¹

Even among ourselves, most children are 'ashamed' to mention their father's, or mother's, or even their own, name, when asked for it: all that still remains to us of this primitive instinct. But fear is an older sentiment than shame, and we think that fear lay at the bottom of this strange and universal

practice of *Hloniḫá*—fear of some mysterious evil that might follow the mention by name of any particularly dreaded or awe-inspiring person or thing ; fear of drawing towards one its undesirable attention ; fear of giving it displeasure or of showing it disrespect. ‘ Don’t speak of it ! ’ we ourselves say upon hearing anything especially horrid or unpleasant.⁷² The Chinese call their Supreme Being the ‘ Heavens ’ (*Tien*), the Jews theirs ‘ I-who-am ’ (*Yahveh*), and the Egyptians too had secret names for their deities. The Kiowa of North America drop from their speech any word which suggests the name of a person lately deceased. In Greenland, the Eskimos will not pronounce their own names. One has only to enquire of a small Zulu girl her father’s, even her own, name to see how reluctant she will be to give it. For a Zulu woman to call a porcupine by its proper name, *iNgúngúmbane*, were but to provoke it to increased depredation in her fields ; therefore it must be referred to ‘ politely ’ as ‘ the-little-woman ’ or *umFazazana*. Nor would she say of a cat that it is *Miti* (pregnant) or that it has *Zalile* (given-birth-to), but that it has *Hlandzile* (borne-fruit), lest it go away and never come back. The *ubuBēde*, red ant with the painful bite, if referred to as such, will retaliate by visiting the kraal in force ; and is therefore spoken of ‘ nicely ’ as the ‘ young-wives ’ (*ōMakoti*) or as the ‘ young-husbands ’ (*abaYeni*). Frazer says that the Sayids and Mussulmans of high rank in Northern India never dare to call a snake by its real name, but describe it as a tiger or a string. The Zulu women likewise never call it a ‘ snake ’ (*iNyoka*), but ‘ a-thorn ’ (*ameVá*) ; while the lightning they call, not by its name, *ūNyazi*, but speak of it as ‘ the-sky ’ (*īZulu*).

Among the Zulus, this *Hloniḫa* custom affects mainly the married women ; although, as exceptional cases, the men, or indeed the whole clan, may *Hloniḫa* the name of a renowned chief or ancestor, as, for instance, the Zulus, a few generations ago, *Hloniḫa*’d the words, *iMpande* (root) and *iNdlela* (path), calling them, respectively, *iNgxabo* and *iNyatiiko*, owing to certain then great personages being named *uMpande* and *uNdlela*.

A married woman *Hloniḫa*’d the names of her father-in-law and all his brothers, the *amaKosana* or eldest among her brothers-in-law, her mother-in-law, and all other wives of her father-in-law. Any common word containing the same root as

that of any such name, would be avoided by her in speech, and another word substituted for it. Thus, if one of the above persons were named *uMuti* (Mr. Tree), not only would this (the ordinary) word for 'a-tree' be disused, and the *Hlonipa* word, *umCakantshi*, substituted for it, but, further, every other word containing within its root the particle, *ti*, would be similarly avoided; thus, for *ukuTiba* would be used *ukuPunga*; for *umTakatí*, *umKúnkuli*; for *ukuTí*, *ukuNki*, and so on.

This practice naturally causes the 'Zulu' of the women to differ, in several words, from that of the men; yet, since each woman *Hlonipa*'s not more than half-a-dozen examples in the whole Zulu vocabulary, the consequences are hardly noticeable in any particular woman's speech, though the whole female aggregate may be considerable.

The *Hlonipa* of action is equally as rigorous and far-reaching. All those persons enumerated above as to be *Hlonipa*'d by name, are themselves to be *Hlonipa*'d in the woman's daily life. Thus, she must ever cover the body, from breast and shoulder-blade downwards, when in their presence; she must not even look at them, nor be seen by them, during the period of 'ceremonial veiling' (*ukuGubuzela*); she must not eat in their presence, nor chew any food while standing or walking outside in their kraals, and so on. Although never released from the *Hlonipa* of speech, a woman may be set free from the *Hlonipa* of action by the particular male group, or the particular women, each for their own party presenting her with a goat or similar gift for the purpose of *ukwAmbula* (to-remove-the-veil).

Oft of an afternoon one might hear the soft deep boom of the signal-horn (*iMpalampala*) wafting over the veld. This was an invitation by some lonely man to all and sundry to come and keep him company with the hubble-bubble. The *iMpalampala* was a hollow cow's-horn with a hole bored at its tip, or a few inches up its side, for blowing. The hubble-bubble (*iGúdu*) was likewise a hollow cow's-horn (in the better brands, that of a kudu antelope), finely pared and polished, and used for hemp-smoking. It was fitted with a reed stem (*isiTukulu*), inserted at an acute angle half-way down its side, and carrying on its tip a small bowl (*iMbiza*), the size of an egg and made of

a nicely carved and polished jade-like soapstone. The smoking-horn having been filled with water (to just above the level of the stem-aperture), and the bowl with dry, rubbed-up hemp-leaves (*iNtsangu*) bearing a tiny glowing ember on their top, the smoker (having first taken a sip of water and retained it in his mouth) placed the large open end of the horn to the side of his mouth and cheek (so as to close all ingress of air), and gave two or three strong draws, bringing the smoke from the hemp, through the water, and so into his mouth, where part of it found its way straight into his lungs. The consequence was a violent coughing and abundant secretion of saliva, which latter, mixed together with the water and the smoke (already filling his mouth), the smoker now discharged in the form of a bubbly foam through a small reed-like stem of the *iNgwéví* plant. As this foamy spittle passed through and out of this tube (*ūTshumo*) on to the earthen hut-floor, the smoker, by means of his fore-finger, drew with it on the floor various designs (kraals, mazes and the rest). While the one smoker was thus still engaged drawing his picture, his companion would be having his pull at the horn. In a few minutes the whole smoking-party would be loudly coughing, each in the interval shouting out his own or his family's praises (*iziBongo*), and all of them together enwrapt in a state of consummate bliss. The floor-picture they most liked to draw was that called 'the-maze' or *uSogékle*. This consisted of the conventional irregularly intercircling line of spittle, with a passage-way between the lines, and finally, about the centre of the maze, enclosing a tiny circle supposedly representing the hut of the chief. To this latter, a member of the party was now asked to find his way. His usual failure was followed by roars of laughter, with the exclamation, *W'-Apuka Sogékle*, or *W'-Apuka eNgúnjini* (you-got-caught-in-the-maze, or in-the-corner). Most Zulu men smoked hemp daily without apparent harm; but when indulged in to excess, especially by the young, the mental faculties became gradually and permanently blunted. In some individuals hemp-smoking caused extraordinary hilarity and irrepressible laughter; in others, extreme moroseness; in still others, dangerous and criminal incitement, and even delirium. Young warriors were especially addicted to hemp-smoking, and under the exciting stimulation of the drug, were capable of accomplishing the most hazardous feats. The hemp (*iNtsangu*, *Cannabis sativa*)

the Zulus smoked was home-grown in every kraal, the best quality leaves (soft and richly growing) being called *uNotá*, the poorer kind, *iQúme*.

"Hemp", says Johnston,⁷³ "was introduced into Central Africa by the Arabs probably before tobacco came in the footsteps of the Portuguese, and hemp-smoking, originating in Asia, prepared the way for the smoking of tobacco". The Arabs, however, call the hemp-leaves hashish, while the Indians and Persians call them *bhang*. The Zulu name being *iNtsangu* suggests that the custom descended to them from an Indian or Persian source, rather than an Arabian. Referring back to our remark above about the mad-heroism this hemp-smoking sometimes aroused in Zulu warriors, it is interesting to note that our English word, 'assassin', is derived from this same Arabic root, *hashish*, having been originally the appellation given to a medieval military body in Syria (and called *hashshāshīn*), whose members were notorious for their murderous exploits when under the influence of *hashish*. Livingstone⁷⁴ says: "This pernicious weed has a strong narcotic effect, causing even a species of frenzy. It is extensively used by all the tribes of the interior, though the violent fit of coughing which follows a couple of puffs of smoke, appears distressing to a spectator. They have a disgusting practice of taking a mouthful of water, and squirting it out together with the smoke, and then uttering a string of half-incoherent sentences, usually in self-praise". Even the Bushmen had learned the habit from the neighbouring Bantu, their form of hubble-bubble being identical with that of the Zulus.⁷⁵ The Borneo pipe is also similar in construction, although their weed is tobacco. Says Shelford:⁷⁶ "Our carriers produced short lengths of bamboo which, with a few strokes of their small, angled knives, were quickly converted into pipes. The bamboo was half filled with water, and a small pinch of tobaccō was placed on the top of a slender piece of bamboo inserted at an angle in a hole in the side of the main piece".⁷⁷

The Zulus are, and have been perhaps for some centuries, great tobacco-snuffers, the tobacco-plant and the snuff made from its leaves being both called by the same name, *uGwáyi*. Indeed, the Zulu clan proper was in olden times famous in its immediate neighbourhood for the excellence of its home-grown tobacco-leaves. Every man and woman habitually carried a snuff-box (*iShungu*), which was the hard, emptied shell of the

fruit of the *umTóngwane* tree (*Oncoba spinosa*). Old women, however, continued to cling to the original small skin snuff-wrap (*iViti*), made from the paunch of an ox or from the bulb of the *iNcotó* plant (*Hæmanthus Katherinæ*). Tobacco-smoking, on the other hand, was never a Zulu custom; they preferred the exhilarating hemp. But their Tembu neighbours and relatives on the Natal coast had their pipes already in 1686, as the survivors of the ship-wrecked *Stavenisse* have attested. Johnston⁷⁵ writes that "between 1600 and 1800 tobacco must have penetrated almost everywhere into the innermost recesses of the Congo basin, as well as elsewhere throughout negro Africa". As to how it got there, Angelo⁷⁹ gives away the secret: it came from Brazil, somewhere prior to 1666. Ere long, the gay Congolese, women⁸⁰ as well as men, were sporting long pipes.⁸¹ Attacked from both front and rear, from east and west, the whole of Africa from top to bottom had soon succumbed to the craze, and Park⁸² was right — "All Negroes snuff⁸³ and smoke".⁸⁴ As for our own special South African brand of the fragrant leaf, "on the very spot where the village of Somerset now stands, tobacco was first raised in the colony, under the care of Dr. Makrill . . . It is called [c. 1850] Boer's tobacco to distinguish it from the various species of the imported weed . . . The Hottentots of both sexes take heaps of snuff—not, by-the-way, up the nostrils, but in their mouth".⁸⁵ So says Cole.⁸⁶ But, as said, the Ngunis, both in Zululand and Natal, were growing tobacco almost two hundred years before the just-mentioned date (see reference to Tembus above), the Zulus to snuff, the Natalians to smoke; they having got the plant or its seed either from ship-wrecked mariners or from Delagoa Bay.

Night-clubs and gambling belonged to a civilization far in advance of anything the Zulu knew of. Still, he had his own simple ways of relieving the tedium of life; and of these, he found none more seductive than the dance (*ukuSina*). The Zulu's dancing was a natural urge to express his emotions in vivid action; and with this urge was combined a sense of beauty in graceful attitude and rhythmic movement to the accompaniment of pleasing sound. For with him, the dance was inseparably united with song, and the song with movement. His emotions were still in the Pyrrhic stage, and his dance-

songs commemorated national events and tribal glories, rousing him more to patriotic enthusiasm than to love. Yet the fact that he chose mostly weddings, menstruations and youthful gatherings whereat to display his dancing, showed that his sport was already suggesting to him the amorous in thought, though those feelings had not yet become articulate in song. To this latter stage both Ancient Greece and Medieval Europe had already advanced; there Terpsichore had already wedded Eros, and they danced and sang of love. Gerald Cambrensis devotes some space in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* to the dance-songs of Old England, as they were wont at that time to be performed in church and churchyard; and he mentions a certain parish-priest, who, after listening to them enacted all night long in his churchyard, was so enamoured of their beauty that, on the morrow at Mass, instead of the usual prayer, 'May the Lord be with you!' (*Dominus vobiscum*), he cried out, 'Sweetheart, take pity!'

Egyptian monuments, then, Greek plays, Hebrew scriptures and Indian sculptures, all alike depict or describe this worship of the Terpsichorean goddess. With this gay company, the Zulu now joined himself, and into weddings and hunts and comings-of-age he introduced this charming cult as an essential feature. But of those events we shall speak more fully in another place.

Those were the days, you will remember, when each clan was still a homogeneous and independent unity. Since exogamy was the universal rule among the Ngunis, it was imperative that some means be found of bringing the young of the separated clans sometimes together under suitable conditions. So the Zulus conceived the idea of inter-clan Love Dances (*iJádu*). During the bright and merry summer time, the young men and maidens of any clan would accordingly arrange to meet the young men and maidens of another clan on some particular spot convenient to both and generally on the veld near by a wood, nominally, for the purpose of competing at the dance, but really with the object of becoming mutually acquainted. On these occasions, the *iNtsikazi* dance provided the *pièce de résistance*. The pair of friendly chiefs, together with their respective followings and any other onlookers (who constituted at once both the 'house' and the 'judges' of the performance), having seated themselves in a suitable place,

the performing party assembled in a great circle or semi-circle (*umKúmbi*) around them (so that the spectators were in the centre), and in that position they displayed their terpsichorean skill. Usually, the males alone competed on one day, the females on another. The movements and the song—the latter was started by a good-singing girl (*ĩGāgú*) standing in the front—accompanied by the hearty clapping of the on-looking females, and by a gradual ebb and flow, as it were, of the whole line of dancers, were of an exceptionally lively and energetic nature; and the party that succeeded in putting into its performance the greatest verve, was usually that which succeeded in most captivating the public eye and in carrying off the prize (generally *iNtsimba* skins for the men, beads for the females, and such-like). The *iNtsikazi* dance finally resolved itself into an *umPéndu* (or *isiWiliwili*) dance (ahead).

Here, again, in this Zulu *ĩJádú* (or Love Dance), we have another of the ancient survivals still preserved for us; though now, alas! practically extinct. "Among the Kasias of Bengal," says Frazer,⁸⁷ "amongst whom husband and wife are always of different clans, Kasia maidens dance at the new moon in March; the young men do not dance but only look on and many matches are made at these times. On the 15th day of the month, Abh, the damsels of Jerusalem, clad in white, used to go out and dance in the vineyards, saying, 'Look this way, young man, and choose a wife.'" The young maids of Shiloh were actually thus engaged dancing in the vineyard, when the young men of the Benjamin clan, awaiting the opportunity, pounced upon them and "caught every man his wife and went off with her to the land of Benjamin" (Judges XXI. 20).

It may be said that dancing, among the Zulus, was always of a public and ceremonial nature. Private dances were unknown. A couple would no more have thought of performing together in the home, than they would have thought of singing a song. Children were the sole exception; unless the pythoress (*umNgóma*) may also be included. More often was it the small girls, rather than the boys, who would amuse themselves in the courtyard of their home striking all sorts of quite spontaneous poses, in which the body-curves, arm-bends and leg-movements were blended with much beauty and grace. The postures assumed by the Ancient Egyptian dancing-girls, as

may be seen in Engel's illustrations,⁸⁸ were of identically the same type as those struck by these little Zulu girls.

To the ordinary European, the Zulu dance is wholly incomprehensible. Its arm and leg movements, to say nothing of the accompanying song, are so strange and barbaric, as to be utterly devoid of any meaning or beauty. But to the favoured few who really can interpret them, to the artist and to the historically and linguistically initiated, they are rich in graceful pose and expressive significance. To such, these dance-songs do really 'speak' and touch the heart-strings with pleasure and power. To the Zulu himself much more so; to him they reveal the innermost emotions of his nature with a picturesqueness and force that even his expressive language could, alone, never reach. In this respect, there is in them some semblance to our own lovely minuets; but no doubt whatever that they are infinitely superior to the formless, inartistic and unimaginative shufflings which masquerade as dance in modern England and America.

There were several forms of Zulu dance-song, each with its own peculiar manner of movement and distinguishing name. All were choreographic (in massed chorus), and each clan had its own separate repertoire. In all alike, body, legs and arms were actively engaged. The dancers usually formed up in line (*ukuKlela*), males in front, girls behind, if the dance was on the veld; in a large semi-circle or even circle (*umKúmbi*), if it was held within the cattle-fold: the wives never took part in these dances. The programme normally commenced with the striking up of an *iNkondlo* (starting-piece). This was a lively air, with quick, spirited action of arms and legs, and a slowly progressing forward movement. An *isiQubulo* usually followed, differing from the preceding mainly in being slower, more quiet, dignified and sedate, and therefore beloved of chiefs and aristocratic elders. The *umPédu* (or *isiWiliwili*) was a kind of interval dance, designed to break the monotony and generally to enliven the proceedings; in which it always succeeded. It was a rather pretty and captivating performance, in which the dancers, two abreast, arranged themselves into two columns (sometimes only one), which moved dancing about the field to the tune of a spirited song, intercircling the one with the other, or sometimes approaching each other head-on

as though about to clash, when the excitement and amusement would become quite thrilling ; but only, at the last moment, turning each gracefully about and retracing its steps, or peacefully passing the other by, each continuing in opposite directions. Upon reforming into line, an *isiSuso* (or *isiGékle*) might be struck up, another lively performance, accompanied by continuous rhythmic and inspiring clapping by the girls. The dance closed (in the better-class kraals) with the *iNgóma* (or national clan-dance), a stately affair, resembling the *isi Qubulo*.

Whenever a Zulu wedding was at hand, the bride and bridegroom arranged a dance-programme, each for his or her own party. Although it used to be customary for the party of the bride to repeat old and well-known songs, the bridegroom generally preferred, for his own party, to introduce something entirely new to mark the occasion. For this purpose, he would secure the services of some professional 'composer' (*iNgqambi*), of whom each district could boast of one or two. No fee was charged for the service. A few days before the wedding, the *ukuFúnda* (to-learn) would be announced among the surrounding kraals. The bride, or the bridegroom, would first lead their party through all the proposed older dances. Then the *iNgqambi* would initiate them in his own special new composition. His method was to sing the piece through several times alone ; during which, one or more of the smarter youths would gradually pick up the air and join in with him, and eventually the whole class. Strict discipline was maintained by the *iNgqambi* during the teaching, and anyone, man or girl, who was so unwise as to laugh, promptly received a painful reprimand, or was ignominiously expelled from the hut. The second step in the composer's method was for him to go through the actual *dance*, in person and alone, before the class. And this was the stage when the maintenance of order and self-restraint was particularly irksome to the pupils ; for it very frequently happened that our dusky composer utterly failed to make the wording and the movements fit together. On such occasions, he had to seek the aid of another professional, an *iNdabuli* (or cutter-up), who arranged the words to the various arm and leg movements. This satisfactorily mastered—although often enough the combined efforts of both *iNgqambi* and *iNdabuli* resolved themselves in to a shrieking farce—the more imitative

of the young people would join in with the teachers ; and so gradually the whole houseful.

Most of these dance-songs were performed, so to say, in two choirs. The shrill, fluty voices of the females, in the rear, led off. Then the men, in front, fell in with their mighty bass and resounding stamps on the turf. Now, united together, the two choirs, each with its own quite separate words and tune, would proceed as one perfectly balanced and harmonious whole, executed with marvellous precision. The words of such songs would appear, to us, as quite utterly inane ; but the interior feelings and thoughts of the performers conferred upon them a meaning, which we, with no experience of their life, or knowledge of their history, can hardly expect to fathom. For instance, here is one of the national songs of the Zulu clan proper :—

Girls. *Iye eyayeyi ! Iye eyayeyi !* (no translatable meaning).

Men. *Yebo !* (So-it-is-indeed).

Girls. *Calakashela ; li-ya-Shona iLanga* (Trudge-patiently-along ; for the-sun is-going-down).

Men. *Li-yaku-Hlupeka ; i-nga-k'-Eshwami iNkosi yeTú* (the land it-will-be-in-a-suffering-state, until our king holds-the-harvest-ceremony).

(Da capo, ad infin.).

Here the girls' opening cry is probably threnodic, suggesting a plaint ; to which the men assent. The succeeding sentences of girls and men acquire a meaning at once, so soon as we possess the following knowledge. By the time that spring (the new cultivating season) had arrived, the food-supply of the preceding year were everywhere getting painfully low. The pangs of hunger were already being felt, especially by the children. And yet (by strict Zulu law) none dare touch the early maize or pumpkins in his gardens, until, somewhere late in December, the king was pleased to open the way by performing the *ukwEshwama* (or new-harvest-rite). Hence it is that the hungry girls cry out : ' Keep your spirits up ; for Christmas is coming.' And the men continue with : ' Yes, the country will have to suffer, until the king permits us to gather in the new crops '. Thus the inanity of these simple words has become

replaced by a fullness of meaning before this better understanding. With such understanding of the songs, one will come to see some barbaric beauty and expressiveness also in the movements of the dance, and feel with Dugmore,⁸⁹ when he witnessed such a show in Kikuyuland:—"A finer or more impressive sight it has never been my good fortune to witness . . . As the main body would run slowly round in a circle, detachments of five or six would rush across the field shouting and jumping with wonderful agility. For nearly an hour this continued, yet I could have willingly watched for a whole day. I have never seen men keep such perfect time, and their song was positively inspiring".

In the preceding paragraph, Dugmore refers to the peculiar Bantu *ukuGiya* (or *pas seul*) dancing. While the assembly, seated on the grass, awaits the commencement of the Zulu wedding-dance, or at any other suitable intervals during the performance, suddenly one of the young braves, fully accoutred with stick, shield and feathers, will jump up, rush into the arena before the crowd, and there perform all the pantomime of actual Native warfare at its hottest. Working himself into a perfect frenzy of murderous fury, he will charge down on the invisible enemy, with tails and feathers flying, dealing death to right and left as he goes, parrying with his shield, stabbing with his assegai (here a stick), retreating backwards before the overwhelming odds, leaping into the air with the agility of a leopard, the crowd the while roaring out his praises (*izi Bongo*), till, the foe finally demolished, the warrior will come to a sudden standstill, fierce of mien, with feet wide apart, but plumes still flying, as proud as a gladiator after his victory in the Roman arena: the perfect mimic! So inspiring do the on-looking youths find this thrilling display, that one or more of them immediately follow suit, springing out into the show-ground, emulating and even surpassing the other's feats of bravery and marvellous antics. This kind of *pas seul* the Zulus, as said, call *ukuGiya*; and it may be witnessed also among the Chwanas,⁹⁰ the ovaMbo,⁹¹ the Nyikas,⁹² in Angola,⁹³ indeed throughout all Bantuland, a remnant once more of very ancient times. Among the Tavetas, writes MacQueen,⁹⁴ "the young fellow who leads the dance, throws up his spear and jumps after it to catch it in mid air, singing as he does so a martial pæan like the ancient Greeks". In Lundaland, writes Livingstone,⁹⁵

“ a man starts up and imitates the most approved attitudes observed in actual fight—such as throwing a javelin, receiving one on his shield, springing aside to avoid another, running backwards and forwards, leaping ” and so on.

A quieter form of dance-song, though equally as quaint, was the *umCwáyo*. This was performed of an evening in a hut and ‘ danced ’ on the buttocks, generally for the entertainment of some visiting sweetheart. Seated in a circle round the floor, the young men would strike up a song, make graceful movements with their arms, and, as they sat, shuffle gradually forward.

The *iNgcekeza* dance was peculiar to a girl’s first menstruation and other such ceremonies.

The young men’s *ukuGádlela* is but a modern importation into Zululand of the *umDlamu* dance of Natal.

We have already said that there is no solo-singing among the Zulus ; and yet every mother invents and sings to her infant a suitable ditty (*isiHlabelelo*) of her own, and every girl in love sings to her sweetheart, as she strums on the family *ũGúbú* (a single-stringed bow, with an empty gourd-shell attached to the back part to act as sounding-board).

There is one great song, however, which every clan possesses, that is only sung in massed choir and is never danced to. It is the clan’s national anthem (*ĩHubo*). Each separate clan has a different *ĩHubo* ; some even two of them. This song is treated with extreme respect by all the members of the clan, possessing to them a certain sacred sentimentality of character. In earlier days, it used to be to the Native patriot the ‘ dear old song ’ reminiscent of the good old times (upon which all old folk so loved to look back) when, in pre-Shakan days, the clan was free and unfettered by the foreign Zulu yoke, when peacefulness and plenty reigned in their land, days gone now and never to return ! The clan *ĩHubo*, therefore, is, even still, sung only on certain solemn occasions, when the feeling of the hour would seem to fit the pathos of the song. It is always performed with much gravity of manner, generally with up-lifted shields, and unaccompanied by dance, and is said frequently to have brought tears to the older people’s eyes. It is sung by the family assembled together in the home cattlefold just previous to the departure of ‘ a child of the house ’ going off to get married ;

upon the arrival of the bridal-party at the kraal of the bridegroom; and at the funeral-hunt (*iHlambo*) following the decease of a family-head, the paterfamilias.

The regimental *amaHubo*, peculiar to each separate regiment, were more in the nature of march-songs (not dance-songs), and had nothing of the above sacredness of character about them. They may have been more recent inventions, perhaps during Shakan times.

Had railways existed in old Zululand, the regulation would have run, 'Babies on backs' instead of 'Infants in arms'. Whether carried by the nurse-girl or by its mother, the Zulu child was always borne straddled across the back, with its two legs passing round the waist and its body sitting enveloped within a skin sack (*iMbeleko*) or sheet, of whose four corners, the upper pair was passed over the mother's shoulders, the lower under her arms, each pair being then tied together in a knot over her chest. With this burden on her sturdy back, the hard-working mother often went forth and hoed her fields, when no nurse-girl was available.

This was the commonest, though not the universal, manner of child-carrying amongst the Bantu:⁹⁶ Bushwomen, however, carried "their little children on the left side over the hip, in a lying posture, the child's feet being towards the parent's back . . . supported in the skin of a springbok".⁹⁷ Some Bantu tribes also followed this custom of hip-carrying, for instance, those of Angola;⁹⁸ but there the child was given a straddled seat, not a lying posture.⁹⁹ Even Zulu women sometimes carry in this way.

Chiefs, too, as well as babes, were carried about in some parts of Bantuland; but they, as became their higher rank, always took the top seat, making their progress, alike in Uganda¹⁰⁰ and in Angola,¹⁰¹ mounted on the shoulders of a man. This never occurred among the Zulus.

The Zulu man's beast of burden was his wife. Oft might she be met, patiently trudging along behind her lord, bearing, perfectly balanced on her head, a huge bundle of sundries half as big as herself, and half as heavy. Water-pots, grain-baskets and all other such cumbersome parcels, were always carried

in this way on the head. The Zulus knew nothing of pack-oxen (*Z. īPakosi*), and learned nothing from the object-lesson of the early European pioneers, who frequently used their bullocks (wisely always of the hornless kind) for carrying purposes.¹⁰² For transporting to distant places grain, medicines and such-like, the Zulus used special sacks (*iNtlanti*) made of goat, sheep or buck skin, or woven of rushes or grass (*isOvu*). Like everything else, these too were carried on the head. The custom of some Bantu further north (e.g. those about Lake Kivu^{102a}) of carrying their parcels suspended on their backs by a strap passing in front of their foreheads, after the manner of New-haven fish-wives, was non-existent in Zululand.

Adoption was a common practice among the Zulus, foreign refugees and destitute children being freely accepted into a family or clan, and often given full rights and equal status with born members thereof. The kraal-heads too were particularly jealous of the sanctity of their homes, and the case and security of all who fled to them for protection was boldly and faithfully defended against all comers.¹⁰³ But this protection was mostly confined to males; to females, less or no such help could be extended, since they were always minors and rightful 'property' of their fathers or husbands, whose claims had to be respected. Blood-brotherhood had never been heard of.

The dignity of bearing and the polite manners of the 'raw' Zulu are immediately noticeable to all observers. They are proverbial; for he has ever been proclaimed throughout the world as 'Nature's gentleman'. Courteousness, consideration, honour and honesty permeated all their dealings and contacts with those about them; and their code of etiquette, in its general good-taste, could not be surpassed by any in our vaunted civilization. There was a proper way of entering and leaving a hut, a proper way of comporting oneself therein for males and another for females, a proper way of passing people and accosting them inside and outside of the hut, a proper place for each sex. There was a proper way of eating one's food, a proper way of resting the spoon against a food-dish, a proper way of handing a pot of beer, a proper way of cleaning one's hands before a meal and of cleansing one's mouth after it.

There were rules governing the use of the patch of yard around each hut, rules governing entrance into the cattle-fold, rules for marching in file along the path. Indeed, everything seemed to be ordered, and everybody religiously conformed.¹⁰⁴

Yet even among the Zulus there were social 'classes', and, further, there nobody objected to them, for they were regarded as an essential and natural part of human social organization. The bulk of the clan or tribe comprised the great middle class of 'ordinary' people. But there was also a distinctly lower class, where poverty led one to expect dirt and untidiness of kraal and uncouthness of behaviour; and even a strongly suspected criminal class. On the other hand, as one ascended the social ladder, the rules of conduct and deportment became ever more numerous and strict; so that by the time the mere commoner had reached to royalty, he found himself half reclining on his side and so shuffling along the floor resting on one thigh or buttock (*ukuLala ngeNcele*), in order to give or receive a word from his Majesty (the local 'bow', as it were). This procedure, of course, was confined to the Presence when inside his hut; not outside. Shaka seems to have been uncommonly fastidious about such royal decorum. "Coughing, spitting, belching, sneezing, blowing the nose, etc., while the king is eating," says Isaacs,¹⁰⁸ "are considered crimes, and are at times punished by death also; when, if he be master of a kraal, he will offer 'schlowoola' (a peace offering) by sending a young heifer to the king, when he may consider himself in favour again. Should anyone, however, involuntarily commit the slightest offence, or displease his majesty, it would be unsafe to appear in his presence without having previously sent his peace-offering".

In a simpler and more benevolent fashion, homage was demanded too by a family-head from his own children. Nobody dared to disobey his orders, neglect his wishes, fail to show him every deference and to recognize everywhere his supreme authority. Even the tiniest of his sons had this lesson impressed upon him. While herding the goats or cows all day long upon the veld, the boys spent a large part of their time hunting or trapping birds, at which they soon became expert. But none had the temerity to roast and eat his catch out of sight upon the veld, as they easily might have done. The whole bag was scrupulously brought home in the evening and laid before the

father's feet, who condescended to throw them their perquisite, the heads. So did it become said of a bad father, *ka-yiku-zi-Dla iziNyoni zabaNtabaké*, he-will-never-eat the-birds of-his-children, i.e. live to be respected by them.

It is a disposition of nature that, in the make-up of a gentleman, he will respect his person as he does also his behaviour; and so we find both these qualities conspicuous in the Zulu character. They were innately a cleanly and tidy people, and disorder and unsavouriness were distasteful to them. And yet, in actual fact, it must be owned, they often failed to reach even their own lowly standard. Why they failed has often been plaintively told to us: *si-y'-Ahluleka*, it-is-beyond-our-power. They were unable to improve their condition and to rid themselves of the dirt and untidiness amidst which they lived, owing to the complete absence among them of all those commodities and conveniences with which *we* have been able to supply ourselves—due, in their case, no doubt, to their innate lack of all inventive power. Absence of soap and other sanitary helps was sorely felt by them; though they never said so, being entirely ignorant that anything better than what they had, ever existed. This intellectual poverty has gone far to mislead Europeans, unfamiliar with their innermost thoughts and nature, into the false opinion that they are a dirty race, perfectly content with their squalid surroundings and possessing no desire to see them improved. In reality, the truth is that no people accepts more greedily the common benefits of civilisation, so soon as they are brought within its reach. A great part of the day, in former times, even up to 50 years ago, was spent by the young men and girls in dressing and decorating their persons, and it was a discomfort to them to miss their frequent bathe in the neighbouring stream, where such existed.

Why, there was even a 'proper way' of bathing in that stream. A well-bred man always commenced his bath by washing first his head, then following with the arms, and finally the upper and lower body. A woman likewise commenced with the head, but next proceeded to the body and legs, finishing up with the arms. For either of them to wash like the other sex, would have appeared, to Native eyes, improper, even ridiculous. When bathing, companions often assisted each other by washing

one another's backs (*ukuBixunga*), in which process the leaves of the *iNkweza* tree (*Kraussia floribunda*) were frequently employed. Save in the washing of infants and the sick, they never used warm water, as do some other Negro peoples, e.g. "the Mangbettu women . . . wash themselves several times a day from head to foot, preferably with warm water . . . They paint their bodies with a stick dipped in the black juice of the gardenia fruit".¹⁰⁶ The sole cosmetic of Zulu men and women was the red-clay and *amaKá* perfume already mentioned. Paterfamilias, already well on in years, was often disinclined to walk down the hill to the stream and then trudge back again; so he had his washing-basin (*umCengezi*) brought into the cattle-fold and there, assisted by a boy or by his wife, took his bath.¹⁰⁷

Outside of the kraal, as we have already said, frequently stood a convenient bush or depression in the veld that served as a privy. A notoriously observant folk, the Zulus have special names for all the varieties of human excreta according to their nature (e.g. *ūHudo*, *umGódo*, *iNgqatá*, *umPulu*, *umGámu*, etc.). But whatever the name, whenever his Majesty went forth to stool, an honoured menial always accompanied him (called an *isiSindabiso*), whose job it was to hide the excreta from profane eyes and above all from the reach of any evil-minded *umTákali*, who might take them home and, with appropriate magic, bring down grievous harm, even death, upon his Majesty.

Soap, we may assume, is a commodity essential to all civilization. Certainly it is to ours; and it was equally so to that of the Zulu—except that he had none! How, then, did he manage? First of all, he took care to clothe himself in garments that were unwashable—skins and the like: which, however, is not to say that they needed no washing! But when he removed his clothes, and came upon his body, he was up against another proposition. So, despite his inability to procure soap, he looked around and luckily discovered several more or less effective substitutes. When the wife afore-mentioned assisted her husband at his bath, after first well drenching the body with water, she then took a handful of fat white clay (presumably calcareous, and always collected and stored for the purpose) and rubbed him well down therewith, gathering up the surface dirt in the process. The hair, having its own refractory way of harbouring dust, demanded special measures.

The slimy sap of the leaves of several plants, like the *ũDonqa* (*Sesamum Indicum*), the *ĩKlolo* (*Grewia occidentalis*) and the *isiPóndo* (*Thunbergia atriplicifolia*), well rubbed into the hair and then washed out, is said to have cleansed it thoroughly—that is to say, of all save certain living matter, which lurked and crawled about the undergrowth, unmoved by any quantity of sap. More drastic measures were needed here; so the lethal *ĩLozane* (*Tephrosia*) was called into service, and slaughtered all the vermin it touched. Body-ornaments, like cow-tail fringes and dancing-shields, also got disagreeably dirty with use and smoke. For these, the leaves of the *umTólo* (*Acacia*) and the bulb of the *iNgúduza*, when mixed up with water, formed a lather (*ĩGwébu*) that efficiently cleaned them. Indeed, a lump of the *iNgúduza* bulb, used like a cake of soap, is, in these present days, often used for washing cotton goods from the stores, proving a good cleanser, but irritating to the hands.

But the *ĩLozane* insecticide just mentioned does not grow everywhere. One consequently sometimes sees an eagle-eyed mother diligently searching about amongst her child's entangled mass of hair, and destroying the vermin with her nails. But some mothers are so insensitive to disgust, that they actually pick the lice out with their teeth, like other Bantu women on the Congo.¹⁰⁸

After the morning bath at the river, a mixture of fat and red clay or some fragrant herbs provided an agreeable pomatum. In the earlier times of which we write, the domestic pig was unknown among the Zulus, and consequently also the present supply of lard. In those days, butter (*ĩPéhlwa*) served the purpose as a body unction, the (to the Natives) disagreeable smell being diminished by a process of boiling and straining, the result being stored away in the special *umFuma* calabash. Butter and red-clay combined—the same mixture is in use also among the Kambas of Kenya¹⁰⁹—conferred on the yellow-black skin a ruddy gloss which was much admired. The Negroes of Guinea also used butter as a body unguent.¹¹⁰

The red-ochre and red-clay custom deserves more than passing notice. Its curious and universal use offers in itself a special mystery and subject for study for the anthropologist, coming down the ages, as it does, right from the prehistoric Neanderthal and Aurignacian peoples, perhaps 30,000 years

or more ago, and spread, as it still is, throughout the primitive world. Fragments of red-ochre, says Sollas,¹¹¹ were found along with the Neanderthaler of La Chapelle. "Several interments," says Munro,¹¹² "dating from the Magdalenian and Transition periods have come to light, which had the peculiarity of having the skeletons sprinkled over with a layer of ochre. This was the case with almost all the skeletons found in the Caves of Grimaldi and in the stations of Chancelade, Mas d'Azil, Brunn (Moravia) and Paviland (Gower Peninsula)".¹¹³ Until this day this red body and hair paint is still in use among the Bushmen¹¹⁴ and Australians,¹¹⁵ Andaman Islanders¹¹⁶ and Papuan Negritos,¹¹⁷ and throughout the whole of Bantuland.¹¹⁸ What does it all mean? Why *red* paint?—to which the Ancient Briton, with his preference for woad dark-blue, was a solitary exception.¹¹⁹ Elliot Smith says, because, having recognized that death followed the loss of blood (one of the earliest discoveries made by the hunting Cave Man), ancient man concluded that, by supplying the dead with a liberal sprinkling of this 'red earth', he might perchance enable them to come to life again—presumably in another world; for his second discovery must soon have followed his first, viz. that, in this case, the trick invariably failed!¹²⁰ All this, of course, is a mere guess. On the other hand, it is a curious fact that the Hebrews named their 'first man' *Adam*, blood-red, and *Adamah*, red-earth.

Our Zulus used two kinds of this mysterious 'red earth'—mysterious only in its usage; for the substance itself was everywhere and always the same, viz. ferruginous stone or earth, the red oxide of iron. First of all, there was the *isiBüda*, of a dark-red tint. This was not employed as a body-unction, but solely for hair-colouring. Prof. R. Jones speaks of "natural 'paint pots' in the Karoo sandstone of South Africa . . . The Bushmen frequently use them . . . when broken open . . . as pigments for body ornamentation, and anciently for painting the figures on the walls of caves, obtaining from them certain tints, such as the purple for the human form or for other objects".¹²¹ Those 'paint pots' were no doubt the same as the Zulu *isiBüda*. The stuff was hawked about the land by those who knew where to find it, and sold in hard stone-like lumps, that could be broken up and later powdered only by energetic hammering with a heavy pebble. After

purchase, the lump of red stone was stored away by being buried beneath the earth outside the hut, a fragment being knocked off and ground as required. Where the supplies came from is no longer remembered ; but we suspect the *esiBúdeni* hill, near Nkandla Forest, of being, more likely than anywhere else, the source of the old time *isiBúda*.

The other kind of red iron oxide the Zulus used was of a much softer type and more ubiquitous. It was no longer a refractory stone, but a friable clay, of a light or brick-red tint, called *ĩBomvu*, and often noticed on the banks of cuttings. This was not, as a rule, used for hair-colouring, but solely for body-unction (mixed with fat) or body-smearing (mixed with water). Moistened with water, it was pressed into a ball, through which, while soft, a string was passed ; after hardening in the sun, the ball was tied up to the wall at the back of the hut, till required for use. The *uQintsi* was a better, deeper-red variety of the *ĩBomvu* species.

For change, the Zulus sometimes preferred to paint the body white. But this taste was confined to the pythonesses of the oracle (*abaNgóma*), and (when circumcision was still in vogue) to the young initiates (*abaKwétá*.)

You have already heard that, at six or seven years of age, the little boys went out every morning with the calves or goats to the veld, and the big boys with the cattle. The main concern of these latter was to keep their herd from trespassing into the fields of irate neighbours. But in this, being often more intent on more congenial pursuits, they frequently dismally failed. The consequences, when they got back home, were always very painful ; for Zulu fathers believed in the rod, and applied it unmercifully. So when this misfortune befell them, the boys, before going home, would search the veld for an *isaMuyisane* plant (*Spermacoce Natalensis*) and nibble at it as they went. This would ensure forgetfulness in the furious parent's mind, with consequent escape of punishment. On other occasions, the cows would 'refuse' to yield their milk (through the boys neglecting to bother much about their milking). As a sufficient explanation of this bovine refusal, the boys would report that the cows had passed over an *iNkomfe* plant (*Hypoxis*) ; and they escaped again.

Among the more congenial occupations that so often led the herdboys to neglect their cattle, was their inordinate propensity for fighting. Every now and then the lads of one *isiGódi* (valley) would unite and declare war on those of another near by, and all ancient grievances and grudges would be there and then finally settled by the arbitrament of sticks. When these pitched-battles were unprocurable, any belligerent boy would select one from the other group who looked an easy conquest, and shout at him the challenge, *iNtselele!* If the latter felt equally pugnacious, he would at once accept the challenge, and shout back, *Wo-z' u-yi-Táté* (come and-fetch-it). Whereupon the two would forthwith enter the lists. But should the prospect to the latter party appear forbidding, and the challenge be declined (i.e. remain unanswered), then the bully would have recourse to provocation, rapping the other defiantly on the head with his stick, saying, *Ngqo! ngqo!, mFana, ngi-ya-ku-Ahlula. Hamb' u-yo-ngiKélela amaNdzi lapó ku-nga-Káli Sele* (tap! tap!, my-boy, I-have-beaten-you. Go and-fetch-me some-water from-there-where no-frogs croak (meaning the sea). This insulting taunt invariably brought the most timid of boys to toe the line.

Among such highly respectable people as were our Zulus, it was always extremely improper for girls, or even adult females, to make a journey alone. Should such a hussy be met with, she would be rebuked by saying, *Kanti ka-w-Azi yini ukuti ubuCubu bu-Hamba nga-buBili na?* (do-you-not-know, then, that the-little-Ruddy-Waxbills always-go in-pairs?). From this, it must not be concluded that such solitary female travellers were commonly molested. Quite the contrary was the fact, such molestation being, in older times, practically unheard of. The practice of *ukuShikilela* was not held, either then or nowadays, to be a molestation, for the reason that the girls enjoy it as much as do the youths. A young man meeting a girl, or a pair of them, may, as an ordinary matter of camaraderie, request them to uncover and reveal to them the buttocks (i.e. *ukuSkikilela*), and they, as a matter of common courtesy, will, without demur, do so. Girls, also among themselves, had the same habit; the idea being that, when they got home, they would report to their brothers where attractive maidens might be found.

When travelling, the Zulus always walked in single file (one behind the other), a habit born and bred, no doubt, by the narrow grass-tracks along which they customarily moved. The highest in rank headed the line, and females followed males. When the mid-day heat was exceptionally intense, the elder men would carry a tiny shield (*umDlela*), a foot in length, which they held up against the sun, as a kind of parasol; while the younger men, on similar occasions, might wreath their heads with a circlet of cool *ūPándosi* leaves, a charming sight, taking one right back to the poetry of the Roman Bacchanals. These young Zulus, too, had their own peculiar gaits,¹²² tripping and ambling and prancing along, with sticks and shield up-lifted, in many pretty ways. And they too, when going out courting, often sported still tinier shields (*iNgcayi*), not more than nine inches long, just sufficient to shield their knuckles, when battling, as often happened, with other cavaliers for a common lady's favours.

The rivers of Zululand, owing to their rocky beds and the general steepness of the terrain, were mostly in the nature of torrents; and in the rainy season, the larger ones became quite uncrossable on foot. It seems pretty certain that the Zulus, in their northern motherland, were not a riverine or lacustrine people, or, alternatively, that they migrated southwards before the canoe had become there known, for the reason that they always showed a strong aversion to fish, and that they never knew, down south, any other means of crossing an impassable river than by means of a float. It would perhaps be hardly safe to say that our deduction here is a positive certainty; because Rivers¹²³ tells us that there is "clear evidence that in two places in Oceania the canoe has once been present and has disappeared". In the Torres Islands only rude catamarans of bamboo now exist for getting from place to place. The canoe-makers, Codrington believed, had simply 'died out'. At the period when the Zulus departed from the north, Schoff¹²⁴ (on what evidence we do not know) tells us that in Azania (region about Zanzibar) sewn boats and canoes hollowed from single logs already existed and were used for fishing and catching tortoises. This Zanzibar coast was then, of course, under the domination of the Arabs from southwestern Arabia, and the Native knowledge of the canoe may

have been brought along by them. This supposition is supported by the fact that, among the eastern, central and northern Bantu, the knowledge of the canoe was practically confined to such tribes as had come under Arab (or, in later times, Portuguese) influence. That knowledge, by the beginning of last century, had already extended as far south as the Tongas about Delagoa Bay (where canoes made of planks sewn together with fibrous cord were employed on the Maputa river),¹²⁵ as well as to the baTawana¹²⁶ and baKowa¹²⁷ (who used dug-outs) on or about Lake Ngami.¹²⁸ Had the Zulu too, perchance, been once acquainted with this dug-out? He certainly seems to have had an inkling of the 'idea'; though he never placed it on the water. A 'dug-out-trough' with him was called an *umKúmbi*, and, rather strangely, he has, in modern times, actually applied that name to the European 'ship'. As for the Nilotic Negroes, it seems most probable that they obtained their knowledge of the canoe at a date much earlier than that of the arrival of the Arabs on the East African coast; for the Nile Negroes were acquainted with the canoe even in Ancient Egyptian times.¹²⁹

Anyhow, it seems pretty certain that the raft preceded the canoe in human culture, and, secondly, that the Bantu were still in the Raft Age until comparatively recent (that is to say, our 'medieval') times. The Tasmanians got over the water on floats made of bundles of bark bound by thongs and rushes:¹³⁰ how they got to Tasmania, is another matter. Their neighbours in Australia used similar conveyances, but, in place of bark, straight branches of the mangrove tree were "lashed together in two places, with the larger ends one way, so as to form a broad part, and the smaller ends ran to a point, and towards the other end was a bundle of grass, on which the navigator sat."¹³¹ Grenfell and Johnston, accustomed to the canoes in the more sophisticated parts of Bantuland, were surprised to meet with Bantu actually still in the raft stage. Grenfell, says Johnston,¹³² in 1885 made the discovery that certain "Pygmy-like natives were living in an earlier stage of culture than that which produced the canoe . . . they did not employ canoes, but rafts or catamarans . . . Torday also brought to light the interesting fact that the Bakwese—one of the backward tribes—have no canoes, but use rafts instead".

Johnston might have been still more surprised, had he known that that was precisely the stage in which the Zulus also were; for the only river craft they know of, even today, is a thick reed-float (*isiHlenga*), navigated by river experts in various ways, of which that given by Colenso is one. He writes:¹³³ "It is merely a bundle of reeds, about four feet long, bound together in a conical form, the circular end being perhaps eight or ten inches across, and the whole tapering to a point. Near the broad end are stuck in two forked sticks, on which may be suspended clothes, parcels, etc., to be carried across. The swimmer supports his breast on this end, the other being, of course, tilted up so as to point into the air before him. Then, grasping with his hands the lower parts of the two sticks, he strikes out with his feet and so pushes himself across . . . In this way they will also carry a man across, or two, if the floater be long enough. He must sit astride, just where the two sticks would otherwise be inserted and clasp with his arms the upper part of the bundle, and then resigns himself to the Kafir, who will come behind, as before, and push him across". Sometimes the passenger, lying on his stomach upon the raft, caught hold of the two arms of a single forked stick thrust into the forward part of the float, and so helped to keep it better balanced.

We hear of no 'log' floats among the Zulus; but Shaw¹³⁴ met with them further south in the Cape. On the Orange river, in 1820, he says, each of his servants "had a piece of wood, two or three feet longer than himself, on which he lay down, taking hold of a peg' with his left hand, while the right hand and feet were engaged in swimming".

The Zulus were as loose in their measurements as they were in their general thinking and speech.

Distance was calculated by the sun-time (or sun-movement) it would take to get there; or be compared with the distance of some well-known place (hill or river).

Length, breadth and height (as of string, cloth, persons, etc.) might be roughly indicated by some gesture, on the finger, palm or arm, or by height above the ground. A large number of words helped to supply the deficiency; thus, a tiny piece (as of string) would be called an *umuCu*; a fragment broken off

(as from a loaf), an *isiHlepú* ; a dwarfish person, an *isiKisi-
mbana* ; a shortish person, an *isiDundulu* ; one of medium
height, an *isiQepú* ; a tall person, an *iNdwadla*.

Quantities (as of beer in a pot or grain in a basket) would be described again by special words ; thus, a mere heel-tap at the bottom of a pot would be called an *isiCibi* ; a mere 'rattle' at the bottom of a grain-basket or snuff-box, an *iNkesheza* ; a vessel about quarter-full, an *isiCeté* ; if about half-full, an *isiQentu* ; if three-quarters full, an *isiKópé* ; if almost full, an *ūKópé*. A small number or quantity was an *iNgcosana* ; a mere 'handful', an *uKwéshe* or *īBindza* ; a fair or medium quantity, an *īTándzi*. A goodly number was an *umTámo* ; a vast multitude, an *uBíntsi*, and so on.

We said once before that there were no shops or bazaars in Zululand like those of Capetown or Cairo, nor any public markets like those of Nigeria and northern Bantuland. Was there, then, no trade ? There were, of course, several craftsmen who made a 'comforatble living' out of their trade (of which in a later chapter). Further, there were occasional Tonga pedlars (*abaHwebi*) from Delagoa Bay way, hawking brass, skins, beads and other such. But among themselves the Zulus never 'bought' or 'sold' for money, indeed had no word for either the one or the other ; they only bartered. In return for a goat one might receive a basketful of corn ; one present of meat today brought back another tomorrow ; a basket of grain obtained a smaller one of malt ; in exchange for a large brass ring one might be given a daughter as wife. This they termed *ukwEnana* (to-give-one-thing-for-another).

Then came the *umLungu* (Whiteman), from 1500 A.D. onwards, first of all out of ships wrecked along the coast, later from 'malice prepense', and sold (or bartered with) them all manner of trifles at exorbitant prices. At the start, commerce had to be carried on by the ancient and world-famed method of 'silent' barter. Fa-Hien¹³⁵ says of Ceylon : " The country was originally occupied only by spirits . . . with which the merchants carried on the trade. When trafficking was taking place, the spirits did not show themselves. They simply set forth their precious things with labels of the prices attached to them ; while the merchants made their purchases according to

price ; and took the things away ”. Further west, somewhere about 400 B.C., Hanno, the Carthaginian, sailed down the west coast of Africa as far perhaps as Gambia. These Carthaginians, says Herodotus,¹³⁶ relate as follows: “ There is a country in Libya, or nation, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which they are wont to visit, where they no sooner arrive but forthwith unload their wares, and, having disposed them after an orderly fashion along the beach, leave them, and, returning aboard their ships, raise a great smoke. The natives, when they see the smoke, come down to the shore and, laying out to view so much gold as they think the worth of the wares, withdraw to a distance. The Carthaginians upon this come back and look. If they think the gold enough, they take it and go their way ; but if it does not seem to them sufficient, they go aboard ship once more and wait patiently. Then the others approach and add to their gold, till the Carthaginians are content. Neither party deals unfairly by the other ; for they themselves never touch the gold till it comes up to the worth of their goods, nor do the natives ever carry off the goods till the gold is taken away ”. This kind of dealing must be a primitive instinct in man, for just so did the Zulus in the days of their first contact with the White traders.¹³⁷

Bartering of the preceding kind was the earliest form of trading. But it was a combersome and inconvenient method, and so soon as man became more intelligent, various forms of ‘ currency ’ were introduced. Even in Ancient Egypt, though already scientifically so advanced as to be able to construct the Great Pyramids (3,000 to 2,500 B.C.), had still no coined money, and did all their trade by simple bartering.¹³⁸ Nor had the Babylonians, even at the time when the wise Hammurabi was drawing up the earliest code of written human law ; though, with their use of lumps of silver, they were gradually getting there.¹³⁹ Yet at 2,000 B.C. the Chinese were already trading with coined money.¹⁴⁰ In the West, before 600 B.C., the kings of Lydia (Asia Minor) had also conceived the idea of cutting up the Babylonian silver chunks into small stamped pieces,¹⁴¹ and soon the idea spread throughout the Persian Empire.¹⁴² Up to 400-300 B.C. the Romans, like the Zulus, paid their debts in living cattle ; but at that period they found it more practical to stamp their ox on a block of copper and

hand it over in that way.¹⁴³ The Carthaginians then followed suit with stamped pieces of leather.¹⁴⁴

But we are here dealing with a civilization twice as old as that of Egypt, Babylon or Rome, and, in so far, doubly as interesting. Anything can be used as currency by common consent ; and so it came about that in Negroland, before the Whiteman came, one paid one's way with almost everything, from strips of bark-cloth to lumps of human meat, though cowries (or other shells), beads and metal-ware were the commonest forms of ' money '.¹⁴⁵ There were cowry shells in Gandaland¹⁴⁶ and Guinea ;¹⁴⁷ *jimbu* shells (the small spiral variety of the *Olivella nana*) in Angola ; *Achatectonia* shells, but still called *tshibu*, in Fernando Po.¹⁴⁸ The *Olivella* shells, now called *zimbi*, were current on the Congo already in 1666, and possibly centuries before.¹⁴⁹ " It is quite possible," writes Elliot,¹⁵⁰ " that shells (especially the cowry) were the very first of all moneys ". But the shell currency was no African invention, nor yet an Arabian, but came, we think, from the East by way of India ; for in Uganda the cowry shell is even today called by its original Hindi name, *kauri*. Five thousand cowry-shells paid a Native's annual tax in French West Africa,¹⁵¹ while in Mbalaland, in the Congo, 100 *jimbus* bought a fowl ; 10,000, a male slave ; 15,000, a female.¹⁵²

Beads were a favourite currency in Central Congo ;¹⁵³ beads blue and white about Ujiji on Tanganyika Lake,¹⁵⁴ red and white among the Shilluks on the Nile.¹⁵⁵

The Hausa Negroes, a more sophisticated race, has struck the cute idea that a roll of narrow strips of cotton-cloth (one inch wide and in yard-long pieces) would provide a good local substitute for a roll of paper bank-notes.¹⁵⁶

Salt, made from the ashes of certain water-plants, was the feeble effort of the Congolese Mbalas.¹⁵⁷

Then came the Metal Age, not by any means after salt, and whether before or after the cowry were hard to determine. Spear-heads and spade-shaped hoes passed current on the Upper Nile ;¹⁵⁸ copper and iron were acceptable payment among the Nyamnyam of Equatorial Africa ;¹⁵⁹ the Himas, about Uganda, did their buying with weapons, hoes and cattle ;¹⁶⁰ and small ingots of iron circulated in the Congo.¹⁶¹ In this latter land, we said, 100 *jimbu* shells had been worth a fowl ; and now we hear¹⁶² that three fowls were worth one hoe.

With this long prelude, we come to Zululand, and shall find that now we can all the better understand and measure the position there. There was no generally accepted form of 'currency' whatever among the earlier Zulus—unless it was their stock (cows, goats, etc.), which was most commonly used. We have already said that the ordinary types of goods were circulated there by a process of barter. But somewhere about or before the beginning of last century, metal-ware (hoes, spear-heads and brass and copper rings) began to be used as a form of currency.

In the Zulu language, the term for 'metal' and the term for 'iron' was one, namely, *iNtsimbi*. This identity of nomenclature came about, no doubt, owing to the fact that, when that word came into use, iron was the only metal known, and the Zulus called the 'substance' (whatever precisely they have had in mind) *iNtsimbi*. Now, you will have noticed above how in Angola, the Congo and Fernando Po, the Olivella and other shells there current were everywhere termed *jimbu*, *tshibu*, or *zimbi*. Why? Were it not probable that in earliest Bantuland *Jimbu*, *Tshibu*, *Zimbi*, and *Ntshimbi*, were, all of them, expressive of but one same thought, one object? And was that thought significant of 'currency'; so that our Zulu *iNtsimbi* was originally equivalent to 'money'? Or was it perchance the contrary (as, indeed, we think most likely), namely, that the common original root meant, first of all, 'iron'; then 'metal' (after other forms of such iron-like substance had become known); then (much later still), 'currency' (or bartering-material), and so finally (in Angola and Congo) certain (not all) 'shells'?

The Zulus, then, had no special currency or 'money'. And yet they were not without their rich men. But their wealth was not in pounds, or metal, or shells, but in their 'stock'—their wives and marketable daughters, and the cows, and goats, and sheep, which these latter produced. A tradesman's wealth was his skill and his wares.

It probably did not take man long to discover that the fingers and toes were a convenient help to reckoning. Indeed, it is rather likely that these little digits first suggested to him the very idea of counting. Anyway, he started counting with

his fingers and toes ; for most primitive peoples do so, including the ancient Greeks themselves.¹⁶³

Among them, there are many different methods of using this Nature's abacus. Of Negro methods, we find that the Papuans count by using the fingers and thumbs, beginning always with the thumb of the right hand, and so along to ten. Proceeding to numbers above ten, they pass to their toes (as do also the Eskimos), but not now as single, additional units, that is, one or more toes added to the fingers, but all toes together, indicating simply a large and indeterminate number, apparently equivalent to our 'many'. Sometimes, says Wollaston,¹⁶⁴ they open and close the fingers of both hands two or three times, with this same meaning. The Papuan Pygmies, however, have not this custom of counting with their fingers and toes.¹⁶⁵ As for the African branch of the Negro family, Johnston¹⁶⁶ says that fingers and toes are used throughout all Bantuland for counting, though the method varies. The Congo baNgala, for instance, raise the index-finger for 1 ; index and next finger for 2 ; the three last fingers for 3 ; all fingers for 4 ; and these with the thumb for 5. Between 5 and 10, these same numerals are added appropriately together by the use of both hands, until for 10 both hands are clapped together, and clapped twice for 20.

The Zulus commence counting by raising the little finger, of either hand, for 1, and so forward till the thumb of the other hand becomes 6, and its little finger 10. Ten being completed, the two hands are held up, palms forward, and then, not clapped, but gently brought together. And should it be wished to continue beyond 10, say to 12, then, after having brought the two palms together, the little and third finger (of either hand) are held up to indicate the extra 2. Should it be wished to indicate two or more 'tens' (as for 20, 30, etc.), the two palms are brought together just so many times.

Johnston¹⁶⁷ thought that a decimal numeration was the original system of the Bantu, owing to the fact that "the root for ten—*Kumi*—is virtually common to more than nine-tenths of the Bantu languages." Our own opinion is that, although later the system became decimal, it was primordially quintuple. The root-terms for 'one' to 'four', and in a lesser degree to 'five', seem to be pretty universal throughout both Bantuland

and Negro Guinea. But beyond 'five' (i.e. from 'six' inclusive onwards), the root-terms for the various numbers differ in almost every language; until they reach 10, when all of them unite again in the single term of *Kumi*, or something similar.

The Zulu root for 'one' is *Nye* (perhaps originally identical with *Nwe*, finger); for 'two', *Bili*; for 'three', *Tátú*; for 'four', *Ne*; for 'five', *Hlanu*. It is only these first 'five' terms that are pure 'numeral adjectives'. From 'six' (inclusive) onwards, *nouns* are employed to meet the need; thus, 'six' is expressed by *isiTúpá* (meaning simply 'the-thumb'); 'seven' is *isiKómbisa* (the-index-finger). The two fingers that should indicate 'eight' and 'nine' possessing no appellations of their own, special compound terms, used as adjectives, have had to be invented to represent these numbers; thus, *Tóba-minwe-mbili* (lower-two-fingers) for 'eight', and *Tóba-munwe-munye* (lower-one-finger) for 'nine'. 'Ten', again, at least in Zulu, is not a pure adjectival numeral, but a noun, *īShumi*. Incidentally, it may be remarked that this 'ten' often takes the place of our 'dozen' in Native trading transactions. 'Eleven' in Zulu becomes 'a-ten-and-one' (*īShumi-na-Nye*), 'twelve' becomes 'a-ten-and-two' (*īShumi-na-Mbili*), and so on to 'twenty', 'thirty' and the rest, which become 'two tens' (*amaShumi amaBili*) and 'three tens' (*amaShumi amaTátú*) respectively. With 'hundred' we get again a special term, viz. a noun, *īKúlu* (the-big-one—suggesting perhaps 'a-great-number' of tens). There was still another term, viz. *īNkulungwane*, also a noun. By Europeans, this has been regarded as the equivalent to our 'thousand' and so translated; though we are pretty certain that the Zulu mind never made any pretension to such exact calculations of number. We believe it signified simply and vaguely 'a huge number', much greater than the *īKúlu*, and on a par with that other expression, *isiGidi* (an-unreckonable-multitude). Thus we see that the Zulus were, numerically speaking, a long way behind the Ancient Egyptians, who, so early as 4,800 B.C., had (or at least so it is said) already invented a special term for 1,000,000.¹⁶⁹

Europeans have, quite mistakenly, assumed that the Zulu term, *uNyaka* (or *umNyaka*), signifies 'year' (as we understand it), and they have already inculcated that erroneous

idea (through daily intercourse and contact) into the younger Native mind. But to the untutored Zulu mind, the word has quite another meaning. To find what that may be, let us get down to rock-bottom, and go away north, where the Zulus came from. There we shall find the Gandas, Swahilis and the rest dividing the annual time-cycle (which we call 'year') into two seasons—a lesser-rain-season (there roughly from October to December), which the Swahilis call *Mwaka* (Zulu, *uNyaka*), and a greater-rain-season (there roughly from March to August), which the Swahilis call *maSika*. Now, it will be noticed that the Zulus employ identically the same names (in other forms) for the same *periods* of the year; thus, *uNyaka* (in Zululand, roughly from September to February) and *ubu-Sika* (roughly from March to August). Of course, in the south of the continent, where the Zulus now reside, the climatic conditions are different from those in the north, and *two* rainy-seasons no longer exist. There, the rule is—one single rainy-season (the Zulu *uNyaka*), beginning about September and continuing until March, and one dry-season (the Zulu *ubu-Sika*), beginning with April and ending with August. Yet, even down there, in the Zulu country, the *heaviest* rain (called the *iMbozis 'amaHlanga*, the inundator-of-the-fallow-fields), is still inclined to come at the end of the wet-season (*uNyaka*), say, in March, or even in April.

From this it seems clear that, in the Bantu mind, the roots, *Mwaka* and *Nyaka*, indicated the portion of the annual cycle (our 'year') from about September to February, and the root, *Sika*, that from March to August. The Bantu, therefore, had no 'year', that is, any specific name covering the whole length of 'twelve months'. All the same, they recognized quite clearly that cosmic time went round in a cycle, and they called the beginning of that cycle the *ukuTwása koNyaka* (the-change-over-to, or the-coming-in-of, the-*Nyaka*), that is, the period of renewed vegetal activity, of the reviving rains. Now we can better understand Park¹⁷⁰ when he said of the Negroes of Guinea, "they calculate the *years* by the number of *rainy-seasons*"; and Roscoe¹⁷¹ when he says of the Ganda Bantu that their *Mwaka* (Z. *uNyaka*) consists of six moons (which cover and indicate the season of field-cultivation). That the Zulu never meant 'year' when he used the term, *uNyaka*, is clear from his common expression, viz. *Manje uNyaka*

u-y'Epúza ukuTwása, which cannot possibly mean that 'Nowadays the-year is-later in-coming-in' (since the 'year' remains always unaffected by the weather), but quite obviously signifies that 'Nowadays the *field-season* (the *rain-season*) is-later in-coming-in'. To the Zulu, the term, *uNyaka*, never could, nor can, include also the *ubuSika*. The two were entirely separate and distinct, the first term being more applicable to our 'summer' (the rainy and 'ploughing' season), and the second to our 'winter' (the dry and non-cultivating season).

This writer too is under the impression that, when he came to South Africa in 1883, the 'rain-season' really did occur earlier than it usually does in these present times. The agricultural expert, Fitzgerald,¹⁷² makes a similar observation in regard to Kenya Colony. "There seems to be some justification," he says, "for the opinion that the rainfall has become less and less with increasing cultivation" (see also the Report of E. G. Ravenstein, on *Meteorological Observations in British Africa for 1893*—G. Philip and Son, London, 1894). August or September normally saw the opening of the rain-season in Zululand and Natal in 1883, and that was everywhere the planting season. G. Thompson,¹⁷³ writing of the Xosas of the Cape in 1823 (and Shaw,¹⁷⁴ writing of the same soon after) says: "Their seed-time commences about the middle of August and terminates in November". The remark by Isaacs¹⁷⁵ that in Natal, about 1825, "no heavy rains visited it until the periodical seasons, which commence with the year and end in April", is not inconsistent with what we say, because, as we have stated above, the heaviest rain usually did occur in the earlier months of the new year, those before Christmas being gentler, and, owing to the then greater dryness of the soil, more immediately absorbed; whereas the later rains when the soil was already well soaked through, often gave rise to flooding.

The arrival of the Zulu *uNyaka*, the new rain or planting season, was, to them, announced by the appearance on the north-eastern horizon in the early mornings of August of the *isiLimela* (the-planting-sign), which was none other than that world-famed group of stars known to antiquity as the *Pleiades*. The Swahilis, about Zanzibar, call this star-cluster by a

similar name, *kiLimia*. South African Chwanas and Senegambian Buloms alike await the proper position of these Pleiades before commencing with their field-work.¹⁷⁶ "The Dyaks of Borneo regulate their agriculture," says Hewitt,¹⁷⁷ "by the movements of the Pleiades, cutting the jungle when they are low in the east before sunrise, burning what they have cut when the constellation approaches the zenith, planting when it sinks towards the west, and reaping their crops when it sets in the early evening". And so all round the earth, from Mexico, through Africa and Asia, to Polynesia, looms this star-cluster as the universal herald of the world's new year. Even Hesiod,¹⁷⁸ the early Greek poet, sings of it :—

But when beneath the skies on morning's brink
The Pleiades, Hyads and Orion sink,
Know then the ploughing and the seed-time near.

There was a saying with the Zulus, *ku-Káhlele uHlalkwane* (Isoglossa Woodii), *kō-Ba yiNdlala* (the-uHlalkwane has-blossomed; so-there-will-be a-famine). This shrub, it was said, came out in flower only once in every ten or eleven years. This seems to suggest a cycle of some sort noticed by the Natives in local climatic conditions and the re-occurrence of drought. Livingstone,¹⁷⁹ writing of the country on the Central Plateau of South Africa, states that "a larger fall of rain than usual had occurred in 1852, which completed a cycle of eleven or twelve years, when the same phenomenon is reported to have happened on three occasions."

The rain-wind both in Zululand and Natal is predominantly that coming from the south-west (called the *iNingizimu*); though that from the south-east (*umZantsi*) may also occasionally bring rain. The north-east (*iNyakató*) is the fair-weather wind, sweeping away the clouds and bringing out the sunshine in a clear blue sky. The north-west (*umuNtla*) is the hot, dry wind, coming presumably from the Kalahari desert, but apt to veer round ultimately to the south-west, and so bring rain. In Central Africa (e.g. in Lundaland), on the contrary, the heavy rain-wind comes from the north,¹⁸⁰ but away in Guinea, conditions are practically identical with those in Zululand. There mid-June until November is the rain-season, with the wind in the south-west. At the end of the

rain-season, the wind changes to the north-east, and the dry season sets in. During this latter season hot winds (harmattan) may occur, coming from the Sahara, and, strange to say, are much appreciated by local Europeans, as being much more salutary than the rain-winds, and enabling them to recover their health.¹⁸¹

The 'year', then, among the Zulus was divided into two seasons, the *uNyaka* (or summer) and the *ubuSika* (or winter); but without any word in their language, uniting (as does our 'year') the two seasons into one time-period. The Ancient Egyptians¹⁸² divided their year into three seasons (against our four)—the first, that of the Nile inundation, which began their year; then, that of sowing, or summer; finally, that of harvest, or winter.

The *uNyaka* (or field-work season) was, naturally, the period of greatest home activity and importance, and its successive stages were carefully noted and marked with distinguishing terms, roughly corresponding with its constituent six months. Thus:—

1. September. *Se-l'-Etwése iHlobo*, already the summer has come, i.e. the time of the first rains, when the new grass begins to cover the land.

2. December. *Se-ku-l-ūLibo*, or *Se-ku-y-isiKáti SōLibo*, it is now the time of the first fruits, when green pumpkins, gourds and the like are gathered.

3. January. *Se-ku-w-ukwIndla*, or *Se-ku-y-isiKáti sokwIndla*, it is now the time of the new food, when the new maize (not millet) is eaten fresh from the cob; when the millet is just commencing to produce ears and the birds to become troublesome.

4. February. *Se-ku-l-iHlobo eliKúlu*, or *Se-ku-pákáti kokwIndla*, it is now high-summer, it is now the middle of *ukwIndla* time, i.e. when the millet is in full ear and the maize ripening.

5. March. *Se-ku-Péle ukwIndla*, or *Se-ku-Péle iHlobo*, the *ukwIndla*, time is now at an end, the summer-season is now finished, i.e. when the millet and the maize are already ripe and drying on the stalk.

6. April. *Se-ku-y-isiKáti sokuVúna*, or *Se-ku-Ngéna ubuSika*, it is now harvesting time; the winter-season is already coming in.

The term, *iHlobo*, signified 'the new crop or new food season', rather than 'the summer season' (as Europeans are generally wont to render it).

The Zulus had no 'months', but only 'moons'; and these moons too had their 'comings-in' (*ukuTwása*) and their 'dyings-out' (*ukuFá*). The same term, *iNyanga*, was used both for such a 'moon-period' and for the 'moon' itself. The annual cycle comprised (as far as most Zulus knew) but twelve 'moons', each with its own distinguishing name. These were:—

1. *uNcwaba* (the new-grass-moon), July-August.
2. *uMandulo* (the first-fields-moon; comp. *ukwAndula*, to-start-cultivating), August-September.
3. *uMfumfu* (the sprouting-moon; comp. *ukuFúmfusa*, to-bud or sprout), September-October.
4. *uLwezi* (the frog-hopper-moon; comp. *ulwEzi*, frog-hopper-larva), or *uZibandela* (the overgrown-paths-moon; comp. *ukuZiba*, to cover-up, and *iNdlela*, path), October-November.

Livingstone,¹⁸³ away in Angola, in this very month of November, remarks on the frog-hopper larvæ there—"seven or eight of them cluster round a spot on one of the smaller branches and there keep up a constant distillation of a clear fluid. . . . If a vessel is placed under them, it will receive three or four pints of it in the course of a single night. . . . If a drop falls into the eyes, it causes inflammation." Neither orifice nor boring was ever visible on the tree itself. Where did so much liquid come from?

5. *uMasingana* (the searching-about-moon—when the women searched the gardens for the new pumpkins; from *ukuSinga*, and *ukuCinga*, to-look-for), November-December.

6. *uNtlolanja* (the dog-copulating-moon; from *ukuHlola*, to-inspect, *iNja*, dog), December-January.

7. *uNdasa* (the food-abundance-moon), January-February.

8. *uMbas*a (the fire-kindling-moon, ? signifying the approach of the winter-season ; from *ukuBasa*, to-kindle-fire), February-March.

9. *uNgúla-zibuya* (the threshing-ground-preparing-moon from *ukwEngula* to-remove-the-surface-scum, or soil, and *isiBuya*, a-threshing-ground), March-April.

10. *uNtlaba* (the aloe-flowering-moon ; from *iNtlaba*, aloe-plant), April-May.

11. *uLutúdlana* (the little-dust-moon ; from *uluTúli*, dust), or *uNtlangulana* (the little-rubbish-sweeping-moon ; from *ukuHlangula*, to-sweep-off), May-June.

12. *uNtulikazi* (the big-dust-moon ; from *uluTúli*, dust, -kazi, great), or *uMaquba* (the dust-raising-moon ; from *ukuQuba*, to-raise-dust), June-July.

Naturally, we cannot make twelve moons fill a solar year (which has thirteen). Nor could the Zulu. Hence regularly once a year he became 'perplexed' (*ukuDida*) ; and this somehow usually occurred about April time ; so that the 'moon' thereabouts (*uNgúla-zibuya*) became a source of constant contention among the older men, who accordingly nicknamed that confusing month the *uNdid'-amaDoda* (the men-puzzling-moon ; from *ukuDida*, to-perplex, *amaDoda*, men). The Arabs of the East African coast seem to have been similarly puzzled, and to have solved the matter in a similar way ; for, as Stigand¹⁸⁴ informs us, they have twelve lunar months in a 352-day lunar year ; which must cause them more trouble than our own calendar-error, which is said to be only one day out in 3,866 years.

The Zulu month (or 'moon') was itself again divided up according to the several moon-phases. Thus :—

iNyanga i-ya-Twása, the-moon-is-just-appearing, as on the day of the new moon ;

i-Twése, it-has-appeared, as a new moon during the first couple of days ;

i-s'i-luCezu, it-is-already-a-fragment, as in the first quarter ;

i-s'i-Hlangene, it-is-already-united, as when full-moon.

i-s'i-Hlepukile, it-has-already-a-piece-chipped-off, as when towards the last quarter ;

i-s'i-Fúlatéle ezantsi, it-has-now-turned-its-back towards-the-coast, as when far in its last quarter, with the crescent eaning downwards (not so vertically erect as before) ;

i-s'i-liBámuza, it-is-now-a-bubble, as when merely the outline is faintly visible ;

i-s'i-File, it-is-now-dead, completely vanished ;

ng' olu-Mnyama namhla, it-is-the-dark-day today, that is, the day immediately following the moon's disappearance, and with the Zulus a day of solemn inactivity, with abstinence from work and pleasure alike ;

ng'olu-Mhlopé namhla, it-is-a-clear-day today, that is, the second day following the disappearance of the moon, upon which the Zulus were free again to work.

i-s'i-ya-Twása, it-is-now-coming-in or reappearing.

i-s'i-Hlekwe yīNyoni, it-is-now-laughed-at by-the-birds, chattering at it just before sunrise.

The Zulus had no ' week ', and consequently no week-days and no Sundays. All days were one to them, for work or play. Then the Whiteman came and changed all that. He not only muddled the meaning of their *uNyaka* (or field-work season) and gave it the erroneous meaning of ' year ', but he further provided them with several more ' work-days ' than they knew of, euphemistically terming them ' week-days '. Monday soon became known to them as ' the-turning-out-to-work-day ' (*umSombuluko*) ; Tuesday as ' work-day-the-second ' (*umSombuluko wesiBili*) and so forward till Saturday, which became ' the-filling-up or completing-day ' (*umGqibelo*). And the Sunday crowned all as ' church-day ' (*īSonto*).

The ' day ' was, naturally, always known to them and was called by the same name as the ' sun ' (*īLanga*). It was also called an *ūSuku*. In very ancient times, this root, *Suku*, may have suggested something like ' a single budge or step in time ' (comp. *ukuTi suku* or *siki*, to budge), because the same root reappears also in the Zulu word for ' night ' (*ubuSuku*). The Swahili too has *Siku*, for ' day ', and *uSiku* for ' night ' ; while the Congo Mbala has (so we read) *maFuku*, day, and *oFuku*, night.

The different ' hours ' or stages of the day were also marked by suitable expressions ; thus :—

se-ku-luKwikwi, it-is-now-approaching-dawn, still darkish.

se-ku-Ntwela, it-is-now-just-beginning-to-dawn.

se-ku-ya-Sa, it-is-now-dawning, or becoming-clear or light.

se-ku-Sile, it-has-now-dawned, become-clear or light.

li-sa-Púma, it-is-just-now-rising, at-sunrise.

se-li-Púmile, it-has-already-risen, just-after-sunrise.

ekuSeni, in-the-morning.

se-li-liDala, it-(the sun)-is-already-old, well-up.

se-ku-s-eMina ya-Kusasa, it-is-now-the-daytime of-the-morning, the-forenoon.

se-ku-pákáti kweMini, it-is-now-the-middle of-the-day-time, noon.

se-li-maTámbama, it-is-now-early-afternoon.

se-ku-nTambama, it-is-now-afternoon.

se-li-baNtu-ba-Hle, it-is-now-when-people-look-nice, when all the land is clothed in a mellow golden sheen, late afternoon.

se-ku-ng'eleziMpisi, it-is-now-hyænas'-time, when the setting-sun casts shadows on the hill-slopes.

se-li-ya-Shona, it-is-now-setting, sunset.

se-li-Shonile, it-has-already-set, after sunset.

se-ku-Hlwile, it-is-now-dusk.

kusihlwa, in-the-evening (or early night-time).

se-ku-s-ebuSuku, it-is-now-night.

ebuSuku, in-the-night.

pákáti kobuSuku, in-the-depth-of-night.

pákáti kwamaBili, at-midnight, between the two days (*amaLanga*).

Even the highly cultured Ancient Assyrians, in the days of the great Hammurabi, " did not habitually date by any era ; they did not even reckon by the years of the king's reign. They recorded each year by the principal event which happened in it ".¹⁸⁵ So the Zulus were not so benighted after all ; for they did the same. If asked how old he is, that is to say, when he was born (for the Zulus take no account of ' years '), a man

might reply, *NgokuBuya kukaCetshwayo pésheya*, at-the-time-of-the-return-of-Cetshwayo from-England; or he might say, *NgeMpi yamaBínu*, at-the-time-of-the-war of-the-Boers (the Boer War).

It may be remarked here that Native ages, especially those of the younger folk, are, to Europeans, very misleading. Bantu children grow and fill out so much more rapidly than children of the same age do with us; so that a Zulu boy of 16 may be already as well developed as an English boy of 18. Mecklenburg¹⁸⁶ noticed this in the Sudan. "Comparing them [Negro children] with European children," he says, "I always overshoot the mark, for the Negro child develops physically much faster than the European. A Negro girl of ten would pass with us for at least eighteen."

Knowing nothing about miles, if asked how far one place is from another, the Zulu will do as the Dyak of Borneo does, and give the distance in terms of travel. "If pressed to give some measure of the time it takes to traverse a certain distance," says Shelford,¹⁸⁷ "they [the Dyaks] will say that if they start at sunrise, they will arrive when the sun is at a certain height, which they will indicate by pointing to the sky." Exactly what the Zulu does.

1. Shooter, *K.N.*, 81.
- 1a. Roscoe, *B.*, 208.
2. *S.S.C.*, 46.
3. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 242.
4. *M.E.*, 252.
5. Maugham, *Z.*, 317.
6. Elliot, *P.M.*, 146-7; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 165, 184.
7. Darwin, *D.M.*, 145.
8. Haberlandt, *E.*, 48.
9. Backhouse, *A.*, 991; Thomas, *N.A.*, 246.
10. Frobenius, *C.M.*, 412-14.
11. Tylor, *P.C.*, 249, 250.
12. *ib.* 190, 242.
13. *ib.* 240-249.
14. Mason, *O.I.*
15. Frobenius, *C.M.*, 415.
16. Elliot, *P.M.*, 103.
17. Tylor, *P.C.*, 240.
18. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 150, 158.
19. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 317; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 150, 158.
20. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 234.

21. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 201, 202, 317.
22. Hobley, *B.B.*, 68.
23. See New, *L.E.A.*, 180; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 43; Migeod, *E.M.*, 62, 66, 67, 86, 87; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 276; Sollas, *A.H.*, 94; Haberlandt, *E.*, 47; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 386-397, 410-421; Tylor, *A.*, 261, 263; Baines, *E.*, 271.
- 23a. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 388.
24. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 238.
25. Shooter, *K.N.*, 35.
26. Roscoe, *B.*, 202.
27. Stow, *N.R.*, 44.
28. Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 509.
29. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 143.
30. See New, *L.E.A.*, 123; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 191; Roscoe, *B.*, 435; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 480; Frazer, *M.A.*, vol. 2, 216, 221; Allen, *E.I.G.*, 43, 128; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 177.
- 30a. Roscoe, *G.*
- 30b. Allen, *E.I.G.*, 128.
31. Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 13.
32. Tylor, *A.*, 201; see *Holyhead Stone* in British Museum.
33. Walters, *A.P.*, 5.
34. Park, *T.*, 216.
35. Roscoe, *B.*, 377.
36. Kassner, *R.E.*, 34.
37. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 137; Galton, *T.S.A.*, 116.
38. *B.*, 409.
39. Also Migeod, *E.M.*, 75; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 192; Roscoe, *B.*, 413.
40. See Specimen in British Museum.
41. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 144; Burton, *F.E.A.*, vol. 1, 42; Monteiro, *A.*, 284; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 142; Brit. Mus. *Ethnogr. Handbk.*, 218, 226.
42. Roscoe, *B.*, 377.
43. *ib.* 33, 35, 47, 48.
44. *P.L.*, 200.
45. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 280.
46. Elmslie, *W.N.*, 111; Hall, *G.Z.*, 100; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 79, 292; Patterson, *M.T.*, 237; Cotton, *U.A.*, 77, 173, 463; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 359; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 252.
47. Clodd, *T.T.T.*, 73; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 79.
48. Hobley, *K.*, 61; also Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 262.
49. *M.E.*, 78.
- 49a. *L.Z.*, 231.
- 49b. Cotton, *U.A.*, 77, 173, 463.
- 49c. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 219.
- 49d. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 41.
- 49e. Kassner, *R.E.*, 74.
- 49f. *ib.* 56.
- 49g. *ib.* 117.
- 49h. *ib.* 101.

- 49i. Hall, *G.Z.*, 100; Kassner, *R.E.*, 24.
 49j. Maugham, *Z.*, 304.
 49k. ib.
 50. *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 58.
 51. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 40.
 52. *V.C.*, 248.
 53. *N.R.*, 150, 152 fn.
 54. *J.Z.C.*, 168.
 55. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 356, 518; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 45.
 56. Hall, *Z.*, 100.
 57. Anwyl, *J.A.S.*, 16, p. 39; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 55.
 58. Shooter, *K.N.*, 81.
 59. ib.
 60. *Z.C.*, 118.
 61. *J.Z.C.*, 63, 196.
 62. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 308.
 63. *V.M.*, 14.
 64. *A.Z.*, 29.
 65. *B.*, 61.
 66. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 57; Declé, *S.A.*, 77; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 196.
 67. See Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 13, 103, 131; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 310.
 68. *M.E.*, 291.
 69. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 49, 50.
 70. Bryant, *O.T.*, 162.
 71. See Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 142, 147-150; MaxMüller, *S.L.*, vol. 2, 37; Frazer, *T.*, 15; Clodd, *T.T.T.*, 53, 81, 114, 115, 122, 158-9; Roscoe, *B.*, 370; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 274, 285; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 196; Herodotus, 1, 76, 144, 155.
 72. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 144; Haberlandt, *E.*, 24, 25.
 73. *G.G.C.*, 607-9.
 74. *T.*, 349.
 75. Sollas, *A.H.*, 398; Stow, *N.R.*, 52; Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 9.
 76. Shelford, *N.B.*, 257.
 77. See also Schulz, *N.A.*, 201-2; Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 2, 257; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 190; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 334; Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 276; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 28; Ward, *V.C.*, 265; Brode, *T.T.*, 71; Purvis, *M.E.*, 336; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 38, 69, 308; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 256; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 38; *E.S.A.*, 51, 98; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 190; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 114; Roscoe, *B.*, 441; Samuelson, *Z.C.*, 81; Wallace, *M.A.*, 61; Chaillu, *K.M.*, 81; Dorman, *T.C.*, 88; Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 276.
 78. *G.G.C.*, 602.
 79. *V.C.*, 619.
 80. Merolla, *V.C.*, 696.
 81. Livingstone, *T.*, 241; Cotton, *U.A.*, 233; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 253; Monteiro, *D.B.*, 54, 81; Roscoe, *B.*, 38, 434; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 88, 162.
 82. *T.*, 214.

83. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 609; Ward, *V.C.*, 266; New, *L.E.A.*, 125, 457; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 335; Purvis, *M.E.*, 70; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 168; Livingstone, *T.*, 36, 216; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 405; 37, p. 138; Park, *T.*, 214; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 215.
84. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 109, 118, 251, 283; Decle, *S.A.*, 369, 389; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 121, 137, 167, 602, 609; Ward, *V.C.*, 264, 266; Brode, *T.T.*, 71; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 235; Elmslie, *W.N.*, 80; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 209, 315; vol. 2, 170, 189; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 51, 93, Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 438; Cotton, *U.A.*, 404, 448; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 243; Park, *T.*, 16, 214; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 78; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 136, 190; Kassner, *R.E.*, 33; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 88, 202; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 291; Patterson, *M.T.*, 242; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 312, 585, 592-3; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 32, 47, 482; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 264; Bergh, *T.P.*, 25.
85. New, *L.E.A.*, 250; Cotton, *U.A.*, 184; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 172.
86. *C.K.*, 238.
87. *T.*, 40.
88. *M.A.N.*, 221, 249.
89. *C.A.*, 125.
90. Baines, *E.*, 433; Moffat, *M.L.*, 91.
91. Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 2, 362.
92. Bergh, *T.P.*, 28, 29, 35.
93. Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 1, 218.
94. *W.A.*, 179.
95. *T.*, 199.
96. Roscoe, *B.*, 60; Galton, *T.S.A.*, 116.
97. Stow, *N.R.*, 50.
98. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 35, 74, 198.
99. See also Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 85; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 201; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 140, 234, 348; vol. 2, 178; Livingstone, *T.*, 311; Merolla, *V.C.*, 696; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 239.
100. Roscoe, *B.*, 154.
101. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 236.
102. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 81.
- 102a. Kassner, *R.E.*, 172.
103. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 448.
104. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 47, 48; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 72.
105. *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 299.
106. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 51.
107. Callaway, *R.S.*, 435.
108. Frobenius, *C.M.*, 25.
109. Purvis, *M.E.*, 39.
110. Park, *T.*, 46.
111. *A.H.*, 180.
112. *P.B.*, 182.
113. Also Keith, *A.M.*(1), 59, 65.
114. Sollas, *A.H.*, 402; Shaw, *M.*, 22; Stow, *N.R.*, 274; Fleming, *S.A.* 162.
115. ib. 87, 223.
116. Hunter, *H.I.*, 42.

117. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 112.
118. Stow, *N.R.*, 263, 274, 318; Monteiro, *D.B.*, 78; Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 138; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 249; Purvis, *M.E.*, 39, 69, 73; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 324; New, *L.E.A.*, 333, 358, 275; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 142; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 144; Lubbock, *O.C.*, 46, 270; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 290, 509; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 273; vol. 2, 147; Patterson, *G.N.*, 182; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 109; Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 182; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 166; Elliot, *P.M.*, 315, 349; Keith, *A.M.*(1), 58, 59, 65; Herodotus, 1, 86; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 113; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 169, 209; Tylor, *A.*, 282; Baines, *E.*, 150.
119. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, bk. 21, ch. 1.
120. Perry, *O.M.R.*, 5.
121. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 561.
122. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 334.
123. *P.E.*, 190.
124. *P.E.*
125. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 224.
126. Hodson, *T.G.T.*, 151.
127. Holden, *H.N.*, 425.
128. See also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 780-786; Roscoe, *B.*, 383; Owen, *N.V.*, 1, 84.
129. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 181; Breasted, *R.E.*, 1, 141, 146, 150, 152-3, 294.
130. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 161.
131. Thomas, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 69.
132. *G.G.C.*, 785.
133. *T.W.N.*, 172; Shaw, *M.*, 39.
134. Also Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 283; Darwin, *D.M.*, 48, 180; Sollas, *A.H.*, 97, 98, 218; Tylor, *A.*, 252, 253, 256.
135. *Travels*, ch. 38.
136. *IV*, 196.
137. Also Hoernes, *P.M.*, 19; Haberlandt, *E.*, 60; Richard, *G.C.*, 48, 112, 114.
138. Breasted, *A.T.*, 66.
139. *ib.* 134.
140. Old, *S.K.*, 117.
141. Breasted, *A.T.*, 299.
142. *ib.* 186.
143. *ib.* 501.
144. *ib.* 526.
145. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 122, 132, 138, 143, 790.
146. Roscoe, *B.*, 456; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 792.
147. Park, *T.*, 19.
148. Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 51.
149. Angelo, *V.C.*, 620.
150. *P.M.*, 356.
151. Hartland, *P.L.*, 118.
152. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 408.
153. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 138.
154. Declé, *S.A.*, 314.

155. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 24.
 156. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 90.
 157. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 403.
 158. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 80.
 159. *ib.* 239.
 160. Roscoe, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 98.
 161. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 405.
 162. *ib.*
 163. Herodotus, VI, 63.
 164. *P.P.*, 104.
 165. *ib.* 207.
 166. *G.G.C.*, 844.
 167. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 20.
 168. Fynn, in Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 80.
 169. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 7; also Elliot, *P.M.*, 305, 306; Park, *T.*, 258; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 117; Darwin, *D.M.*, 180; Sollas, *A.H.*, 281; Haberlandt, *E.*, 81; Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 244-5; Tylor, *A.*, 310.
 170. *T.*, 208.
 171. *B.*, 37.
 172. *B.E.A.*, 510.
 173. *T.*, vol. 2, 359.
 174. *M.*, ch. V.
 175. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 18.
 176. Moffat, *M.L.*, 38.
 177. *R.R.*, vol. 1, 123 sq.
 178. *Works and Days*, Georgic, 316.
 179. *T.*, 82.
 180. *ib.* 204.
 181. Park, *T.*, 198.
 182. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 26.
 183. *T.*, 281.
 184. *L.Z.*, 111.
 185. Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 10.
 186. *C.N.*, vol. 1, 131.
 187. *N.B.*, 285.

Chapter 7

The Food and Cookery of the Primitives

A peep into the kitchen and pantry of prehistoric man, and to see exactly what primitive mankind, say 3,000 or more years ago, cooked and ate, would not be without its interest to the curious. Well, here in older Zululand, we shall get pretty near it.

Mrs. Jomela was never at her wits' end what to cook for dinner—so long as the raw material was at her disposal ; which was not always. Indeed, at this very moment Mrs. Jomela the Third—who, you must know, is paterfamilias' *iNtandokazi* (or favourite wife), whose special duty it is to supply his table, he fondly fancying that viands prepared by her are always so much the sweeter, and safer— is actually on her knees in her hut, carefully turning various cobs of fresh green maize, toasting on the embers. These, when nicely browned, she will stand up, like so many bottles, in a pretty little basket and send to table in his private hut. Mrs. Jomela the First is no less concerned about a pot of sweet-potatoes, boiling in their jackets, as her own family's fare ; while Mrs. Jomela the Second is slicing a pumpkin into small chunks, for a similar purpose.

Plain and plenty : that was the Zulu's rule of diet—so long as it was at command. A well-filled bowl, with a wooden spoon resting against its brim, and all standing on a small eating-mat, was a table lordly bedecked for him. Of condiments he knew nought ; and of culinary *fal-de-lals* still less. All necessary salts were provided for him by the foodstuffs

themselves. Most of these latter were simply boiled ; with now and then a roast.

What Jomela and family above all liked, was meat and beer ; what they mostly got, was clotted milk and vegetables. Two meals a day was the normal regimen with them ; and at each they proved themselves efficient and capacious trenchermen. Diet with them was not prescribed by choice, but was rather enforced by harsh necessity.

The Zulu is an omnivorous animal, his food consisting, as said, almost equally of animal and vegetable products. This food-supply he provides entirely himself, from his cattle and his fields. Pre-eminent among his principal articles of diet stand milk, sorghum and maize, the first two being consumed in a fermented form, as sour clotted milk and beer. The Zulu adult lives, throughout his life, largely on fermented aliments.

Meat is partaken of only as a luxury, not as an ordinary and indispensable article of food. Hunts are not frequent, occurring not more than half-a-dozen times within the year in any given locality ; and when they do occur, it is only the favoured few who are blessed with a buck to bring home. Cattle are slaughtered only when weddings or other ceremonial occasions require, or when the exigencies of ancestral worship or medical treatment demand. An ordinary Native of Zululand—apart from the young men who were gathered together for service in the royal military-kraals, who were supplied (or rather were supposed to be) by royalty with meat alone—might not let flesh pass his lips more than a couple of dozen times in a whole year ; oftentimes less ; though among the wealthier aristocracy—meat slaughterings were, of course, more frequent. Animals that had died of disease were eaten (by the common folk) as readily as were the healthy. Even such noxious diseases as anthrax and quarter-evil are not sufficient to deter them from partaking of the flesh of the dead beasts, the meat having first been rendered harmless by boiling, sometimes along with such disinfecting or germicidal plants as the *umNungwane* (*Xanthopylon capense*) and the *ubuVimba* (*Withania somnifera*). These self-same disinfectants are used again in the case of meat already in an advanced stage of putrefaction, which, like our own ' high ' venison, is by some regarded as so much the more delicious.

Save on one or two ceremonial occasions, the Zulu method of slaughtering cattle was as humane as one could reasonably expect from a primitive people. The herd having been gathered together in the cattle-fold, the selected beast was deeply stabbed with an assegai on the side, in the region of the heart, by an expert person. Every effort was made to ensure that a single thrust be effective ; because any necessary repetition was regarded as a reflection on the man's skill. There was nothing (at least as far as cows were concerned) akin to the Kamba (near Mombasa) custom, by which " first the feet, then the mouth of the beast, were bound ; the nostrils were stopped up, and so the poor animal was suffocated ".¹ But when it came to slaughtering a sheep, then something similar to this Kamba practice did come into play ; for no sheep was ever slaughtered among the Zulus without some strong man holding the animal's mouth so tightly closed (while another administered the stab) as to prevent any possibility of a cry. Should the sheep by some mishap succeed in uttering a cry, then some member of the family was thereby inevitably doomed to die !

Whenever a man slaughters a beast, be it in connection with a family marriage or death, or the *ukOmula* of a daughter, or in entertainment of a visitor, or as a simple thank-offering (*ukuBonga*) to the family spirits (but not when it is a propitiatory sacrifice to an irate ancestor, *ukuHebeza*, or *ukuLungisa*), there is always an open house to allsoever as care to come and partake of the feast. After the slaughter and chopping-up, there is no disorderly scrambling for the joints. These are immediately carried away on wicker-trays (*isiCayo*) into the hut of the oldest woman of the family, or are stored in one of the grain-cribs. From there they are distributed among the various members of the family according to the established rule ; and each party sees to it that he receive his prescribed joint.

The head (*iNtloko*) of the cow, cut from the beast along with the back of the neck down to and including the hump (*isiXánti*), pertains to the men of the family, the elder men partaking of the hump as a roast in the privacy of their hut, while the younger men (and visitors) boil the remainder of the head outside in the cattle-fold. Of this latter, however, the under-lip (*uVókwane*), the chaps (*iMbóvu*) and the cheeks

(*imHlatti*) are reserved for the elders to roast in the cattle-fold for themselves. Should one of the youths dare to eat of one or other of those parts, he will be punished by feeling himself most disagreeably cold—another of those cunning devices for scaring the young from doing wrong! The brains are not eaten, but thrown to the dogs; though Isaacs^{1a} says, to the boys. In all this, the Zulus are the reverse to the Egyptians, who, says Herodotus, never ate the head of a slaughtered beast, but, after heaping imprecations upon it, flung it into the Nile. Along with the head, the men assembled in the cattle-fold to receive as their further due one of the fore-legs (*umKóno*); while an extra *bonne bouche* for the kraal-head are the small-bowels (*amaTúmbu aMhlopé*). The sirloin (*iNtsonyama*) is regarded as the prime part of the beast. One side thereof, the side of honour (viz. that sacred to the ancestral spirits, as bearing the wound of the sacrificial-assegai, and therefore called *eyeNxeba*) was, in olden times, sent to the clan-chief (as principal representative of the family or clan ancestors). And even today, if the district-headman happens to be of the same clan as the man who is slaughtering, it is still forwarded to him; but if he be of a different clan or ancestry, this sirloin (*eyeNxeba*) remains at home and goes to the principal hut of the family (*iNdlunkulu*). The sirloin of the unstabbed side (*eyeNdlelo*) is the rightful portion of the daughters of the family (who also receive the udder, *iBele*, for roasting); but should the superior joint have gone away to the clan or district chief, then the second sirloin is cut in two, the one half going to the principal hut, the other to the girls. Of the two flanks (*umHlubulo*) i.e. the ribs, the one side goes to the family (*iKohlo* or left-side heir); the other to the wives (collectively), together with the chest (*isiFúba*), the liver (*isiBindi*), the kidneys (*iziNtso*), the large bowels (*amaTúmbu aMnyama*), and one hind-leg (*umLendze*). The other hind-leg, along with the remaining fore-leg, are kept for the purpose of making *ubuBende* (see below). The paunch (*uSu*), the hoofs (*amaNqina*) and lower part of legs, and the *amaGúma* (inside the chest), are boiled for general consumption; but the manyplies (*iTwáne*) and the reed (*iNandzi*), whose contents are held to be 'dangerous' (being employed by *abaTákati* for poisoning purposes) are carefully handed over to the oldest woman in the establishment, as one already too far gone to be capable of

doing further harm. This lady, as proof of such belief, proceeds forthwith to gobble up the meat uncooked! The heart (*iNtliziyo*) and the lungs (*amaPápu*) of the slaughtered animal are the perquisites of the herdboys; and the spleen (*ūBende*), that of him who minds the calves.

The commonest method of cooking meat is simply to boil it (*ukuPéka*) in large chunks. But the most tasty method is that of broiling or roasting (*ukOsa*).² In this latter case, a thick lump of flesh (*isOso*) is cut from the joint and, after having been slit up so as to form one long continuous zigzag strip (*umBengo*), is laid across the embers to roast. When roasted, the strip is picked up with the fingers, one end of it caught up by the mouth, which retains hold of a small piece, while the remainder is cut free with a knife; this remainder being then passed on to the next individual, and so forward until the whole strip has been consumed. Stigand³ thought this practice was peculiar to the Masai and other Nilotics; but it is also the universal Zulu custom.

On the occasion of such meat-feasts as those mentioned above, the cooking, being on a large scale, is always carried on in the yard outside the huts, or in the central cattle-fold. When the meat is thoroughly boiled, and the guests have already arrived and seated themselves inside the huts, or outside in the cattle-fold, the meat is conveyed to them on large wicker-trays, or, more properly, on large carved wooden dishes or trenchers (*ūGqoko*). Upon reaching the guests, one of the young men of the family cuts up the large boiled lumps into smaller pieces (*ūCezu*), sufficient for one large mouthful. These smaller pieces are laid upon small grass-woven eating-mats (*isiTébe*), one of which is set before every three or four of the seated men, who pick up the pieces with their fingers and convey them to their mouths. In one minute the mat is cleared for more. Meanwhile, the women are enjoying their own joints privately, away from the men, in one or other of the huts.

Besides the two principal methods of preparing meat mentioned above viz. by simple boiling and broiling, there are quite a number of made-up dishes for the private delectation of the family epicures. For instance the *iNkulungu* or *isi-Tafutafu* is a crack dish for the more dainty kraal-head. It

consists in the boiling down of small lumps of fat-meat, the fatty broth, together with its particles of fat, being subsequently thickened into lumps by the addition of maize or sorghum meal, forming a species of fatty dumpling. Another choice dish is the *iMvimba*. Now, the *iMvimba* is nothing more or less than the excised rectum of the slaughtered ox, which, after being stuffed with small lumps of fat-meat and bound up at each end, is boiled and eaten as a huge sausage. At other times, pieces of fat and lean meat may be minced and boiled, forming a kind of collops (*amaKá*); the clots of congealed blood are then taken from the slaughtered animal, boiled in the gravy or liquid remaining in the pot after the removal of the collops, and so long until they become hard, when they are ground to powder on the stone and mixed into the collops to form *ubuBende*. Sometimes the gravy or watery portion of this *ubuBende* is poured off, and either drunk alone while still warm, or allowed to stand, and then eaten when already coagulated into a firm jelly, constituting, in Zulu parlance, *iNtiki* or *ūVili*. Another dish is made by boiling *umCaba* (crushed boiled maize-grains) in meat-water or broth (*umHluzi*), until it forms a thick porridge, the whole being called simply *umBáqanga womHluzi*. A mess esteemed as particularly delicious (and hence called *uBilebile*) is composed of minced meat, largely fat, boiled together with beans or other vegetables, so as to produce a rich fatty mass. Although not exactly a set dish, meat (fat or lean), when boiled down so as to become a mass of sodden shreds and fat, is called *ūVini*.

The Zulus, it may be added, never eat meat in the raw state (save the case mentioned above), as some of the Natal Lala tribes did.¹

When, at a meat-feast such as has been described above, nothing further remains to eat or drink (for no feast is complete without its generous supply of beer), the guests, all by this time feeling supremely comfortable and merry, assemble outside the kraal-head's door and shout at him all his personal laudations (*iziBongo*) their fuddled heads are capable of remembering. Having thus conveyed their thanks, they disperse for their homes, generally before sundown.

But should a man thus slaughter a beast, and none of his neighbours turn up to honour his board with their presence, he is usually perspicacious enough to read the portent aright, and

take an early opportunity of removing to pastures new ; lest worse succeed.

But while the average Zulu indulges rarely in actual flesh-meat, the milk of his cows furnishes him with one of his commonest and most nourishing articles of food. This is the well-known *amaSi* (sour clotted milk). If prepared in a new, previously unused, gourd, the Zulu procedure is as follows :— While still warm from the cow (the milking generally taking place in the forenoon), the milk is poured into the new gourd, which is called an *iGúla*. The latter is thereupon loosely stoppered and placed aside within the hut—in the winter season, outside in the mid-day sun. On the following day, after about twenty-four hours, the first curdling (*amaNgqanga*) of the milk has set in. On the next day, after another twenty-four hours, clotting has commenced, although the *amaSi* at this stage is not considered as yet sufficiently ' rich ' or ' ripe ' for eating.

The process now (with the new gourd) is precisely that followed every day with the old, already ' ripened ' gourds. The whey (*umLaza*), which (in the new gourd) has by now wholly separated from the curds, is allowed to run off through a small hole, hitherto securely plugged, situated in the bottom of the gourd. This having been done, the space left empty by the withdrawal of the whey, is re-filled with new milk fresh from the cow, in sufficient quantity to fill the gourd to within an inch or so of the narrow mouth at the top. Fermentation again sets in within two or three hours, and froth is expelled from the mouth. If necessary, an ounce or two of the milk may be removed to allow for expansion and the firm insertion of the stopper, usually the core of a maize-cob. By this same evening, or more customarily on the following morning, the *amaSi* is ripe for eating. The whey is removed for the second time, leaving the curds as a congealed mass in the gourd. The gourd is opened, and briskly shaken, in order to break up the mass into clots, and so facilitate its passage through the mouth at the top, when it is poured out in snow-white ' dollops ' (*isaNgqondo*).

The milk-gourds are cleaned out (*ukuGéqa*), about once a week or fortnight, by a repeated process of pouring in a quantity of boiling water, together with a handful of small

rough stones. The whole is then vigorously shaken, re-filled and re-shaken, until every remnant of stale *amaSi* has been removed; whereupon the vessel, after draining, is ready for use again. Should it be desired to hasten the process of fermentation, a pint of whey is poured into the freshly-washed gourd previous to re-filling; and upon this the new milk is poured. This course occurs only with the gourds of the babies, who are unable to wait a lengthy period for their food.

In pre-Shakan times, the people of the Zulu clan-proper kept their *amaSi* in skin-sacks (*iNtlanti*), not in gourds, which was a practice introduced by Shaka himself upon his return from Mtetwaland, on the coast, where gourds had always been used. These milk-sacks were made of cow-hide, sewn together so as to form a bag or small sack, about a foot high and seven inches wide (when filled out), and having a small aperture or mouth at the top. Thus sewn together, the sack was dampened, and, while still wet and supple, stuffed out with a mixture of earth and cow-dung, and so left to dry hard.

The Zulus never drank milk fresh from the cow (save the boy-recruits in the older days), as do the Himas of Ankoleland and some other Bantu tribes.⁵

“Sour milk,” says Richard,⁶ “formed an important part of the diet of the [ancient German] people.” But whether they possessed any knowledge of the art of turning their milk into an intoxicating beverage (as did the ancient Scythians.^{6a} and as still do the Kalmucks of Asia, and, nearer home, the Hamitic baHima of eNkole^{6b}), we know not. Certainly our Zulus had none. With them, milk (in its sour clotted state) was solely a foodstuff; and, as such, it will be found to extend from north to south of the African continent.⁷

We shall now turn to the vegetable foodstuffs of the Zulus, and to their preparation.

(a) *Cereals*. The oldest of these were the millets, coming down the ages from the very earliest Bantu times.

Sorghum (locally by Europeans called Kafir-corn, and by the Zulus *amaBele*—*Sorghum vulgare*) was the original Zulu ‘corn’, and is widely spread throughout Negroland. Of it, there were the following varieties—the *iTshagála* (spreading

tuft, light-brown grain), *uNukane* (light-brown), *īHlosa* (blackened husk), *umSwanikazi* (dark-brown), *uGábanz* (short-stalked), *uJiba* (bitter, astringent), and *uNozilwa-zinyoni* (? ditto).

Spiked-millet (*Z. uNyawoti*, *Pennisetum typhoideum*); raggee (*īPóko*, *Eleusine coracana*); and the sesame or gingelly (*ūDonqa*, *Sesamum indicum*), were also cultivated for food purposes; while the shaloo or sweet-sorghum (*īMfe*, *Sorghum saccharatum*) was grown, not for its grain, but as a sweet stalk for chewing.

Later in the course of time came Maize (*umMbila*, *Zea mays*) in several varieties:—the *uLwandlekazana* (yellow-grained), *uTúbini* or *umTúbi* (yellow), *īMome* (reddish), *uGádigádi* or *uNgázana* (crimson), and *iNgqwanga* (?)—all which had reached the Zulus prior to the advent of the British; while the *uHlezane* (Hickory king), *īHuma* (Horse-tooth) and *iGcaki* (common Natal white) came with them.

(b) *Vegetables.* Pumpkins (*īTánga*) were of divers sorts. There was the older Zulu *īPúzi* (large, light-yellow); and others, like the *iMpondo*, *isiKutwane*, and *īHobosha* (all mottled green), later got from Europeans.

Of gourds (*īSelwa*), we note the *īSelwa* proper, and the varieties, *uMatítivana* or *uSinoni* (wart-shelled), and several kinds of *iMfolozi* or *uSololo*.

Two kinds of melons, the *īKabe* and *īBece*, were planted, both being varieties of the *Citrullus*. The *Tsamma* of the Kalahari, that vegetable water-tank so providentially strewn about the desert for thirsty man and beast, belongs to the same species.

The *Colocasia* was represented by the *īDumbi* (*C. anti-quorum*) in its varieties, the *uZaza*, *uQomo*, *uNyawo-lweNkuku*, and in modern times (from India perhaps) the *uDumbedumbe*.

Of *Plectranthus*, there was the *umBondwe* (*P. esculentus*) and the *umHlaza-luti*.

A kind of yam, sparsely cultivated, was known as the *uManga* or *īBóqongwana*, the former being the name by which the same vegetable goes also among the Rotses on the upper Zambezi. Among the Nikas, far away near Mombasa, it is called *Fiasi-manga*.

The *ĩZambane* (*Coleus esculentus*) furnished small tubers of agreeable flavour and texture, and would merit improving by Europeans. Being itself now rarely cultivated by the Natives, the name, *ĩZambane*, has been transferred by them to the commoner European potato.

The sweet-potato (*umHlaza* : not a potato at all, but the tuber of *Ipomœa batatas*), probably obtained, through the Tongas, from the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, was in a large number of varieties :—the *iNyeza* (the oldest kind), *uTshuza*, *ĩDlebedudu*, *ĩGóde*, *uMpuqwane*, *uSomndengase*, *uSombombose*, *uSombungane*, each with a differing foliage, and shape and texture of tuber.

Of beans, we find only a tiny black variety called *ũDumba* or *iMbumba*. The modern *uBónjisi* (Kidney-bean) was evidently obtained from the Dutch.

The Common Ground or Monkey-nut (*ĩNtongomane*, *Arachis hypogœa*) came down from Delagoa Bay in comparatively recent times. The Bambarra Ground-nut (*iNdlubu*, *Voandzeia subterranea*), on the contrary, was probably cultivated in much older days.

The Tomato (*uTametisi*), Chilli plant (*uPelepele*), and the Shallot (*uShaladi*), are all quite recent importations.

(c) *Wild Herbs*. Of such, there were naturally, after so many centuries of experimentation, a large number of edible kinds. Among them, the commoner were :—the *isaNkuntshane* (*Ophioglossum*), *iMbuya* (*Amaranthus Thunbergii*), *isiHlala-kuhle*, *uMaguqa*, *uNquntane*, *uGwaba*, *umSobo* (*Solanum nigrum*), *uHloza*, *iNkazane*, *ĩKokwane* (*Alipedeia*), *umKombe*, *iNkombo*, *isiKwá* (? *Monsonia obovata*), *isiKwáli* (*Vigna*), *amaLenjane*, *uMahogó*, *ĩHabehebe*, *iNongwe*, *uPólile*, *uQadolo* (*Bidens pilosa*), *umShwili* (*Vigna marginata*), *iNtebe* (*Richardia Africana*, Arum Lily), *uXápózi* (the non-medicinal kind), *iNtlashane* (yellow variety, *Peucedanum capense*), *ĩShongwe* (*Gomphocarpus albens*), *iNtshungu* (*Momordica foetida*) and others.

We shall now see what the Zulu cooks (usually the wives of the family) could do with all this material ; the various dishes, and even delicatessen, they were able to create.

I. Cereals

(a) *amaBele* (Sorghum vulgare—Kafir-corn)

uTshwala (beer).—First and foremost comes—beer. In older times, the Zulus brewed their beer mainly from *uNyawoti* (Pennisetum) and *uPóko* (Eleusine)—see below. At that period, sorghum was used solely as a food-stuff. But with the advent of the Portuguese and the subsequent introduction of maize, two or three centuries ago, through Delagoa Bay, that cereal came gradually to displace sorghum on the table. This latter, in turn, was found to produce a quite passable kind of beer; and since the sorghum-plant yielded, in the southern climate, a much larger crop than did either the pennisetum or the elusine, it soon ousted these latter entirely from the beer-field, the pennisetum and eleusine being henceforth but sparsely cultivated, mainly for the purpose of improving or strengthening the sorghum brew.

The Zulu beer is therefore nowadays made of sorghum only. This gives the best and most appreciated variety of the beverage; though where and when that grain is scarce or lacking, then maize may be partly or wholly substituted. The same remark applies also to *uNyawoti* and *uPóko*, both of which grains may be used, wholly or in part, in the making of *uTshwala*.

The first step in this beer-making is the preparation of the malt (*imTómbó*). Any quantity of sorghum-grain is sewn in a rush-sack and allowed to 'soak' (*ukuCwilisa*) in the neighbouring stream. This softens the grain for subsequent sprouting. Sorghum, if it be in the summer season, may be placed in the water in the early morning and removed in the evening; but maize, if put in at the same hour, should not be taken out until the afternoon of the morrow. Should it be the winter season, the sorghum may be left to soak until well on in the second day, and maize the fourth day. It may here be remarked that the length of time required for sprouting, as also for fermenting, varies considerably according to the locality, the season, the day-heat at the particular time, and the quality of the grain. The grain having been thus well soaked, it is removed from the water and placed, covered up, in a large earthen pot or *iMbiza* (or it may be allowed to remain in the original sack), and left to stand in a warm hut. In about

two days' time, if it be summer, the sorghum will be found to have sprouted, with shoots about three-quarters of an inch long; but if winter, in about three days' time. Maize, in the summer, will require for sprouting scarcely a longer time than sorghum, although its shoots will be shorter (not more than half an inch in length); whereas in winter it may require four or five days. The malt is now dried by being spread upon a mat in the sun, or upon the floor within the hut. After two or three days it is ready for grinding; or it may be stored away in pots or sacks for future use, keeping good for a considerable time. Many nowadays do not dry their malt at all, but proceed with their grinding immediately after sprouting.

The next step is the brewing. This is done, like all the other cooking, by the females, the wives and their daughters. But should any of these, by some inadvertence, have chanced to indulge in intercourse with husband or lover on the preceding night, then to all such beer-brewing would be tabu, lest the beer thereby be rendered flat or insipid. But supposing all to be serene, then, take any quantity (say, one *īQoma*, or large-sized Native basket) of unsprouted sorghum grain; or better, if the stock of malt permit and a higher quality of beer be desired, take one half-*īQoma* of dry malt and one-half-*īQoma* of unsprouted grain mixed together—and steep in cold water in an *iMbiza* (large earthen vessel) for one day; then remove, and crush on the grind-stone while still wet, repeating the operation twice to obtain fineness. This will supply the 'dough' (*iNtlama*). The grinding having been completed in the morning, in the afternoon put the whole of the dough into a large earthen pot, pour on boiling water, sufficient to cover the surface, and finally add so much cold water as will reduce the mixture to a temperature of medium warmth. On the following morning, half fill the cooking cauldrons (in older times, earthen pots) with cold water, subsequently filling up with the water yesterday poured upon the dough, the latter being left remaining alone at the bottom of the earthen vessel. For one average *īQoma* of grain originally crushed into dough, it will require now two large 18-gallon cauldrons filled with cold water. This water is next made to boil. Meanwhile the dough is taken from the earthen vessel and mixed into the boiling water, in such quantity as will reduce it to the consistency of thin porridge, in order to prevent subsequent

lumping. This dough-porridge is now equally divided, one half being gradually stirred into the second pot of boiling water. Any excess of water in either pot (*iNtibelo*) is ladled out from time to time and poured into still other brewing pots. If the grain be sorghum, twenty minutes of boiling will suffice; if maize, from thirty to forty minutes. We shall now have the worts (*umNcindo*), which should be of the consistency of thickish porridge, too stiff to be able to flow easily from the spoon. Immediately after boiling, the pots of worts are set to cool in the coldest possible place in the kraal, generally some shaded, breezy spot. A small dishful of these worts is taken, and, after rapid cooling, mixed with an equal volume of dry ground malt and set apart to ferment, forming what is called the *isiXubo* for future use.

We have now reached the final stage, viz. that of fermentation. During the afternoon following the boiling of the worts (in the morning), a quantity of malt, slightly exceeding that of the grain in the worts (thus, if one \bar{i} Qoma had been measured for the worts, one and a quarter might go to the ferment or *iMvubelo*) is ground on the stone. At sunrise tomorrow, this ground malt is mixed into the already cooled worts; and, to accelerate fermentation, the *isiXubo* (above mentioned), already fermenting, is also thrown in. An hour later, general fermentation should have set in; and towards midday (in summer), or afternoon (in winter), the worts should be covered with a layer of large bubbles. This is the time for clearing the beer of dregs by straining it through grass straining-bags (*Hiluzo*) into other vessels, the dregs being put aside for future brewing of 'small beer'. All the beer having been strained, it is allowed to stand, and fermentation re-commences. The following morning the beer is at its best for drinking, and will remain good (if made of sorghum) for twenty-four hours, but only for about fifteen (if made of maize); after which times it becomes acid or sour (*ukuHlosana*).

This native beer, though a wholesome and (to the Natives) palatable beverage, does not appeal 'strongly' to most Europeans; which is understandable, seeing that the normal alcoholic content can hardly be more than 2 per cent.; though the modern more sophisticated Native has learned from Europeans many tricks for increasing that percentage, mainly by the addition of some form of sugar. The beer is a pinkish

liquid, heavily charged with much of the flour and husk of the grain, and, to the European, it has the flavour of highly diluted ale mixed with sorghum meal.

Beer-feasts were much more common among the Zulus than were meat-feasts, for the reason that sorghum was so much more plentiful than cows. In those earlier times, when the population was much smaller than now, but the crop-yield just the same, every kraal held such a beer-feast several times during the winter (or off-work) season. To those feasts there was a standing invitation to all who cared to come. It was regarded as discourteous to start the drinking before the local headman had arrived, even though a large body of the public had already assembled. After his arrival, the beer was ladled, by means of a deep gourd ladle (*iNdebe*), into the serving-pots (*ũKámba*), and these were carried by the family girls to the huts where the company was assembled. One such large pot was set down before every three or four men. Having first removed from the surface any scum or chaff with a spoon-like skimmer (*isiKétó*), loosely made of palm-leaf strips, the girl would then take up the pot (which being very heavy, was always grasped between both palms) and, in the presence of the company, take herself a deep drink of its contents. This was always done (as also among the Nigerian Negroes⁸) in order to assure the company that there was nothing harmful in the beer; because it was commonly believed that poison was usually administered through this medium.⁹ On these occasions, the women always enjoyed themselves alone in a separate hut, away from the men. The kraal-head, too, had his own special pot (*umHlolo*), which was taken to his private quarters already in the morning, without waiting for the arrival of his guests or headman.

We have already said that the original Zulu beer (and perhaps that of the Bantu in general) was mostly brewed of pennisetum and panicum millet and of raggee eleusine;¹⁰ but the present-day sorghum beer too must be pretty ancient. Even the Ancient Egyptians had their beer;¹¹ though there it was made of barley. All the same, the strainers they used (see specimen in the British Museum) were plaited in exactly the same herring-bone fashion and were of exactly the same shape as some of the strainers (*ĩHluzo*) still made by the Zulus.¹² Though it were by no means unlikely that the Negroes got their

first idea of beer-making from the region of the Nile, we do not think that the Bantu got their recipe for sorghum-beer from that direction. We notice that the Hindi name for sorghum vulgare (formerly known as holcus sorghum) is *jowari*, and that from this *jowari*, as well as from the eleusine (Hindi, *murwa*; Z. *ũPóko*) the Indians had the habit, even in ancient times, of brewing beer.¹³ Now, the selfsame sorghum-beer in Bantuland is called, by the Zulus, *Tshwala*, by the Transvaal Chwanas *Jalwa*, by the Sutus *Yalwa*, in Angola *Walwa*, by some of the Congo tribes *Gwalo*, and by the Nyamwezi of Tanganyika Colony *Bwalwa*. Were perchance all these Bantu names and that of the Indian *Jowari* mutually related? It certainly looks very much like it. We say 'related', not 'derived', because it were equally conceivable that the plant and the beer went from Africa to India, as from India to Africa. Indeed, it is facts like this, which are constantly cropping up, that lead many people to postulate the existence at some ancient period of a direct land connection (Lemuria) between Africa, India and Malaysia. An exception to this Indo-Bantu theory of the origin of sorghum-beer is, however, found in Mashonaland, in Southern Rhodesia (or 'Zimbabwe'), where the sorghum-beer is called, not by the universal Bantu name of *Tshwala* (or something similar, see above), but *Doro*, a word quite obviously derived from the name, *Dhurah*, given by the Arabs to the selfsame sorghum-plant from which the beer is made.

Such beer, then, is to be met with throughout the whole of Bantuland. Or perhaps we might better say, throughout the whole of Negroland; for Barth^{13a} tells us that the Sudanese Negroes of Tasawa "indulge in their *giya*, made of sorghum, just enough to make them merry and enjoy life with more light-heartedness,"; while those of Bornu indulge in their "*komil*, made of guinea-corn—nothing better than muddy beer". Park,¹⁴ on the other hand, writes quite eulogistically of the sorghum-beer of the Guinea Negroes—"better I never tasted in Great Britain".¹⁵ In parts of the Sudan, "millet beer, which is called *pipi*, flows freely";¹⁶ but in French Equatorial Africa, maize seems to have ousted the millets; so that the Natives there make merry on a "highly intoxicating maize-beer".¹⁷ In modern Uganda, the national drink, like the national food, has gone over to the plantain fruit;¹⁸ but

the fact that to the plantain-wine millet-flour is still always added, would seem to suggest that in earlier times the drink may have been wholly made of millet. Such plantain and millet mixtures are met with also elsewhere in north-eastern Bantuland, e.g. among the Chagas¹⁹ and the Tavetas.²⁰ The Kambas,²¹ however, also of those parts, prepare their 'strong drink' from sugar-cane. It must therefore resemble, not the usual Bantu sorghum-beer (or *Tshwala*), but that much more inebriating beverage recently invented by the Native tipplers of Natal, called *isiShimeyana*, and made of molasses.

Already in 1505-6, the Portuguese Joao dos Santos mentions what appears to be sorghum-beer as drunk by the Bantu about Mozambique. On the opposite side of the continent, about the Congo mouth, Merolla²² tells us that, about 1682, where palms do not grow, there "the People have artificial ways of producing it [wine]. For this end they let Indian wheat [? maize] soak in water for some time. This they afterwards take out, and having well beaten and pressed it [Merolla was probably acquainted only with wine-making, and not that of beer], they put the Liquor into a Pot, whence it is after a while drawn off into another, and then they drink it with a good deal of pleasure. This Liquor they call by the name of *Guallo*." Nowadays, all over Zambezia²³ and southern Congo²⁴ sorghum-beer is a common beverage. Of the ma-Kololo Sutus on the upper Zambezi Livingstone²⁵ says, they "drink large quantities of *boyaloo* . . . the *buza* of the Arabs [comp. Zulu, *Pitza*, drink], which, being made of holcus sorghum . . . is very nutritious." The Bushmen, it may be added, having no cultivated fields, had no sorghum. Yet the universal instinct for alcohol did not fail them, and they found it, as did the old Anglo-Saxons and the modern Bantu on the Kenya coast,²⁶ in the honey of the bees. With this they prepared an equally stimulating mead.²⁷

It is rather surprising that the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape, who separated from the Zulus somewhere about 1600 A.D., even so recently as 1833, appear to have had no knowledge of sorghum-beer; though they found a good substitute for it (probably borrowed from the Bushmen) in fermented honey, which they "sometimes drank to excess".^{27a} Certain is it that the Zulu army of Shaka (1820-1828) regularly regaled itself, as did that of Xenophon in Armenia, with copious "bowls of

barley-wine, in which the grains are floating", albeit the 'barley-wine' of the Zulus was made of millet, and in it likewise much of the grain was floating. To us, all this seems to suggest that at 1600 A.D., when the Zulu-Xosa Ngunis were still in the Transvaal, they were then making their beer of eleusine (*ūPóko*) and pennisetum (*uNyawotí*)—which possibly did not thrive in the more southern climate of the Cape—and that the Zulus commenced to make it of sorghum only after their separation from the Xosas and their arrival in Zululand.^{27b}

īGwéle (mild beer). This is a kind of such mild ale as no Zulu man would look at; but which is sometimes prepared by the women for their own consumption, when anything better is lacking. It is made by pouring boiling water on a mixture of crushed sorghum or maize and any kind of malt, and then simply allowing it to stand until fermentation sets in; when it is strained and drunk. It is very often, and with much better results, prepared entirely of malt.

umGānu wine.—This is made by fermenting the juice of the plum-like fruit of the *umGānu* tree (*Sclerocarya caffra*). This liquor, said to resemble cider, is probably the same as the *buKanye* of Portuguese East Africa—a drink with "scarcely any colour, but sweet and pleasant taste", made from a fruit said to resemble the guava, of which the juice is squeezed out, warmed and left to ferment. It is, however, not so strong as the locally-brewed maize-beer.²⁸ The "clear, tartish kind of drink" made by the Rotses on the upper Zambezi of the fruit of the *marula* tree, may also be identical.²⁹

īLala (or Palm) wine.—Along the Zululand coast, where the *īLala* palm (*Hyphæne crinita*) luxuriates, its juice (*ūMpe*) was, and still is, collected in gourds placed below an incision made in the tree's trunk, and either so drunk in the sweet state, or, mixed with wood-ashes, allowed to ferment and produce the milky intoxicating drink known as *ukuSula* (or *ubuSula*), somewhat resembling our ginger-beer. Here again we find ourselves taken off to India; for there, strange to relate, we find that the ancient Sanskrit *sura* was the local 'intoxicating drink of men'.^{20a} Then, crossing from India back to Africa, we find that the Kilimane (Portuguese East

Africa) 'palm-wine' is also called *Sura* (comp. Bondei, Tanganyika Colony, *uSula*, juice; Masaba, in Uganda, *buSera*, millet-beer). Can all this be mere coincidence?

As a foodstuff, sorghum is still slightly in daily use; for instance, *iNcumbe* is a thin porridge or gruel made of finely-ground sorghum, and given only to infants.

ĩYambazi is simply porridge, made in the usual way, of sorghum grains crushed, dampened, on the stone (not dry-ground meal). It is nowadays also sometimes made of maize similarly treated; in which case it becomes the nearest approach to the European porridge of mill-ground maize-meal.

uMunyuzá is fermented *ĩYambazi*, and may be prepared by simply mixing a small quantity of malt into the latter, and then allowing it to stand to ferment; or, more generally, by mixing a small quantity of water with unboiled sorghum or maize meal, and then allowing the dough thus made to stand for about twelve hours till fermentation sets in; whereafter it is boiled in the usual way, as porridge.

umXubéni is *uMunyuzá* still more fermented.

isiBébe, see Maize, below.

umXuku, see Maize, below.

isiKúpa, see *iNdlubu*, below.

isiHíya, see Pumpkin, below.

isiGwámba, see Herbs, below.

(b) *uNyawotí* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*).

ĩGqiza.—The small pennisetum grains are first coarsely crushed on the stone, so as to break away the husks, which are then easily blown away by the mouth. This cleared grain is now sprinkled with water and ground into a very fine paste, which is so eaten (without cooking).

iNcimbi differs from the preceding only in that the crushed grain is mixed with more water, so as to form a thin, uncooked, gruel or soup, in which state it is eaten.

As already said, this grain was formerly used for making beer, which is said to be much stronger than that made from sorghum, and also to keep much longer. Even nowadays, a quantity of this cereal is sometimes added to the worts of the latter, in order to strengthen it.

(c) *ūPóko* (Eleusine coracana).

īGqiza and *iNcimbi* are prepared with this tiny grain in exactly the same way as with *uNyawoti*, above.

Beer, formerly made of this grain, is said to be very strong and agreeable; ^{29b} though hardly so strong as that made of *uNyawoti*. Like the latter, it is still sometimes used to strengthen sorghum-beer.

Like the African Bantu, the Kols of Chota Nagpore (Dravidian aborigines of Southern India) had also become possessed of this eleusine grain plant; and, not only that, but they had further discovered that its tiny grain produced a very agreeable intoxicating liquor. ^{29c} It were hard to suppose that so ancient and rude a people as these Kols could have acquired anything imported from Africa.

(d) *umMbila* (Zea mays—Maize).

While sorghum, pennisetum and eleusine furnished the Zulu with an agreeable and nourishing drink, maize, during perhaps the last two centuries, has supplied him with his principal cereal food.

iziNkobe.—This is simply maize-grains boiled in water until softened. They are thus eaten, without further flavouring, and constitute the staple article, the 'bread', of the Zulu dietary.

ūTshwele.—Maize-grains roasted (*ukuGázinga*) on a pot-lid or on a dry pot-bottom, are called by this name.

umNyelankobe.—This is *iziNkobe* (above) boiled beneath, and therefore flavoured by, lumps of meat laid on the top.

īFútó.—Young green maize, boiled in the cob while still wrapped in the spathes, is so called. When such cobs, with the spathes removed, are roasted on the embers (*ukOsa*), they have no special name.

isiNkwa.—Maize-grains having been crushed or, sprinkled with water, ground, on the stone, the moist dough so formed is wrapped up, as a large lump, within maize-spathes and so boiled in water for about three hours, then cut into slices and eaten.

umBáqanga.—Maize-grains having been ground, as above, on the stone, the dough is mixed into a very small quantity

of water already boiling in the pot, and so allowed to cook, with occasional stirring, over a slow fire, so as to prevent burning. The result is a heavy, consistent mass, resembling very thick porridge, and constitutes a principal food of the herdboys.

isiShwala.—This is the same thing, but cooked to a still greater consistency, and eaten in a friable and almost dry state, especially by men going out for a hunt.

ĩFúsazana.—Have a pot of water boiling. Grind maize-grains on the stone, with a constant sprinkling of water, so as to produce a moist kind of meal. Roll or press portions of this meal between the hands so as to form 'dumplings', and drop into the boiling water. Cook for half an hour and eat. Occasionally the meal-dumplings are re-mashed, in a reduced quantity of water, and so made into *umBáqanga*, as above.

isiHīya.—See Pumpkin and Sweet-potato, below.

uHlelenjwayo.—The stalks of *iMfe* (*Sorghum saccharatum*) having been pounded on the stone and boiled to extract their sweetness—the only 'sugar' the Zulus knew—the dough made by crushing tender young maize-grains on the stone is then mixed into the sweet water and boiled, forming a kind of sweet and tasty porridge.

isiTubi.—This is another agreeable dish, consisting of a porridge of finely crushed maize (preferably young) or sorghum, cooked in fresh milk.

umXuku or *umBántshi*.—Maize-grains having been boiled, they are crushed on the stone, and the coarse dough (*umCaba*) is thrown into an earthen pot, into which the sour liquid squeezed from strained beer-dregs (see *uTshwala*) has been poured. The mixture, after having been left to stand some hours till slightly fermented (or, if made in the evening, left till the following morning), is then so eaten cold.

isiGwám̄ba.—See *Herbs*, below.

umBúqwa.—Maize-grains having been well boiled, they are thoroughly crushed to a fine paste (*umCaba*) on the stone. Sesamum-seeds (*ũDonqa*, see below), or even pumpkin-seeds, are then roasted on a pot-lid over the fire, and subsequently ground very finely. The whole is then mixed together, or even re-ground together on the stone, and so eaten.

isiBébe.—Ground maize having been cooked as a thin porridge, a quantity of sorghum malt is mixed in, and the whole put by to ferment; after which it is eaten cold, as a thick 'soup' or a thin porridge.

isiKúpa.—See *iNdlubu*, below.

amaHewu, *uPutu*, and *iPalishi* are quite modern concoctions, altogether unknown to the older folk.

(e) *ūDonqa* (*Sesamum indicum*—Sesame).

See *umBuqa* above—*Maize*.

Also see *Sweet-potato*, below.

(f) *iMfe* (*Sorghum saccharatum*—Sweet sorghum).

This sorghum, though it bore a seed-tuft like the *amaBele* (Kafir-corn, above), was cultivated solely for its sweet stalk, which was either simply chewed in the mouth, or more rarely boiled with the food—see *Maize* above (*uHlelenjwayo*).

II. Vegetables.

(a) *iNdlubu* (*Voandzeia subterranea*—Bambarra Ground-nut).

isiPúpútó.—When these nuts are simply boiled in water, so as to break down into a semi-dry mash, they are called by this name. The boiling should be for about three hours.

isiKúpa.—First boil the nuts as above. Then, when done, spread above them in the pot an equal quantity of dough made by crushing on the stone maize, sorghum, pennisetum or eleusine grain, previously dampened. Allow the whole to boil for twenty minutes, then mix and mash together for eating.

(b) *iziNdumba* (Beans).

isiPúpútó, prepared as with *iziNdlubu*, above.

isiKúpa, prepared as with *iziNdlubu*, above.

uBilebile, see under *Meat*, above.

(c) *amaTánga* (Pumpkins).

iNqeke.—This is pumpkin simply boiled in large slices, and eaten off the eating-mat.

isiHīya.—The pumpkin, chopped into small pieces, is first boiled alone. An equal quantity of dough, composed of dampened maize, sorghum, pennisetum or eleusine grain crushed on the stone, is spread over the top of the boiled pumpkin, and the boiling allowed to proceed for a further twenty minutes ; when all is mashed together, and so eaten.

(d) *umHlaza* (Sweet-potato).

isiHīya.—The sweet-potatoes are peeled and chopped up into small pieces, then boiled in water and mashed. An equal quantity of dough (prepared as above and of the same grains) is mixed with water into a thin ' porridge ', and so gradually poured into the potato mash, stirring all the time. After a further boiling, with constant stirring, for about twenty minutes, the food is ready for eating.

uTiti.—This is sweet-potato simply boiled and thinly mashed without any further addition.

Or such *uTiti* may be flavoured by the addition of any wild-herbs (*imFino*, see below) ; or sesamum seeds (*ūDonqa*, above) may be roasted on a pot-lid, ground, and mixed into the already cooked potato-mash.

Sweet-potatoes are mostly simply boiled in their jackets and so eaten, after peeling.

Or they may be baked in their jackets beneath the hot ashes of the fire.

Of the vegetables still remaining in the afore-mentioned list, the Colocasia (*īDumbi*), the Coleus (*īZambane*), the yam (*uManga*), and all kinds of *imBondwe* (Plectranthus), are simply boiled in their skins, and so eaten, after peeling. Both the *īZambane* and the *imBondwe* are really excellent vegetables, and well worth examining with a view to scientific improvement. The skin of the *imBondwe* contains a large amount of tannin, and should therefore always be scraped off before cooking. The varieties of gourd (*īSelwa*) are prepared after the manner of the pumpkins. Of the melons, the *īKábe* is eaten raw, but the *īBéce* is generally boiled, though also sometimes eaten raw. The monkey-nuts (*amaNtongomane*) are prepared by roasting on a pot-lid over the fire. Of the

Colocasia (*ĩDumbi*), the tubers are simply boiled in their skins, afterwards peeled off ; while the large heart-shaped leaves and stalks, when young, are occasionally used as 'greens' or spinach.

III. Wild Herbs (*imFino*).

The portion of these wild plants used as food varies. Sometimes, as with the *umShwili*, it is the pea (*iNtsololo*) ; sometimes, as with the *ũHloza* and *iNgótsha*, it is the seed-pods (those of the latter called *amaBelebele*) ; sometimes, as with the *ĩShongwe* and *ĩHabehabe*, the flowers (those of the latter called *isiKáábá*) ; sometimes, as with the *ĩGéla*, *isiKóndwe*, *isiKwáli*, *iNongwe*, *uPólile*, *iNqoba*, and *iNtondo*, the roots ; but most generally it is the leaves, as in the case of all other plants mentioned. The *isaNkuntshana* is said to furnish the most agreeable kind of spinach ; but the young tender shoots and leaves (*iziNtanga*) of the pumpkin plant come very near it. Sweet-potato leaves, often used as spinach by Europeans, are unknown for this purpose, and unliked, by the Natives. Some of the plants, like the very bitter *iNtshungu*, are used rather as a medicine than as a food, being said to act as effective alteratives or tonics to the system, especially about the time of the seasonal change from winter to summer.

Generally speaking, the herbs are plainly boiled in a little water, until they form a kind of green pasty mash. Sometimes, as is the case with the *ĩHabehabe* flowers and others, they are boiled along with other material, such as maize-grains.

isiGwámámba.—First boil the herbs ; then mix therewith, while still in the pot, any quantity of finely-ground maize or sorghum meal, and continue boiling until the green-coloured 'porridge' is done.

The primitive Zulu child made the acquaintance of artificially prepared food long before it did that provided for it by Nature. The baby was no sooner born and washed, than spoonful of *amaSi* (sour clotted milk), thin sorghum gruel (*iNcumbe*), or mashed sweet-potato, were thrust into its capacious mouth and so into its still more capacious belly. Only after the remnant of the navel-cord had dried and fallen off, was the infant permitted to approach the mother's breast.

From about the third year onwards, the *amaSi* was taken in a thickened and more substantial form called *umVubo*. This was *amaSi* mixed together with a liberal quantity of crushed boiled maize-grains (*umCaba*), and the eating of such food was termed *ukuVuba*.

There were, as already said, only two meals a day, one in the morning at about 11 or 12 o'clock, the other in the evening before retiring to rest, say, at about 7 o'clock. The *amaSi* or *umVubo* meal was usually that in the morning; though other of the above dishes might also be provided. But these latter were most commonly served in the evening; and when they were not forthcoming, *iziNkobe* (soft-boiled maize-grains) were the universal substitute.

Such was the dietetic routine in vogue throughout the whole of Zululand up to the year 1897, when the calamitous cattle-plague of rinderpest came down like a whole pack of wolves on the fold, leaving hardly anything behind. This resulted in a complete and in many respects deplorable change in the feeding and life-habits of these Zulu people. From that time onwards, for the next ten years, *amaSi* ceased entirely to be a regular food in the land; so that all children born during that decade grew up, knowing nothing about it, and lost all taste for it. These had perforce to be reared on sweet-potato pap and porridge made of finely ground sorghum and maize. It would be interesting to know whether this alteration in the early diet of those children wrought any significant change in their constitution or stamina.

The natural rotation of the seasons gave rise to a consequent regular variation of the Natives' diet, even in the old normal days. The spring-time (August and September) had scarcely arrived before all felt a spontaneous craving for fresh green food, after the long spell of dry grain fare throughout the winter. Women and children wandered about the veld in search of wild herbs (*imFino*). In each successive week throughout the spring period, and even later, each individual managed to get perhaps three or four feeds of such fresh green stuff. Mothers in Europe had the habit of administering to their children at that same period of the year doses of brimstone and treacle. The Zulus too had the custom, at the same time, of bracing themselves by liberal dosings of certain herbal tonics

and alteratives, technically termed *uDoloqina* (a knee-strengthenener); of which the roots of the *uZankleni* marsh-plant and the leaves of the *iNtshungu* (*Momordica foetida*) provided a chief ingredient. With the progress of spring, the new pumpkin plants provided a further supply of green food, in the shape of their tender young shoots and leaves.

At about Christmas time, the annual Rite of the First Fruits (*ukwEshwama*) was performed by the Zulu king. Prior to that event it had not been lawful for anybody to gather the new fruits of the season (apart from the mere pumpkin leaves and shoots just mentioned). After the Rite, however, new maize could be indulged in and the pumpkins plucked; and for the next quarter of the year at any rate the whole population revelled in an abundance of toothsome food-stuffs.

With the ripening of the grain in the fields, all the freshness and greenness had gone out from it, and (for the adults at any rate) the season of the wassail-bowl entered in. After the harvesting of the crops (about April and May), began the good-time for the beer-drinking men, and ended the good-time for the younger folk. Of these latter, the time of feasting had been that of the pumpkins and young maize, the dumbis and the mbondwes. But those, alas! are now at an end; and now begins the season of winter diet, on *iziNkobe* and *isiNkwa*, on *umBáqanga* and *ĩYambazi*.

In older Zululand, young people of both sexes, until well beyond 20 years of age, were not permitted to indulge in beer-drinking, nor to take part in the public beer-feasts. This rule applied equally to married women, who, although they might partake to satiety in the privacy of their own homes, were never allowed to wander abroad into strange kraals for the purpose of drinking. That they do it now is one of the consequences of the looser family discipline following European rule. Prior thereto, such a habit was the sole and jealously guarded prerogative of the *amaDoda* (or mature men).

During the months from May to August, then, of each successive year, while the sorghum supply was still abundant in the kraals, these men would live to a large extent—and in the case of heavy tipplers (confirmed drunkards were practically unknown in older Zululand) almost solely—on beer. Generally, however, the beer-drinking was supplemented by

at least one solid meal daily of *iziNkobe* or other of the preparations mentioned above. Thus, while the younger half of the population was receiving half its daily fare from fermented milk (*amaSi*), the elder half, during a quarter of the year, was substituting therefor, or super-adding thereto, copious draughts of fermented sorghum in the form of Kafir-beer. It is, of course, an error to assume, as many Europeans do, that this Kafir-beer is simply and solely an intoxicating drink. It is, in reality, a nutritious, and perhaps even necessary, form of food; and Governments are wise in aiming rather to prevent its abuse than its use.

Thriftlessness was ever one of the innate defects in the Zulu character. He has inherited little or nothing of the saving instinct. No sooner are the fruits of the new season's fields mature and their free consumption permitted by the king, than a wholesale attack upon them is immediately initiated. This habit so considerably diminishes the amount left over in the fields for final harvesting, that, after a few months, the whole year's store of food is at an end. In perhaps half the kraals in the land there is a regular annual recurrence of severe dearth throughout the early summer months of August, September and October, and even later. During the whole of that period, members of all such families, children as well as adults, have to be usually content with but one meal a day, namely that taken in the evening time. Exceptionally, in years of drought and consequence famine, there are whole districts where the children get not even that, and deaths from hunger are not unknown. That is the period when they place all their hope in Mother Nature, who usually has up her sleeve a cornucopia of *amaTébe* fruit (arum-lily), of *iShongwe* flowers (*Gomphocarpus albens*), of *umShwili* peas (*Vigna marginata*), of *iNgótsha* pods (*Sarcostemma viminale*), and of *iNkwa* (*Dioscorea rupicola*), *uBóqo* (*Ipomoea ovata*), *iNkombo*, *iNongwe*, and *iNdawo* (*Cyperus esculentus*) roots. The last-named was known to and eaten by the Ancient Egyptians so long ago as 4,000 B.C.³⁰ Then there were the fruit of the *amaQate*, the figs of the *umKiwane* (*Ficus*), the plums of the *umTúngulu* (*Carissa grandiflora*) and *umTúnduluka* (*Ximenia caffra*), and the berries of the *umDoni* (*Eugenia cordata*), the *umKlele* (*Ehretia Hottentotica*) and the *umTóngwane* (*Chrysophyllum natalense*).

Besides the above vegetable products, there were also many curious edibles from the animal kingdom, that from time to time adorned the Zulu table. The children, for instance, were rather partial to roasted caterpillar, selecting a huge fat and hairless specimen, which they called *ĩCimbi*, and which is the larva of several kinds of moth, according as it is found on the *umuNgá*, the *umGánu*, or other trees.³¹ White-ants or termites, in season, that is, when emerging from the ground in the flying stage during their breeding season, are greedily gathered up by the Zulu children and, stripped of their wings, fried, as a great delicacy, on a pot-lid, they being called *iNtlwabusi* and *ĩHlwabusi*.³² In former times, in periods of famine, roasted locust (*iziNkumbi*) was a godsend to all, and said by Europeans, who ventured to taste them, to possess the flavour of shrimps.^{32a} Indeed, they seem to have been really nourishing. Says Sparrman :³³ The Hottentots welcome and thrive on them, "eating them in such quantities as, in the space of a few days, to get visibly fatter and in a better condition." By them, the godsend was attributed to "some great master-conjuror, at a considerable distance to the northward, having removed a stone from the mouth of a certain deep pit, out of which he had let loose these animals, in order to be food for them".³⁴ Fowls and pigs, in those earlier times, were not regarded by any Zulu as fit for human fare ; while monkeys,^{34a} snakes,^{34b} dogs,³⁵ and all fish,³⁶ though highly esteemed by many other Bantu peoples, were to them positively repulsive.

The only salt the Zulu ever took with his food was that naturally contained within it ; and for him it seemed amply sufficient. Yet, unlike his neighbours, the Mpondos,³⁷ the Hereros of South West Africa,³⁸ and the Hottentots,³⁹ who actually disliked salt, *he* loved it as a child loves sugar—that is, whenever, in these days, he can get hold of it. There were large natural salt-pans in the Cape (between Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, and elsewhere), which provided the European colonists of those parts in the dry season with a layer "from one to four inches in depth" of "good coarse salt";⁴⁰ but those places were much too far south to have come within the ken of the early Bantu (Zulu-Xosas). What, chemically, this 'good coarse salt' really was, we cannot say ; but if, instead of sodium chloride, it was potassium nitrate, then both Zulus

and Xosas already knew all about it ; for this latter mineral was occasionally found in certain nullahs, banks and pools in Zululand⁴¹ and south Natal, and presumably also in Kaffraria ; and the Natives of those vicinities occasionally, though hardly habitually, cooked certain of their foodstuffs in water salted with the chemical. The Zulus, like the medieval European, called it simply *ĩTshe eliMunyu*, ' salt-petre ', or ' the-salty, sour or acid-stone ' (called in South Natal, *uVóyizane*). How it came about that the Nguni Bantu remained in total ignorance of salt, is not clear, seeing that most of the Bantu tribes further north know how to obtain it from the potash contained in many marsh-grasses and rushes.⁴² Possibly that knowledge may have been obtained from the Arabs, after the Zulus had already departed for the south.

Similarly, the only sugar the Zulu knew was that he obtained by chewing or boiling the stalks of his sweet-cane (*iMfe*).

One would hardly have thought that Mother Earth herself could ever become an article for human consumption. And yet many Bantu tribes, to say nothing of Brazilian Indians, find earth a quite acceptable ' eat ', presumably as a kind of medicine. The Kikuyu women,⁴³ for instance, have a strong weakness for " edible earths and for ashes " ; and these edible earths, upon analysis, prove to be very rich in iron. " The earth eaten [by the Mbalas, Yanzis and Huanas of western Congo]," write Torday and Joyce,⁴⁴ " is said to be a cure for stomach-ache ; it has an astringent taste, and if the hand is buried in it for some time, it becomes quite wrinkled." Our Zulus, however, were entirely ignorant of any such medical knowledge or practice. Yet it must be confessed that Zulu infants, as if by instinct, frequently gobble up small portions of earth, as though they like it. Their mothers tell us that such a habit is an infallible sign of worms.

Johnston⁴⁵ refers to certain Congo Pygmies who actually eat fire ! The Zulu, on the contrary, owing to his frequent experience of kraal-destruction by grass-fires, regards fire as a super-dreaded ' wild-beast '.

Much more abhorrent than eating Mother Earth is the practice of eating Brother Man. We are glad to be able to

report that the Zulus are not among the cannibals. But they were near relatives to some of them ; and had they been the conquered, in Shakan times, instead of the conquerors, we fear they too might have succumbed to this African frailty. Just over their southern borders, some of their brother Ngunis, the Lalas of Natal, hunted by Shaka from their homes, with their food and kraals destroyed, were driven, in many parts, presumably by hunger, to eat each other !⁴⁶ Not even their own sleek chiefs, it is said, were always secure against the pot. Report relates, too, that the cannibal gourmet's choice was the *pudenda feminea*, beaten tender with a stick. Another prime cut was the other fellow's feet ; of which the most toothsome morsel was the heel, preferably that of a child.

Still further south, other Zulu relatives, the Xosas of the Cape, were in hardly less dire straits ; and that, moreover, as recently as 1851. About that time, a certain pythonesse, Nongqawutye by name, promulgated orders from the ancestral gods, that all corn and cattle be forthwith destroyed, in order that they be replaced by something better and more abundant. Result : obedience, and universal starvation. For, says Colenso,⁴⁷ while all with eager eyes were awaiting what would happen, the children of one poor family started crying to their father with hunger. The latter, moved with pity, took a knife and cut the throats of his children. At another time, there came to Somtsewu (Theophilus Shepstone) people from Xosaland who told him of two men who took their own children, whom they disliked eating, and sold them for others, whom they could eat. On still another occasion, there went a servant of Somtsewu on a visit to Xosaland. Thinking to adopt a starving child, he came across a man and said, ' Have you a child ? ' The man replied that he had not, but that ' if you go over to that hut, maybe you will find a child still living '. The traveller entered the hut and found a boy bound to the hut-post, emaciated and scarcely breathing, not having eaten for several days ; for his mother had abandoned him, going off with those children who could still walk and with the infants they could carry ; but this child was already too big for carrying, and yet not big enough for a long journey. They had bound him up, thinking he was already dying, lest he follow them and trouble them with crying.

Over the Zulu inland border, lived the Sutu Bantu, in a similar plight; so that among them too cannibalism was rampant.⁴⁸ Indeed, the Vendas in the Transvaal are said to have preserved their anthropophagous propensities until "finally subjugated by the Government of the South African Republic at the recent date of 1898".⁴⁹

No doubt it was hard times such as those just mentioned that was the original cause of all cannibalism; until it gradually grew into a confirmed habit. "It is interesting to notice," say Torday and Joyce,⁵⁰ "that . . . those tribes [the Yanzi, Mbala, Huana, Pindi, Bunda and other, all in western Congo] which inhabited the districts where food, both animal and vegetable, is most abundant, are most addicted to the practice [of cannibalism]. This fact seems to prove that, for this region of Africa, cannibalism cannot be attributed to a scarcity of provisions." Equally anthropophagous were the Congo baSongo,⁵¹ and maNywema,⁵² as well as the Zambezians of Tete⁵³ and the baGishu of Uganda.⁵⁴ Many Sudanese Negroes too were conformed cannibals;⁵⁵ and among the Nyamnyam⁵⁶ "human fat is universally sold. When eaten in considerable quantity, this fat is presumed to have an intoxicating effect."

But there! why cast mud at the African, when our own kith and kin were not one whit the better? Not only were the aborigines of southern India cannibalistically disgraced even in Herodotus' time,⁵⁷ but, much nearer home, we are told by Strabo⁵⁸ that the inhabitants of Ireland "deemed it honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents." In 617, Ethelfrith was king in Northumbria, and, having, it was said, a personal weakness for human diet, he encouraged a Welshman, Gwrgi, at his court, to slaughter a male and female daily, and two of each on Saturday, 'lest he desecrate the Sabbath' (Sunday). We said that the Negro Nyamnyams were public vendors of human fat; in which they differed from our neighbours, the Scotchmen, only in that the latter did not sell the human fat, but took it home, and manufactured therefrom tallow-candles. But this, mind you! only after he had first eaten the beef and drunk the blood; unless, as sometimes happened, he had boiled his brother whole (and at times, alive), and drunk the broth.⁵⁹

It seems, then, this White Pot is in no position to cast aspersions at that Black Kettle.

Anyway, from such crude beginnings as those described in this chapter as still in vogue among the Zulus, did our own culinary art gradually work up to the height of its present Ritz and Savoy elegancies.

1. Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 332.
- 1a. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 237.
2. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 214.
3. ib. 205.
4. See New, *L.E.A.*, 457; Harris, *W.S.*, 170; Park, *T.*, 114; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 245; Herodotus, 1, 109; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 275.
5. *Roscoe, Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 100.
6. *G.C.*, 43.
- 6a. Herodotus, 1, 287.
- 6b. *Roscoe, Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 100.
7. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 33, 281, 527; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 243; Park, *T.*, 46, 148; Herodotus, 1, 287; Dugmore, *C.A.*, 137; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 35, 189; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 177; Peters, *N.L.*, 226; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 220; Roscoe, *B.*, 418; Fleming, *S.A.*, 142; Moffat, *M.L.*, 39; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 97; Shaw, *M.*, 23; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 2, 255.
8. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 66; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 130.
9. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 42.
10. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58.
11. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 217, 262; Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 30.
12. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 133.
13. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 440.
- 13a. *T.N.A.*, 254, 416.
14. 31, 148.
15. ib. 89.
16. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 111.
16. ib. 32.
18. *Roscoe, B.*, 440.
19. New, *L.E.A.*, 397.
20. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 180.
21. Grogan, *C.C.*, 79.
22. *V.C.*, 698.
23. Maugham, *Z.*, 185.
24. Kassner, *R.E.*, 51.
25. *T.*, 127.
26. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 335.
27. Shaw, *M.*, 254.
- 27a. Kay, *T.C.*, 123, 234, 371.

- 27b. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58 ; also Herodotus, 1, 144 ; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 254, 416 ; Park, *T.*, 31, 89, 148 ; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 32 ; Rankin, *Z.B.*, 241 ; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 180 ; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 223, 283 ; vol. 2, 199 ; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 70, 95, 233, 277 ; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 133 ; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 244 ; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 34 ; Bent, *R.C.M.*, 57 ; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 1, 130, 184, 330.
28. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 118.
29. Mohr, *V.F.*, 181.
- 29a. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 205.
- 29b. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 281.
- 29c. Hewitt, *R.R.*, 440.
30. Elliot, *P.M.*, 218.
31. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143 ; Hall, *G.Z.*, 92 ; Bent, *R.C.M.*, 53.
32. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 492.
- 32a. Bent, *R.C.M.*, 83.
33. Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 1, 367.
34. Bryant, *O.T.*, 210.
- 34a. Cotton, *U.A.*, 241 ; Elliot, *P.M.*, 28.
- 34b. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143 ; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 167.
35. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 234, 242.
36. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 141 ; Stow, *N.R.*, 93 ; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 84, 139.
37. Steedman, *W.A.*, 263.
38. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 110.
39. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 184.
40. Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 115.
41. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 160.
42. Roscoe, *B.*, 439 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.* ; Kassner, *R.E.*, 157.
43. Orr and Gilks, *Studies of Nutrition*, Brit. Med. Assn. Rept.
44. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 403.
45. *G.G.C.*, 332.
46. Bryant, *O.T.*, 58, 248, 348, 377, 410, 504, 552.
47. *I.Z.*, 86.
48. Casalis, *B.*, 19 ; Martin, *B.*, 71 ; Stow, *N.R.*, 510, 555.
49. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 95.
50. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 134.
51. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 45, 54, 203.
52. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 312.
53. dos Santos, *Hist. of Port. Sovereignty in Mozambique Channel*, bk. 2, chap. 4.
54. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 316.
55. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 181, 197.
56. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 285.
57. III, 99 ; IV, 106.
58. Bk. IV, ch. V, sec. 4.
59. Gomme, *E.F.*, 135, 144, 146, 147, 148.

Chapter 8

The Zulu Corn-mother : Her Fields and Crops

As we proceed, it will become ever more and more apparent that the African Bantu (certainly those of Southern Africa) were already a perfectly civilized lot of 'savages'—in many respects, we might even say, cultured—at the time when, about the year 1500 A.D., the White race of Europe first came to know them. They had not been civilized by us ; many might say, we have wrought the reverse. And their civilization was not ours. It was the civilization of our forefathers, five or six thousand years ago, when mankind was still making its earliest laborious efforts to raise itself from a state of semi-brutedom to the higher status of fuller and truer manhood, mentally and spiritually.

Our South African Bantu stood and stand, culturally, at the point where the Late Stone or Neolithic Age had just merged that of Metal. They were therefore many milleniums behind us. The primeval instincts of ancient hunting days had all but disappeared within them ; and the nomadic or migratory habits of the succeeding pastoral life had already also, in a large part, died a natural death with their attainment to the more settled agricultural state, necessitating, as it does, a fixed abode and an ordered social system.

On this glorious march of human progress, the humble female has ever led the race. She was not only the discoverer of that which is of all else the best in all men's lives, religion, but she also blazed the trail to agricultural settlement and, its consequence, social order. Pastoral man had at long last been

compelled by agricultural woman to settle down, and, in so doing, she had prepared the way, not only to his greater gastronomic bliss, but also for his mental advancement to the industrial arts and scientific thought ; for, as Elliot Smith¹ has observed, " the practice of agriculture is the foundation of civilization ". That agriculture was the invention and, after her children, the earliest concern, of womankind, is attested by the fact that the field-deities² of all nations are practically everywhere of the female sex, whereas corn-gods are rare ; although the Egyptian Osiris was as famous as any corn-goddess. Fertility in all its aspects was ever regarded as a peculiarly ' female ' quality.

In all this, the Zulu people were not behind their times. You may be surprised to hear that they too had more than one Corn-Mother. There was, as you shall hear in a later chapter, Nomkubulwana, the Sky Princess, who first taught them how to cultivate the fields and brew good beer.^{2a} But she was a myth. The Corn-Mother who was a real fact, who actually wrought the miracle and made the former barren earth to bear fruit, and filled the granaries with corn and the home with charming babes, was that robust and laborious drudge, the Zulu housewife.

In the Zulu social dispensation, agriculture and pastoralism reigned in equal state, the former the real, of the female sex, the latter that of the male.^{2b} This primordial division of labour was moreover a perfectly natural one. It was not due to any conspiracy on the part of the males that to the weaker sex should be relegated the more laborious task. It was Nature's own plan that, so soon as mankind had left its cave, and wandered on to the grassy steppes, it should find itself at once among the ruminating beasts and among the seed-bearing grasses, and, by the sweat of its brow, it should henceforth find its living in both. From the fact that on the female had devolved the lot of bearing and rearing the offspring, of being " anchored by babies ", as Myres³ has said, " to one spot of ground," there followed the corollary that she, at any rate, could no longer wander at large, but must perforce settle where she was. So soon as the suckling season was passed, she would, by natural impulse, go out and fossick around for something for herself and bairns to eat. Her especial domain was thus the vegetable world ; and among the seeds of surrounding

grasses and the roots of surrounding herbs, by slow, and sometimes painful, experiment, she gradually discovered much that was 'good' to eat. For, you must recollect, that, after all, the millet and maize, the barley and wheat and rice, on which the primitives thrived, were all but common grasses, and the potatoes and beans but products of the wilds. So, by selecting and cultivating the best of what she found, woman became the foundress of the agricultural industry, the real Corn-Goddess.

In so far as the Jomela household was concerned, this Corn-Mother was Mrs. J. herself; and the weapon with which she conquered the stubborn soil, was the hoe (*iGéjá* or *iLémbe*). For the hoe, from the beginning of time, had been the only 'plough' the Zulu ever knew. Yet the hoe that Mrs. Jomela used, was very different from that used by her ancestors a couple of centuries before. It is declared that then the women dug their fields with an *isiPánga* (shoulder-blade). And it is said that this actually was the shoulder-blade of a cow, and that it was still in use among the poorer folk so recently as the beginning of the last century, what time iron hoes could be purchased only by the wealthy. But was there nothing precedent to this shoulder-blade?

At that same period (c. 1815), their Xosa brethren (or, should we say, their sisters) at the Cape (who separated from the Zulus about 1600 A.D.) were down on their knees digging up the soil (the iron implement not yet having reached them) with a stout stick about two feet long, the lower end of which had been broadened and thinned so as to form a sort of triangular or oar-shaped spade (a specimen was to be seen in the Capetown Museum).⁴ This implement was manufactured by the men of *nies-hout* wood. The method of cultivation was primitive in the extreme—the seed being simply scattered among the grass and weeds (after the rains), whereafter both grass and seed were all dug up (to the depth of three or four inches) and mixed about together without further ado. In due course the grass and weeds dried, or were collected and burned, and the seed came up.

Now, we think it probable that, at the time of the Zulu-Xosa separation, the Zulus also must have been in possession of some such implement, and we think it possible too that that implement, from its triangular shape, may even have been

called an *isiPánga* (or shoulder-blade). With the introduction of the iron hoe, the wooden one would naturally cease to be longer manufactured, and so the poorer women be driven to adopt the cow-bone as an expedient substitute.

Somewhen between 1700 and 1800 A.D., the iron hoe first made its appearance in Zululand. It may have been imported ready-made by those Tembe-Tonga hawkers who also brought the brass *umDaka* rings, the Tongas at that time being noted as expert smiths.⁴ Or it may have been manufactured on the spot, after the procurance of native iron, by the Zulu smiths, and shaped by them after the fashion of the older wooden hoe. For the earlier Zulu hoes of iron were also always of the same triangular shape as were the wooden. They were crude and very heavy wares, eight inches about in length, with a straight lower cutting edge some seven or eight inches wide, the blade gradually tapering until it met the tang at the upper end, the latter itself about nine inches long. This tang was thrust through a hole made in the knobby end of a stout stick about two feet long. One such iron hoe-blade cost one whole cow; so only the rich could afford them.⁵ The Zulus called this new iron implement an *ĩLémbe*—the present name of *ĩGéjá* being apparently more recent, and, since we cannot trace the root elsewhere, wholly local.

The name, *ĩLémbe*, on the contrary, extends right through the Bantu field, in divers variations. The East African Swahilis and the Nyoros and Kavirondos call the iron hoe a *Jembe*; in Nyamweziland (Tanganyika Colony) it is known as *iGembe*; among the middle Zambezi Tokas, as *iJamba*; among the Congo baManga, as *Yembe*; in Mbalaland (western Congo), as *Dembo*. Whether the Zulus came down with the name, *ĩLémbe*, from the north, as the original appellation of their digging-stick, cannot now be discovered. More probably, we think, they got the name along with the iron implement from some foreign Bantu people bordering them on the north.

The shape of these iron hoes was not everywhere alike. While those of the Congo Mbalas⁶ and middle Zambezi Tokas⁷ were triangular, like those of the Zulus, those of the Sutus (with their stronger East African relationships) seem to have been heart-shaped.⁸

Thus digging on their knees month-long year by year, one may well expect the Zulu women to have known something about the soil (*iNtlabati*). So they learned to distinguish between all the several varieties of arable land in their own country, and to each they gave a special name. There was the *iBóje* or swampy ground, where the crops were liable to rot ; the *iFénya*, excessively moist, like some meadows below hill-sides, particularly those with a southern aspect ; the *iTshetshe*, of a very light, dust-like, washed-out nature, of little use for cultivation ; the *iDudusi*, also light and sandy, yet moderately fertile ; the *uGáde*, a good medium loam ; the *uGádendzima*, a heavy more clayey loam, of dark colour ; the *uNdindikazana*, like the preceding, but reddish or brownish in colour ; the *isiDaka*, very black and clayey, with a moist subsoil, as at the bottom of some valleys by river-sides ; the *isiBomvu*, a red loam ; the *iMvundumvundu*, soft and crumbly, very rich in humus, as old kraal-sites and in some woods ; and the *ũGédle*, a shaley or stony soil.

Darwin believed that the presence of earth-worms enriched the soil, rendering it more arable and fertile. What strikes the observant European in Africa, is the rarity of these useful creatures. And yet it seems that arability or fertility are not appreciably affected thereby. The earth-worms (*umSundu*) are there, of course, though fewer in number, and seemingly longer and thicker than those usually met with in Europe. " In the earth mould of the [Kikuyu] forest," says Stigand,⁹ " is one of the very few places in which I have noticed the occurrence of earthworms in Africa."

The appearance of the Pleiades (*isiLimela*) in the eastern morning sky warned the Zulu women that their term of hard labour was nigh. So when the first rains had fallen and soaked the parched-up soil, out they marched to their fields. The primitive method of sowing the seed in the grass, has already been referred to above. But with the advent of the heavier, sharper and more effective iron hoe, the women grew more interested in their job, and vastly improved their methods. They now got into the way of first dealing with the grass and weeds alone. They prepared the ground before they sowed—first cutting up the veld-soil (*ukuLima*) into clods ; then, when dry and friable, breaking up the clods (*ukuDuba*) into loose

earth; and finally sowing the seed, either by scattering it broadcast (*ukuHwaya*), or by planting it in rows of holes (*ukuGába*), or by simply throwing it with the fingers beneath the ground (*ukuTúkuza*). They knew nothing of irrigation or of the deliberate fertilization of their fields. Though all were familiar enough with cow-dung, they had no idea of manure. But this they did know—that old deserted kraal-sites (with their abundance of well-dunged and urinated soil) proved extraordinarily prolific fields. So they started a system whereby, every few years, they shifted their kraals to other spots near by, and then ploughed up the old site as a field. Their habit, too, after hoeing up the land, of gathering together the dry grass and weeds into heaps and burning them on the spot, also helped (though they were unaware of it) to retain much of the potash supply in the soil.

But that is not to say that they possessed no methods of their own of enriching the soil and increasing their crops. For they were great 'magicians', of a sort; and the local medical practitioner, who was the repository of most of the magic, made a handsome income every year by supplying his clients with a mixture (*umSukulo*) of corn-grains ground with certain animal products, which was to be planted with the seed, and later followed by another gruesome mixture of human and lion fat, which was to be burned in the field when the crop was still green and the north-east or south-west wind was blowing! They must have learned this latter trick in a very ancient school, because we meet with it also in West Africa. There, the local "queen used to sacrifice a man and woman in the month of March. They were killed with spades and hoes, and their bodies buried in the middle of the field, which had just been tilled".^{9a} The same kind of 'manure' was favoured also by the aborigines of India. "In these Khond sacrifices," says Frazer,^{9b} "the Meriahs are represented by our authorities as victims offered to propitiate the Earth Goddess. But from the treatment of the victims both before and after death, it appears that the custom cannot be explained as merely a propitiatory sacrifice. A part of the flesh certainly was offered to the Earth Goddess, but the rest of the flesh was buried by each householder in his fields, and the ashes of the other parts of the body were scattered over the fields, laid as paste on the granaries, or mixed with the new corn."

The fields were hoed of weeds only once, generally when the plants were already some 18 inches to 2 feet high (*ĩKábe*). Abnormally abundant rain, resulting in an abnormal growth of weeds, occasionally necessitated a second weeding. When the ears of grain were already full-grown and ripening, but still soft, flocks of birds, particularly finches and doves, were very destructive and a persistent pest, especially in the millet fields. Consequently, from this time onward, until the grain had grown too hard, the women and children were compelled to spend the whole of every day, from sunrise to sunset, in their fields scaring (*ukuHebeza*) the birds away. To serve as look-outs, and at the same time shelter them from sun and rain, tiny bee-hive grass-huts (*isaKámukánya*) just like the normal living-huts at home, but now standing on a platform raised on posts and about three feet above the ground. From this point of vantage, the whole field could be easily and continuously surveyed. When already quite ripe and too hard for the birds, the grain was left unguarded in the fields, until, after the lapse of several weeks, it became thoroughly dry and ready for gathering.

The sorghum harvest reaped, the ears were bound in bundles (*ĩQinqa*) a foot in thickness and stacked (with the bundles, one above the other, lying on their sides) in a heap on the field. Thence they were later removed to another prepared spot (*isiBuya*), flat and freshly smeared with cowdung, sometimes in the field, sometimes just outside the kraal, where the millet was threshed (*ukuBũla*). This work was done by the adult girls along with their mothers with stout sticks and commonly at night-time, as cooler. For this threshing was, not only a hot, but also a disagreeable, job; because the millet gave off myriads of tiny prickly particles, which, adhering to the sweating naked bodies, caused an intense itching. Finally, the grain was winnowed (*ukwEla*) by holding the grain, contained in a large flattish basket, high in the air, and allowing it to fall gently into another basket on the ground, the wind carrying away the chaff as the grain fell. Sometimes, if the quantity was small, the grain was cleaned by being passed through water (*ukOvuya*), or it was shaken in a basket (*ukuHlunga*) till the chaff collected on the top, for removal. Maize, of course, needed no winnowing. After the cobs had been stripped (*ukuHluba*) of their spathes there on the field, they were carried home, and 'shelled' of their grain (*ukuGũmuza*)

inside the hut, by a process of rubbing it off with the ball of the palm, or by the help of another cob held in the hand.

Some of the sorghum ears, intended to supply next year's seed, were not immediately threshed, but, still on the stalk, thrust into the thatch forming the ceiling of the hut, where the smoke preserved them from the weevils.

The grain being ready, it was stored in a pit (*umGódi*) dug in the cattle-fold, and shaped like a huge calabash, some four feet in diameter. Over the small mouth (a foot or more in width) a large flat stone was laid, sunk beneath the fold's surface and plastered down with cow-dung, then covered over with soil. The grain was thus preserved free from weevils, but was in danger of injury by the damp; so that the grain frequently became sour, in which state they called in *isaNgcobe*, and some even preferred it so—it suggested beer, for which this sorghum grain was largely used. At other times, the grain at the bottom and sides became mouldy (then called *ūPata*); which again was unminded, since it did not seem to affect the 'strength' of the beer! The Lala Ngunis of Natal (who in their migration to the coast had come under Tonga or East African contact) called their grain-pit, not an *umGódi* (like the Zulus), but an *umLindi*, a name re-appearing in far-away Nyamweziland (in Tanganyika Colony), where the local grain-basket was also called *kiLindo* or *kiRindo*. This identity of name between the Bantu grain-pit and grain-basket is significant.

For, as you know, the Natives of Zululand, Natal and the Cape formed together one selfsame 'Nguni' group of Bantu. Now, the Ngunis then resident in what is now Zululand were divided into two sections, that along the coast being distinguished as *abaZantsi*, and that domiciled further inland as *abaNtungwa*. And it was these *abaNtungwa* (of whom the Zulu clan-proper formed a part), who had a habit (which the coastal section had not) of storing their grain, not only in pits, but also in huge grain-baskets (called *isiLulu*). These baskets were made of coarse plaited grass, and had an almost globular or rather calabash-like shape, generally about three feet in diameter. This basket was placed outside of the hut on a raised wooden platform, and the small mouth at the top was covered by a grass basket-like lid, plastered round with cow-dung.

When questioned as to the origin of these grain-baskets (which the other Nguni sections had not), they always pointed to the Chwana-Sutus of the Transvaal, who had been their neighbours prior to their migration into Zululand. Says Arbousset,¹⁰ writing of these Chwanas at the beginning of last century: they store their grain in what they call *siSiwu*, "large straw baskets, which the Caffres [or Cape Ngunis] know not how to make." This fact, that the Nguni Bantu knew nothing of these *basket-granaries*, almost suggests that, at the time of their migration from the Nyanza (Uganda) region, such basket-ware had not yet been in vogue amongst them. Perhaps the Zulu grain-pit or *umGódi* is the last survival of the *older* practice; for in these present days, not the pit, but the basket (or something resembling it) is the universal Negro form of granary. The Sutus of Basutoland, brothers of the aforesaid Chwanas, had the same custom as they, namely, of storing their grain in "huge, globular, almost air-tight, grass-baskets [called by them *liSiwu*] . . . the small mouths of which are covered with a flat stone carefully plastered round with clay."¹¹ The baNgwaketse, of Bechuanaland, had "enormous jars . . . built of earthenware," capable of holding 200 gallons.¹² The maKololo Sutus, on the upper Zambezi, used baskets of bark, shaped like a calabash (like the Zulu grain-pit, as well as like their *isiLulu* baskets).¹³ In the Southern Congo, they had "round barns, with floor and walls of clay, placed a few feet above the ground and fitted with a conical roof";¹⁴ while the Huanas, in Western Congo, stored their grain in "enormous baskets".¹⁵ The Yawos, of Nyasaland, made "huge round baskets, woven of split bamboo, seven or eight feet high . . . raised from the ground on a low platform . . . and covered with a conical roof".¹⁶ The Chagas, of Kilimanjaro, as do also the Taitas, "preserve their grain in large wicker-work baskets, covered with thatch";¹⁷ while the Kambas, in the neighbouring Kenya Colony, use for the same purpose "gigantic wicker bottles"¹⁸ or "baskets",¹⁹ shaped like a calabash, and called *Keinga*. The Nilotic Kavirondos on the Victoria Nyanza,²⁰ and the Teso Bantu in Northern Uganda,²¹ have large "grain-baskets", raised from the ground on a platform and covered by a roof of thatch. The Hamitic Galas use "cylindrical store-houses of basket-work", 7 feet high by 5 feet broad, carrying conical thatched roofs.²² Throughout the Negro

Sudan, we find the same. Away in Western Sudan, the Songhai Negroes store their grain in large clay jars.²³ On the Shari River, the granaries are round matted structures, raised above the ground and having the usual conical roof;²⁴ or, in other neighbourhoods, they are large earthen urns (*dabango*).²⁵ But with the Gabri²⁶ of Lake Chad, the Bongo²⁷ and the Belanda²⁸ of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the "grain-baskets" reappear, and, what is more, almost identical with those of the South African Sutus and Zulus, except that, in the north, the plaiting runs from the bottom upwards, instead of horizontally, as with the latter.

What the earliest Negroes, or Proto-Negroes, ate 8,000 years ago, we do not know; but they must have eaten something. Probably, at that period, they were still in the hunting stage, and lived largely or mainly on wild-animal diet. But in course of time, they evidently got to millet. Herodotus,²⁹ already 2,500 years ago, informs us that "the grain on which they [the Ethiopians] and their next neighbours feed is the same as that used by the Calentian Indians"; while Strabo³⁰ definitely names millet as that grain: they, the Ethiopians, "live on millet and barley, from which also a drink is made". The alimentary tract of Ancient Egyptians of 6,000 years ago having been carefully examined, it was found, says Elliot Smith,³¹ that, "in about ten per cent., husks of millet could be indentified with certainty". The early presence of millet in Africa as a food-stuff is, then, beyond dispute. But was the plant indigenous or imported?

Schweinfurth says it was imported; and he was a learned botanist, who specialized in African flora. After describing the splendours of the flora of the Tropical forests, he proceeds to explain³² its general uniformity throughout the many parts of the continent by reason of its isolation. But then he adds: "In the direction towards Arabia there is, as it were, a bridge into the regions of India, and indeed, the Indian flora has a great share in the characteristics of its [Africa's] vegetation." "The greater number of the African cultivated plants, as well as nearly all their associated weeds, have been, beyond a doubt, derived from India—a conjecture, equivalent to a prophecy, which Rob. Brown had formed at a time when little was known of the vegetation of Central Africa." It seems to us that

Schweinfurth is here making the mistake into which so many are apt to fall, namely, of assuming that that which comes to our knowledge later must be derived from that which we had learned before ; that, he having been long familiar with the food-plants of India, therefore, it being now discovered by him that those of Africa were the same, those African food-plants must, ' beyond any doubt ', have come from India ! The only *grounds* Schweinfurth seems to have had for this belief, was that the African plants " correspond so accurately with the weeds of other cultivated countries ", and consequently must have been imported from those countries. " The preponderating Indian origin of all these plants is very observable, and a better acquaintance with the geographical facts connected with them would probably be as trustworthy an indication of the various migrations of an uncivilized people who have no history, as either their dialect or physical development "—by this presumably suggesting a migration of the Negro people, along with their plants, out of India. But might not an Indian Schweinfurth, with equal plausibility, reverse the argument, and, discovering that Indian food-plants and weeds existed also in Africa, draw the conclusion therefrom that, consequently and ' beyond a doubt ', the Indian people, together with their food-plants, migrated out of Africa ? Or should we be warranted in arguing that, because the acacia happens to be one of Africa's commonest trees, therefore the Australian black-wattle (*Acacia mollissima*) travelled there from here ; or that America received its cotton-plant (*Gossypium barbadense*) from the wild-cotton plants (*Gossypium punctatum*) indigenous to North and Central Africa ; or that the Negro people in Africa migrated from the Negro peoples in the Pacific ?

Schweinfurth's view may, of course, be correct ; though some solid evidence, stronger than mere supposition, were desirable. The Dravidian aborigines of India were not only an agricultural people, but also a sea-faring. Still, we doubt whether they ever roamed as far as Africa. Nor do we know of any permanent colonization of Eastern Africa by the medieval Indians, such as might account for the universal distribution throughout Africa of so-called ' Indian ' food-plants. On the other hand, the medieval Arabs, who did have

many permanent settlements in East Africa, might have been the responsible agents. Yet the very earliest of their great African historians, Masudi, found that *dhurah* (sorghum) was the staple food-plant of the East African Bantu already in his time (900 A.D.), and he makes no suggestion that it had been brought there by his countrymen. Equally as acceptable as Schweinfurth's theory were that of Schoff,³⁴ who says, that both sorghum and pennisetum, "both important crops in India . . . were probably brought from Africa more recently than the date of the *periplus* [c. 200 A.D.], and, being native in Somaliland, would not be probable articles of import there". Elliot Smith,³⁵ too, states that millet probably grew wild in the Nile valley. Hewitt,³⁶ likewise, who made a special study of early Indian history, says that the Dravidians, the aboriginal inhabitants of India, were an agricultural, rather than a pastoral people, and, among other things, that they cultivated both millet and eleusine (both common Bantu food-stuffs). But, he adds, "it was they who are known in Indian history as the Maghadas, who introduced the growth of millets into India as upland crops—these, according to the Song of Lingal, preceded the growth of barley". So, according to him, even into India the millet plant was 'introduced', and, in his opinion, apparently either from Phrygia (Asia Minor)³⁷ or from the East.³⁸ Johnston³⁹ asserts that "numerous wild millets are indigenous to West and East Africa, some growing to a height of fifteen feet." Notwithstanding which, he states elsewhere—though this was in an earlier publication—that the sorghum plant probably came from Asia.⁴⁰ To our mind, this problem of vegetal identities in Africa and India is on a par with that other problem of racial identities in Africa and the Pacific, and both equally are best explained by assuming an earlier, now-submerged, land-causeway (known as *Lemuria*) between all those regions.

We have already said above that the Ancient Egyptians, or some people living among them (4,000 B.C.), fed on millet, and that Masudi found *dhurah* (millet) the staple East African Bantu food in 900 A.D. . . . Since those ancient days, the various types of millet have become—or should we say, were already long before?—distributed throughout the whole of Negroland—the Guinea,⁴¹ in the Sudan,⁴² among the Nilotic Negroes⁴³ (Baris, Shilluks, Acholis and others along the Nile),

in the Congo,⁴⁴ throughout East Africa and Zambezia,⁴⁵ and finally among the Sutus and Ngunis of the South.⁴⁶ In 1593, the survivors of the *Saint Albert* met with 'millet cakes' in Natal.⁴⁷ Unfortunately they did not tell us what the Natives called the grain. Nowadays, the Xosa (of Cape) branch of the Nguni family call sorghum (Kafir-corn) *amaZimba* (which name the Zulus apply only to the 'ears of the *iMfe* or sweet-sorghum'); while the northern or Zulu branch call it *amaBele*. Both these roots are traceable also in other Bantu languages; thus, as similarities to the Xosa '*Zimba*', we find the Tembe (Delagoa Bay) *amaTumba*, maize; the Yawo (Nyasaland) *maPemba*, sorghum; the Bondei (Tanganyika Colony) *uHemba*, sorghum; the Ganda *mWembe*, millet; and the Angola *maSambala*, sorghum. The Zulu root, '*Bele*', is somewhat more frequent, not only among the Bantu, but also in the Sudan; thus, Chwana-Sutu *maBali*, sorghum; Kuwa (Portuguese East Africa) *Mele*, sorghum, and *maHele*, pennisetum millet; Rega (Lutu Nzige) *meBele*, maize; Nyamwezi (Tanganyika Colony) and several other East African languages, *maPira*, sorghum. In and about the Sudan, the Fula Libyans call sorghum, *Bairi* (which strongly reminds one of the Hindi name, *Bajri*, for pennisetum millet); the Bornu Negroes call it *Ngaberi*; the Adamawa Negroes call it *Maiwari* (suggestive, once again, of the Hindi name, *Wari*, for panicum millet), a name which re-appears still more strikingly in the Nika Bantu (north of Mombasa) *maWele*, likewise signifying panicum millet. The Kavirondo Bantu (North Uganda), although they name the sorghum plant *mTama*, call 'a man rich in sorghum grain', an *oBele*. We have an idea that these roots, *Bairi*, *Bele*, *Wari*, *Wele*, etc., may possibly be the still surviving representatives of the ancient parent Negro name for 'grain', or for 'millet', in general.

So far as we can discover, it would seem that these millets (sorghum, pennisetum and panicum) were the very earliest grain-foods of African and Indian man.⁴⁸ Indeed, the Zulus give us an account of exactly how and when the discovery of this food-plant came about. It was in the very ancient days of Nkulunkulu himself (the 'first man'), creator of all Zulus, their cattle, and their wives (of whom he had provided himself with a couple). Now, when one of these latter found herself one day encumbered with a most unwelcome brat, she forth-

with looked around for the most poisonous-looking grass, and fed the babe upon it. Whereupon it grew only the fatter and greater nuisance. And it was by that happy (or unhappy) mistake, that the food value of sorghum was discovered!⁴⁹ If there be anything at all at the bottom of this legend, it points rather to a local discovery, than to a foreign importation of the plant.

Since those far-off times, the millets have become diversified in many ways. The varieties of the sorghum plant (Kafir-corn) still cultivated by the Zulus, have already been mentioned in the preceding chapter. A Zulu tradition states that the earliest form of sorghum known to them was that now called *uJiba*. They do not appreciate this variety at all highly; nor do the birds (which are especially partial to the millet-grains, but everywhere fight shy of the *uJiba*). Although recognized as a sorghum, the Zulus have their doubts whether this outcast of the species is really an '*amaBele*' (sorghum vulgare) plant at all, and is not merely an 'unsweetened' variety—actually, it is rather bitter—of *iMfe* (sweet-sorghum, sorghum saccharatum), which latter it strongly resembles in appearance. Of none of the *iMfe* varieties is the grain eaten by the Zulus as food; only the stalk being chewed for its sugar. But the *uJiba* is still sparingly cultivated as an *amaBele* or edible sorghum, on account of its bird-repellent qualities, it being used for making an inferior brand of beer. Very likely this was the grain referred to by Speke⁵⁰ when he wrote, of the Karagwe Bantu on the Victoria Nyanza: "In the whole of Karagwe the birds were so numerous, the people, to save themselves from starvation, were obliged to grow a bitter corn, which the birds disliked."^{50a}

The shaloo or sweet-sorghum (called *iMfe*, and just referred to) was sown in the field amidst the *amaBele* (or Kafir-corn). It was cultivated mainly for its stalk, which was either chewed for its sweet juice, or boiled with other food-stuffs to sweeten them. The grain itself, though never going into the kitchen, yet occasionally went into the brewery.

This cane is likewise well distributed throughout Negroland, and treated in the same way as with the Zulus, from the Sudan⁵¹ in the north to Lake Ngami⁵² in the south. Johnston⁵³ surmises that it was spread abroad from the Zanzibar coast,

whither it came from India—a surmise on a par with that concerning the other millets in general. Certainly the plant was cultivated in ancient times both in India⁵⁴ and in China.

As with Kafir-corn, so too are there several varieties of *iMfe*—the *iNyakató* and *umBedlane* (both with irregular straggling panicles); the *uManyobeni* and *uNtlokonde* (both with erect ears, and the latter with an exceptionally sweet stalk); and the *isiDomba* and *iYengantombi* (both with drooping ears, and the former with a very tall stem). Though all their stalks are sweet for chewing, not every kind (mixed with Kafir-corn) is used for brewing purposes; for instance, the *isiDomba*, despite its tallness, cannot attain to that honour.

A single patch of true sugar-cane (*uMóba*) existed on the Zululand coast even in Shaka's time, either salvaged from some local wreck, or, more probably, brought down by Tonga hawkers from Delagoa Bay, whither it had been brought either by the Portuguese or by the Arabs. "The sugar-cane is wild," wrote Isaacs⁵⁵ at the time, "and, I suppose, an indigenous plant. They do not cultivate it, though the soil seems adapted for its growth, as it runs to a prodigious height, and the cane is of large dimensions." Isaacs calls it 'Moaba'; more correctly *uMóba*. But he was right when he said 'the soil is adapted for its growth'; for today, 100 years later, that selfsame country, now despoiled of its original Native inhabitants, is covered with the sugar-cane fields of selfish land-grabbing Whites. The name, *uMóba*, probably came down with the cane from Tongaland—the East Coast Swahilis and Nikas call it *Mua*. This sugar-cane is now spread through all the African continent, from the Mangbetu⁵⁶ under the Equator to the Rotses and Shukulumbwes of Zambezia.⁵⁷

Spiked millet (*pennisetum typhoideum*), called by the Zulus *uNyawotí*, one of the oldest cultivated millets of both India and Africa, was formerly largely grown by the coastal Zulus; but during the last century it has become almost entirely displaced by the, presumably more prolific, *amaBele* (*sorghum vulgare*). Its supersession by this latter among the more inland Zulus and Sutus, was no doubt due to the fact that, while it thrived well enough in the central African regions as far south as Rhodesia, by the time it reached the Transvaal, the climate had already grown too cold for it; so the more

hardy sorghum took its place, notwithstanding that it provided a much more agreeable type of beer. It is still much grown in those parts of Negroland where the climate suits—among the Hausas⁵⁸ of Nigeria, in Equatorial Africa,⁵⁹ on the East Coast,⁶⁰ in Mashonaland, in South West Africa⁶¹ and elsewhere.⁶² *UNyawoti* was never threshed, the seed being simply shaken out on to a prepared spot. The same course was followed also when sowing—preferably on an old kraal site, since this plant demanded a rich soil.

Raggee (*Eleusine coracana*), named by the Zulus *ūPoko*, is in precisely the same case as the preceding, both as to its history and its fate. It too, was numbered among the ancient 'Indian', or rather 'East-Indian', food-plants,⁶³ and, like the pennisetum, it too has, during the last century,⁶⁴ become almost entirely discarded by the Zulus in favour of sorghum. In two different varieties, it too produced a better beer than this latter; but its grain was so extraordinarily tiny, that a large field, with correspondingly much labour, returned only a basketful of seed against the sackfuls produced by the sorghum. Nevertheless, among the Nyamnyam of Equatorial Africa, the Abyssinians, and the Kalangas of Mashonaland, it still maintains its hold as one of the staple food-plants.⁶⁵ However, seeing that both eleusine and millet were cultivated 6,000 years ago by the Ancient Egyptians,⁶⁶ it would seem almost time that they went out of fashion. Once upon a time, they were the great beer-brewing grains of the Zulus, and sorghum the great food-stuff. Then sorghum became the great beer-brewing grain, and the great food-stuff maize.

Maize (*Z. umMbila*; Xosa, *umBona*), like sorghum, had a romantic origin; only more so. Christened *Mahiz* in Haiti (West Indies), maize was really born on the mainland. It was the fertilizing properties of Mondamin's corpse, who, when slain by Hjawatha and planted in the ground, sent up, to his eternal memory, the first beautiful patch of Indian corn.

Thus it is that maize became, as is generally held, a comparatively recent importation into Africa from America. Howard Pim, however, in his Presidential Address to the *Native Affairs Society* of the Transvaal (March, 1910), has suggested that, on the contrary, instead of having been brought

along by the Portuguese in the 16th century, maize was more likely to have been introduced into East Africa long before that time by the Arab merchants there domiciled, who carried on a considerable trade with the East Indies, and, indirectly, perhaps even with Western America. In support of this view, he cited certain historical evidence from early Portuguese records, in which the word, 'maize', is applied to a certain grain or grain-plant found by them upon their arrival already in cultivation by the local Bantu. If this theory be correct, the grain, apparently, must have been introduced later than the 10th century and prior to the 16th; because the great Arab historian, Masudi, writing c. 900 A.D., specifically names the several food-plants of the East African Bantu at his time, and, as far as cereals are concerned, he mentions only *dhurah*. Now, this happens, very unfortunately for us, to be a most confusing name. It is the Arabic generic term for all those plants which they regard as 'millets'; therefore, sorghum, pennisetum, panicum and the rest, divers adjectives being attached to distinguish the various kinds. As it happens, the maize-plant, when seen growing in the field, though by no means, botanically, a 'millet', is as indistinguishable from sorghum as is one pea from another. So the Arabs named (and, we think, still name) it too a *dhurah*. But what did Masudi intend by the term? European readers of him have universally understood what we call 'millet'. But who can with certainty aver that, under the name, he did not (as his countrymen since have done) include also 'maize'? On the other hand, again, precisely the same mistake may possibly have been made by the Portuguese writer of the records referred to above. Himself, familiar enough with maize, but not with sorghum, upon coming across a field of the latter in East Africa, he might easily, indeed most certainly would, have mistaken it for the former, and so have written in his record 'maize'. Ourselves, we hardly think that maize could have been introduced into East Africa *before* the Portuguese arrival, first, because its dispersal among the remoter Bantu seems to have followed that event, and secondly, because among the food-plants mentioned in the Ancient Babylonian,⁶⁷ Ancient Indian,⁶⁸ Ancient Chinese,⁶⁹ and other Oriental histories, maize never has a place.

Into Nguniland (the Zulu-Xosa domain), maize entered by two separate routes, one (from the north) into Zululand and

Natal ; the other (from the south) into Xosaland (or the Cape).

In the year 1686, about 250 years ago, the Dutch ship, *Stavenisse*, went on the rocks to the south of Natal, and the survivors, who sojourned for more than a year among the Natives thereabouts, found them cultivating no maize, but only sorghum.⁷⁰ A few years later, but prior to 1718, Capt. W. Rogers⁷¹ visited Durban port (in Natal), and found again among the natives there a potent drink made from " guinea-corn " (i.e. sorghum), " purposely to make merry with " ; but found no maize. The Zulus, therefore, we think, must have received their first maize somewhere about 1750, and have received it from the direction of Delagoa Bay, or, alternatively, from shipwrecked sailors on their coast.

The name for maize among the Zulus is *umMbila*. This is obviously of the same derivation as the common East African *maPira* (an *r* elsewhere, always becoming an *l* in Zulu, and a *p* frequently a *b*), a name applied there, sometimes to maize (e.h. in Senga, on the Zambezi), sometimes to sorghum (e.g. in Nyamwezi, in Tanganyika Col., and other tongues). This it is that makes us believe that the maize-plant, along with the maize name, came down to the Zulus from an East African direction.

The variety of maize first to reach them was the short-stalked, small-cobbed, yellow-grained and quickly ripening kind. Owing to the fact that it was first grown about the *oNgóye* hills (a forest-covered hill-range between the lower Mhlatuze and Mlalazi Rivers), and thence spread away along the coast (*ulwAndle*, sea), they called it, indifferently, either *uNgóye* (after the hills) or *uLwandlekazana* (the-little-sea-side-thing). In course of time, many other varieties (mentioned in last chapter) appeared. When the first English settlers reached Natal in 1824, maize was already so well established, that two and even three, crops of it were reaped (at least, so Isaacs⁷² avers) in a single season ; though we can hardly believe on the same ground. It therefore seems that even then maize was already ousting sorghum as the staple food-plant.

As for the Xosas of the Cape, theirs is a different tale. The maize (plant and grain) is there called by an entirely different name, *umBona*, which proves an entirely different derivation for the grain. The first shipload of maize was brought into Capetown in 1658, along with a shipload of slaves, from the

West African Guinea coast by the good (or bad) ship, *Hasselt*, flying Dutch colours.⁷³ And from that source was it, we imagine, that the Xosas later on first derived their seed.

The South African Boers (never renowned as botanists) called the new grain, in their ignorance, simply 'mealies' (or something similar). Herein they made the same mistake as did the Arabs, and confused 'millet' and 'mealies' (maize). The Holland Dutch, we understand, called the millets (including sorghum or Kafircorn) *milie*; and, in their slave-trading ventures, coming across maize (to their undiscerning eye, a kind of sorghum) in Western Africa, they named it, as Schweinfurth⁷⁴ tells us, 'Moorish-mille', a name which accompanied it to Capetown.

The staple grain-plant of the Cape Xosas at the commencement of the 18th century, was, according to Kolben⁷⁵ (c. 1712), "a sort of Turkish corn [probably sorghum], and a brew from it"; which information was supplied him by Capt. Gerbrantz van der Schelling. Paterson,⁷⁶ in 1778, mentions "Guinea Corn" as the food-stuff of the Natives about the Kei—but was this maize, or was it sorghum? For by 1790, says Kay,⁷⁷ maize was already in the Transkei, and Shaw⁷⁸ that it was there in 1815. Thompson,⁷⁹ towards 1827, states that it was already a 'common' food-plant among the Xosas.

Unhappily, in the Xosa records of this period, there was much confusion as to nomenclature. While the 'Turkish corn' seems most likely to have been 'millet' or sorghum, and the 'Guinea corn' either sorghum or maize, what precisely other writers meant by 'Indian corn' we cannot divine. Thus, Moodie⁸⁰ speaks only of 'Indian corn' as at that time grown in Xosaland; while Steedman,⁸¹ about the same time, tells of beer among the Mpondos "made from Indian or Caffer corn". But while 'Indian corn' is nowadays usually understood as signifying 'maize', and 'Indian millet' sometimes as 'sorghum', 'Kafir-corn' is and always was only the latter. Shaw⁸² cites, as Xosa food plants, all three, 'millet', 'maize', and 'Indian corn', in the same paragraph!

As regards the Central South African Plateau, Ellenberger⁸³ states that a Sehoya woman "said that the Bataung and Lihoya had never seen mealies (maize), until they met the Batlokoa during the Lifaqane" (c. 1820). The Tongas, about Delagoa Bay, certainly had maize at that time (1820)—and

probably long before—because Owen⁸⁴ tells us so. But it hardly looks as if these Tlokwas got their seed from there, seeing that the Pedi Sutus (who were much nearer the Tongas than they) did not know of maize until about 1838.⁸⁵ Most probably Moffat⁸⁶ was right, when he said that maize was first brought to the inland Chwanas by the Zulu raiders under Mzilikazi (c. 1824-35). Livingstone⁸⁷ came across maize among the Kalangas of Mashonaland in 1840.

But not only from the *east* did this new maize-plant penetrate into Africa. Merolla⁸⁸ was on the Congo mouth in 1682, and found maize already in cultivation there, and called *Mampunni* (a name suggesting some relationship with the Xosa *umBona*). In 1860, Schweinfurth⁸⁹ found it slightly grown in Nyamnyam and Mangbetu lands, in Equatorial Africa ; while along the Shire River (by Nyasaland), Maugham⁹⁰ says (comparatively recently) that maize is also there closely competing with sorghum as the staple cereal.⁹¹

Although wheat and barley were the main grain-crops of the Ancient Egyptians⁹² so long ago as 3,400 to 4,000 B.C.,⁹³ these grains never entered Negroland, because, no doubt, it lay beyond their clime. So, consequently, they never reached the Bantu, or the Zulus.

The same may be said of rice ; although among the Tongas (to the north of Zululand) it was in cultivation in 1820.⁹⁴

Even the Ancient Babylonians found the grain of the sesame plant (*Sesamum indicum*) very useful as a provider of oil,⁹⁵ and it was they, no doubt, who passed on the plant and the knowledge to the later Persians.⁹⁶ Now, there were a goodly number of Persian immigrants into East Africa (as well as Arabs) during the medieval period, and it were quite likely that they brought the sesamum along with them for its oil supply.

Since then, the plant has become dispersed throughout Bantuland. Unlike many other of the East African Bantu tribes, who have already learned how to extract its oil,⁹⁷ with both Gandas⁹⁸ and Zulus (the latter called it *ūDonqa*) the grain was used solely as a food-stuff. When planting, the seed being very small, the Zulus first mixed it with earth (as they

did also the tiny eleusine or *ũPóko* seed), then scattered the mixture over already prepared soil. When ripened, the plants were pulled up by the roots and stacked against any convenient tree or hedge to dry; thoroughly dry, the seed was simply shaken out into a basket, without any threshing.

The gourd-plant (*ĩSelwa*), common throughout the Sudan and Bantuland, must be reckoned, we think, among the aboriginal Negro vegetables.⁹⁹ The various kinds cultivated by the Zulus have already been mentioned in the last chapter. When planting, their pips were either scattered broadcast along with the sorghum or maize, or else thrust into the earth on some old kraal-site. The largest kind of gourd, the *ĩSelwa* proper, was used as food by the Zulus only when young. More generally, it was left to mature; whereupon, the dried internal pulp having been removed, the smooth woody shells, sometimes a foot in diameter, provided the people with light and cool milk (*ĩGũla*) and water (*isiGũbũ*) vessels.

Pumpkins (*ĩTánga*), again, were probably among the earliest of Negro vegetables.¹⁰⁰ They have already been mentioned in the last chapter. The method of planting was that of the gourds (above).

Similar remarks may be made also of the melons (*ĩKábe*; *ĩBéce*).¹⁰¹

Of leguminous plants, the *iziNdumba* or *iziMbumba* bean, a tiny, generally black, variety, not more than one-third of an inch in length, but of fine flavour, was cultivated long before the Whiteman came, and must probably be placed among the early Bantu vegetables; for it is grown at both ends of the Bantu field, by the Kavirondos in the north,¹⁰² and by the Zulus and the Chwanas in the south.¹⁰³ Merolla¹⁰⁴ noted it on the Congo in 1682, and called it *Ncasse*. The shipwrecked mariners of the *Stavenisse* in 1687 in Natal mention it also there.¹⁰⁵ There was no large-sized bean comparable with the European varieties, at any rate among the Zulus. The report left us by the survivors of the wrecked *Saint Albert*, so early as 1593,¹⁰⁶ that in Natal they found "a vegetable called *jugo*" of the size of a small bean, probably refers, not to a bean, but to some other vegetable. The name itself perhaps gives us the

clue. For in Swahililand (on the Zanzibar coast) we meet with a vegetable called *njugu*; but there this *njugu* turns out to be, not a bean, but the Bambarra ground-nut (*Voandzeia*), and the Natal *jugo* was most likely the same. Another report, left us by other shipwrecked mariners in 1689,¹⁰⁷ was that they found in Natal "beans much resembling European brown beans". Certainly the tiny Native *iziNdumba* beans resemble European beans in shape, but never in size. Moffat,¹⁰⁸ again, speaks of "kidney beans" as among the vegetables of the early Chwanas. There is evidently some mystery here.

The *iziNdumba* beans were sown along with the sorghum or maize, up whose long stalks they climbed.

The Bambarra ground-nut (*Voandzeia subterranea*) was called by the Zulus *iNdlubu*. It, too, was probably an ancient Bantu vegetable; for, as we have just seen, it was recorded by the survivors of the *Saint Albert* as the *jugo*, cultivated in Natal as early as 1593; while Merolla¹⁰⁹ mentions it, under the name of '*Incumbe*', as on the Congo in 1682. Moffat¹¹⁰ does not mention it among the Chwana food-stuffs at the middle of last century; but Johnston¹¹¹ says it was pretty generally cultivated along the Congo. Fitzgerald¹¹² speaks of it too on the Kenya coast. Johnston¹¹³ remarks that it is "said to be of Madagascar origin"; but the botanist, Schweinfurth¹¹⁴ writes of it as "dispersed now everywhere over the tropics; the proper home of these [Bambarra ground-nuts] is in Africa."

These ground-nuts are sown by the Zulus broadcast on prepared soil; or else simply thrust into it with the fingers.

Its relative, the monkey-nut or pea-nut (*Arachis hypogæa*)—though the name, 'pea-nut', were much more appropriate to the preceding Bambarra ground-nut—is called by the Zulus *iNtongomane*. It was, and is, not nearly as universally cultivated among the Zulus as is the preceding *iNdlubu*, owing perhaps to the unsuitability of climate away from the coast; or else because it is a comparatively recent importation into Zululand from Tongaland, as its name suggests, and since we find no mention of it in the earliest records. Johnston¹¹⁶ thought it was introduced into Africa by the Portuguese; but Reeve¹¹⁷ believes it to have been brought to Sierra Leone by repatriated slaves. Anyway, it is now everywhere, from the

Nilotic Negroes,¹¹⁸ the Equatorial Nangbetu,¹¹⁹ the Gandas,¹²⁰ and well over the Congo,¹²¹ to the Zulus in the extreme south.

Of tuberous food-plants, there were many. The oldest of them, we think, must have been the aroid Kafir-potato (*Colocasia antiquorum*), called by the Zulus *ĩDumbi*. This plant was cultivated in Egypt, as Masudi tells us, in 900 A.D., and it is now common from north to south of Africa.¹²² It is equally common in India and the Further East. It is sometimes called the Egyptian arum, and, again, is said to be identical with the *taro* of Polynesia. It is a vegetable everywhere cultivated by the Zulus, and is by them much liked. But the older local varieties have in recent times become largely displaced by the *uDumbedumbe*, a variety imported by the Natal Indians from their homeland.

The long, narrow tubers of the *Plectranthus esculentus* were known to the Zulus to be agreeably 'esculent' long before the Whiteman named them as such. The Zulu names them *ũJwángu* (or *imBondwe*) and *umHlazaluti* (or *ũJilo*); for he knows them in two varieties. With their soft, white, delicate flesh, of less mealy texture and less earthy flavour than the *Colocasia* (above), they provide a really good vegetable, apparently unknown to Europeans—they were not known, even by report, to the Natal Government Agricultural College some years ago, when we enquired there about them! We read nothing at all about this food-plant in other tribal records; but we can hardly believe that the Zulus themselves discovered it.

A Zulu vegetable of equally good eating, and somewhat resembling young or spring potatoes, is the *ĩZambane* (*Coleus esculentus*)—a name, owing to their similarity, nowadays applied by the Zulus to the common European potato. Unless the soil is appropriate, the tubers are wont to become disagreeably small; hence the Zulu women, owing to the small return, have nowadays largely allowed the vegetable to drop entirely out of their menu.

In older days, prior to the dispersal of the sweet-potato (below), the yam (*Dioscorea*), with tubers somewhat

resembling those of the latter, was commonly grown by the Zulus,¹²³ who call it *uManga*. This is certainly an indigenous African plant, and it occurs, with the old name still preserved, from top to bottom of Bantuland, as well as in the Sudan, Guinea, and even Papua.¹²⁴ Thus, the Zambezian Rotsis call it *Manga*, and the Kenya Colony Nikas *Fiasi-manga*. The Kamba neighbours of the latter strangely give the name, *Manga*, to manioc. There is a wild yam (*Dioscorea rupicola*) growing in Zululand, called the *iNkwa*, whose tubers are said to be poisonous when eaten raw; though after boiling, they provide one of the regular stand-bys in famine-time. The Kikuyus of Kenya Colony apply this name, *kiKwa*, to the yam cultivated there.

Then came the sweet-potato (*Batatas edulis*), more prolific and more tasty, and the yam was dethroned, at least among the Zulus. Johnston¹²⁵ calls it "a South American convolvulus", and says it is a good deal cultivated in Western Congo and in the Mubangi-Wele basin. Merolla¹²⁶ found it already thriving at the Congo mouth in 1682, brought, no doubt, by the Portuguese from Brazil or thereabouts. Today, it is a hardy and prolific food-plant everywhere throughout Negro and Bantulands,¹²⁷ as well as in Melanesia¹²⁸ and Polynesia.¹²⁹

The Zulus, before the Whiteman came, called the sweet-potato *umHlaza* (also *iNyeza*). The same root appears in the Giryama (north of Mombasa) *kiRazi*, and the Swahili (Zanzibar coast) *kiAzi*, both signifying sweet potato. This is evidently the original East African name for the plant, after its introduction by the Portuguese. Since the spread of Europeans in their country, the Zulus have dropped their own name, and, following the custom of the Whiteman, now call the sweet-potato simply *uBátata* (which is 'potato'). It is here curious to note how primitive names, adopted, and then deformed, by Europeans, return again to other primitives and there regain their primordial form; thus, the old Haitian name for sweet-potato, *Batata*, which became *Patata* in the mouth of Spaniards and *Potato* in that of English, is now brought back by these latter to the Zulus, and in their mouth again becomes *uBátata*.

There are nowadays quite a multitude of different varieties of the sweet-potato cultivated in Zululand, the

commonest of which have already been mentioned in the last chapter.

Manioc or Cassava was entirely unknown to the Zulus ; but within the last half-century Tonga immigrants from the East Coast have introduced a few stray plants into Natal, where it is called *umDumbula*.

Six thousand years ago, the roots of the nut-rush (*Cyperus esculentus*) were a favourite food-stuff of the Ancient Egyptians, having been found " both in the intestinal contents and in pots placed in the graves alongside the bodies ".¹³⁰ Thence the habit—we do not say, the plant—trickled down the continent through the ages, till it reached the Zulus (unless they came down with it from their motherland), who, though they never cultivated the plant (which they called *iNdawo*), found it very acceptable in days of famine.

The Zulus cultivated no fruits, save that those living along the coast sometimes planted the pips of the wild *iTobó* a spreading plant, bearing a red smooth-skinned fruit, resembling the tomato), which was eaten raw.

The plantain was known ; but that was all. There was just one solitary clump of plants along the coast of Zululand north of the Mhlatuze mouth, placed there none knew by whom. But Shaka, when a boy in Mtetwaland, had heard of them ; and when later he became a king, he took good care to proclaim the clump a royal preserve. " We arrived at last," writes Isaacs¹³¹ at the time, " at a delightful valley, or rather a ravine, near the side of the bay, where we discovered the banana-tree growing spontaneously and in a state of luxuriant vegetation." The local Zulus called the plant *ūKóvá*. Where they got the name from, we cannot say ; but it slightly resembles the Angola name, *riKohjó*, for the same plant. Most likely both name and plant came down with Tonga hawkers from the East Coast. The early Arab historian, Masudi (writing as early as 900 A.D.), tells us that, even at that time, the banana was an East African Bantu food-stuff (see Bryant, *Bantu Origins*). Then the Portuguese, somewhen prior to 1666,¹³² brought over other musaceous plants from Brazil to the Congo.

We said just now that the Zulus were unaware of the presence of oil in the sesame seeds, as well as in the monkey-nuts. With their indigenous castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*), which they called *umHlakuva*, it was otherwise. This grew as a weed about their kraals, and the presence therein of oil had not escaped them. Their method of extraction was simple. The ordinary grind-stone having been heated by the fire, the castor-oil berries were crushed to paste upon it, the inherent oil becoming somewhat liquified by the heat. The oily paste was then taken up by the hand, and the lady rubbed it well into her leathern kilt (when become stiffened by rain) as an emollient. This was as much of the oil as the Zulus ever got out of the plant, and this was its only use. They know nothing about its purgative properties.

The stones of the *umTúnduluka* plum (*Ximenia caffra*) were also broken open, and the oily nut inside similarly treated and used.

Every Zulu kraal had a few hemp-plants (*Cannabis sativa*) growing inside its outer fence for smoking purposes. It was known as *iNtsangu*.

Many kraals, too, had a small patch (whenever possible, on an old kraal-site), whereon they grew a few tobacco-plants, for use as snuff. This plant most probably came down to them from Delago Bay. That their name, *uGwáyi*, came with the plant, is to be presumed; although it has a suspicious resemblance to the Hottentot *Ogai*, to-smoke-tobacco. The Hereros of South West Africa, who are immediate neighbours of the Hottentots, have a similar name, *omaKaya*, tobacco. All which is a little puzzling.

Cotton was a pretty old-world plant, in the ancient times growing wild in India, as Herodotus¹³³ had heard, and there used for making cloth. Wild cottons are said also to be scattered about northern and central Africa, and even to be cultivated on the Mubangi.¹³⁴ But our Zulus were outside the cotton pale, and made their only acquaintance with it in the form of Manchester goods.

In the course of their millenniums of experience, the Zulus had become familiar with many plant-diseases. They

- 101. *Book 1, vol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.*

70. Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 1, 29.
71. *C.V.*; also Dampier, *V.A.*
72. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 32, 35; vol. 2, 152, 157; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 267.
73. Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 2, 522.
74. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 103; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 49.
75. *C.G.H.*
76. *F.J.*, 92.
77. *T.C.*, 359, 123.
78. *M.*, 38.
79. *T.*, vol. 2, 353, 359.
80. *T.Y.*, vol. 2, 249.
81. *W.A.*, vol. 1, 242, 254.
82. *M.*, 38.
83. *H.B.*, 54.
84. *N.V.*, vol. 1, 85, 100, 137.
85. Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 172.
86. *M.L.*, 146; also Moodie, *B.S.A.*, vol. 1, 29, 59.
87. *T.*, 135.
88. *V.C.*, 697.
89. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 281; vol. 2, 38, 154.
90. *Z.*, 185.
91. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 602; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 119; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 234, 287, 313; vol. 2, 181; Livingstone, *T.*, 102, 151, 364; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 232; Stow, *N.R.*, 132; Cotton, *U.A.*, 300; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 612; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 210; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 238, 457, 527; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58, 267; Kassner, *R.E.*, 74, 96, 105, 135, 211; Maugham, *Z.*, 320; Roscoe, *B.*, 432; Baines, *E.*, 423; Mohr, *V.F.*, 186, 265; Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 344; vol. 8, 205.
92. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 161.
93. Elliot Smith, *A.E.*
94. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 1, 137.
95. Herodotus, I, 193.
96. *ib.* III, 117.
97. Cotton, *U.A.*, 517; Maugham, *Z.*, 186; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 60, 548; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 251; vol. 2, 38; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 131.
98. Roscoe, *B.*, 433.
99. Elliot, *P.M.*, 331; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 108; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
100. Elliot, *P.M.*, 222, 331; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47; Stow, *N.R.*, 418; Moodie, *T.Y.*, vol. 2, 249; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 131; Wallace, *T.A.*, 333.
101. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47; Stow, *N.R.*, 418.
102. Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 131.
103. Stow, *N.R.*, 418.
104. *V.C.*, 697.
105. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 32.
106. Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 317.
107. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
108. *M.L.*, 146.
109. *V.C.*, 697.

110. *M.L.*, 146.
111. *G.G.C.*, 606 ; also Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 138, 281.
112. *B.E.A.*, 543.
113. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 606.
114. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 105, 251 ; vol. 2, 38.
115. See also Barth, *T.N.A.*, 382 ; Cotton, *U.A.*, 300 ; Junker, *T.A.*, 420 ; Holden, *H.N.*, 434.
116. *G.G.C.*, 78.
117. *G.*, 96.
118. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 105.
119. *ib.* vol. 2, 38.
120. Roscoe, *B.*, 433.
121. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 606.
122. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 106, 211, 213, 251, 282 ; vol. 2, 38, 63 ; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 2, 261 ; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 55 ; Livingstone, *T.*, 151 ; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 133 ; *E.S.A.*, 172.
123. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 242.
124. See Barth, *T.N.A.*, 281, 309, 384, 470 ; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 106, 251, 263, 282 ; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 55 ; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 83, 241 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 600, 672, 908, 958 ; Rankin, *Z.B.N.*, 239 ; Purvis, *M.E.*, 69 ; Hore, *T.*, 60 ; Wissman, *J.E.A.*, 54 ; Lloyd, *I.D.L.*, 82, 123 ; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 238 ; Roscoe, *B.*, 433 ; Haberlandt, *E.*, 146 ; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 143, 154 ; *Man*, XXI, 188.
125. *G.G.C.*, 607.
126. *V.C.*, 697.
127. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 281, 309, 384, 438 ; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 106, 183, 213, 251, 263, 282 ; vol. 2, 38, 63 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 78 ; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 119, 226 ; Maugham, *Z.*, 186, 320 ; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 278 ; Roosevelt, *A.G.T.*, 232 ; Patterson, *M.T.*, 242 ; Cotton, *U.A.*, 283 ; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 219, 273 ; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 163, 384 ; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241 ; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 482.
128. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 143.
129. *ib.* 553.
130. Elliot Smith, *A.E.*
131. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 229.
132. Angelo, *V.C.*, 617 ; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 88 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 132, 137, 612 ; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 74, 213, 251, 282 ; vol. 2, 38, 133 ; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 97, 242, 477 ; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 133 ; Elliot, *P.M.*, 220 ; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 470, 471 ; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 384 ; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 241 ; Kassner, *R.E.*, 71, 184, 195 ; Haddon, *W.P.*, 52.
133. III, 106.
134. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 129.

None would have been more amused than the Zulu to hear that his brothers in the Congo^{3a} and on the Zambezi^{3b} possessed dogs that were unable to bark and too timid to bite; for the Zulu to bark and to bite was the only *raison d'être* of a dog's existence. But then, *he* was never a dog-gourmand; and this particular brand of non-barking dog is, as its owners declare, uncommonly good eating; only second to brother-man himself! The Mitu Sudanese,^{3c} it must be granted, are in absolute agreement with this epicurean sentiment of the Congolese. It is remarkable, too, that the Negro's most distant relative across the ocean in Papua is also possessed of a dog that never barks. But here the defect is more than compensated by a power of howling (especially in moon-lit nights), which no amount of "stone-throwing or beating with sticks freely administered by their masters, had the smallest effect" in stilling.^{3d}

The bitch, when giving birth to pups, is said by the Zulus to *Nyelezela*; never to *Zala*, which is the term used for human beings and most other animals.

With the help of this useful friend, the dog, prehistoric man rounded up the wild oxen, not only of the Asiatic steppes, but also of many other parts of the Old World, drove them into his stockade (the *isiBaya* of the Zulus), and ever since has reared them there. Owing to their diverse origins and to intercrossing, the offspring of these ancient wild cattle nowadays appear in Africa and elsewhere in all sorts of varieties, long-horned and short-horned, humpless and humped.

One of those earliest types, the urus or aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), was perhaps the first to be tamed by Neolithic man, some 8,000 to 10,000 years ago, in the neighbourhood, as some think,⁴ of Turkestan in Asia. Apparently this same great ox was encountered by Caesar during his rambles in Gaul, and is described by him as having large, spreading horns. But nearly 5,000 years before Caesar's time, a similar ox had been domesticated in Egypt (c. 4840 B.C.). A slate palette of the Predynastic king, Nar-mer,⁵ depicts what is no doubt intended to represent a long-horned, high-standing *Bos Aegypticus* (sometimes called the Gala ox). What this beast was like may be judged from an illustration in Cotton⁶ of a specimen still to be seen living in Northern Bantuland even today,

carrying marvellous horns 3 feet 4 inches in length, and measuring 5 feet across from tip to tip. But these are puny compared with others met with in the south of Africa, where the baTlowu Chwanas possessed herds whose horns "measured as much as 8 to 10 feet from tip to tip".⁷ Whether this long-horned Egyptian ox was the offspring of the aurochs or not, we cannot say; but "the careful researches made by Dr. Lortet on the mummies of Egyptian bulls have led him to the conclusion that the long-horned bull, which is the oldest breed found on the monuments, is a native race, and has not been imported from Asia".⁸ Speaking of Greece (c. 400 B.C.), Herodotus⁹ says: "The whole region is full of lions, and wild bulls [thought, remarked Rawlinson, to be the modern aurochs] with gigantic horns, which were brought into Greece." Long prior to that, to wit, during the reign of Pepi II, of the 6th Dynasty, the African Nubians, abutting on the Egyptians to the south, already possessed cattle; but we are not told what they were like.¹⁰ Anyway, thinks Johnston,¹¹ this Egyptian ox "was obviously the first type of domesticated cattle in Africa," and in due course it spread down the continent, leaving driblets as it went, in Somaliland,¹² among the Nuer of the Nile,¹³ the Himas about Uganda,¹⁴ the Tuis to the north of Tanganyika Lake,¹⁵ and then, after a remarkable gap of 1000 miles, reappearing again in South Africa, among the Rotsis on the upper Zambezi,¹⁶ among the Hottentots in South-West Africa,¹⁷ the Chwanas of the Central Plateau,¹⁸ and finally, at the middle of last century, among the Zulus of Zululand. They were brought to this latter country, during Dingane's hunts after the fugitive Mzilikazi, from incidental raids made on the baPedi (*Z. baBélu*) Sutus of the north-eastern Transvaal. Hence the Zulus called the breed, the *ūSutú* or *ūBélu*; and "so high were they, that," as the Native story runs, "one had to stand up (not squat down, as is usual) when milking them." Which moreover appears to be no great exaggeration; for the veracious Livingstone,¹⁹ writing of the herds of the Zambezian Rotsis, says: "These oxen stand high on their legs, and are often nearly six feet at the withers. They have big horns, and a pair we brought from the lake measured eight and a half feet from tip to tip." But this was not the national Zulu breed.

Contemporaneous with the long-horned Egyptian ox, and domesticated at about the same period by Mediterranean man,

West Africa that, "when a foray was made upon their herds, [they] allowed the cows to fall into the hands of their enemies and devoted all their energies to the preservation of their oxen." To the Egyptians, and presumably also to the modern Indians, it was the cow that was held most sacred and preserved. Perhaps it were true to say of the Zulu paterfamilias that he bestowed more attention on his cattle than upon his children, and prized them as highly as he did his wives, whose equivalent they were in 'cash'. Notwithstanding which, the Zulus reckoned 13s. apiece quite adequate payment for a beast when, in 1854, the hunter, Baldwin,⁶⁴ "initiated himself into the art of trading" among them; while, two years before, they were willing to exchange an ox for "four picks or hoes . . . worth in the Colony 1s. 6d. each." Mackenzie,⁶⁵ also in the middle of the last century, gives 7s. 6d. as an average price for a cow in Zululand.

In passing, we may draw attention to the curious fact that, almost everywhere throughout the Old World, the guttural sound, *g* or *k*, appears as the principal consonant in the roots employed to designate a 'kow' an 'oks', and the 'kattle'; thus, Ancient Egyptian, *ka*, ox; *kaut*, cow; Sanskrit, *gaus*, cow; Hindi, *gao*, cow; Arabic, *gamus*, buffalo; Hebrew, *gamal*, camel; and so away through Africa; thus, Hima, *ngobe*, cow (generically, throughout); Swahili and Angola, *ngombe*; Herero, *o-ngombe*; Zambezi Toka, *i-ngombe*; Bihe (Angola), *olo-ngombe*; Fernando Po, *nkopo*; Chwana, *kgomo*; Zulu, *i-nkomo*; and even Hottentot, *goma-b*, ox (comp. Zulu, *i-nkabi*, ox), *goma-s*, cow (comp. Zulu, *i-nkomazi*, cow). In the Sudanic tongues we naturally expect to find the usual chaotic nomenclature. Yet the guttural sound largely still persists; thus, Songhai (western Sudan), *hau*; mid-Niger, *ligume*; Wandala (Sudan), *luguma*, camel; Teda (Libyans), *goni*, camel; Fula (Libyans), *nagge*, cow; Jawunde (Cameroons), *naga*; Duala (Cameroons), *naka*.

So proud was the Zulu of older times of his cattle, that he found great pleasure in torturing them in all sorts of ways in order to make them look still more beautiful. In this practice he held no monopoly; for it seems to have been a general South African survival of what may have been in earlier days a universal African custom. Though there is no actual record explaining exactly how the Zulus performed their 'horn-training' custom, from such accounts as we have, it would

seem that the procedure with them was much the same as it was among the surrounding peoples. Speaking of the Hottentots, Lichtenstein⁶⁶ observes: "This [ornamentation of cattle] is done in two ways; either by giving the horns strange and fantastic directions, or by cutting, soon after their birth, pieces of skin from the neck to the knee, and letting them hang down. In order to change the manner of the horn's growing, they are, from the moment when they begin to appear, pushed into the direction intended to be given them. By these means they sometimes drive them back like the horns of the antelope, or turn them in a variety of strange and absurd ways." "The Makololo [Sutus on the upper Zambezi]," writes Livingstone,⁶⁷ "are in the habit of shaving a little bit from one side of the horns while they are growing, in order to make them curve in that direction and assume fantastic shapes. The stranger the curvature, the more handsome the ox is considered to be. . . . This is an ancient custom in Africa; for the tributary tribes of Ethiopia are pictured on some of the oldest Egyptian monuments bringing contorted-horned cattle into Egypt. This is not the only mode of adorning their oxen. Some are branded in lines with a hot knife, which causes a permanent discolouration of the hair, like the bands on the hide of a zebra. Another mode of decoration is to detach pieces of skin round the head, two or three inches long and broad, and these are allowed to heal in a dependent position".⁶⁸ This will suffice to give an idea also of the practice with the Zulus, who used to play similar tricks with their cattle up to 100 years ago, as Fynn⁶⁹ has told us in his papers, but without obliging us with any further detailed explanation. The custom seems to have died out after Shaka's time (d. 1828). All this was presumably the cause of the great number of subsequently permanent horn-shapes, each with a distinguishing name, among the Zulu cattle until the beginning of this century. Thus, there was the *ĩGóqo*, long horns spirally twisted throughout their length, like those of the kudu antelope; the *ũCengezi*, horns spread broadly out and then round above the head, like a basin; the *ĩMbóxela*, perfectly erect, sharp-pointed horns, like those of a bull bush-buck; the *isiGédle*, curved horns pointing downwards, either straight down on each side, or slightly round before the face; the *ũGélegéqe*, long horns, standing erect, then flowing away to the rear; the *ĩNgóngómba*,

certain, he might smear the back of the calf with hippo-fat. At the same time the cow itself was treated. The pounded leaves of the aforesaid *ubuVimba* plant were rolled into a ball, which was slipped into the cow's vagina, and followed up with a vigorous blow with the mouth into the cavity, in order to drive the pellet well home; whereafter he recited the magic formula, *M-Vume. Nangu umNtwana waKó* (Accept-it. Here-is your child). And at that moment scenting something agreeable on the calf's back, the bereaved cow would immediately start 'kissing' (i.e. licking) it. And the calf as soon would start sucking at the udder; and down would come the milk!

With all those centuries of experience behind him, one would expect the Zulus to be well acquainted with all the local stock-diseases. And so they were; and furthermore had a fair working knowledge how to deal with them. In olden Native days, their cattle-diseases were not many; but some of them were of the serious type, which beat the Native doctors, as they did also the European. Among the earlier diseases were anthrax (*umBendeni*), quarter-evil (*uNqasha*), tsetse-fly disease (*ūNakane*), the *umMunca* (another 'wasting' disease of the coastal bush-veld), and the *umGóbo* (a complaint causing curvature of the spine). Then came the Whiteman, and with him brought red-water (*uBósiki*, fr. Dutch 'Boschziekte'), tuberculosis (*umMbila*), and lung-sickness (*uMahagáne*). All these latter diseases probably came along with the trading-wagons which roamed about the Zulu country during Mpande's reign. Lung-sickness first appeared in the Cape Colony in 1855, and by 1861⁷¹ it was already rife in Zululand, where, says Mohr,⁷² "so many oxen died, that there was not one left for the old king, Panda, to kill. On the other hand, buffaloes swarmed in the country to such an extent at that time, that the redoubtable John Dun [Dunn] was named hunter to his majesty, and in about three months he and his Kafir servants shot over eight hundred on the banks of the Umvolosi and Umhlatu [umHlatúze]. Dun elected to receive payments in lands and privileges; and that was how he came by his fine farm, Inthuensi [emTúnzini]." Tuberculosis was noticed in Zululand by the hunter, Leslie,⁷³ in 1870. Native traditions and European records go to show that the tsetse-fly was less prevalent in Zululand in former times than it is today. The beautiful Hlabisa woodlands seem to have been a cattle paradise in

Zwide's time.⁷⁴ The adjacent Hlulhuwe district, too, had such an excellent reputation, that king Dingane himself, after his flight from the Boers, first decided to settle there. Whether it was malaria, or what, that compelled him soon after to move up further inland to the *̄Vína* river, is unknown. "For some years after Panda became king of the Zulus," writes Leslie,⁷⁵ "the country between and about the junction of the Black and White Umvolosi was thickly populated and full of cattle." Harris,⁷⁶ however, in 1836 found the north-western Transvaal, about the Mural mountains, to be infested by "a large species of gadfly, nearly the size of a honey-bee, the bite of which . . . proves fatal to cattle." Holden⁷⁷ records it as present about Lake Ngami in 1849; and Livingstone⁷⁸ mentions it in other places. Oswald⁷⁹ declares that the (imported) humped or zebu breed of cattle in East Africa are immune to the tsetse-fly disease.

In our own quite recent time, an even more baleful cattle-plague has swept down on the Zulu country. Rinderpest (*Z. uLendi-pési*) came down from Rhodesia in 1896, and killed off perhaps three-quarters of the Zulu cattle. No sooner had the herds once more recovered themselves, than down came the so-called tick-fever (no specific Native name has yet been coined for this) from the same quarter, and wrought once more an equal destruction. However, this time, the speedy introduction of the Government dipping-tank and compulsory dipping saved the remnants by ridding the veld of fully 90 per cent. of its ticks (*̄Kizane*; *iNkizane*; *umKáza*; *̄Qashi*—according to variety). Notwithstanding which, the plague still reappears sporadically and in less virulent form. The latest visitation of new and previously unknown cattle-diseases was, so far as we know, the so-called 'three-day sickness' some years back. This ailment seems to have been prevalent in the Sudan about the year 1870. Had it been gradually creeping south ever since then? Schweinfurth⁸⁰ wrote about the time stated: Among the Dinka cattle, a disease, "known as Odwangdwang, appears just as contagious, though not so generally fatal, as the two former; the animals refuse their food for forty-eight hours, but under favourable circumstances, on the third day commence grazing again."

Besides the preceding specific diseases, the Zulus were well aware also of the poisonous properties of the *iNdloloti*

(1) The first case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1793 in Philadelphia. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 10,000 people.

(2) The second case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1800 in New Orleans. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 5,000 people.

(3) The third case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1817 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 3,000 people.

(4) The fourth case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1820 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 2,000 people.

(5) The fifth case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1825 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 1,000 people.

(6) The sixth case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1832 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 500 people.

(7) The seventh case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1837 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 200 people.

(8) The eighth case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1840 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 100 people.

(9) The ninth case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1845 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 50 people.

(10) The tenth case of yellow fever in the United States was reported in 1850 in New York City. It was caused by the yellow fever virus, which was introduced to the city by a ship from the West Indies. The disease spread rapidly, killing about 20 people.

to North-East Africa and Nubia, the ears become long and pendent. It is evident to me that an early type of this first domesticated form of *Ovis aries* penetrated up the Nile Valley and into Negroland—from this species arose the several modern African varieties.”

The Maned Sheep just referred to—the name, by-the-way, strangely becoming lost so soon as the animal had been castrated⁹¹—found in more northern Africa, from Dinkaland on the Nile,⁹² to the Cameroons⁹³ near Guinea, was unknown in the south. The Zulu sheep belonged to the Fat-tailed breed. This type was common in all historic time throughout the whole of the Old World, from east to west and from north to south, in China, in India, in Syria, and in Africa, from Nubia⁹⁴ in the north, down the Nile to the Shilluks,⁹⁵ through Galaland,⁹⁶ Kavirondoland,⁹⁷ Uganda,⁹⁸ Tanganyika Colony,⁹⁹ Western Congo¹⁰⁰ and South-Eastern Congo,¹⁰¹ to the Cape Colony in the extreme south, where the earliest Portuguese navigators found it in 1595.¹⁰² “These fat-tailed sheep,” says Stugand,¹⁰³ “appear to do well in the dry and arid country, and are able to endure the periods of drought and poor grazing in a surprising manner. The raw fat of their tails is eaten by Masai and Samburr as a cure for thirst. The Somalis say that a gelding rested and fed on this fat will race any animal excepting the ostrich and the gerenug (Waller’s gazelle).” Herodotus was struck by the peculiar tails of these sheep in Arabia. There were, he says,¹⁰⁴ two kinds of sheep, one with tails so long (three cubits in length!) that, “if they were allowed to trail on the ground, they would be bruised and fall into sores. As it is, all the shepherds know enough of carpentering to make little trucks for their sheep’s tails. The trucks are placed under the tails . . . and the tails are then tied down upon them. The other kind has a broad tail, which is a cubit across sometimes.” A more modern Herodotus, named Cole,¹⁰⁵ writing of the Cape Colony in 1852, repeats the old story once more. The Cape sheep, he says, “are perfectly lean except at the tail, which is a huge mass of fat dangling down to the hocks. . . . Their tails were so enormous and so heavy that they had little wicker-work go-carts, to which they were fastened and in which they rested.” Referring to these Hottentot sheep in 1775, Sparrman¹⁰⁶ says “the tail alone of one of these sheep (which is thick and of a triangular shape,

being from a foot to a foot and a half in length, and sometimes above six inches thick near the rump) will weigh from eight to twelve pounds, and mostly consists of a delicate kind of fat." Darwin¹⁰⁷ was puzzled as to the meaning of this cumbersome appendage, and suggested that it might be merely "purposeless variability." For once, there is little doubt, Darwin was entirely wrong. Its purpose was obvious, and the device was excellent. In this delicate fat, nature had provided the animal with a store of 'liquid food' in concentrated form whereon to draw in times of drought; and further, instead of enveloping the animal's body (already so warmly clothed) in a blanket of fat, which would have proven unbearable under a tropical sun, had considerably stored it up out of the way in the tail. This type of sheep, however, proved of small use to the Whiteman, when he came—it had no wool! The difference between wool and hair is that in the former the threads are externally serrated, as though consisting of a succession of overlapping circular scales, which causes the fibres to cling together when interlaced and so form one compact mass of 'felt'. Hair, on the contrary, presents a perfectly smooth exterior and consequently refuses to cling or mat together. The African fat-tailed sheep grows such a form of coarse 'hair', and is accordingly unusable as wool. The true woolly sheep was first introduced into the Cape by Lieut. Daniell so recently as the year 1827.¹⁰⁸

The Zulu lamb usually had a beautifully glossy, jet-black skin, much prized by them for making men's dress-ware (tailed-kilts, ornamental shoulder-ropes, etc.). As the animal grew, the glossiness disappeared and the colour changed to a dull dark-brown. The ears were never pendent, but always small and erect. The tail of the rams and wethers was always fatter than that of the ewes. The fat concentrated at the top near the rump (where the tail-breadth might be six or more inches), the tail gradually diminishing to a point at the bottom, which might reach as far as the hocks. By docking the triangular appendage of its point or vertex, the accumulation of fat might be materially increased at the base. In the ewes, this storage of fat was much less active, and the tail consequently less massive. The marvellous tails mentioned above among the Hottentots and Arabians (both, you will remark, located in exceptionally arid and desert-like regions) were

dreaded as Zulu *abaTākāti*, the cat was held to be as universally a 'familiar' with the former, as it was with the latter. Indeed, with ourselves, a favourite personification of 'Old Nick' himself was that of a Black Cat.

The *domestic* cat was first introduced into Zulu homes by Tonga hawkers about the middle of the 18th century. The Tembe Tonga king at that period chancing to be named Mangobe, the Zulus facetiously called their new pets, brought to them by his subjects, after him, *uMangóbe*. At that time, cats were necessarily few and of great price; but after the middle of last century, when contact with the European pioneers in Natal had increased considerably, cats in Zulu homes became much more common, and now, instead of the previous Tonga name, *uMangóbe*, assumed the English appellation of *īKati* (which is the Zulu rendering of 'cat').¹²¹

Like so many other good things, the useful fowl is also 'supposed' to have been introduced into Africa (as well as Europe) from India. Johnston¹²² surmised that it was first brought into Egypt by the Persians, when Cambyses conquered that country about 525 B.C., and that the modern Bantu poultry are descendants of that stock. Breasted,¹²³ either before or after Johnston, repeats the same story. Speaking of the caravan-roads through Asia Minor, from Syria to India, he says: "A good example of the effect of these roads was the incoming of the domestic fowl, which we call the chicken. Its home was in India, and it was unknown in the Mediterranean until Persian communications [under Darius, c. 521-485 B.C.] brought it from India to the Aegean Sea. Thus the Persians brought to Europe the barnyard fowl so familiar to us." Actual facts, however, since brought to light by Petrie and Carter, have now nullified these surmises. Under the great pharaoh, Tahutmes III (1503-1449 B.C.), writes the former,¹²⁴ Syria was invaded, and a civilization encountered superior even to that of Egypt itself—gold-plated chariots, suits of armour, and other such objects. Soon after, his near successor, Tahutmes IV (1423-1414 B.C.), caused to be taken a "census of the land . . . an inspection of all things, soldiers, priests, royal serfs, artisans of all the country, and of all cattle, *all fowls* [our italics], and all small cattle, by the scribe of 'troops, loved of His Majesty,

Zanuni".¹²⁵ This historical record was later actually confirmed by hard facts, during the recent excavations by Carter in the tomb of another pharaoh, Tut-ankh-Amen (c. 1343 B.C.), where, engraven on a limestone slab, was found the figure of a domestic cock. So that, even though the barnyard fowl may (which is not proven) have entered Egypt from Syria, or from India, that event must have occurred a thousand years earlier than the date assigned by Johnston and Breasted.

Eventually—and more probably than anywhere else, out of Egypt—the fowl reached Negroland. Speaking of the Akka pygmies in the Sudan, Schweinfurth¹²⁶ writes: "Their only domestic animals are poultry; and it struck me as a coincidence somewhat curious that one of the Pompeiian mosaics which I saw in the National Museum at Naples represents the Pygmies in the midst of their little houses, which are depicted as full of common fowls." And those Pompeian mosaics denoted a date at least as early as 70 B.C. . . . From the Sudan, it was not far to Bantuland; and it could hardly have been many centuries later, that the fowl reached there also.

The commonest Bantu name for the domestic fowl is some form of the root, *Kuku* (representing the 'cluck-cluck' of the bird). The Zulus call the fowl *iNkuku*; Kaguru (Tanganyika Col.), and Sango (north of Nyasa), *Nkuku*; Ibo (Nigeria), *Okuku*; Nika (Kenya Col.) and Swahili (Zanzibar), *Kuku*; Ganda, *Nkoko*; Yaka (W. Congo), *Koke*; Mbala (W. Congo), *Kok*; Rega (E. Congo), *Ngoko*; Atakpame (Guinea Negroes), *Akiko*; Ngala (Bornu), *Kusku*; Vili (French Congo), *Susu*; Herero (S.W. Africa), *oNdyuhua*. From this universal identity of name, Johnston¹²⁷ has drawn the conclusion that the name must have been coined, and therefore the fowl itself have been already on the spot, prior to the dispersal of the Bantu from their common original motherland. It may have been so; and were the case any other than that of the fowl, the argument might have been more easily accepted. Unfortunately, the peculiar 'cluck cluck' (to African ears sounding as 'kuk kuk'), so impressively heard all day long in all the several lands all over the continent, lends itself so easily to onomatopoeia, that one is not quite so ready to accept Johnston's theory off-hand. Did we do so, we should find ourselves compelled to believe, not only that all the Bantu and Negro names, but also the Chinese *Kung-ki*, cock, the Sanskrit

Kukkuta, fowl, the Singalese *Kukula*, fowl, and perhaps even the Egyptian *u*, fowl, were all and every one of them derived from a single source in a single land ; or, alternatively, that all these races had (as Johnston has it) 'dispersed from their common motherland' after the fowl had already become domesticated there ! More plausible were the supposition that all, or many of, these similar terms are simply onomatopoeic, and have been independently coined in the several lands in imitation of the fowl's 'cluck cluck'. Or are we to believe that the Zulu *kukulugú* (the Zulu's effort to imitate the cock's crow), the Nyanja *kokololiko*, the German *kikiriki*, the French *coquelico*, and the ridiculous English 'cock-a-doodle-do', are also all of them derived from a single etymological source ? Only if that source be the fowl itself, could we ever credit such a thing. Therefore, it would seem that Johnston's argument that the fowl must have entered Bantuland prior to the race's dispersal, and its corollary that that dispersal must have taken place later than the year 525 B.C. (when he supposes the fowl first to have entered Africa), can hardly be sustained.

Anyhow, the domestic fowl reached Bantuland somewhen ; but whether it had reached southern Africa prior to the Portuguese arrival (c. 1500 A.D.), we cannot venture to surmise. Certain is it that, even at the beginning of last century, the fowl was but little known and but slightly appreciated among the Bantu peoples. Speke¹²⁸ says the Natives of Uzinza (Nyanza region) kept fowls only "to sell to travellers, or else for cutting them open for divining purposes, by inspection of the blood and bones" (which latter suggests Arab influence). At the opposite end of Bantuland, at the Cape, Steedman¹²⁹ says that the Mpondos there (at the beginning of last century) reared small fowls, but only for feathers for head-ornaments. Krapf,¹³⁰ in East Africa, states that the Bantu there did not eat their fowls. Certainly the Zulus never did—not until long after their contact with modern Europeans. So recently as 1860, Miss Mackenzie,¹³¹ then resident in Zululand, had to record that "there are none here, and our fowls [which they had brought up with them from near Durban] have a great many wondering visitors" ; just as Gardiner¹³² wrote, in 1835, of his Xosa servant, Mpondombini, that "he was greatly amused at the pigs, having only once seen one before." Equally as likely was it that he had never seen a

fowl ; for Kay¹³³ affirms that at that time (1835) no fowls yet existed in Xosaland. In Natal, on the other hand, there is good historical evidence that the Lala Ngunis there were in possession of fowls (probably for the same purpose as with their neighbours, the Mpondos) as early as 1688 ; for in that year the mariners of the galiot, *Noord*, procured from them " two fowls for six or seven beads ",¹³⁴ a price which Barth¹³⁵ was able to eclipse, at the beginning of last century, in northern Africa, where he " could buy a fowl for a needle." Capt. Rogers,¹³⁶ again, visited Natal just prior to 1718, and found there " plenty of cocks and hens ", and he mentions them as a " common food " of the local Natives, a statement which we are inclined to suspect was but an assumption of his own.

The original Bantu fowl, wherever it was found, seems to have been little improved (if at all) on its natural wild state. It was so insignificantly small, that the Natal Natives, in earlier times, are said to have regarded (and even called) it an *iNtsw-emphe* (which was their name for the local wild partridge, *Franco-linus coqui*). From this, it would seem clear that they did not know exactly what it was; they (like the Mpondos, who were also a coastal people) having perhaps first received it from visiting or ship-wrecked mariners. Steedman (above) specially noted the 'smallness' of the Mpondo fowls. Johnston¹³⁷ describes those in Congoland as of the " usual short-legged, Bantam-like breed found throughout Negroland ", and Kassner¹³⁸ as " a special small kind, no bigger than bantams, and seem to be a true breed. Their plumage is varied—some white, some brown, black or spotted."

We cannot pass without mentioning that most celebrated specimen of the Congo breed, Merolla's cock, which, as a magician, broke all fowl records.¹³⁹ A certain Congolese potentate, Sogno by name, dared to raid the territory of a neighbouring potentate, named Simantamba. " At his arrival he found all the Inhabitants fled ; whereupon the Sognese Soldiers fell immediately to rifling the Houses, and moreover began to kill all the living Creatures they met in their way, to satisfy their Hunger. Amongst the rest they found a Cock of a larger size than ordinary, with a great Ring of Iron about one of his Legs, which occasioned one of the wisest among them to cry out, *Surely this Cock must be bewitched, and is not at all proper for us to meddle with.* To which the rest answered,

Be it what it will, we are resolved to eat it". So they proceeded and "tore it to pieces", and boiled it, and, having piously said grace, started to devour it. "But before they had touched a Bit, to their great wonder and amazement, the boiled Pieces of the Cock, though sodden, and nearly dissolved, began to move about, and unite into the Form they were in before, and being so united, the restored Cock immediately raised himself up, and jumped out of the Platter on to the Ground, where he walked about as well as when he was first taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an adjoining Wall, where he became new feathered all of a sudden, and then took his Flight to a Tree hard by, where fixing himself, he after three Claps of his Wings, made a most hideous Noise, and then disappeared. Everyone may easily imagine what a terrible Fright the Spectators were in at this Sight, who leaping with a thousand *Ave Marias* in their Mouths, were contented to observe most of the Particulars at a distance. The cause of their Preservation they attributed to the Grace that was said before they sat down"—despite the fact that they had previously murdered the cock's owner, stolen his property, and hacked the bird to pieces! Well, no Zulu cock ever equalled so magnificent a show. And yet they too were not above a little hocus-pocus when it suited. For instance, when a Zulu medical man was called in to treat a certain eye-disease, we found that he also selected a cock from among the poultry in the kraal, and, standing it upon the crown of the patient's head, no amount of startling noise or action would so much as cause it to wink, much less to budge! Whether this was worked by druggery or hypnotism, we were unable to discover.

Simpson¹⁴⁰ says the Akela tribesmen in the Congo so love their poultry and evince for it so fatherly a concern, that they actually "provide little houses for their chickens", as though they were their little children. Perhaps they *are* the children of Merolla's cock!¹⁴¹

Bees (Zulu, *iNyosi*; Xosa, *ubuSi*, honey [comp. Z. *iNyoni*, bird]; Ganda, *Njuki*, bee, *muBisi*, honey; Rega (LutuNzige), *Njuki*, bee, *buKi*, honey; Swahili (Zanzibar), *Nyuki*, bee; Herero (S.W. Africa), *oNyuitiyi*, bee, *ouTyi*, honey; Ndonga (Ovamboland), *oNgushi*, bee; Ngwila (N. of Nyasa), *iBusa*, bee) can hardly be counted among the domestic animals; yet

many Bantu tribes in the north 'cultivate' them with assiduity. Every traveller through Tanganyika Colony, Kavirondoland and other parts up there will have been struck, as he passed along, by the numerous arboreal bee-hives set up everywhere by the Natives. The Zulus were far too primitive for any such advanced ideas. When they left the north, such industries were not yet in existence. Yet they loved their honey none the less; and their herd-boys were quite diligent in their search for it, and brave in their attack. They were sometimes led to it by that useful bird, the Honey-Guide (*Z. iNtlav-e-Bizelayo*; sp. of Indicator), which they always rewarded with a fragment of the comb.

Besides the common honey-bee (*iNyosi*), there was a pygmy relative, which they named the *ūBóngana* (? *Melapona præterita*). This was a stingless little bee, slightly smaller than the house-fly, dark and glossy in colour, and building a nest either in tree-holes or the ground. It constructed a single celled-comb, of about the diameter of the top of a tea-cup, containing a very sweet and clear honey. The comb was light-brown, or quite white, when new, but almost black, when old.

There must be several varieties of this little bee, we think; because Mohr¹⁴² speaks of one that stored its honey, not in celled combs, but in "loose grey bags, some as large as grapes, and even walnuts"; while Schulz¹⁴³ mentions another "slightly larger than the common house-fly", and making combs. The honey of these, he says, is "a source of great inconvenience, if not of danger, to the inexperienced, as it contains some strong aperient matter most unwelcome to the consumer. . . . The entrance to the nest was a little hole in the ground about an inch in diameter, and when we dug below this, we came upon a twisted structure not unlike the interior of an ant-heap, but formed of bees-wax. The honey was deposited irregularly in this space without much regard to shape, and the wax, which had a deep grey-black colour, possessed perforations through which the bees found access to the combs in the recesses on beyond."

The bumble-bee was well known to the Zulus, but was not classified as a 'bee' (*iNyosi*), but simply as an *ūBūngane* (any flying-beetle). Its honey, called, not *iziNyosi* (bees'-honey),

but *ubuSi* (cp. terms above, also *Nika*, *uChi*, palm-wine), was much liked by the Zulus, and was contained in reddish-yellow 'lumps' (? bags) found deposited in holes and crevices.

So much, then, for the domesticated animals; now for the wild.

Besides that friendly and civilized canine dealt with at the commencement of this chapter, the Zulus were familiar with another, decidedly undomesticated, type of dog, which we distinguish by the epithet 'wild'; well worthy of that name, and associated, in the Zulu mind, rather with their herds than with their homes. They called it *̄Nkentshane*. It was a dark-coloured, wolf-like beast, with a bushy tail tipped with white, and roamed the country in fierce and voracious packs, working wholesale destruction among sheep and goats and calves, as it passed.

So-called 'wild-dogs' are constantly described by African travellers; but as their descriptions are so frequently discrepant, we conclude that there must really be two or three varieties of them. Of those of the 'Zulu' breed, we may cite those met by Moubray¹⁴⁴ in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. "These animals," he writes, "are the fiercest and most to be dreaded of any that are met with in Central Africa. They hunt in large packs, so that should a traveller be attacked and succeed in killing even a number of them, that would be of little use, as those behind would come on till their enemy was overpowered. . . . The Natives, when they hear a pack coming, immediately take to a tree. . . . Should a lion have just killed an animal and be starting to eat it, and should some hunting dogs come along and see the meat, they will drive the lion away. . . . The dogs stand as high as an average retriever." They have a slightly bushy tail, white at the tip, and short-haired bodies. Patterson¹⁴⁵ encountered the same breed in the lower Kenya Colony. "Wild dogs," he says, "will attack anything, man or beast, when really driven by hunger. I was at Tsavo Station one day . . . when one of these dogs came up and stood within about thirty yards of me. He was a fine-looking beast, bigger than a collie, with jet-black hair and a white-tipped bushy tail."

Schweinfurth's¹⁴⁶ 'wild-dog' seems to have been of an entirely different type from those just described. He writes:

“The spotted hyæna dogs (*Canis pictus*) are very common in this region [Sudan]. I saw one specimen in the Seriba that was perfectly tame, requiring no other restraint than a cord, and yielding to its master with all the docility of an ordinary dog. This fact appears to corroborate the assertion of Livingstone (which, however, he makes with some reserve, not having personally witnessed the circumstance) that the natives of the Kalahari Desert are accustomed to break in this animal and train it for the chase.” This is apparently the same species as that known as the Cape Hunting Dog (*Lycan pictus*). Harris,¹⁴⁷ also in South Africa, apparently encountered the same species. They are, he writes, “of a slender form, the general colour is ochreous yellow, blotched and brindled with dingy black. The ears are large and semicircular; the muzzle and face black, and the tail bushy, like that of a fox.” This may be the dog described also by Fitzgerald,¹⁴⁸ in practically the same part of Kenya Colony as that given by Patterson (above). “The day before my departure from Mombasa,” he writes, “Weaver shot a wild dog, called by the natives ‘*Umbwa a mitoni*’. Our people . . . said these dogs, which always hunt in large packs, were so fierce and savage that even lions were afraid of them, that they would be sure to return at night to attack us in revenge for the death of their companion. . . . Sure enough, shortly after we had turned in, we heard the brutes howling . . . we jumped up and, taking our rifles and a lantern, ran outside. The wild dogs, about thirty in number, set up a big howling on seeing us. . . . It was too dark to see them clearly, but they were very close to us at one time. The one Weaver shot was over 2½ feet high, with a shaggy, massive head somewhat resembling a hyæna’s.” The dogs described by Cumming,¹⁴⁹ again away in South Africa, may have been of this same breed. “The wild dogs,” he says, “are still numerous, both in the colony and in the interior. They hunt together in large organised packs of from ten to sixty, and by their extraordinary powers of endurance, and mode of mutual assistance, are enabled to run into the swiftest, and overcome the largest and most powerful antelope. . . . They are of a bold and daring disposition, and do not entertain much fear of man, evincing less concern on his approach than any other carnivorous animal with which I am acquainted. . . . Their voice consists of three different kinds of cry, each being

used on a special occasion : one is a sharp angry bark, usually uttered when they suddenly behold an object which they cannot make out. Another resembles the chattering of monkeys ; this cry is emitted at night when large numbers of them are congregated together, and they are excited by any particular occurrence, such as being barked at by domestic dogs. The third, and the most commonly made, is a sort of rallying note to bring the various members of the pack together when they have been scattered in following several individuals of a troop of antelopes. . . . This interesting though destructive animal seems to form the connecting link between the wolf and the hyæna."

The animals mentioned by Cotton¹⁵⁰ almost look like a cross between the two preceding species. " These wild dogs," he says, " stood a little under two feet in height, had very large rounded ears, and a mangy coat of rusty black, blotched with brown and white. There was a large brown patch on the neck, and the tail and forelegs showed a good deal of white."

Good old Merolla,¹⁵¹ too, had his own Congolese ' wild dog ', which we cannot quite place anywhere among the preceding. These dogs, he tells us, " whenever they met with any Lion, Tiger, or Elephant in their way, set upon him with that fury, that they commonly bring him to the ground. . . . These Dogs, notwithstanding their wildness, do little or no damage to the Inhabitants. They are red hair'd, have small slender Bodies, and their Tails turn up upon their Backs like a Greyhound's."

Moffat¹⁵² explains to us some of the habits of the South African wild-dogs of the Cape species. " When the dogs approach a troop of antelopes," he writes, " they select one, no matter how it may mingle with others on the dusty plain ; the dog that starts never loses scent, or if he does, it is soon discovered by the pack which follow after, as they spread themselves the more readily to regain it. While the single dog who takes the lead has occasion to make angles in pursuit of his prey, the others, who hear his cry or short howl, avoid a circuitous course, and by this means easily come up again, when a fresh dog resumes the chase, and the other turns into the pack. In this way they relieve each other till they have caught the animal, which they rarely fail to accomplish,

though sometimes after a very long run. Should they, in their course, happen to pass other game much nearer than the one in pursuit, they take no notice of it. These dogs, of which there are two species, never attack man, but are very destructive to sheep and goats, and even to cows, when they come in their way."

Along with the wild-dog, the snake (*Z. iNyoka* ; Sanskrit, *Naga*, snake ; Hebrew, *Nakhash* ; Herero, *oNyoka* ; Swahili and Angola, *Nyoku* ; Toka (Zambezi), *iNzoka* ; Ganda, *Njoka* ; Yawo, *liJoka* ; Shambala (Tanganyika Col.), *Noka* ; Chwana (Transvaal), *Noha* ; Jawunde (Cameroons), *No* ; Tshi (Gold Coast), *Nson*) was another of those distinctly undomesticated animals with which the Zulus had to fight to live. His country was particularly rich in these creatures, venomous and otherwise. While he regarded the former with murderous detestation, some of the latter he actually honoured, as family ancestors.

We are told that the serpent (to wit, the *Serpens edenensis*, alias *diabolicus*) was the very first of animals to make man's acquaintance, and showed him the path both to good and to evil, to sin and to science. We will not say that that is the reason why the Zulu too distinguishes two classes of snake, a good and an evil. Among the former, are two species of super-honourable mention, both garbed in green. First and foremost stands the somewhat mysterious *iNyandezulu*. This is said to be an all-green grass-snake, some three feet or more in length. We say 'mysterious' because, in half-a-century of veld-roaming, we have never had the personal good fortune to make its acquaintance, nor have we ever heard it mentioned in general conversation as having been seen by anybody else. It may be the *Chlorophis natalensis*, which would seem to meet the description, and which F. W. Fitzsimons (in *The Snakes of South Africa*) states is widely distributed throughout south-eastern Africa. This *iNyandezulu* is the Zulu royal snake *par excellence*, whose form kings and princes are said to assume after death. Next in order of ophiological, or, if you will, ophiomorphus, precedence, stands the *umHlwazi*, which we have seen, and with which most kraal-dwellers are well familiar. This too is bright green, but spotted with black on the upper body, and some two feet or more in length, by half-an-inch in

thickness. Scientifically, it is either the *Philotamnus semi-variegatus*, or the *Chlorophis irregularis*; though we are often inclined to wonder, whether, after all, the above-mentioned *iNyandezulu* may not also be this selfsame *umHlwazi* masquerading under a special 'royal' title. Anyway, this *umHlwazi* represents the posthumous metamorphosis of the mere 'commoner'. But had any ordinary family head been at his death extraordinarily aged, then after his decease he would more probably reappear to his family in the much less gay, but much more bulky, form of the brown *umSenene*, some four feet long and stoutly built. A mere woman, even though a queen, had to be content with the still meaner garb of the dark-brown *uMabibini*, only eighteen inches long; and if very old, with that of a tiny salamander lizard. All these 'ancestral' snakes were naturally harmless; and they might frequently be seen basking sleepily on the home-kraal fences, or even slumbering peacefully inside the huts, where they were always respectfully left untouched. What exactly the Egyptians purposed with their 'sacred' snakes, we cannot say; but we note that they too were wise enough to select only the harmless varieties. "In the neighbourhood of Thebes," writes Herodotus,¹⁵³ "there are some sacred serpents which are perfectly harmless. They are of small size, and have two horns growing on the top of their head. These snakes, when they die, are buried in the temple of Jupiter, the god to whom they are sacred."

A very different proposition were the Zulu *mamba* snakes. Whereas the preceding 'good' snakes represented to the Zulu the ancestral Adams and Eves of his family, the *mamba* personified the Old Enemy himself reincarnated, bringer only of death to mankind. The Zulu term, *iMamba*, a-mamba-snake (cp. Xosa, *iMamba*, python; Rotsi, *Mamba*, puff-adder; Swahili, Bondei, Hehe, *Mamba*, crocodile; Nika, *Mamba*, hippopotamus; Mpongwe, *oMamba*, certain snake; Sutu, *Mamparwane*, lizard; Ganda, *Sarambwa*, black-and-white snake) was the Zulu generic name for several varieties of colubrine snakes, all formed after the same pattern (though differing in size and colour), having long slender bodies, thicker about the middle, with the spine very slightly raised, long thin prehensile tails, small necks, and narrow, longish, somewhat triangular or pear-shaped, heads, with eyes unusually large

and prominent, all occasionally climbing trees, and all dangerously, though not equally, venomous.

First of all, we may warn the reader that that which the Zulu (quite correctly, according to his own language and conception) calls a mamba, is not always precisely that which the European zoologist (more scientifically) calls by that name. Thus there are many more 'mambas' in the Zulu zoology than there are in the European. The Zulu definition of a mamba is that just given above; that of the European scientist seems to be, a species of *Dendraspis* (see F. W. Fitzsimons, *The Snakes of South Africa*). Again, the Zulu snake-names are of a generic rather than a specific nature, that is, cover many species of the one genus, owing simply to a rough general similarity of appearance.

The various kinds of so-called 'mambas', then, recognized as such by the Zulus (though the descriptions are conflicting in some details) are the following:—

1. The *iMamba eMnyama* (or Black Mamba), also called *iMambalukótó* (*Dendraspis angusticeps*), colour black, belly white, favourite habitat rocky and bushy places, up to thirteen feet in length, and fatally poisonous, death occurring (unless properly treated) within two to twenty-four hours, according to bite.

2. The *iNdlōndlo* (or Crested Mamba), which some say is but a very old Black Mamba, of a dull lustrous blackish colour, and having the scales or shields on the head grown long and raised so as to present the appearance of a crest (*ūPápé*), living in unfrequented bushy and rocky places, of the same size as the preceding, equally as venomous, though very rare, and much dreaded, as of a very aggressive nature. Probably also a *Dendraspis*.

3. The *iMamba eMpofú* (or Brown Mamba), of a lightish dirty-brown colour, slightly yellowish about the belly, not so fierce, nor yet so fatally poisonous, as both the preceding, being supposed (by the Natives) to be in an intermediary stage of development between that of the *eMnyama* and the *iNdlōndlo*. It frequents watery places, and 'when struck, makes at once for the water'. Probably a *Dendraspis*.

4. The *iMamba eLuhlaza cwe* (or All-green Mamba), also called an *iMambaluti*, anything up to nine feet in length, colour bright, unmarked, green throughout the whole length of the upper-body, belly clear white, much given to climbing trees in bushy country, and in the grass to standing erect 'so as to appear like a stick' (whence the second name), rare, and nearly as fatally poisonous as the *eMnyama*; said by some Natives to be of a dark colour when young, and to assume the green colour only when about three feet in length. Certainly a *Dendraspis*.

5. The *iMamba eLuhlaza e-namaZinga*, or *eQopile* (or Green Striped Mamba) does not, as do all the preceding, belong to the *Dendraspis* group; being, zoologically, a *Dispholidus*, and more appropriately called simply the 'Green Tree Snake'—although the Natives regard and call it an *iMamba*. It is of a green colour, with black stripes running round the sides of the body following the ribs, but somewhat indistinct on the back, where the green assumes a darker shade. It is of much smaller size than the preceding, being seldom more than four or five feet long, and is not fatally poisonous. Its female is said to be of a brownish colour.

All the mambas are particularly vicious during the breeding season, and if a traveller happen at that time to place himself in the way of a passionate male or female returning to its spouse or offspring, it is liable to attack. Mohr¹⁵⁴ declares (and many other voracious travellers agree with him) that "riders who have suddenly surprised a Mhamba, have been pursued by it for a whole mile."

Of the viperine snakes, the *iBululu* (Puff-adder; *Bitis arietans*) is the most lethally venomous. This is a short, thick-bodied snake, from two to three feet long, with a body beautifully mottled mainly in dark browns. It has a dangerous habit of striking backwards, and should therefore be approached from the front.

Its pygmy relative, the *uMantshingeyana* (Berg Adder; *Bitis atropos*), hardly less to be feared, is usually not more than a foot in length, is similarly mottled, and with the same habit of striking backwards, only more so; for this, being so much smaller, lighter and more agile, can actually throw itself at one

through the air, hence its name of ' the-little-throwing-thing ' . Its bite may be small, but quite big enough in its serious consequences ; whence it is also known as *uMaqanda-li-ng'-Opi* (that which strikes one down, even before the wound starts bleeding). The bite of these viperine snakes, if not so speedily fatal as that of the mambas, is said to give rise to troublesome and long enduring after-effects (perhaps from some sort of blood-poisoning).

Among the viperines, comes too the *iNtlangwana* (Night Adder ; *Causus rhombeatus*), with a much more slender body than the *iBúlulu* (above), two or three feet long, and, like the last-mentioned, with slightly mottled, though less rich, markings, and not so dangerously poisonous.

The short, thick-bodied, and similarly mottled, *iMboma*, found in rocky places, may be another snake of this class.

There is, in the Zulu country, at least one species of *Naiia* cobra and one of *Sepedon*, all, of course, belonging to the colubrine family. The former (or *Naiia*) is known as the *iMfezi* ; is up to four or five feet in length, brown in colour, with red distendable throat, and at home in the long grass. It has the habit, when attacked, of raising itself erect and with distended neck, ejecting its venom, with considerable force and skill, straight into its assailant's eyes. Milk is said to be the best remedy ; though personally (milk being unobtainable) we found that by immediately plunging the eye, open, into a basin of cold water and retaining it there for a quarter of an hour, repeating the process several times throughout the day, the inflammation had been completely removed by the morrow. Merolla¹⁵⁵ was familiar with this snake away on the Congo in 1682. Speaking of the local ' Copras ', he says, their " Poison is in their Foam, which, though at a great distance, they spit into the Eyes, and cause such grievous Pains, that, unless there be some Woman by . . . to assuage the Pains with her Milk, the Party will become immediately blind."

The smaller cobra, about two feet in length, dusty-brown in colour and frequenting stony places, is called the *iPimpi* or *uNopémpetwáyó* (*Sepedon hæmachates* ; Ringhals).

The dark-brown, venomous *iNtsuze*, resembling the *iMfezi*, save that it does not spit, may perhaps be a *Naiia* cobra ; or may not.

Other well-known Zulu snakes are the following :—

The *umDlambila* (the Coney-eater), sometimes called the *iMamba yesiWa* (the Precipice-mamba), may, or may not, be a mamba ; more probably not. It is a very long snake, with a body some two inches in thickness, reddish-brown in colour, frequenting rocky places and especially partial to coneys, living thereabouts. Reports differ as to bite, some saying, harmless ; other, venomous. The description almost suggests a small species of python.

The *ūKókóti* (*Thelotornis Kirtlandii*), blackish with a greenish tinge, is of medium size. It resembles the mambas somewhat in body-form, but without their dangerous bite, resembling the *iMfezi* cobra, in that it ' spits ' its venom (which is said to be highly corrosive to flesh) on to the bare body of its Native assailant.

The *umHlangwe* (*Simoncephalus capensis*), about four feet or more in length and thickly built, dusty-brown in colour, with a conspicuously raised spine (giving the body a triangular appearance), is non-poisonous, or only slightly so. Its entry into a kraal is regarded as a bad omen.

The *umDlume*, of about the same size as the preceding, dusty-brown in colour, but with darkish stripes running down the body, is also not poisonous.

The *uBúlube* is a sluggish snake of about the same size at the last two, non-venomous, and of a ruddy-brown in colour.

The *umHlwazimamba*, as its name implies, looks like an *iMamba* ; which it is not. It is usually about four feet in length, of normal thickness, greyish brown in colour with a lighter line down each side of the back, and is not poisonous. We think it may be the same as the *umSenene*.

The *ūNungu* (? *Tropidonotus lævissimus*) is of a blackish colour with spots of a lighter shade.

The *ūZwambuzwambu* (? *Boodon lineatus*), about half-an-inch thick and a couple of feet long, light brown in colour, is perfectly harmless. It is a frequent visitor in Native huts.

The Zulu is a bit bewildered by the *iNkambapántsi* (any kind of Typhlops or *Glauconia* is so called), the blind burrowing snake. Is it, or is it not, a snake ? It certainly looks like one in shape and size ; but it lives underground, and has no eyes,

and, what is more, does not bite. The Zulu women, however, have no doubts at all about its very useful qualities; for, should a wife become discarded by her husband, she has but to smear her person with its fat, present herself before her loveless lord, when lo! the storm will have passed, and the genial sun smile upon her once more. Hence it is popularly called the *iNyoka yabáFázi* (the women's snake).

The cerastes or horned viper, though said to be plentiful enough in South-West Africa, is unknown in Zululand.

Among water-snakes—though most snakes take to the water at times, when crossing rivers, or placidly sailing downstream with the current—are the following:—

The *īFúlwa* (*Chlorophis hyplogaster*), green of colour, with white underparts, doubtfully (thought, slightly) venomous, frequents riverbanks, and is very partial to a plunge into the water.

The *īVézimandzi* a yard long and glossy black in colour, is a more formidable customer, being highly poisonous, and commonly found lurking in rocky corners below the water-surface in rivers.

But the *uZende* and the spotted *ūKwávume* (the latter name, or both, sound rather 'foreign'; perhaps of Tonga origin) are declared to be 'sea-snakes', and appear to be known only to Native doctors, by whom they are much sought after. Probably both of the genus *Hydras*.

Real sea-snakes, however, do seem to exist, elsewhere. At least, Wollaston,¹⁵⁷ writing of Papua, says: "As far as thirty or forty miles from land . . . they appeared to be yellowish with dark markings, and were about three or four feet in length. I was told that they sometimes . . . climb up the sides of ships at anchor." This almost reminds one of some small species of the proverbial sea-serpent; to see which, one must return again to Africa, always 'with something new'. "It was in this part of the Kavirondo Gulf [near Kisumu, on the Victoria Nyanza Lake]," says Oswald,¹⁵⁸ "that the late Sir Clement Hill, during a voyage on a steam-launch, caught a glimpse of the *dingonek*, a mysterious sea-monster with a long neck, which apparently tried to seize one of the men at the prow. Some people are of opinion that this creature, concerning which many fabulous tales are told by the Natives, is a

large sea-python, and fishermen are said to be not infrequently attacked by it ; but it still awaits verification by means of the sportsman's gun." Was the traditional *Vimbela* snake, living in large rivers and of fabulous size, which we used to hear of in former times in Natal, perchance an ancient memory of that selfsame *dingonek*, which the Nguni migrants had left behind, in Nyanzaland, 500 years ago ? And was the similarly traditional *uMningi* snake, likewise dwelling in river-pools and possessed of a multitude of heads, which we used to hear about in older Zululand, perchance but another exaggerated memory of that same *dingonek* ?

Turning now to the pythons, Dr. Boulenger, of the British Museum, lists one only species (*viz. P. seboe*) as existent in South-Eastern Africa. The Zulus, on the contrary (and we feel sure they are right), affirm that there are two (if not more), different in size, in colour and in habits ; albeit (for all we know) they may be anatomically indistinguishable. Of the two, the *iNllati* is king, and as rare (Swahili, *Chatu* ; Bondei, *Satu* ; Yawo, *Sato*). It is by far the largest, anything between 20 and 30 feet long, by about 6 inches in diameter. This python is said to live in or about river-pools, and to be capable of swallowing even a small antelope. It was much sought after by the Zulu diviners or 'pythonesses'—carefully mark this old Greek name for the same class of female 'oracles'—whose 'familiar spirit' was said always to provide each with a specimen, whose skin she was wont to wear attached to her body, trailing along behind her, when she divined, and whose fat she used for anointing her body, so as to secure the spirit's favours.

The *uMonya* species (*P. seboe*) was of much smaller size and less richly marked (the markings, in both cases, being of a dark mottled type). The colouring was usually of a lighter tint up-country, and became darker on the coast. The pythons covered their victims with a slithery liquid during the process of swallowing them whole.

Though we know that pythons were great pets with the Dinkas of the Sudan, who kept them in their kraals and regularly fed them with milk, the statement of Mohr¹⁵⁹ is surprising (and doubtful) news to us, namely, that "near the Umchali River [whether or not this is the *umHlali* river in Natal, we are not certain] they [pythons] are quite domesticated

and are allowed to lie undisturbed in the hollows of the fields. They serve the same purpose as our household cats." There had been no tradition of anything like this in the *umHlali* district of Natal certainly during the last half century.

Dr. Aurel Schulz, who made a special study of the subject, supplies in his book,¹⁶⁰ an excellent detailed account of a snake's procedure, when biting.

The Zulu doctors were not without a number of apparently helpful herbal antidotes against snake-bite.¹⁶¹ Of these, we may mention the *isiTimana* (*Solanum capense*), the *umHlala* (*Strychnos spinosa*), the *iMunyane* (*Leonotis leonurus*), the *iNkokáne*, and the *umNungwane* (*Xanthoxylon capense*). The Bushmen are said¹⁶² to have used the root of a creeping tendrilous plant called *Eokam*. With this in their mouth, they sucked the wound, about which an incision had previously been made. Tobacco juice has been frequently cited by Europeans as lethal to snakes; and, in old wagon-transport days, when travellers had perforce to sleep on or near the ground, the simple smoking of a pipe was universally believed to act as an effective repellent. Indeed, heavy smokers were said to be given a wide berth by all snakes. "When I was travelling in the Matabele district," writes Mohr,¹⁶³ "Sililo, one of my companions, captured a puff-adder, which was hung up by the head and held firmly. I pointed [sharpened] a little stick of the size of a lucifer match, dipped the end in tobacco juice, and stabbed the snake with it. The poor creature died in about eighty seconds, in terrible convulsions."

Native doctors, however, place most reliance in the snake-poison itself, rather than in any herbal remedies—homeopathy, you know, enters very largely into their medical practice. They therefore keep in stock a supply of dried snake-head, bile, liver, heart and lungs, which they grind into powder and administer by the mouth as required. European authorities, on the contrary, assert that snake-poison, when taken directly into the stomach, is absolutely inert. They may be right; but what we need to hear, is, not that snake-poison is inert in the stomach of the *unbitten*, but whether it may not be helpful to the already bitten; indeed, whether it may not be both curative and prophylactic. The former well-known citizen of Durban, Maurice Evans, having been severely bitten in his own garden by a black mamba (nearly always fatal), which his

Native servant immediately destroyed, was given by the latter the snake's bile to swallow. He did so, and made an early recovery. One may mention, however, that a year or so later the gentleman became permanently blind. Without suggesting any connection between the two events, the fact might nevertheless be kept in mind. Many Zulus are said to render themselves entirely immune to snake-poison by administering to themselves regular small doses, over a long period, of the above-mentioned snake-powders. The Duke of Mecklenburg¹⁶⁴ met with such an individual in the Sudan. He says: "A delicate-looking negro was presented to me as the famous snake-charmer. Many times I entreated him to display his skill to me, and at last, in my presence, he allowed a medium-sized poisonous tree-snake to bite him on the finger. He assured me that he had tried in vain to procure a cobra or hooded viper. This was, of course, only an excuse, for it is quite possible that a native who has been repeatedly bitten by one of the smaller poisonous snakes, may eventually become to a certain extent immune, but I very much doubt whether the man would placidly have permitted a large cobra to bite him." The missionary, Jno. Campbell,¹⁶⁵ writes: "I found it was common among the Hottentots to catch a serpent, squeeze out the poison from under his teeth, and drink it. They say it only makes them a little giddy, and imagine that it preserves them afterwards from receiving injury from the bite of a serpent." May-be, in all these cases, a particular venom is prophylactic, or curative, only against its own particular species of snake; but if so, then, by drenching oneself gradually with all the local species, one might thinkably become armoured against them all. A European Australian, named Morrison (if we recollect aright), appeared in Durban some years back and offered to allow himself to be bitten in public by any snake on the planet, as he was immune to the lot. He rashly accepted the request to permit himself to be bitten on the arm by a local black mamba. In a few hours he had already passed away West, another martyr to science! Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus (d. 63 B.C.), had no snakes, we know of, in his realm; but he was so inordinately scared of being poisoned, that he regularly dosed himself with a special infallible specific of his own: which later became renowned in the medieval world as the marvellous *Mithridatium*. And, would you believe it, so

effective did his antidote prove, that, when at last tired of killing others, he tried to kill himself with poison, he only throve the more and lived the longer ; so that finally he had to command a soldier to hustle him into Hades.¹⁶⁶

There are plenty of people in Africa (though the Zulus are not among them) who declare a fat snake to be uncommonly delicious eating. Whether all these too become eventually poison-immune, we cannot say. Probably they select their morsels with discretion. The honey-guide, as we have already said, usually leads his Native friends to honey ; but occasionally, he is out of his reckoning, and leads them on to a leopard or a snake. Dr Schulz¹⁶⁷ gives an instance where it led his Natives, in the Okavango district of South-West Africa, on to a python, which they promptly collected and, when home, stowed safely out of further harm's way, in their stomachs, ' a great delicacy '. Meat-tastes are especially comprehensive in the Congo, and we are not surprised to see snake on their daily menu.¹⁶⁸ Over the sea, in Brazil, pythons provide many a toothsome and substantial meal ; for, as Morella¹⁶⁹ tells, the Indians there " love them inordinately. . . . They say his Flesh is exceedingly white, and well relished, and in fatness much like the Hog. After they have cut away his Head, and torn away his Bowels, they devour the rest of it greedily."

One can understand carnivorous man, at a push, devouring snakes. But what shall we say to this yarn of Herodotus,¹⁷⁰ that " all the suburbs of Sardis were found to swarm with snakes, on the appearance of which, the horses left feeding on their pasture-grounds and flocked to the suburbs to eat them." We once had a Zulu friend who declared that, while out hunting, he had once seen a fleeing bush-buck, confronted by a snake, promptly snap it up with its mouth and swallow it ! When the buck was later killed and opened, there was the snake inside.

To the monkeys (Z. *iNkawu* ; Sanskrit, *Kapi*, ape ; Kalanga (Mashona), *iNkawo* ; Ganda, *Nkima* ; Mbala (Congo), *Kima*) the Zulus were much better disposed ; they looked so human, that the Zulus often wondered whether after all they might not be but some Lilliputian species of men and women. It was indeed this feeling of zoological relationship that, as far as the Zulus were concerned, saved him from the pot ; though many other of his Bantu brothers¹⁷¹ had no such qualms of

conscience. All the same, when it came to pilfering the Zulu's crops, the sense of mutual relationship became at once changed to one of the mutual hostility of dog and cat. But the monkey, with the proverbial curiosity of his race, soon got to know his human brother so well, that he could always distinguish the harmless female from the murderous male; so that whenever he found the former in charge of a field, he simply walked in and proceeded calmly with his pilfering. The Zulu man, equally observant, likewise knew most of the monkey's tricks. But one of them always stumped him; what became of the monkeys when they died? The Zulus spend much of their lives in the monkey woodlands, chopping poles or gathering firewood; and yet none has ever yet lighted on a monkey lying dead! They say, the other monkeys bury them; yet, again, none has ever unearthed a corpse. Monkey pelts in general are not prized by the Zulus—except that of the *iNtsimango* (*Cercapithecus*), which provides him with one of his most highly valued girdles. Baboons (*iMfene*), too, were at home in every Zulu krantz and forest; but never a gorilla or a chimpanzee.

Elephants (*iNdlouu*), before the Whiteman came, were pretty numerous in Zululand, Natal and the Cape.¹⁷² Mohr¹⁷³ says the last was shot on the Berea (Durban) in 1846; but we think there is somewhere a later record giving the 'last shot' there as about the year 1853. So recently as 1880, Ludlow¹⁷⁴ tells us that "a herd of elephants, numbering about twenty" was still then roaming about the lower Mfolozi district of Zululand; and a single solitary specimen was still roaming there (now a law-protected animal) until far within this present century; when, much to the Governmental wrath, some irate Native slaughtered it for trespassing on his preserves, and so exterminated the elephant in South-East Africa—though there are still some in the southern Cape Province.

Buffaloes (*iNyati*), too, were very numerous in Zululand until about the last quarter of last century; but the guns of that redoubtable nimrod, John Dunn, cleared the country of most of them, as well as of a large number of rhinoceros, black (*uBéjane*) and 'white' (*umKómbó, iNkulumane*).

Lions (*ĩBũbesi*, *iNgõnyama*) prowled about the grasslands of the Zulu coastal area, stalking divers sorts of antelopes, even well into our own time ; when, too, leopards (*iNgwé* ; and a darker forest kind, *ĩHlosi*), cheetahs (*iNgũlule*) and servals (*iNdlozi*) still inhabited the forests and woodlands. The lynx (*iNdabushe*), if at all existent in Zululand, must have been rare, and soon rendered extinct.

This last remark may apply also to the giraffe (*iNdlulamiti*), of the hunting of which in Zululand (probably far inland) there are some dim traditions ;¹⁷⁵ though no record of any specimen seen there in European times. Probably so rare and gentle an animal could hardly escape early extinction, after the Zulu country had once become well populated. The survivors of the *Stavenisse*, wrecked in Natal in 1686, are probably referring to the giraffe when they tell us of "two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and colour like the elephant, having a head like a horse, a short tail, but long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe".¹⁷⁶

The hyæna (*iMpisi*) was common wherever were lions, whose parasite it was. It is said to have had a disagreeable habit too of preying on its own, on children. The Zulus somehow regarded it as a particularly ugly beast ; and, for any man or woman of exceptionally hideous countenance, they thought they could find no more appropriate epithet than that of 'hyæna'. Nevertheless they gave the name of that ugliest of beasts to one of the loveliest hours of the day—*eleziMpisi*, hyæna-time (when the setting sun begins to cast shadows on the hillsides).

The *isiDawane* is either a mystery or a myth. Was it the 'strand-wolf', or some animal already long ago extinct in the Zulu country, or remembered from some former distant habitat ? We note that the baKalahari (of the Kalahari Desert)—which, you will recollect, was near the line of march of the ancient Zulu migration from the north—called the lynx, *Tuwane*.¹⁷⁷ But the lynx would not fit in with the *isiDawane* man-hunting legend ; for this animal had a bad record of preying on children in the kraals, even entering the huts to capture them. To entice them outside, it would approach a

kraal and cry out to one of the children it particularly fancied, *We! Bani, namp' ubuBende baKó* (I-say, so-and-so, here-is your blood-pudding—presumably much beloved by children). Then, when the child came out, it would seize it and carry it off.

The horse was first brought into Zululand about 1808 by the returning fugitive chieftain, Dingiswayo, who got it from some party of travelling Europeans near the Transvaal Utrecht district.¹⁷⁸ From its finely arched plumed appendage, resembling the tail-feathers (*ĩJomela*) of a Sakabuli finch, the Zulus nicknamed the strange new animal an *iNjomane*, a name long since ousted by the English 'horse' (Zuluized *ĩHhashĩ*).

The ostrich (*iNtshe*) was well known through its feathers, highly prized as a head-dress; but it doubtfully ran wild in the Zulu country, unless perchance on the more inland highlands.

The ancient Zulus were not above making a meal of locusts, when hard pressed by hunger. Indeed, when a party of Shaka's raiders was once passing through Tongaland, they unwisely robbed the local subjects of the Tonga king, Makasana, of their dinner of locusts (*iNkumbi, isiKónyane*), which they had just gathered up in basketfuls.¹⁷⁹ For which piece of plunder the owners hurled upon them the imprecation, that never more should those locusts leave them. And verily, as they marched away home, through all the hundred miles the locusts went with them, and, arrived in Zululand, settled down and ate up all their crops. That was about the year 1830, as Isaacs tells.¹⁸⁰ In 1835, Gardiner¹⁸¹ came, and found the pest still there, swarming everywhere from Zululand to the Transkei. Earlier than all that, the locusts had appeared in Basutoland, about the year 1828;¹⁸² whence, may-be, they had continued onwards towards the coast, to Tongaland, then Zululand and the Cape.

1. Elliot, *P.M.*, 199.
2. ib. 197, 199.
3. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 134.
- 3a. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 614.
- 3b. Maugham, *Z.*, 362.

- 3c. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 191; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 234.
 3d. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 126.
 4. Elliot, *P.M.*, 202.
 5. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 8.
 6. Cotton, *U.A.*, 301, 303.
 7. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 113; Livingstone, *T.*, 60; Schulz, *N.A.*, 280; Cum-
 ming, *F.S.A.*, 456.
 8. Naville, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 210.
 9. VII, 126.
 10. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 163.
 11. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 27.
 12. Burton, *F.F.*, vol. 1, 169.
 13. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 241, 244.
 14. Cotton, *U.A.*, 301-3.
 15. Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 118.
 16. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
 17. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 67.
 18. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 113; Arbousset, *N.R.T.*, 181; Livingstone, *T.*, 36.
 19. *T.*, 130.
 20. Elliot, *P.M.*, 202; Sollas, *A.H.*
 21. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 91.
 22. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 224.
 23. *ib.* 276.
 24. *ib.* 231.
 25. *ib.* 378.
 26. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 113.
 27. Roscoe, *B.*, 415.
 28. See illust. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 623.
 29. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 312; Smith and Dale, *I.P.*
 30. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
 31. *N.V.*, vol. 2, 274.
 32. Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 2, 184; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 105.
 33. Peters, *E.A.*, 310.
 34. Schulz, *N.A.*, 186.
 35. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 20.
 36. *ib.* 62.
 37. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 57, 18.
 38. *ib.* 20.
 39. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 415.
 40. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 144.
 41. *ib.* 251.
 42. *ib.* 301.
 43. *ib.* 260.
 44. Kassner, *R.E.*, 49.
 45. Lewis, *A.K.K.*, 552; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 94, 274; Torday and Joyce,
Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst., 37, p. 138.
 46. Monteiro, *A.*, vol. 1, 46, 206; vol. 2, 153.
 47. Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 2, 296.

48. Baldwin, *A.H.*, 70.
49. *ib.* 383.
50. Maugham, *P.E.A.*, 289.
51. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 260 ; Kassner, *R.E.*, 172 ; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 118.
52. Kassner, *R.E.*, 182.
53. Kassner, *R.E.*, 159.
54. *ib.* 135.
55. *ib.* 90.
56. Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 271 ; Elmslie, *W.N.*, 79 ; Grogan, *C.C.*, 67.
57. Kassner, *R.E.*, 76, 79.
58. *ib.* 65.
59. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 312.
60. Livingstone, *T.*, 130.
61. Schulz, *N.A.*, 249, 280.
62. Baines, *E.*, 424 ; Livingstone, *T.*, 60.
63. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 113 ; Cunning, *F.S.A.*, 456 ; Livingstone, *T.*, 36.
- 63a. *N.R.*, 264.
64. *A.H.*, 10, 87.
65. *M.*, 112.
66. *T.*, vol. 1, 268.
67. *T.*, 131.
68. See also Stow, *N.R.*, 251.
69. Bird, *A.N.*
70. *Z.C.*, 63.
71. Mackenzie, *M.*, 146.
72. *V.F.*, 162.
73. *A.Z.*, 31.
74. Leslie, *A.Z.*, 119.
75. *ib.* 185.
76. *W.S.*, 231.
77. *H.N.*, 432.
78. *T.*
79. *S.S.C.*, 45.
80. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 170.
81. *L.Z.*, 230.
82. Elliot, *P.M.*, 204, 211.
83. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 616-7.
84. *V.C.*, 701.
85. *T.C.*, 121, 157.
86. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47.
87. *A.H.*, 383.
88. See also Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 64, 68, 86, 171 ; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 459 ; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18, 57, 118, 191 ; New, *L.E.A.*, 88, 191, 189, 333, 455 ; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 260 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 137, 144, 192, 362, 370 ; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 1, 20 ; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 56, 218, 271 ; Stow, *N.R.*, 275 ; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 242 ; Krapf, *T.E.A.*, 69 ; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 129 ; Reeve, *G.*, 190 ; Petric, *H.E.*, vol. 2, 115 ; Roscoe, *B.*, 422 ; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 499.
89. Elliot, *P.M.*, 204.

90. *G.G.C.*, 617 sq.
91. Darwin, *D.M.*, 533.
92. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 57-8.
93. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 618.
94. *ib.*
95. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18.
96. New, *L.E.A.*, 189.
97. Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 38, 45.
98. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 9.
99. Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 328.
100. Merolla, *V.C.*, 701.
101. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 618.
102. Theal, *P.E.A.*, 201; Harris, *W.S.*, 36.
103. *L.Z.*, 286.
104. III, 113.
105. *C.K.*, 28.
106. *V.C.*, col. 1, 299.
107. *D.M.*, 532.
108. Cole, *C.K.*, 97.
109. *T.C.*, 121, 217.
110. *A.H.*, 383.
111. *N.R.*, 275.
112. See also Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 185; vol. 2, 322; Elliot, *P.M.*, 204, 339, 340; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 68; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 73; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 459; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18, 57; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 9, 163; Tremcarne, *T.H.H.*, 242; Oswald, *S.S.C.*, 45; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 47; Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 181; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 286; Shaw, *M.*, 7; Osborn, *O.S.A.*, 499; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 415; Theal, *P.E.A.*, 201; Kay, *T.C.*, 217; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 137, 191, 616, 617; New, *L.E.A.*, 88, 191, 333, 455; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 56, 121, 218, 271.
113. *O.S.A.*, 41, 43.
114. Elliot, *P.M.*, 209.
115. *P.M.*, 63.
116. *P.M.*, 339, 340.
117. Herodotus, 11, 47.
118. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 616.
119. *ib.* see also Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 192; Elliot, *P.M.*, 339, 340; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 27, 121, 218; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, 280; Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 246; Kay, *T.C.*, 124.
120. *P.M.*, 210.
121. See also Petrie, *R.A.E.*, 72; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 161; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 153; Livingstone, *T.*, 149; Speke, *D.S.M.*, 9; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 484; Roscoe, *B.*, 425.
122. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 22.
123. *A.T.*, 188; Newbiggin, *M.G.*, 181.
124. *H.E.*, vol. 2 146.
125. *ib.* 171.
126. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 83.
127. *B.S.L.*, vol. 1, 22.

128. *D.S.N.*, 144.
 129. *W.A.*, 254.
 130. *T.E.A.*, 69, 291.
 131. *M.*, 140.
 132. *J.Z.C.*, 246.
 133. *T.C.*, 125.
 134. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 57.
 135. *T.N.A.*, 250.
 136. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 57.
 137. *G.G.C.*, 620.
 138. *R.E.*, 57.
 139. Merolla, *V.C.*, 682.
 140. *L.P.K.*, 181.
 141. See Mackenzie, *M.*, 335; Merolla, *V.C.*, 689; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 163; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 58; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 137, 144, 197, 362, 616, 619; New, *L.E.A.*, 88, 455; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 170; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 18, 57, 118, 169, 283; vol. 2, 39, 40, 242; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 170, 205; Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 94, 274, 332; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 280; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 86, 219; Park, *T.*, 8; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 195, 242; Roscoe, *B.*, 423; Huxley, *M.P.N.*, 8; Owen, *N.V.*, vol. 2, 354; Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 318.
 142. *V.F.*, 171.
 143. *N.A.*, 65.
 144. *S.C.A.*, 134.
 145. *M.T.*, 117.
 146. *H.A.*, vol. 2, 167.
 147. *W.S.*, 78.
 148. *B.E.A.*, 412.
 149. *F.S.A.*, 136.
 150. *U.A.*, 148.
 151. *V.C.*, 701.
 152. *M.L.*, 90.
 153. 11, 74.
 154. *V.F.*, 35.
 155. *V.C.*, 701.
 156. Baines, *E.*, 374.
 157. *P.P.*, 215.
 158. *S.S.C.*, 4.
 159. *V.F.*, 36.
 160. *N.A.*, 122 sq.
 161. Bryant, *Z.M.*, 71.
 162. Stow, *N.R.*, 77.
 163. *V.F.*, 35.
 164. *C.N.*, vol. 2, 137.
 165. *T.S.A.*, 189.
 166. Richard, *G.C.*, 46.
 167. *N.A.*, 62.
 168. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 143; also Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 167.
 169. *V.C.*, 662.

170. I, 78.
171. Cotton, *U.A.*, 241.
172. Bryant, *O.T.*, 583, 608.
173. *V.F.*, 33.
174. *Z.C.*, 91.
175. Bryant, *O.T.*, 630.
176. Chase, *N.P.*, vol. 1, 8-9.
177. Livingstone, *T.*, 36.
178. Bryant, *O.T.*, 89.
179. *ib.* 629.
180. *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 51.
181. *J.Z.C.*, 175, 260.
182. Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 186 ; Bryant, *O.T.*, 143.

Chapter 10

The Zulu Industrial Man : His Arts and Crafts

Many millenniums back, the aboriginal Negro hunting-man had become anchored to the spot by his agricultural wife, and so became transformed into the Negro pastoral man. Then later still, in course of time, the combined pastoral-agricultural life of more settled leisure had urged him to advance his culture still another step, and he passed onward into the next stage, of personal handicrafts. With the new habit of a fixed abode and its constant supply of corn and meat right there at home, Negro man and woman (and with them, the ancestral Zulu) had at last found time to think, and opportunity to contrive, new ways and means for making life more comfortable. One after the other, personal desires and family needs had gradually emerged and been supplied. Pots and baskets, mats and clothing had come into being and been multiplied in design. Soon it became apparent that not all by nature were equally endowed, and the less competent members of the community found themselves dependent on the more skilful. These latter ere long found their time well filled supplying the general demand of the former, and gradually each craftsman came to specialize in his own particular line, one as a purveyor of baskets, another of pots, one as a dresser of skins, another as castrator of stock. Thus the Industrial Age, the age of arts and crafts, set in.

A thinking and observant stranger visiting South Africa will soon be struck by the obvious inconsistency between the

statement he there everywhere hears, namely, that the Natives are a 'lazy lot', and the fact he there everywhere sees, that virtually all the hard work there done, is performed by Natives—the gold and coal and diamonds dug up from the mines, the factories manned, the railroads built, the farm-fields ploughed and harvested, the sugar-cane plantations worked, the domestic service supplied; whilst the criticizing Whiteman himself (whenever he can get the chance) confines his physical 'activity' to—looking on!

All the same, the statement is not without some justification. Compared with ourselves, products of a more energizing clime, tropical African man is certainly, both by nature and by circumstance, apt to be more indolent than we. But this comparison with ourselves is hardly fair; for the conditions in the two cases are so entirely different. For instance, the division of labour in the Native home and system is exactly the reverse of our own; there the female is the perpetual drudge, and the male the gentleman who stays at home; and, further, although the comparatively indolent Native male may compare unfavourably with the more industrious European male, when we compare the Native *female*, as a 'worker', with the average European female, we must confess that the Native scores all along the line. Again, the apparent male indolence is not wholly due to unwillingness to work, but largely to his having little or nothing to do. The Native man displays no lack of will to work, so soon as somebody else has given him a useful job to do and shown him how to do it, especially when some personal interest or gain is dangled before him. What he really suffers from is a total lack of the creative and initiating mental ability. Racial isolation, too, from outside world contacts with more advanced peoples has naturally resulted both in extreme ignorance and utter absence of any incentive to move on. Hence his unproductiveness and lack of effort. But whenever he is brought within the range of the inspiring example and energizing leadership of Caucasian man, be it European or Asiatic, he is quite capable of following with a hearty and effective response, becoming in course of time not only quite diligent, but in some slight degree also self-reliant and self-initiating.

Among primitive peoples, industry and art go hand-in-hand; and we know no better witness to that fact than Sir Harry Johnston's excellent work, *George Grenfell and the Congo*.

To contemplate merely the pictures there of Bantu industrial products, is like passing through a museum of choicest primitive art, demonstrating what Negro skill and Negro æsthetic taste can really accomplish when properly stimulated. Allowing the necessary margin for divergences due to differing influences and environments, the objects of Bantu craftsmanship therein depicted are found, in point of skilful execution and artistic design, to equal any similar exhibits gathered together from Polynesia or Indian America. The richly patterned pile mats, for instance, woven by the Bantu baPindi¹ and baKuba,² though of coarser material, are already suggestive of the carpets of civilized India and Turkestan. The beautifully hand-embroidered palm-cloths of the baShongo³ ladies are, as examples of design, superior to many of our own coloured rugs and blankets; while the Fipa cloth (displayed in the Bulawayo Museum), made in long bands of very fine, lustrous, silky threads, with stripes in varied widths and patterns in light-blue, yellow, white and other tints, is actually unsurpassed by the best English belt-work (of former cricket days).⁴ Then, for symmetrical moulding, and even originality of model, where, among hand-working artizans, can one excel the pottery work of Yumbe and Teke Bantu,⁵ or of the baSoko⁶ on the Aruwimi? And yet all these handsome vessels have been planned in the untutored African brain, and built up, piece by piece, without the aid of any potter's wheel, by the deft fingers of the hard-working Congo women, after toiling all day long in field or home. The basket-work of San Salvador,⁷ of the baBunda,⁸ of the baMbala,⁹ and the grass-mats of the baKwese,¹⁰ are no less extraordinary and admirable. Consider, again, the fetish-shrine, thought out and worked by a Native of the lower Congo,¹¹ with its central medallion of a human face, enframed between a pair of intricately twisted brackets, all carved in wood and painted in variegated colour; and compare it—by no means to the African's discredit—with similar specimens from Maoriland and America. Luba and Nywema wood-reliefs are of equally comparable excellence. Beautiful leather-work is said to be produced in parts of Nigeria,¹² as well as in the Central Sudan,¹³ into both which places the art of tanning, as well as of leather-dyeing, were introduced long ago by Nubians and Arabs. But these latter arts have never yet, so far as we know, extended into the Bantu field; and now probably never

will, owing to the wholesale and universal adoption of imported cotton-goods in place of the old-fashioned skins. Nevertheless, clean, soft, and neatly sewn karosses are successfully produced, especially by our South African beChwana, even without the knowledge of tanning. The artistic metal-work of the central Negro peoples, of the northern Congo and the Sudan, is a marvel to all who have seen it. The daggers, hatchets and scimitars of the Congo baYanzi¹⁴ and baNgala,¹⁵ the Aruwimi baSoko¹⁶ and the Nyamnyam and Mangbetu¹⁷ of the Wele, by their original and fantastic shapes, and yet withal so graceful and ornamental, reproduce in metal the flowery imagery of our own decorative painters; while the metal fret-work of the baKuba¹⁸ axes is comparable with nothing less than the work of our medieval iron-masters. All which may seem very incredible, and sound as mere empty bombast. Our regret is that we have been unable to prove our eulogies here by the inclusion of accompanying illustrations; but these may be found by following up our references.

With these fine cultural achievements of the Bantu further north before us, we shall now be able the more clearly to discern the deplorably backward position held by our Zulus in the field of industry and art. We shall come to see that among all the Bantu tribes none were more primitive and undeveloped than those of southern Africa. And yet, in point of state and social organization, in regard to disciplined life and refinement of manners, our Zulus marched proudly in the very van of all Bantu progress, despite the fact that in allsoever as pertained to industries and arts they had been most discreditably outrun and left behind in the extremist rear, somewhere still in the early post-Neolithic stage, with their neighbours, the Sutus, hardly more ahead.

The astonishing advance of the Central and Equatorial Negroes outlined above is rather thought-provoking. Was it all a spontaneous generation; wholly and solely their own achievement? Or had there been in some time past an impellent force and inspiration from without? We cannot find one. Had some foreign influence been the cause of the phenomenon, then we should have expected to find the Eastern Bantu, so many centuries associated with Arab culture, foremost in industrial and artistic advancement: which they are not.

Certainly no external stimulation, Arab or otherwise, ever reached the Bantu of the south. There all had been entirely self-developed, slight and infantile as that development actually was. Yet even there, the industrial age had already set in, and many a Zulu man had already adopted some simple 'trade'. Working alone in his home, and making the same old and unaltered wares, he worked no longer solely for himself, but now, with a broader vision, also for the community. So one set up as a tailor; and cut, and sewed, and twisted skins for the breezy garments there in vogue. Another plaited baskets and strainers for corn and beer. A third carved milk-pails and meat-trays out of wood. Or he established a hairdressing saloon, and arranged gentlemen's hair in many quaint fashions and stitched on their headrings. Others, again, carved pipe-bowls in soapstone; or manufactured fancy snuff-boxes and spoons of horn; or farmed tobacco; or hunted for valuable furs.

Furthermore, these trades were 'specialized' in a simple way—one basket-maker confining himself solely to the manufacture of food-baskets, another to plaited beer-holders; one potter making nothing but wash-basins, another only beer-pots; one wood-carver supplying only milk-pails, another only wooden spoons. There was no cant with them about the dignity, or indignity, of labour, because there was no need for it. Each worked when he wished and how he would, hoping thereby to earn an 'honest penny', and so purchase for himself such simple articles as he needed and as his brother-craftsmen would give him in exchange. And in thus working for himself, he was working too for any and every other member of the clan. The potter gave the basket-maker an earthen-pot, and received a basket in return. The dress-maker supplied the smith with a bundle of made-up furs, and was given therefor an iron knife.

And not only individuals was it who so specialized. Sometimes a whole clan specialized in a particular business; thus, the emaCubeni and emaCunwini clans became especially noted as smiths; the Nzuzas as war-doctors; the eNtlangwini as rain-makers.

If by a 'trade' we understand some form of manual labour, then the medical practitioner (*iNyanga yokwElapa*), the rain-maker (*iNyanga yēZulu*) and the oracle or spirit medium (*isaNgóma*), who, all of them, worked rather with their brains, should presumably be counted as the 'professions'. And,

indeed, such personages actually were regarded as a superior type of workers, too important to be reckoned as mere artizans.

Gentlemen of quality, too, like our Jomela, were superior even to the professions, whose members were mere 'commoners'. These, however, spent their time, as all gentlemen are wont, in the aristocratic occupation of doing nothing, save providing the toilers with work, and in keeping themselves smart pictures and in grace with royalty. They buzzed round the king, and aped him in a small way in their own homes. Some of them were still further aggrandized by being installed in high offices of state, as military captains or district headmen (both termed *iNduna*) ; but most remained as simple courtiers (*isiLomo*).

Some of the above-mentioned occupations were hereditary ; most, merely optional. As the labour became more skilled, so did the trade or profession tend the more to become retained in the family, especially if there were any trade-secrets involved—which was always the case with the medical men and the smiths, who, therefore, usually became such by inheritance. But any intelligent person might start in his home a basket-making industry, or a pot-making business.¹⁹ Generally speaking, all Zulu tradesmen were merely odd-jobbers. They did not manufacture their goods in bulk and wait for buyers. They made their wares on order, or when they saw a demand. The reason for this was that markets and bazaars, shops and stalls, were ideas still quite unknown to them.

Now, among all the arts and crafts-men known to older Zululand, the blacksmith stood out pre-eminent. He it was who supplied the clan with what, in manufactured goods, it most required, namely, hoes to till the fields, and assegais to supply its meat and destroy its foes. But who taught him the way, and supplied him with the metal ?

No theory of the discovery of metal seems more plausible than that it was the chance melting of some metallic stone on some ancient fire-place—"pieces of ore," as Prof. Gowland²⁰ observes, "which occurred among the ancient rings of stone enclosing the fire [that is, among the three stones usually placed to support the cooking-pot] . . . would become reduced to metal." Or, again, some man employing iron-stone for his axe or arrow-heads may have chanced upon the fact

that such axes were malleable, and, subsequently, that they were malleable. For the African traveller, Junker,²¹ reports that General Gordon sent down to Cairo several "smooth unpierced axes" of "purest haematite" (iron-stone), "exactly the same shape as our stone axes of the neolithic period", and which had been dug up from a considerable depth in certain parts of the Sudan.

Naturally there must have been a place where metal was first discovered. Or it may have been discovered independently in several places at differing times. The American Indians, for example, had discovered copper quite independently in the New World, and were working it throughout that continent long before the coming of Columbus.²²

In all the great ancient civilizations, it seems that of all the metals copper was the first on the field—in Egypt,²³ in Sumer,²⁴ in Elam,²⁵ in India,²⁶ and in China.²⁷ But we are not concerned with copper here, because in Negro Africa a Copper Age never dawned, the transit there having been direct from stone to iron. The problem, then, of more immediate interest to us is, whence the Bantu derived their knowledge of this iron.

The earliest of African metal records are those of Ancient Egypt. Neither copper nor iron was found in the raw in that country; therefore their discovery could not have been there. Yet both metals were there in use at a very early date. Whence did they come?

As far as iron is concerned, Naville²⁸ believes that the 'Horus-worshipping' new invaders from Southern Arabia came along with 'blacksmiths', and that these it was who inaugurated the Egyptian Iron Age. Petrie²⁹ mentions beads of iron dug up from a predynastic grave at El Gerzeh dating, as he reckons, from about 4700 B.C. Myres³⁰ says that iron existed in Egypt, but was rare, during the 1st Dynasty; but "it does not seem to have been worked in the country, and probably its source was unknown to the Egyptians. In historic times they still called it 'the metal of heaven' . . . and it looks at present as though their earliest knowledge of it was from the south; for Central Africa seems to have had no bronze age, but direct and ancient transition from stone to iron weapons. Yet when they [the Egyptians] conquered Syria in the sixteenth century [B.C.], they found it [iron] in regular use,

and received it in tribute. At home, however, they had no real introduction to an 'Age of Iron' until they met an Assyrian army in 668 B.C." There is further evidence of the presence of iron objects in Egypt in the 4th Dynasty (about 3800 B.C.),³¹ as well as during the 6th (about 3400 B.C.).³² But the first actual mention of iron in Egyptian records does not occur until the reign of Rameses II (about 1270 B.C.).³³

In Chaldea iron appeared about 2500 B.C.³⁴ In Chinese³⁵ records the metal is actually mentioned as tribute to the Emperor Yaou about 2000 B.C. In Greece³⁶ it was still a novelty so late as 560 B.C.

Well, the inhabitants of upper Egypt in predynastic times (in which period the earliest of iron objects appear—see above) were, according to Petrie,³⁷ probably a race akin to the Semitic Amorites of Syria or to the Indo-European Hittites of northern Asia Minor; and since the iron mines of Hittiteland had already by the 13th century B.C. become the most famous in all those parts,³⁸ it seems likely that at that time they were already ancient, and that it was from them that both Egypt and Babylon received their first supplies of iron, either by way of tribute or of commerce.

But the Negroes, whence came their supply? Hardly from Egypt, which had none to give, nor any 'iron' knowledge to bestow. There are many who, like Marett,³⁹ believe that iron, in the first instance, was an actual Negro discovery. Myres (above) has also hinted at Central Africa as the likeliest spot, and Prof. Gregory⁴⁰ explicitly says: "It is probable that iron working was invented there [in tropical Africa] before the bronze age in Europe. The inhabitants of the moister climates of the Mediterranean and Europe had no such easily found supply of iron." That seems a feasible proposition, provided we do not make the date too early, and at the same time allow that iron may have been discovered independently, perhaps millenniums before, also elsewhere. For we have to recall the evidence of Herodotus⁴¹ that, at the time of the crossing of the Hellespont by the army of Xerxes into Greece, "the Ethiopians [in that army] were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions, and had long bows made of the stem of the palm-leaf . . . On these were laid short arrows made of reed, and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone [agate] sharpened to a point . . . They carried also spears, the head of which was

the sharpened horn of an antelope ; and in addition they had knotted clubs. When they went into battle, they painted their bodies, half with chalk [? white clay], and half with vermilion [? red ochre]." If that were so, then the Negroes at that period (say 400 B.C.), or the most northern of them, must still have been in the Stone Age ; so that the greater mass of those old stone implements nowadays found scattered in such abundance everywhere about Africa from north to south were probably of Negro manufacture, and had nothing to do with prehistoric man.

Belek⁴² and Stuhlmann,⁴³ on the other hand, believe that Negro man received his knowledge of iron from some Asiatic source. Certainly there is ample evidence of foreign miners, presumably of Semitic extraction, having in ancient times smelted copper, tin and gold right down eastern Africa as far south as the Limpopo river in the Transvaal.⁴⁴ But if the Bantu got their knowledge of metal from these people, it were pertinent to enquire how it was that the only metal they got to know about was iron, while copper, tin and gold were precisely those metals of which they remained universally ignorant (until comparatively recent times) and for which they had not so much as a name ? For, as said, all evidence goes to show that the Bantu passed direct from stone to iron, with no intervening copper or bronze stage.

Exactly when the Bantu first obtained their knowledge of iron is uncertain. Stuhlmann⁴⁵ avers that the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (written about 200 A.D.) mentions iron spear-heads and such-like about Kilwa (on the East African coast)—a reference which, at the moment, we have been unable to verify. Masudi,⁴⁶ however, writing about the year 900 A.D., distinctly states that the metal of the East African Bantu at that time was iron, and only iron ; while somewhat later (c. 1100 A.D.) Edrisi⁴⁷ says that it was actually smelted at Malindi and Sofala. Although these earliest of Arab historians make no suggestion whatever that this knowledge of iron had been imported into Africa by their own countrymen, we would nevertheless agree with Stuhlmann that that knowledge, most likely, had an Asiatic source ; and that source, we think, was most probably Southern Arabia, whose enterprising Semitic traders had continued the East African maritime commerce, since the Phœnicians had abandoned it (some centuries before Christ) in favour of that of the Mediterranean.⁴⁸ Johnston,⁴⁹

on the contrary, thinks it was the Hamitic Himas who first introduced iron to the Bantu ; in which case the Hima coming into Bantuland must have been a good deal earlier than the ' 16th century, A.D. ' stated by Haddon.⁵⁰

As an appendage to the preceding paragraphs, we may add a note on the ancient Mumbwa smelting-works discovered by the Italian Scientific Expedition into Central Africa a few years ago (see A. Gatti, *Hidden Africa*, Hutchinson, Ldn., 1933, p. 187-207). From the lowest layer (resting immediately above a sterile original floor) in a cave at Mumbwa, in Northern Rhodesia, that expedition extracted a number of roughly-chipped stones ; then, in a higher layer, small, more finely chipped, flakes of quartz and transparent crystal, along with fragments of rough pottery. The only visible stone in the immediate vicinity being limestone, it is obvious that all these quartz artefacts must have been imported from elsewhere, or at any rate the material from which they were made. In another part of the same cave they unearthed also what appeared to be an ancient iron-smelting furnace-site—although no single specimen of actual iron-ware was discovered. But accumulation of ash and slag was so enormous, that the industry must either have been carried on throughout a very long period, or else have been run on a very extensive scale by a multitude of workers. Suddenly, the iron-smelting business appears to have ceased—although the stone implements (which had accompanied, and even preceded, it) still, strange to say, continued to appear in the superimposed layers of soil. At Chowa, again, also in Northern Rhodesia, the expedition found indications, not only of iron and copper mines, but also of those of manganese. Entirely unknown to the Bantu, manganese was employed, for a multitude of purposes, by the Ancient Egyptians, Assyrians and Phœnicians ; but the source whence they had obtained it had remained hitherto as mysterious as was that of their gold. The soil accumulated above these Chowa mines was on an average three feet thick ; and it contained, furthermore, a polished quartzite axe indicating a Neolithic stage of culture, as well as Bushman 'digging-stones'. Now, what does all this mean ? All sorts of things. The presence of 'Bushman digging-stones' *above* the Chowa mines and the Neolithic axe, suggests that the former had been worked and abandoned *before* the presence of the Bushmen

there ; which might mean a thousand or more years ago. The Mumbwa smelting-works are believed by Frobenius to be 4,000 years or more of age. Ourselves we should prefer to think that, at most, they may have been contemporary with those times (not earlier than 2,500 years ago) when Eastern Africa began to be overrun and ransacked by that well-known continuous stream of Phœnician, Arab, Greek and Persian adventurers (see this author's *B.O.*, chap. 14) ; though, of course, it may have been nothing more than an early *Bantu* workshop (prior to 900 A.D.). The union at Mumbwa of both stone and iron implements might mean a *Bantu* transitional period from stone to iron, wherein both were still used ; and since Masudi (above) has told us that iron was well known to the Eastern *Bantu* about 900 A.D., that period may have been some centuries prior to that date.

From the fact that the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) *Bantu* seem to have been already familiar with iron and iron-smelting at the time of their arrival in Southern Africa, we may conclude that they had set out from Nyanzaland up north already possessed of that knowledge. And we think it most probable that they brought their term, *iNtsimbi*, along with them. This word, *iNtsimbi*, signifies, in a generic sense, simply ' metal ' ; but since iron (in the earlier days) was the *only* metal known to them, the word has come to signify, in a more particular sense, the metal, ' iron '. So when, in later times, copper, brass, tin and gold, became known to them, they were all alike regarded as various kinds of *iNtsimbi* (metal) ; though each kind received also a special name to distinguish it from the ' metal ' *par excellence*, which was ' iron '.

It is interesting to note how a similar confusion of terms seems to have marked the entry of almost all peoples into their Metal Age. In Ancient Egypt, as with the Zulus, ' metal ' and ' iron ' were one and the same thing, *hemt*. The Sanskrit *ayas* was originally ' metal ' (which at that time and with them happened to be ' copper '), so that ' metal ' and ' copper ' again were one ; and when afterwards iron arrived and displaced copper, then *ayas* (or metal) signified ' iron '.⁵¹ The Greek *chalkos* was first applied (perhaps again with the underlying sense of ' metal ') to ' copper ', and when later copper gave way to iron, then *chalkos* became ' iron '. Similarly, the Latin *aes*, though later indicating ' copper ', then ' bronze ' and

'brass', presumably at first meant simply 'metal' (wherefore *aes cyprium*, Cyprian metal; then *cuprum*, copper). And as copper and brass were both alike *aes* to the Romans, so to the Zulus copper and brass are both *ĩTĩsi*, the distinction being made by calling the former 'red *ĩTĩsi*', and the latter 'white *ĩTĩsi*'.

If the Ngunis brought the word, *ĩNtsimbi*, along with them from the north, the word must have had a meaning; and if that meaning was what it is today, then they must have known metal and iron before they started, or have picked up the knowledge on the way. If the word was a later acquisition, in Southern Africa, it must have been acquired from the same tribe as first supplied them with the metal. The word, *ĩNtsimbi*, itself is obviously from a root, *Simbi* or *Tsimbi*; and, as a matter of fact, this root (or what looks like it) is traceable over a great extent of Bantuland, and even outside (e.g. Gala, *Sibila*, iron; Boma, Nilotics S. of Abyssinia, *Sigi*, iron; Mundu, Equatorial Africa, *Se*, iron). Travelling now from Zululand northwards, we encounter the root again in Ilaland (Northern Rhodesia), where *inTshimbi* signifies 'iron-implement', and still further on, among the Mazaro of South Nyasaland, *jiSimba* means 'hoe-blade'. Passing onward to the Zanzibar Swahilis and Mombasa Giryamas, the root, *Simbi*, has now become *Jembe*, and in Bondei (Tanganyika Col.) *Gembe*, everywhere with the signification of 'hoe-blade' (like the old, now obsolete, Zulu *ĩLembe*, hoe-blade). But here we have to remember that 'metal'-goods (and hoe-blades in particular) were also everywhere in Bantuland in common use as trade-currency. With this in mind, we now cross the continent from east to west, and find that the Swahili *Jembe* (hoe) has (at least we think so) become in Yakaland (in Western Congo) *Jimbu*, with the meaning now, not of metal or iron or hoe, but of 'money', in other words, of 'olivella shells', there used as currency. Retracing our steps again from west to east, we meet once more in Uganda with our original Zulu *Simbi*, but again meaning, no longer metal or iron, but 'cowry-shell' (*nSimbi*), like the 'olivella-shell' (*Jimbu*) in Western Congo. The cowry-shell currency was, of course, an importation into East Africa from India; but from the fact that to these cowry-shells was given the same name as was given elsewhere to 'iron' and 'hoe-blades' (likewise used as currency), we come

to the conclusion, either that the essential meaning underlying the original root, *Simbi*, *Jimbu*, *Jembe*, etc., was that of 'currency'; or, that these 'cowry-shells' were called 'metal' analogically, owing to their being employed as a substitute for the same purpose, of currency.

We showed some pages back how short a time ago it is since the Zulu-Xosas came into possession of iron hoes for their field-work; and it looks very much as though even their assegais were importations from outside. Which particular people it was that supplied both Zululand and Xosaland with its iron-ware, we have now to endeavour to find out. Obviously, we think, it was the same people as supplied them with their knowledge of smelting; and that tribe must have been one which itself used the same smelting method as it passed on to the Ngunis.

So far as we can discover, there are two methods of smelting in vogue in modern Bantuland, one with an open hearth, the other with an enclosed. A typical sample of the latter is that found in Mashonaland. The Mashona furnace, in which the ore is smelted, is a cylindrical structure built of clay upon a circular hearth, 18 inches in diameter, and slightly tapering as the top is approached, at about three feet from the ground. Through an aperture at the top, the charcoal and ore are poured, little by little and for several hours, upon the fire already lighted at the bottom inside. The fire is maintained by a continuous draught blown through a couple of twyers which enter the bottom of the furnace at the back. Eventually a spongy mass accumulates on the hearth inside, and is drawn out by means of stout green sticks and vines through an opening left at the bottom of the furnace in front. This conglomerate in no wise resembles iron as yet, but rather a sort of very brittle breccia composed of charcoal and slag enmeshed in a circular mass of iron. This, when cool, is broken up into small pieces and reheated over and over again on a smaller open hearth, until most of the charcoal and slag are eliminated and a workable metal is procured. This method Bent⁵² describes (as one would naturally expect in the land of Zimbabwe) as precisely that employed by the Arabs 1,000 years ago; and from those Zimbabwe Arabs, we are convinced, the Mashonaland Kalangas learned it. A similar method is in use, according to Frobenius,⁵³ also in south-eastern Congo, where

the furnaces are sometimes eight feet high, and, according to Roscoe,⁵⁴ in some parts of Uganda, where the furnaces may be three feet wide.

But most Bantu peoples used a much cruder method. Here there was no enclosed furnace ; only an exposed hearth. Even the Congo Pygmies have already attained to this advance in culture ; for, says Harrison,⁵⁵ they " collected the ironstone, and digging a hole in the ground for fire, smelt it down by the aid of a primitive sort of bellows made of roughly tanned skin, tied to hollow bamboo canes, which is inserted under the fire." In this way they fabricated spears, arrows and knives. This, then, is the practice commonest throughout East Africa. Says Prof. Gowland,⁵⁶ " in East Africa . . . merely a hole in the ground is in use for the extraction of iron from the ores. As regards the metallic ores which were within the reach of prehistoric man, they were undoubtedly those which occur at the surface of the ground, i.e. where a mineral vein outcrops or is exposed. Now, the ores which occur in this part of a vein are as a rule oxides and carbonates, which of all ores are the most easily reducible to metal, and from all these the metal can be obtained without any difficulty whatever by treating them in the primitive ' hole in the ground ' furnaces we have just considered." This is the process employed also by many of the Nyanza tribes ;⁵⁷ and it is the process employed also by the Zulus.

It is a virtual certainty that the latter obtained their knowledge and their method of iron-working and iron smelting from the two immediately neighbouring tribes, both famous among the Zulus as iron-workers, namely, the Tembe Tongas on their north and the Tongaized Lalas on their south. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that, among the northern Zulus, a ' smith ' was everywhere called an *umTónqa* ; while, among the southern Zulus, he was everywhere known as an *iLala*.⁵⁸ The Natal Lalas had been smiths for many centuries, certainly since the time of their coming into Natal (c. 1500-1600 A.D.) out of Tongaland up north, where they learned their art. The survivors of the wrecked *Stavenisse* (1686 A.D.) put it on record that at that time in Natal they " found metallic ores amongst the natives, and the art of smelting them."⁵⁹

Among all these Bantu peoples, the smithery trade ran in the family ; it was hereditary, the son following the father in

the business. This was mainly due to the fact that (as also in the medical profession ; likewise hereditary) there were certain sinister secrets attached to the work which had to be discreetly hidden and jealously guarded. The smiths (perhaps on this very account) usually selected isolated spots, generally in broken rocky country, to live in, places to which the general public always took care to give a very wide berth.

The actual smithy was called an *isiTāndo*. It consisted as a rule of a rough hut or shelter of hurdle-work, built at some little distance from the home-kraal and preferably alongside a stream. In the centre of this structure was the fireplace (*iZiko*), supplied with charcoal (*amaLahle*) whereon the metal was heated. One of the smith's sons or brothers plied the bellows (*umFūtó*), of which there were always two, one on each side of the squatting blower. Each bellows consisted of a small sack or bag (about 15 inches high by a foot in diameter) made of supple skin (goat, buck, sheep or calf). At the top, this bag had, so to say, a long, hemmed slit, a foot or so in length and with edges rigid by having a couple of sticks attached. About the middle, on each side of the slit, was fixed a small leathern loop (like the handle of a bag). Through one of these loops (*iNkintsho*) was thrust the thumb ; through the other, the four fingers. By raising the hand and extending the fingers, the bag-mouth was opened, and the bag was then drawn up to its full height, at the same time becoming filled with air. Now, by closing the hand and bringing the two rigid edges of the slit firmly together, and at the same time depressing the bag (concertina fashion), the air contained in the latter was forced out, as a powerful draught, through a nozzle (*iPompo*), made of *iNtlontlwane* (euphorbia) wood, attached to the bottom of the bag. Squatting, then, between the two bellows, the blower took one in each hand and worked them alternately. The points of the two nozzles being brought together, they were, both together, thrust into the broad mouth of a single, funnel-shaped, object (*iNingo*), made of clay, whose point was thrust in beneath the heap of lighted charcoal on the hearth. In this way a strong and continuous draught of air was kept concentrated on the fire. Such were the Zulu bellows. And they were identical with those used by the Kavirondos away in Uganda, as well as with those of modern India and Ancient Greece and Rome.⁶⁰ In Natal, the draught-channel was some-

times lengthened by placing the point of the *iNingo* into a hole bored through an ant-heap, the fire being at the other end of the hole. This may have been due to the practice down south of making the *iNingo* of horn, instead of with clay as with the Zulus.⁶¹

Other furniture found in the smithy were the *isiHlangatsha* (a large flat stone, sometimes partly embedded in the ground to keep it steady, and used as an anvil); an *umKándo* (a large heavy pebble, with which, held with both hands, large rough lumps of metal were beaten on the anvil); an *isaNdo* (an iron-headed hammer with wooden handle, resembling a small sledge-hammer, for beating into shape the smaller manufactured articles); and an *ūDlawu* (or pair of iron tongs, some eighteen inches in length, fashioned much like an ordinary pair of European pincers, and used for lifting the heated metal from the fire). And yet, with these simple instruments, says Kay,⁶² "they manage to give a neat finish to spears of different forms, metallic beads and small chains; bracelets also, both of iron and brass."

Among the objects most generally manufactured by the Zulu smith were assegais (*umKónto*), hoes (*īLembe*, *īGéja*), axes (*īZembe*), adzes (*isiMpotwe*), awls (*uSungulo*), knives (*umuKwa*), borers or piercing-irons (*isiPiselo*), digging-rods (*ūGxa*), forks (*isiHlabo*, bifurcated or two-pronged iron rods for picking up lumps of meat), as well as the implements mentioned above. All these things were made of home-smelted iron, sometimes direct from the liquid metal at the time of smelting; at others, from iron already wrought into bars.

But the Native smith worked not in iron alone; although that was the only metal he knew how to smelt from the ore. After the Portuguese arrival, a good deal of brass and copper was imported in the shape of rough rings (*umDaka*), generally about three-quarters of an inch in thickness and four or five inches in diameter, by hawkers from Tongaland, who obtained the metal in Delagoa Bay. Out of this material were fashioned many body-ornaments—heavy copper neck-rings (*ūBédu*), perhaps too lighter brass neck-rings (*umNaka*), arm-rings (*īSongo*), large brass beads (*iNdondo*), dress studs (*īQósha*), and wrist-bands (*iNgxotá*).

For melting down already-prepared metal, whether iron or brass, a crucible was employed. This was a sandstone basin, five or six inches wide, shaped like the half of an egg. The crucible was sunk to the rim in a heap of lighted charcoal and kept there, with constant blowing, until the contained metal had liquified. When making rougher articles, like assegais and axes, the molten metal was poured into moulds simply formed in the hard soil. Thereafter it was beaten into shape, and, when finished, immersed, in the heated state, into the water of the stream. For finer work, like studs and beads, moulds were made of clay.⁶³ We do not think that the Zulu smiths ever knew how to 'draw' or manufacture metal wire; though we believe some of the Tonga and Chwana tribes did. The Zulu wire (*ubuSenga*) was imported ready-made from Tongaland.

Though all Native smiths were, no doubt, acquainted with the smelting process, many of the metal-workers did not themselves smelt, but procured their iron from those who did. The ironstone could not be procured everywhere, and it was often carried by men from great distances.

The first step in Zulu smelting was to prepare the charcoal (*amaLahle*). The smith first built up, on a special spot, a heap (*ĩFingo*) of suitable woods (*umTómbotí*, *ĩGqeba*, etc.). The sticks were laid horizontally, till they formed a pile two or three feet high. A fire was then lighted all round the pile; and, when all had been blazing some time, and the sticks had become so far burned as to begin to fall in, the latter were vigorously beaten with a stick (while still in the fire), so that the already charred wood might become detached. These charred fragments, still red-hot, were then raked out, as they fell below, and immediately drenched with water. When thoroughly cooled and black, they were stored in a heap near the smelting-place or the smithy.

No smelting has been done in Zululand, Natal or the Cape for about the last 80 years, and it has now become a lost art among the Nguni Bantu. Even 40 years ago, when we made enquiries among elderly Natives who, as children, had witnessed the process, only hazy memories were found still remaining. The smelting was done on a special spot away from the home and smithy. A shallow hole having been dug in the ground, at its bottom was laid an earthenware dish, some eighteen inches

in diameter. Upon this dish a layer of live charcoal was placed, and upon the charcoal a layer of iron-ore (already broken to the size of ordinary macadam) ; and so alternately again and again, until a sufficiently large heap had been raised, having a final layer of charcoal on the top. The point of the *iNingo* (see above) was then inserted beneath the lowest layer of glowing charcoal, and the bellows set to work. In due course, the metal in the ore melted and flowed down to be caught in the basin below. The slag (*amaNyela*) and dross, accumulated on the surface of the molten metal, having been removed, the latter was ladled out into bar or other moulds already cut out in the hard ground near by. And right here was it that the shady family secret was revealed in the open ; but which, the smith being always careful to do the job away in the wilderness, nobody would see. For, in order that the ore yield up its precious content abundantly and prime, it was imperative that it be sprinkled during the process with human fat ; and, as all the neighbours knew, the procurance of human fat involved a human killing. So it became pretty patent to the public that every smith must needs be in league with one or other of those dreaded characters termed *iNtswelaboya* (secret murderer), whose existence in every community was obvious (from the occasional unaccountable disappearances), but whose identity was unknown, though generally shrewdly suspected. Indeed, the 'suspected' was very commonly the smith himself ; hence the wide berth given to his kraal, which was customarily somewhat in the wilderness. Of course, there were other calls for human fat, besides that of iron-smelting ; so that its necessary procurance did not cease with the cessation of smelting. Indeed, we have numbered at least three of these reputed *iNtswelaboyas* among our immediate neighbours and close acquaintances during our years of life in the wilds of Zululand. It was the business of these secret man (or child) hunters to spy abroad for some coal-black individual, then to stalk him incessantly, until he could safely pounce upon and gag, and so kill, him ; for it was essential that the individual be killed 'without his uttering so much as a squeak'. We hear nothing among the Zulus about the necessity for personal sexual continence during the smelting operation, said to be an indispensable requirement in Northern Rhodesia ; but we think it quite probable that such an abstinence was demanded.⁶⁴

The iron thus simply produced by the Bantu smelters was by no means the trash imagined by Europeans. Quite the contrary; for throughout all Negroland, as Sir Richard Burton,⁶⁵ with his unsurpassed experience, confirms, the old-steel now procured by the Natives from European colonists is universally despised as inferior to their own product (where it can still be found). The Native process of constant hammering and re-heating is said by Burton to have had better tempering results than the old Greek method, adopted by us, of simply plunging the heated metal into water.

The medieval Mexicans are said to have known what even the modern European does not know even now, namely, a method of hardening pure copper; so that their copper implements—they had no iron—could fell trees and chisel stone. But no sooner had the invading Spaniards ‘conquistadored’ their land, than the Mexican metal industry fell into decadence, and their secret of copper-hardening became another lost art. History repeated itself in Zululand. The invading Whiteman came; the fossicking smith picked up fragments of old scrapped iron-ware by every shanty; and the ancient and noble industry of iron-smelting became at once abandoned throughout South Africa. Although iron-*working* is still sparsely practised in Zululand and other Native territories, there is doubtfully any Native now living in those south-eastern parts who actually took part in the process of smelting; and so few are they who know its details even by hearsay, that to the present generation iron-smelting has already become almost a myth.

True, indeed, there was little enough about the industry that was worthy of remembrance and preservation. With a score of centuries of thought and experience behind them, the very cleverest of Zulu minds—for the smiths and doctors were always recognized as the intelligentsia of the race—had proved incapable of creating more than half-a-dozen of the simplest objects, not one of them with an atom of fanciful or artistic embellishment about it, save only that very latest of their conceptions, not more than half-a-century old, the brass wrist-gauntlet (*iNgxotá*) with its crudely serrated surface, itself an idea most probably learned from the neighbouring Tongas.

The smith made the blade; but the assegai-maker (*iNyanga yokuPisela*) made the assegai.

The Zulu assegai (*umKónto*) consisted of a wooden shaft (*úTi*), into which the iron-blade was inserted (*ukuPisela*). The shaft was made of various soft, but strong, woods, e.g. the *īPáhla* (*Brachylæna discolor*), *īLalanyati* (*Grewia occidentalis*), *īMĩndza* (*Halleria lucida*), *umHlwakele* (*Cyclostemon argustus*) and *īZizimezane*. The shafts varied in length and thickness, according as the weapon was intended for stabbing (*ukuGwáza*) or for hurling (*ukuCiba*)—the former case, they were about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness throughout the whole length; in the latter, they were about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness at the base, gradually tapering away to less than $\frac{1}{2}$ inch towards the extremity, where the stick again abruptly widened to a $\frac{3}{4}$ inch head (*isiDunu*).

Into the blade end of the shaft the craftsman burned, with a red-hot piercing or boring tool (*isiPiselo*), a deep vertical hole, the mouth of which was termed the *īLomo*. This hole having been filled with the thick tenacious juice of the bulbous root of the *iNgcino* plant (*Scilla rigidifolia*), the slightly heated, pointed shank (*umSuka*) of the blade was then thrust in and, upon cooling, became firmly glued. Sometimes the heated shank was simply thrust into the gluey bulb, and then inserted into the shaft. A strong strip of the soft inner bark of the *isiSanto* bush was next tightly wound round the outside of the bored end of the stick (holding the shank) and continued for some little distance up this latter. Finally, a piece (a few inches long) of the thin skin of a cow's tail was carefully drawn off the tail's extremity (without any slitting along the side), and then slipped down the length of the assegai stick (while the skin was still wet and supple) and so over the binding bark, which it covered like a sheath. There it was left to dry hard and tight, without any sewing. Some assegais were simply bound round with strong strips of the *iNtana* climber, without any skin-covering (*iNkulati*) at all.

The assegai blades (*ukuDla*) were of many different shapes; and according to the variety of blade, the assegai itself was called. The war-assegais in Shaka's time were—the *īKlwa*, with a blade $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, the whole of the shank being embedded out of sight in the shaft; the *uNtlekwane*, with a blade 1 foot long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, likewise with no visible shaft; and the *isiJula*, with a blade 7 inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide and a visible shank some 4

inches in length. The first two were used for stabbing at close quarters (*amaHlandze*); the latter, for hurling. The *isiPápa*, with a blade nearly 3 inches wide by 7 in length, was used for hunting buffaloes and other big game. It was often aimed at their legs to hamstring them. For hurling at smaller game, and also for slaughtering cattle at home, the *iNgcula*, with a blade 5 inches long by 1 inch broad and a shank some 9 inches in length, was employed. The *iNdlodlela* (*umDludlu*, *ũGándo*) had a tiny blade, about 2 inches long, at the end of a very long shank.

Down the thick centre of all these blades ran a ridge (*umHlandla*), from which each side of the blade gradually tapered away till it reached the sharpened edge (*ubuKáli*). In the *ĩKébezane* assegai (confined to the Swazis, Natal Natives and Mpondos) one half of the blade, back and front, but on opposite sides, was grooved out concavely.

The *iNtlendla* was a 'royal' weapon, carried only by the chief and other such great men as he permitted. It had a short barbed blade (with two wings, each about 2 inches long) at the end of a very long shank. It was commonly used by the gentry as a walking-staff of quality; though upon occasion it was also used for the more serious business of either stabbing or hurling at a foe, who generally ran off with it, as it was difficult to extract.

Isaacs⁶⁶ speaks of a certain bright metal that *may* have been tin; and the *iNtanya*, 'some kind of metal' (comp. *Z. nta*, be-clearly-seen), mentioned by Colenso in his *Zulu Dictionary*, may have been the same. No tradition of tin, however, has existed in Zululand in our time. Johnston⁶⁷ found old-worked tin-mines in the Northern Transvaal. If the Zulu metal (of Isaacs and Colenso) really was tin, we should prefer to believe, as most probable, that it had been imported into Zululand (like the copper rings) by Tonga hawkers from Delagoa Bay, rather than that it had been discovered and worked by the Zulus themselves.

The survivors of the wrecked *Stavenisse* (1686 A.D.) suspected the existence of gold in Natal:—"The English say that a certain chief, named Ingoose [*Z. iNkosi*, simply 'chief'],

wore a bracelet which was much heavier than the copper neck-rings ; from which circumstances they conjectured it was gold." But neither gold nor silver, as such, was ever known to the Zulus.

In a preceding chapter, we told how the Zulu women had a custom of colouring their hair with a deep-red ferruginous substance (red-ochre) found in stone-like lumps in the ground, and termed by them *isiBúda*. Now, Isaacs⁶⁸ somewhere relates in his book how the Zulu ladies of a certain district in Zululand (locality not specified), after having used the *isi-Búda*—any similar mineral would be so called by them—from their neighbouring pit for the usual cosmetical purpose, were dismayed to find all their beautiful locks dropping off. The incident having reached the long ears of Shaka, to whom everything mysterious was uncanny and suspect, he promptly prohibited any further use of the stuff from that pit ; whereupon the latter was closed down, and its very location soon became lost in oblivion. Some Europeans have had the idea that this material may have been, not red-ochre at all, but the much more valuable cinnabar ; and many years ago we think to have heard a rumour of the actual discovery, kept strictly secret, of that mercurial mineral somewhere in Zululand.⁶⁹

"With the art of pottery," says Myres,⁷⁰ "Egypt, like many other countries, took the first step towards civilization and history"—the 'first step', presumably because Myres believed that pottery preceded agriculture. Had the earliest pots been more obviously designed to serve the purpose of water-carriers, one might have thought so ; but, judged by their appearance, they were designed to be simply water-holders. For example, all Neolithic pots were handleless,⁷¹ and the earliest shapes (judging by the oldest Egyptian samples, 7,000-6,000 B.C., in the British Museum) were, practically all of them, with perfectly straight-up sides, or, if rounded, devoid of concave necks for stringing. Evidently they were hardly the thing for carrying about on the roving life of a hunting, nomadic, or even migrating, people. On the other hand, they were just the thing for storing water in a settled home : and this settled home, we imagine, most probably produced agriculture and pottery contemporaneously.

Anyway, it was the woman who led the race once more, and achieved another epoch-making discovery. While hunting man had found himself driven by necessity to invent implements (first, of stone ; not yet of iron) suited to the chase, so now his wife, who stayed behind to mind the babies and cook the corn, discovered that, for that cooking, not only fire, but water too was needed, and that her present problem was how to bring it to the home. She bethought herself of the gourd-plant growing wild, indigenous to Africa ; and it occurred to her, it might prove serviceable for her purpose. But when, back home, she put the huge shell upon the fire, she was chagrined to find it scorch and burn. Then, rattling her brain, some female genius of the race lighted on the thought that gourd-shells might perchance be built up artificially out of clay. So a gourd of clay was made and dried ; which, when she placed it on the fire, she joyfully observed, only hardened all the more. The discovery complete, she forthwith set up the one and original pottery-factory, and thereby conferred upon mankind a much earlier, though hardly so great a benefit, as hubby, the smith, himself ; and, like him, she jealously retained all trade-rights for her own sex. Thus, " the successor of the calabash, the earth pot, came into existence in tropical regions ".⁷² and henceforth within the Bantu race clay-pot making became, and continues to be, a female industry.

Pottery-making, like agriculture and animal-domestication, which constitute the very basis of our modern civilization, is generally held to have come into being somewhere about the dawn of the Neolithic (New Stone) Age, dating roughly from about 10,000 to 8,000 B.C. But certain almost shapeless pottery discovered in Höhlefels cave, near Ulm (Germany) and in that at Nabrigas, near Toulouse (France), has led some to believe that even Late Palæolithic (Old Stone Age) man may have already started pot-making.⁷³

It is most likely that pottery-making was an independent discovery in many different places. The fact of similarity in form and workmanship is no proof whatever of relationship or contact. The human mind is itself everywhere so identically fashioned, that it was practically bound to express itself in more or less similar ways in various places. " More than once," writes Pottier,⁷⁴ " men have remarked the extraordinary resemblance which the linear decoration of Peruvian,

Mexican and Kabyle [North Africa] vases bear to the ornamentation of the most ancient Greek pottery"; and "even at the present day there are savages in Polynesia who produce patterns exactly similar to those found on Greek and Cypriote pottery of fifteen and twenty centuries before our era."⁷⁵

At the northernmost end of the African continent lived the Ancient Egyptians, who have left us the earliest African historical records and also the earliest, still extant, earthenware pots. And the earliest Egyptian pots, as shown in the British Museum, and made in predynastic times, 9,000 years ago, are, in shape and technique, almost identical with those produced in Zululand in these present days—some, globular with bulging sides (like the Zulu *ūKám̄ba* beer-pot); others, with straight or upright sides (like the Zulu *umGqomo* beer-pot); but all without specially worked rims, without handles, and without any decoration.⁷⁶ There were, however, some Egyptian earthen pots furnished with concave necks, and some pointed at the bottom (apparently for standing in the sand); but these, we imagine, must be of a later era.

At the opposite or southern end of the the continent were the Bushmen. While some of the South Sea Islanders, even in quite modern times, knew nothing whatever of pottery-making,⁷⁷ the South African Bushmen knew all about it ages ago.⁷⁸ Nor do we think, like Sollas,⁷⁹ that they learned the art from their Bantu neighbours; although it were possible they gathered some new ideas from them.⁸⁰ If they got their pottery knowledge from the Bantu, from which Bantu tribe was it that they derived the custom of side-handles or lugs (i.e. perforated projections for holding a carrying-string); seeing that no South African Bantu pottery exhibits any such device? On the other hand, the Strandlooper pottery displayed in the Capetown Museum does show such handles. Plainly, then, the Bushmen either derived their pottery knowledge direct from the Strandloopers, or both peoples derived it from a single source—unless each of them invented it independently. Certainly both Strandloopers and Bushmen were at home in South Africa ages before the Bantu had ever reached there. The Strandlooper pottery we noticed in the Capetown Museum consisted of squatty ovoid vessels carrying a short upright neck; but all of them were furnished with lugs or string-handles, and most of them were shaped with pointed

bottoms to enable them to be stood erect in the sand. The fullest description, we know of, of Bushman-Hottentot pottery is that of Laidler.⁸¹

But speaking of Strandloopers reminds us of a related subject, viz. of kitchen-middens. These mysterious shell-mounds of ancient refuse-heaps extend right round the South African coast (as well as in many parts of Europe and Asia) from Lorenzo Marques on the east to Walfish Bay on the west ; and there, so far as we know, abruptly cease.⁸² But this last may be due merely to lack of exploration ; because along the Kwango River, in Western Congo and 300 miles from the Atlantic coast, " huge deposits of fresh-water oyster-shells were found, eight inches thick, seemingly the kitchen-middens of early races."⁸³

Now, some years back, when grubbing about in one of these old shell-masses, buried beneath four feet of hard soil overgrown with bush, and situated only a dozen feet away from the sandy shore-line of the north coast of Natal, we unearthed (besides what looked like small stone implements) numerous fragments of pottery, all brick-red in colour, and each bearing a different pattern (twelve in all) rudely scratched or incised upon it—simple lines, bands of lines, zigzags, oblique hatchings and cross hatchings, and other devices ; but no circles. Whenever a pot-rim was forthcoming, it always possessed either a simple 'rolled' rim or a concave neck (bent round outwards). No Bantu tribe that has ever lived in that region, or indeed anywhere else in South East Africa, makes earthen pots of such types. Who, then, were the makers of those we found ? So, when going to Capetown, we took our fragments with us, in order to compare them with the primitive pottery exhibited in the museum there. But neither Strandlooper nor Bushman pots showed any similar markings ; though some of the Bushman pots carried a concave neck (later imitated by the Bushmanized Tembu Natives of the Transkei). The only specimens in the Museum similar to, or rather identical with, them as regards their markings, were some fragments shown to us by Dr Peringuey as exhumed at Zimbabwe. We were accordingly not surprised to find that illustrations given by H. Balfour⁸⁴ of potsherds unearthed by him at the Khami and Dlodlo ruins in Southern Rhodesia corresponded exactly, in their patterning,

with those we had found in the Natal shell-mounds. Another specimen that seemed to resemble these latter (at least in neck-shape) was the pot shown in Peringuey's work,⁸⁵ as found at a great depth beneath a main street in Capetown, not far from the ancient sand-dunes formerly there. Among modern Bantu pottery, that of the Ilas in Northern Rhodesia presents, both in neck-shape and in markings, a strong resemblance to the Natal shell-mounds.⁸⁶ Polished red and black pottery with 'geometric' decoration was picked up by Johnson⁸⁷ in old iron workings near Rustenburg (Transvaal); but what precisely the geometric decorations were like, was not stated. It seems likely that these specimens were of a more recent date and the work of an entirely different people. Geometric pottery design, consisting of straight lines and zigzags, is said to have been the special mark of the transitional period between the Aegean (1300 B.C.) and the Hellenic (800 B.C.) Ages. Markings, presumably of that period and identical with those of the Natal shell-mounds, may be noted on the pottery excavated at Ghar Dalam in Malta;⁸⁸ in the Bronze Age 'barrow' pottery of Germany, England and Wales, as well as in that of the far-away middens of Japan. But here we must be mindful of the *caveat* of Pottier, to which we drew attention in a preceding paragraph.

Seeking, then, much nearer at hand, for the authors of our ancient South African pottery, fortunately the Cape coast middens have yielded something more than shells and potsherds. Buried beneath a layer of shells, 18 inches thick, situated at Blauw Berg, near Capetown, Peringuey found the skeleton of a woman, lying contracted on her side, and clothed in two strings of ostrich-shell beads around the pelvis. The pottery near by was of egg-shell shape, with a wide, short neck and two lateral perforated projections. Not much further along the coast, about 100 miles west of Port Elizabeth, lay another enormous shell-mound, 600 feet in length, 120 feet in width, and 12 feet in thickness—the rubbish-heap, one would think, of a community of humans hundreds strong. In a high-placed cliff-cave near it, F. W. Fitzsimons, in 1921, dug up, from about 9 feet below the surface, some bones, pottery and ornaments. Both these finds being attributed to the Strandlooper race,⁸⁹ it seems, therefore, that the old Natal coast pottery must, for the present, be regarded as of the same origin.

En passant, however, it may be added that the last-mentioned cave had something more in store, still more ancient and surprising. For, in another stratum, 6 feet lower than the preceding (therefore 15 feet below the present surface), the same excavator brought back once more into the light of day the famous Tsitsikama man, no longer of the Strandlooper race, but brother to him of Boskop (500 miles away), and therefore presumably thousands of years in advance of the Strandloopers. This gentleman, compared with the comparatively pygmy Strandlooper, was almost a giant. He was 5 feet 6 inches in height, and carried a gigantic skull containing 1750 c.c. of brain-capacity. Amazed at which, Sir Arthur Keith⁹⁰ was moved to write; "Amongst its [South Africa's] ancient inhabitants there has been a race which in volume of brain outrivals any people of Europe, ancient or modern; and yet this big-brained race has disappeared, while the small-brained descendants of the same stock [? Strandlooper, or Bantu] have survived." But this was not all. Proceeding still deeper with his spade, in a stratum another 6 feet lower (now 21 feet below the present surface) other bones were encountered, alas! so mouldered away, that their nature was no longer determinable. Were they perchance all that remains of an African race yet older than the Boskop?

Were one asked, Whence did the Bantu first obtain their knowledge of pottery, the safest answer might be, From the Neolithic Negro woman who invented it. Naturally, since then technique has considerably advanced and styles have multiplied. At the present time, as in all other arts, the Central Bantu appear to be the most artistic of the Bantu potters; while, again in all the arts, our Zulu-Xosas are the furthest back. Their main deficiency is in imaginative variation and ornamentation. In simple perfect shaping, the Zulu potters are not excelled.

And the Zulu method of pottery manufacture is as follows. Suitable clay (*ĩBumba*), of a red, brown or black colour, is procurable in practically every district in Zululand. Such a clay-hole they call an *umTápó*. The red, apparently the coarser, is used only for the rougher vessels (like the large beer-fermenting pots, *ĩMbiza*), which are left unpolished; the brown and black, for the finer (like the beer-serving pots, *ũKámba*, etc.). The best clay comes through the whole process without

any cracking (which successful outcome is termed *ukuVá*, to-come-out-well) ; the inferior clay needs to be mixed beforehand with powdered potsherds (fragments of old pots). The clay having been brought from the pit is first (if known to be coarse) allowed to dry, and is then ground to greater fineness on the grindstone. Softened with a little water (to the consistency of putty), a lump of the clay, or clay-mixture, is now taken and, with the hand, nicely flattened into a disc of requisite thickness, which will form the bottom of the pot. This disc having been set upon a grass-ring (*iNkatá*), another lump of clay is taken and rolled between the palms so as to form a thin sausage-like roll or rope, some foot in length and a small finger's breadth in thickness. The dish, bowl or pot is then gradually built up from the flattened bottom upwards, by coiling these clay-ropes (ringwise, not spirally), with a suitable slant, around it ; the two ends of the rope, where the circle meets, being nicely welded together by pressure with the fingers. The clay-rope is led round by the right hand, while the left, by finger manipulation, joins it to the coil immediately below. No measurements whatever are taken, no wheel or mould ever used, nor any other aid to symmetry employed. Sole reliance is placed on eye and hand alone ; and the resultant exactitude of the circle and the equality of the curve of the ascending convex walls are nothing less than marvellous. The pot having thus been completely built up, ornamentation (if any) is at once applied. Tiny lumps of soft clay, for instance, may be taken, formed into mammillæ of the size of half a pea and, without further preparation, pressed on to the still soft external wall of the pot in number and design according to the potter's fancy. Having been fixed, the mammillæ are nicely rounded off and the intervening spaces cleared with the aid of a small stick. In this rough state, the vessel is set aside within the hut—should it be windy, it may be screened from the draught—for about twenty-four hours, until it becomes slightly dry and firm. The clay itself being still softish, the pot-walls are then scraped (*ukuShaya*) with a small piece of gourd-shell, and at the same time smoothed with the wetted fingers, until inside and outside an even thickness and an even surface is everywhere obtained.

As far as its form is concerned, the vessel is now complete. It is set aside once more within the hut, and later in the shade

outside, till it become thoroughly stone-dry; whereupon its whole surface, inside and more especially outside, is rubbed over (*ukuGúdla*) with a small smooth pebble, whereby all the earthy roughness is removed and a perfect smoothness is attained.

Next comes the baking (*ukuShisa*). A bed of small sticks is laid on the ground (on any selected spot outside the kraal), and the pot is set thereon, mouth upwards, with a mass of firewood encircling it on every side and over the top. The fire is lighted from below and allowed to burn itself out, the pot being allowed to stand amidst the glowing embers for 6-8 hours. It will then be of a mottled red, yellow and blackened colour, like a badly burned brick. Nothing is known about the exclusion of air during the firing.

Only the blackening and polishing still remain. On any convenient day, the pot is again conveyed to the firing-site, and there covered over with a heap of dry grass. This, when lighted, envelops the pot in a dense smoke, which effectually blackens (*ukuFúsa*) the whole of its surface. Animal fat of any kind is rubbed in after removal, and once more the whole pot, inside and out, is carefully polished by rubbing with the aforesaid small pebble or with the hard, smooth nut-like disc found at the root of the iridaceous *umLunge* plant. Finally, the whole external surface is rubbed with the leaves of the *uGqumugqumu* (Cape-gooseberry) bush: whereafter, believe it or not, the rough earthen pot emerges with the glossy blackness of polished jet.

The process in Uganda⁹¹ much resembles that of the Zulus, as does that also in parts of India.⁹²

The Zulu pottery (save in the exception below) was always of a glossy jet-black, and (save in the following exception) without any kind of special rimming. The rolled rim and the concave neck were unknown. The exceptions were—in colour, the rough-made *ĩKándzi* and *isOco* cooking-pots and the *ĩMbiza* beer-fermenting pot, which, manufactured of coarse red clay, were left unblackened and unpolished; and, in rim, the *ũPiso* pot, a large-sized globular vessel (mainly for carrying beer on the head) having a small mouth (3-4 inches wide) at the top surrounded by a perfectly vertical collar (2-3 inches high), both the small mouth and the upright rim being intended to prevent spilling, when walking. In modern times, the *ũPiso*

neck (probably imitating the 'foreigner') is sometimes given a slightly concave curve, or a slight slant inwards. In shape, the Zulu pots are various:—globular (e.g. the *ūPiso*); bowl-shaped (e.g. *umCakulo*); squatly elliptical (e.g. *iNgcungu*); upright ovate (e.g. *iMbiza*); or, with upright sides leaning slightly inwards (e.g. *umGqomo*); and, rarely, with horizontally flattened shoulders (*amaNkumbu*). There were also broad, shallow basins or dishes (e.g. *umCengezi*).

Ornamentation was rare; when present, it was poor and simple, lacking artistic imagination and skill, always taking the one same form, viz. of mammillæ or (as they called them) 'warts' (*īSumpha*). These latter, however, were arranged in a variety of ways. Sometimes they simply encircled the body of the pot in a single continuous chain, but, more commonly, in a continuous up-and-down zigzag (*īGwinci*), or a broken succession of squares (each containing many 'warts'), swallow-tails (*iNkonjane*), circles (*isiDlubu*), or large lozenges or diamonds (*iNgxotá*). The most artistic design was the more elaborate *uSogékle*, consisting of a broad multiple zigzag surmounted by saltires. All scratchings or incisions with pointed instruments, prickings and packings with sticks or stalks (after the Sutu fashion), as well as string, grass-rope or mat impressions (as in Uganda⁹³), were absolutely unknown. Nor were there any chevron, dentil or herring-bone designs.

The perfection given in shape to all the Zulu pots was due to a natural ability in these people for describing the circle. There is in the Zulu potter's hand-turn a 'feeling' which is as infallibly 'round' as are the Zulu's movements in the dance and the measure in his song infallibly 'rhythmical'. One notices the same strong sense for the 'round' or circular again in the structure of the Zulu kraal, cattle-fold and hut. But when we pass to the angular or square, we find these people just as surprisingly incompetent and devoid of a sense of symmetry, as they were competent with the circle. Hardly any of their products are angular, except their mats.

Mat-making, and may-be also its cousin, basket-making, may have been as early an art as pot-making.

Mat-making, like pottery, is again the Zulu woman's job; and her method is nearly always along simple chequer-work lines. Fibre-strings, running lengthwise down the mat,

constitute the warp, and rushes, placed crosswise, from side to side, and added as the work proceeds, constitute the woof. In some mats, both warp and woof consist of rushes ; and a few mats are sewn, instead of woven.

The Zulu mats, however, have been already described on page 199.

Basket-making, with the Zulus, was a man's job. The baskets were of equally simple construction as the mats. Among these very ' artless ' folk there was never anything, in ornamental design, variety of shape and skilful workmanship, comparable with the beautiful basketry produced by some of the North American Indians. The Zulu baskets (already described on page 198) were constructed invariably on the so-called ' simple oversewn coil ' system, that is to say, a central coil or rope of stuffing (consisting of a number of long *iNgóngóni* (Aristida) grass-stalks, with the coil varying in thickness according to the size of the basket) was wound round by narrow, flat, hyphæne palm-leaf strips (more rarely, with *iNgceba* rushes), the strips, with each turn-over, passing through a hole pierced with an awl through the coil next below, and so binding the two coils together. The internal stuffing or coil of grass was continuously lengthened as the work proceeded by thrusting in new grass-stalks, so that there was one continuous coil, spirally ascending, from the flat bottom of the basket, up the gradually expanding sides, to the brim at the top. The brim was finally finished off by special plaiting with palm-leaf strips ; of which plaiting there were two or three differing methods. When the palm-leaf strips were very narrow and stitched very closely together, some really excellent work was produced. Into these finer little baskets, red and black decorative lines, squares and zigzags were frequently introduced.

Very soon after the stone-implement maker (later on evolving into the smith), who supplied the community with its weapons, must have followed the skin-dresser, who furnished the community's clothes. As ages passed, these skin-dressers began to specialize.

First of all, came the hide-scraper (*iMpali*). This Zulu tradesman did not, as we should have done, buy up hides of

slaughtered oxen, work them up, and then put them up for sale; for the reason that markets and bazaars were still unknown in his tribe. He was every time specially engaged to dress the hide, whenever a man slaughtered a beast, and needed new clothing for himself or his wife.

The beast having been duly slaughtered, the hide (*isi-Kúmba*) was cut away from the flesh by the men of the family. The hide was then laid out to dry on any open spot inside the kraal, lest stray dogs come at night and eat it up. A number of slits were first cut along all the edges of the hide, and through them short pointed sticks were thrust and hammered into the ground, thus keeping the hide, inside upwards, taut (*ukuBetéla*). When the hide was thoroughly dry, the services of the professional hide-scraper were called in.

By him, the hide was first soaked (*ukuCwilisa*) in water for a couple of days, after which, now once more supple, it was again pegged and stretched out taut, inside upwards as before. The craftsman with an axe-blade (*iMbazo*), removed from its haft, then scraped (*ukuPála*) the whole surface, constantly pouring water upon it, until all the still adhering particles of flesh and the internal membrane had been removed. After that, with his *iNdlwandlwa* (a flat piece of wood, the size of one's hand, into which nails or pointed irons were driven) he scratched or curried (*ukuKúhla*) the whole surface once again, constantly pouring on water, until a fine nap (*umSendo*) had been everywhere raised. The hide was now turned, and with the axe-blade all the hair was scraped off (*ukuPála*), with frequent water-pouring as before. This completed, and the surface nicely smoothened, the hide was cut down the middle (if intended for a woman's kilt) into two equal halves (*um-Bando*). The irregular outside edges having been cut away (*ukuDiya*), the craftsman's work was at an end, and he handed the material back to its owner, and went off home, there to await his reward.

But the whole process was only half complete, and was now continued by the owner himself. He first of all took a large pot of thick, thoroughly drained *amaSi* (clotted milk) and thoroughly rubbed it into the nappy side of the hide (*uku-Cápa*); after which he rolled the latter up tightly, along with a liberal supply of *iNdenda* leaves (Maesa), intended (it is said) to 'create warmth' (*ukuFúdumeza*), and with a leathern

thong bound the whole together into a bundle, which he put aside and so left overnight. By morning, a large amount of the fatty *amaSi* had penetrated the skin, and considerably reduced its former rigidity. Now untying the bundle, he took up a handful of the softened skin and rubbed (*ukuShuka*) the two handfuls vigorously together (with two different movements), in order to supple the skin still further. The whole hide having been treated in this way, earth from an *iNgānga* ant-heap (a small variety of termite) was rubbed thoroughly into the nappy side, in order to penetrate its fine 'down', soak up excessive moisture and so disentangle the 'matted' tufts into which the nap had now formed. This whole procedure of hand-rubbing and ant-heap smearing was repeated every day for about a week, by which time the skin had become perfectly supple. The following morning, at earliest dawn, and while the dew was still heavy on the grass, the hide was spread out, and after a while, but before sunrise, beaten with a stick in every part, to soften any still hardish spots and to knock out the *iNgānga* earth from the nap. The skin was now considered completely 'dressed', and in this condition was handed over to the tailor for making up into a lady's gown. Wealthy men, rejoicing in large harems, frequently prepared in this way a number of skins and kept them stored in their hut, distributing them to their wives as required. Should a man, on the other hand, prefer to buy an already dressed *umBando* (half a hide) from some other party, and so save himself the labour of preparing one, he could usually get one in exchange for a heifer.

The tailor of ladies' gowns was always a tailoress. There was no tape-measuring in her trade, and she gauged a kilt's requisite length and breadth to a nicety at a glance. She first cut out of the dressed skin a number of oblong pieces (*isiZiba*); then a number of triangular strips (*umTózo*) to fit into the intervening spaces and so give the garment a greater width at the bottom than at the waist; and finally she sewed all the pieces together by passing her awl (*ūSungulo*) through the two adjoining edges placed side by side (with the edges inwards), and then binding them together with fibre threads (*ūZi*). The sewing completed, she rubbed bullock-fat, or even fresh milk or *amaSi*, well into the smooth (originally hairy) side of the skin, and hung the garment (now termed an *īBāhu*) over or near the

fire in her hut, and left it so hanging for a week or more, by which time the fat had penetrated through the skin to the nappy outside. This latter (the outer side) was next once more well rubbed with powdered coal (*isiZilo*—found near Mpande's *Empangisweni* kraal), or with grass-ash, till it assumed an agreeable black colour. A number of *uNtsukumbili* leaves (*Hypericum æthiopicum*) were then gathered and, when perfectly dry, well rubbed into the blackened nappy side to absorb the excess of dirty grease. Fresh leaves having been strewn over the skin, the whole was rolled up together and put aside for a day. This process of leaf-cleaning was repeated daily for 4 or 5 days, until all superfluous grease had been absorbed by the dry leaves. Finally, the gown was perfumed. *UmuTwa* powder, prepared from the sweet-smelling *umTómboti*, *umGxamu*, *isiGcence* and other trees and plants, was rubbed well into the nappy side, the whole rolled up into a bundle and so left for a week, until the garment had become saturated with the fragrance; whereafter it was handed over to the lady-client for gala wear.

Men's wear was always made by men. First of all, there were the gentleman's trousers, or rather a posterior curtain (*ĩBéshu*) functioning as a kind of trouser-seat. This was mostly manufactured of calf-skin by a professional tailor. The calf was slaughtered, as usual, by the customer from his own herd, and when the hide had been dried, it was handed over to the tailor. This first scraped the skin (*ukuPála*), as above, on its inner side only, leaving the hairy side untouched; but he did no currying (*ukuKúhla*) with the *iNdlwandlwa* (above), as no nap was required in this case, the inner side of the garment being left simply smooth. The *ĩBéshu* was then cut out of the material; fresh milk rubbed into the inner side of the skin, and the whole vigorously supplied by hand-rubbing (*uku-Shuka*), as above. Finally, a stiff belt (*isiPénama*), made of overlapping strips of similar hide, was sewn on round the top, and the dress was delivered to the customer. This latter then made, or got made, a suitable sporran (*isiNene*) or frontal cover, which he tied on to the waist-belt by means of a leather thong on either side; whereupon the completed article of dress became known as a man's *umuTsha* (or girdle).

Then there was the shield-maker. There were several varieties of shield—war-shields (*isiHlangu*), hunting-shields (*iHubelo*), dance-shields (*iHawu*), and simple dress or promenading-shields (*umDlela* ; *iNgcayi*). Several of these might be cut from the one hide ; which, of course, was supplied by the customer. For the large war-shields, the thickest part of the hide, along the back, was selected. After the beast had been slaughtered, and while the hide was still wet from the body, the owner cut out pieces sufficiently large for the shields he wanted, and pegged them out to dry. When thoroughly dry, the pieces were buried beneath the dampened earth inside the cattle-fold, and there left to supple for a day. After exhumation, they were well beaten everywhere on the inner (not hairy) side with a round stone pebble. At this point the professional shield-cutter was engaged, who from the rough pieces of material skilfully cut out the shields as ordered. Thereafter he made the usual double row of horizontal slits (*iGábelo*), two inches broad and three-quarters of an inch apart, down the centre of the shield. In a vertical direction, over and under, these slits, he then slipped a couple of suitable strips of hide. This arrangement had the effect of doubling the thickness of the hide along the whole central part, where the shield was held and the stick-blows most frequently received. At the back of the shield, exactly down its centre, between the two rows of slits, a stick ran vertically along the whole length of the shield, being held in position by being passed beneath three or four horizontal, tightly fixed, leathern loops. This stick conferred on the shield perfect rigidity throughout its whole length. A separate leathern loop (*isa-Ndla*) was placed, running vertically, about the centre of the back, through which (and under the stick alongside) two or three fingers of the left hand were passed, when holding the shield.

We thus see that, in the Zulu skin-dressing trade, there was neither tanning nor lime-soaking, the very crudest hand-dressing methods only being employed.

The Zulus were no great shakes at wood-carving. They had a perfect eye for symmetry, as was manifest in their pottery ; but, being naturally deficient in artistic (or indeed in

any other) imagination or inventive power, their work always lacked decorative embellishments, and so was by no means comparable with the multifarious artistic products of the East African and Central Bantu craftsmen.

The wooden objects manufactured by the Zulus were:—

- (1) Oblong meat-trays (*ūGqoko*), carved, out of a single block, with a shallow concavity, and anything between 1 foot and 2 feet in length by 7 inches to 1 foot in breadth. The woods usually selected were soft, easily worked species, like the *umGóntswane* (*Dicus*), *umGánu* (*Sclerocarya caffra*), *umNyamati* (*Ekebergia Capensis*), and *umKúhlu* (*Strychnos Mackenii*). The trays were provided with a square handle at each end, and four short stumpy legs (two inches high) beneath, the sides of the vessel being sometimes decorated with the conventional patterns (see below). Meat was also sometimes carried on simple rough wicker-work trays (*isiCayo*).
- (2) Milk-pails (*īTúnga*), shaped like an elongated, truncated oval, 15 inches in height by 6-7 inches in breadth at the greatest bulge. They carried carved patterns similar to those of the preceding, and a wooden projection on each side, to serve as handles. The woods commonly used were those mentioned above.
- (3) Head-rests (*isiCamelo*, *isiGqiki*), for resting the head upon when sleeping, consisted of a block of wood, cut so as to be slightly concave at the top, the block being 3 inches across, 2 inches thick, and varying in length from 2½ feet (for double usage) to about 10 inches (for single usage). The shorter styles were furnished with a single stumpy leg (*īSondo*), 4 inches high, at each end; while the longer had three, or four, such legs. The legs were often ornamented with the customary designs. The woods commonly employed were the *umGxamu* (*Schotia brachypetala*), *isiPámpható* (*Plectronia spinosa*), and those mentioned above.
- (4) Spoons (*ūKézo*) were made in various sizes, and in general form were much like our own. They too were made from any of the above-mentioned soft woods. The flattened rim of the spoon-bowl was generally blackened by heated metal, and the handles were sometimes well carved in special designs.
- (5) The fighting knob-kerries (*īWisa*) of the young men were manufactured of the hardest and heaviest woods procurable, e.g., the *umSimbiti* (*Milletia Caffra*), *iNqayi*

(*Elæodendron velutinum*), *umNweba* (*Mimusops Caffra*), *umPumbulu* (another *Mimusops*), *uMozane* (*Toddalia lanceolata*) and *umQaloti* (*Strychnos Henningsii*). These kerries were short sticks for clubbing or throwing, having a handle two feet or less in length, surmounted by a spherical knob from 2 to 3½ inches in diameter, the whole being nicely smoothed and polished with fat. A variety had the knob projecting from one side (*iMbemba*), the knob in this case being scooped out with shallow concavities at the top, front and bottom.

The conventional decoration on the meat-trays, milk-pails and head-rests mentioned above consisted nearly always of squares (3 inches by 2) or lozenges, each such square or lozenge being itself divided into several rows of small pyramidal embossments. These figures, standing on the white body of the vessel, were themselves usually blackened by searing with a red-hot iron smeared with beef-fat.

We deem it hardly of sufficient importance to go further into the details of the less significant trades of various minor craftsmen—how the maker of smoking-horns (*iGúdu*) polished his cow or kudu horn, or carved his hemp-holder (*iMbiza*) out of soapstone; how the prepuce-cover (*umNcedo*) maker plaited his small boxes with the dry strips of the wild-banana leaf (*Strelitzia augusta*); how the castrator emasculated the stock; how the snuff-box (*iShungu*) maker manufactured his wares out of horn or of the small gourd-like fruit of the *umTóngwane* tree (*Oncoba spinosa*); or how the local midwife assisted at accouchements. As for the hair-dresser, we have already explained how the young men's coiffures were arranged (163) and the older men's headrings were fixed on (141). The Zulus knew nothing of what we understand as mining. Nor did they produce anything of, what we would call, pictorial art, or needlework. A note on the lost art of bark-cloth weaving will be found on page 138.

1. *G.G.C.*, 804.

2. *ib.* 164.

3. Simpson, *L.P.K.*, 93.

4. Also *G.G.C.*, 799, 802, 803, 805.

5. *G.G.C.*, 791, 812.

6. *ib.* 798, also 613, 628, 629, 725, 747, 818.

7. *ib.* 800.

8. *G.G.C.*, 801.
9. *ib.* 793.
10. *ib.* 799.
11. *ib.* 633, also 698, 744, 748, 757.
12. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 185.
13. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 302; Park, *T.*, 216; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 134; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. I, 113.
14. *G.G.C.*, 774, 776.
15. *ib.* 694.
16. *ib.* 695, 778.
17. *ib.* 766, 775.
18. *ib.* 162.
19. Meinhof, *I.A.L.*, 63.
20. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 17.
21. *T.A.*, 49, 50.
22. ? Squers and Webb, *A.M.*; Hoernes, *P.M.*, 79.
23. E. Smith, *A.E.*, 3, 97.
24. King, *S.A.*, 26.
25. Dechelette, *M.A.*, vol. 2.
26. Hoernes, *P.M.*, 69.
27. Hoernes, *P.M.*
28. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 211.
29. *H.E.*, vol. 1, 10.
30. *D.H.*, 60, 61.
31. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 26; Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 1, 252.
32. Elliot, *P.M.*, 234.
33. Hoernes, *P.M.*, 88.
34. Elliot, *P.M.*, 234.
35. Old, *S.K.*, 48, 58.
36. Herodotus, I, 68.
37. *H.E.*, vol. 1, 3.
38. Breasted, *A.T.*, 94, 133, 157, 239, 244, 263.
39. *A.*, 119.
40. *G.T.*, 322.
41. VII, 69.
42. *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, 1910.
43. *H.I.*, 49.
44. Johnson, *P.P.*, 81, 106; Gatti, *H.A.*, 187-207; Moulbray, *S.C.A.*, 6, 14-17.
45. *H.I.*
46. *M.G.*
47. Theal, *E.S.A.*, 177-8.
48. Bryant, *B.O.*
49. *G.G.C.*, 518.
50. Bryant, *B.O.*, 'Himas'; Haddon, *W.P.*, 68-9.
51. Hoernes, *P.M.*, 69.
52. *R.C.M.*
53. *C.M.*, 439; also Johnson, *P.P.*, 81, 106.
54. *B.*, 378, 379, 380.
55. *L.P.*, 16.

56. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 18.
57. See illus. Grant, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 42, p. 286.
58. See Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 106; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 305.
59. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 35.
60. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 167.
61. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 105.
62. *T.C.*, 133.
63. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 105.
64. E. Smith, *S.A.*, 39.
65. See *Africa and its Exploration*, vol. 2, 70.
66. *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 104; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 186; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 285.
67. *P.A.*, 81.
68. *T.E.A.*
69. See also Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 326; Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 31, 44, 282; Kassner, *R.E.*, 154, 163, 185; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 9, 218, 251; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 169, 170, 171, 207, 224; Clodd, *T.T.T.*, 93; Kay, *T.C.*, 231; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 122, 128, 138, 139, 143, 368, 800; Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 62, 75; Junker, *T.A.*, 49; Maret, *A.*, 40; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 261; Stanley, *T.D.C.*, 416; Barth, *T.N.A.*, 489; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 195; Laing, *H.O.*, 65; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 80; vol. 2, 54; Allen, *E.I.G.*, 46; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 308, 310; Declé, *S.A.*, 297; Fleming, *S.A.*, 227; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 118, 119; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 105; Cumming, *F.S.A.*, 187; Elliot, *P.M.*, 263, 365, 377; Munro, *P.B.*, 156, 159, 173; Park, *T.*, 217, 267; Newbiggin, *M.G.*, 225; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 78; Tremain, *T.H.H.*, 93, 96; Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 80; Crawford, *T.B.*, 448; Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. 1, 115; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 102, 283; Budge, *E.L.*, 76; Hoernes, *P.M.*, 16, 18, 66, 71, 86, 93, 94, 96, 103, 104, 85, 87; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 447, 438, 451; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 26, 28, 210, 468, 533; Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. 1, 239; Burkitt, *P.*, 4, 171.
70. *D.H.*, 53.
71. Walters, *H.P.*, 5.
72. Migeod, *E.M.*, 75.
73. Walters, *H.P.*, 4.
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 88. *S.A.*, 132.
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Chapter 11

The Family and the Clan

The Zulu social organization had its foundations in the person and rights of—Paterfamilias (the-family-father). Materfamilias (the-family-mother) did not count in that system, any more than in that of the Romans. With its feet firmly planted at rock-bottom, upon the strong shoulders of paterfamilias, the whole Zulu family rested. He it was who built up the family ; and the families built up the clan.

A normal Zulu family consisted of this paterfamilias (*umNinimuzi*, family-owner, as they called him), an average couple of wives, with two or three sons and as many daughters, of various ages. Wealthy commoners might attain to half-a-dozen spouses, and aristocrats and royalties, of course, even to a dozen ; but rarely more. Sooner or later these sons would follow their father's example, marry each (in the course of years) another couple of wives apiece, and, with his permission, set up separate establishments of their own near by ; where-upon paterfamilias would find himself evolving into a patriarch (*iNdzalamizi*, a-begetter-of-families). With many patresfamilias all doing this selfsame thing, there eventually emerged a collection of mutually related patresfamilias or small patriarchs, who, together with their families, constituted the clan.

Among the Zulus, we have already said, there were no towns or general community settlements of any kind ; only private residences and land-patches around them. Such a family residence took the form of a circle of bee-hive grass-

huts (called by Europeans 'kraals'); and such kraals might have been seen dotted everywhere about the hillsides and plains of Zululand. They looked to us like so many tiny hamlets, each consisting of half-a-dozen to a dozen of tiny houses—kraals, in earlier times, were wont to be larger than they have since become, families then keeping more closely together. As a matter of fact, the several huts were not separate 'houses', but rather separate 'rooms' within a single home, in each of which was domiciled a wife and children of a polygamous husband. Each kraal or collection of huts was therefore like a many-roomed house, occupied by a single family. In this respect of strictly isolated homes, the Zulus were much more primitive than were their neighbours, the Chwana Sutus, and many other Bantu tribes, who had already 'advanced' to the village stage of communal life. How this advance may have come about can be seen in process of progress among the Yakas of the Congo. There "the villages themselves [i.e. the local equivalents to the Zulu 'kraals'] are small, often consisting of not more than two or three huts; they are usually built in groups [i.e. nascent 'villages'], so close together that it is difficult for the traveller to tell where one ends and the other begins".¹

In this their taste for isolated homes, the Zulus showed themselves perfectly 'English'; for, wrote A. Weigall, the Anglo-Saxons "displayed that same tendency towards domestic exclusiveness, privacy and independence, which has remained a national characteristic ever since, and which is now exemplified in the saying that the Englishman's home is his castle. Each man of standing, at the head of his immediate family and dependents, but not in conjunction with others of his tribe, seized a piece of land, built his homestead and fenced himself in; and though he might be kindly and neighbourly, he showed little inclination towards a communal life, and had no wish to be herded with his fellows in crowded tribal settlements."

In the Zulu clan there were, as with the Romans, two 'classes' in the community very clearly differentiated, for which no better terms can be found than the Roman ones, of 'patricians' and 'plebeians'. The first or higher class consisted solely of royalties, high state dignitaries and royal courtiers. The latter were the aristocrats, the men of power and wealth, the cream of Zulu society. All else was merely the common

herd, without any special rank in the clan, though some of them (notably the medicine-men) succeeded well enough in amassing wealth; but that never altered their inferior position in society.

Now, each of these two classes, the higher and the lower, had a different method of arranging its family affairs, which is to say, of ranking and disposing its wives (along with their several batches of children). The system, in its fullest and highest development, was that in vogue among patricians. But even that was based upon, and included, the simpler plan of the commoners; which, with little doubt, was the original Zulu system. And the commoner's plan was this.

Every normal Zulu man married, and, when married, lived with his bride within his father's kraal, where he built himself a hut, usually near by and to the rear of that of his mother. Only after his father's death, or (during his lifetime) with his permission, did he depart and set up a kraal of his own. That time, however, always came at last; and in his new independent kraal, where he himself was now about to blossom forth as a smaller paterfamilias, the place of honour (the central position at the top of the kraal) was reserved for his own maternal hut (*iNdlu yaKwabo*), supposing his mother to be still living, which was often the case. Into this hut, along with his already ageing mother, he might introduce also his principal or first-married wife. Or, if he or she preferred it, he might build for the latter a separate hut, to the right-hand side of that of his mother—the 'right-hand' side (*ekuNene*) of a Zulu kraal, it must be carefully remembered, was always that so standing, when one looked up the kraal from the entrance at the bottom. On the left-hand side of his principal (or mother's) hut, he might erect a private hut (*iLawu*) for himself alone; or, if he did not do this, a hut for his second wife. As time proceeded, other brides might be added to the number, and their huts placed below those already in position, in such a way that they gradually built up the two arms of a circle, meeting eventually on each side of the entrance-way at the bottom of the kraal. Each wife thus installed was entirely independent of the others, possessing not only her own 'house', but also sometimes her own special milch-cow, and always her own little private patch (*iCi*) of the kraal-yard (that immediately surrounding and to the rear of her own hut), wherein

she could build her private granary and stack her firewood without interference from other wives.

Such was the system in force among all commoners ; and commoners never got beyond it. In their case, when the father died, all that remained was a simple law of ' inheritance ' ; there was no law of ' succession ' , because there was no dignity or office to succeed to. Consequently there was no *iNdlunkulu* (Great Hut), no *iNkosikazi* (Great Wife), and on that account also no *̄iKóhlo* (Left-side Wife), nor *̄iNqadi* (understudy to Great Wife), nor *isiZinda* (Family Mother), such as the succession to a chieftainship or other dignity involved. Nevertheless, in private ' plebeian ' society (owing to the universal human frailty for ' aping the aristocracy ' , such terms as ' *iNkosikazi* ' , and even ' *̄iKóhlo* ' , were frequently applied, by courtesy, to first and second wives.

We now pass from commoner to king. Rome was not built in a day ; and a royal Zulu kraal needed many long years, perhaps 30 or more, till it reached its fullest development. A king, of course, had usually commenced his married life while his father was still living, and he continued it after his own accession. But until that time, and perhaps until he became 50 or 60 years of age, his family or kraal arrangements followed on lines identical with those we have described above as customary with commoners.

But at last something happened, and a new order of things came into being. New family offices and dignities had suddenly to be created, involving new principles and laws. Wives had to be re-shuffled, displaced, or added to, and a general state of ordered topsy-turvydom was introduced into the royal household. This was brought about by the necessity of now providing a legal successor to the throne.

Long experience had taught the Bantu chiefs that the ' common ' law, whereby an eldest son became by right of birth his father's general heir, was by no means the safest for themselves. They were fully aware of the imprudence of abandoning the crown to be scrambled for by a process of fratricidal elimination, and of the wisdom of having the right of succession clearly defined by law in case of an emergency. But they were equally alive to the disagreeable fact that this emergency was apt to become sometimes uncomfortably

hastened and a father's going unduly hurried, when adult and powerful sons were named for this prospective glory during a father's lifetime. Quite unwittingly, they were firm believers in the Darwinian doctrine of the elimination of the weak and the survival of the fittest. As age-long hunters, they were well aware of the habit of the leopards, that the father-leopard was too wise to permit a male-cub, a later potential rival, to survive ; wherefore its mother, equally wise, always carefully hid it away out of the old fellow's sight. And they knew just as well that man himself, even a son, is often but a ravenous wolf clothed to resemble a lamb, and not always to be trusted. Sweeter, then, thought they, to enjoy the fullness of one's reign and to die a natural death in bed ere the prospective heir became conscious of his inheritance and capable of mischief. So they conceived the cute idea that, not their eldest wife, but their youngest, should bear the tribal heir ; that a brand-new wife should be taken, at the latest possible moment, for this especial purpose ; and, finally, that since, not they, but the tribe itself was clamorous for such an heir, the tribe itself should pay expenses.

Thus it came about, when a clan chief was already well advanced in years, and in the natural order of events a change of chieftainship was in the offing, that the elders of the clan urged upon him the duty of making necessary provision, either by formally naming a ' Great Wife ' (who always supplied the heir) from among those already in stock (which was always a royal right), or by marrying an entirely new bride for the purpose. If he decided on the latter course, a general levy was made on the tribal cattle, every kraalhead being required to make a contribution of a cow or more to the public exchequer for the public weal. For in ancient times, when cows were few, and other brides were bought with metal rings and hoes, these tribal queens, usually a principal daughter of some other chief, could hardly have been purchased otherwise than by cattle.

A suitable girl, that pleased the elders' fancy, having been discovered and duly purchased (the poor king, as is their fate, left unconsulted), the great wedding took place on normal lines (described in another chapter), save that now the bridegroom's party (*ĩKétó*) danced with war-shields (*isiHlangu*) instead of with the ordinary dance-shields (*ĩHawu*), by which

the world now knew that the Great Wife had at last arrived and an heir-apparent was on the way. . . . The Natal custom, by which a Great Wife proclaimed herself by dancing with a small fur-tufted (*nomSila*) shield, was unknown in Zululand. . . . Upon this same ceremonial occasion, other consequent family appointments were announced, namely those of the new *īNqadi*, *īKóhlo* and *isiZinda* wives (see ahead). Should any of these wives, including the Great Wife herself, prove themselves later on unworthy of their posts (by adultery, insubordination, disrespect, stinginess, or loss of tribal grace), the chief retained the right to depose them and establish others in their stead. The same law applied equally to their sons.

The wedding over, the new Great Wife, whom birth and price and present rank made trebly great, assumed her role with the title of *iNkosikazi ya-s-eNdlunkulu* (Queen of-the-Great-House). Usually, at the start, she was introduced into the royal maternal hut, there at the top of the kraal (if the chief's mother were still living), where the latter could keep an eagle-eye on all her ways and character, and instruct her as to duties and proprieties. Eventually she would receive a special grass-palace of her own; and her eldest boy would become the *iNkosana ya-s-eNdlunkulu* (the-Little-Chief of-the-Great-House), and heir-apparent to the throne.

Sometimes it happened that a chief, true to his first love and confident in her offspring, determined to take no new risks, and elevated *her* to the higher status, whereby the eldest son in the family now became also heir-apparent. Othersome consistently turned a deaf ear to their elders' counsel, and left things as they were, with the clan to settle the succession as it would, when they were gone. This course they deemed in their own interests wiser than deliberately to raise up to themselves a potential regicide by taking or appointing a Great Wife. This too appears to have been another 'ancient Bantu custom'; for we find it to have been a rather common royal device for getting out of difficulties. When Speke was curious to learn the Nyoro law of royal succession, Kamrasi, the local potentate, replied: "The brothers fight for it, and the best man gains the crown".²

Now came the second step, viz. the contingency of having to provide an understudy for the Great Wife should she fail in her 'duty' of supplying the necessary male issue. So from

among his sweethearts (or present spouses), the chief selected a second favourite to be formally installed as the family *ĩNqadi* and serve as substitute for the former in case of male deficiency. Her hut was stationed on the right side of the kraal, perhaps about the centre of the curve. Should the Great Wife bear no son, or should the latter be deformed, or prove impotent, or die without a brother, then the right of succession would automatically pass on to the eldest male of this *ĩNqadi* hut. On that account, this latter youth was commonly known as the *ĩPósukubusa* (the Nearly-Heir) and the *umNawa weNkosana* (the Younger-iNkosana, the Younger-Principal-Heir).

The chief's first love (i.e. his eldest wife), who, with her son (the family *ĩSokanqangi*, the-first-to-circumcise), had hitherto lived at the top of the kraal, enjoying a certain precedence and pre-eminence among the other wives, had now perforce to vacate her superior location and resign her superior rank to the new-comer. There had been a time when the great man, then younger and poorer, had bestowed on her his undivided love. In that heyday of their youth, she had ruled alone; but as age crept on and robbed her of her charms, younger rivals had, one after the other, supplanted her and usurped her favours and her place. And now that she was old and unable longer to contribute offspring to the family, her deposition was to be final and complete. Yet, even among these reputed 'savages', consideration did not fail her, nor sympathy to ease her lot. As an amende honorable to her injured pride, a new dignity was created and conferred upon her: she was named the family *ĩKóhlo* wife (Head of the Left-side Branch of the family), and as such now moved away from the Great Kraal (with her son, and some of the older wives) and founded her own separate kraal, where she lived entirely independent of the new Great Wife and mistress once more in her own small realm.

Then there was the newly appointed *isiZinda* wife (the Mother-of-the-Family). This too was one of the older wives; but she remained in the old kraal. Her 'especial honour' was that, whereas of all the female dignitaries she, for the rest of the chieftain's life and after it, was ranked as humblest, being posted in splendid isolation at the lowest spot in the kraal (beside the entrance-way, on the right), yet, after the chieftain's death, her son would become of all the most respected.

Her location by the kraal gate was no abasement, but a symbol of her honourable office (or rather of that of her son, whom she represented), namely, to act as guardian of the family and the kraal. No special portion of the father's property devolved upon her hut, the only legacy being one of honour; for, the parent gone, her son by right assumed the proud title of *uYise womuZi* (the-Father-of-the-Family), and his especial task was to be his father's representative and to guard the kraal: hence his position at the gate. All disputes between other sections of the family had first of all to be notified to him, not indeed for adjudication, for he had no power, but for counsel, and as a mark of lasting respect to the common departed parent, whose living token he was. And when, in course of time, the *iNdlunkulu* and *iNqadi* and *iKohlo* sections of the family had all of them forsaken the old site to establish newer independent kraals elsewhere, he alone remained behind on the hallowed spot, guarding his father's bones, at the gate, unto the last. The motive behind the Zulu mind in making this arrangement was, of course, purely practical and prosy. They never saw, so far as we were able to discern, what so appeals to us, the lovely sentiment that conceived and permeated so admirable an institution. The whole arrangement almost suggests to us an origin for that peculiar law which (we have read) was once in force in England, whereby, should a father die intestate, the estate was inherited, not by the eldest, but by the youngest son, on the assumption, it is said, that, while the elder sons were wont to move away and form other homes of their own, "the youngest stays at home and takes care of the old father and mother; he is, as the Mongols say, the 'fire-keeper', and at their death he naturally succeeds to the family home".³

We have now completed the organization of the Right-Hand Branch of any high-class Zulu kraal or family—the younger, yet more powerful and more wealthy, branch, which will supply the tribal heir and inherit the crown estate (whence it was sometimes referred to as the *isiBaya esiKulu*, the-Larger Cattle-fold). But there was an older branch than this. Long prior to the newer family re-organization, the chief had already built up a considerable establishment. This had now to be provided for. Many of the older wives would naturally find themselves rather out of place in the newer atmosphere; so to relieve and receive them, a further new family-branch was

created. One of these older wives (it was generally the first married) was accordingly (at the same time as the creation of the *iNdlunkulu* or Great-House) selected and named the *ĩKóhlo* (or Left-side House). This *ĩKóhlo* wife (since she had been the first to marry in the older home) had heretofore occupied the principal central hut at the top of the kraal. This superior position she must now vacate, and remove her hut to the central position on the left-hand side of the newly constituted royal kraal. Here she would henceforth reign over the *ĩKóhlo* or Left-side branch of the royal family ; into which branch (and kraal-side), along with herself, many other older wives of the original family were also drafted. This *ĩKóhlo* branch was entirely independent of that of the *iNdlunkulu* (or Great-House) ; and an early opportunity (either after the old chief's demise, or with his sanction even during his lifetime) was taken to move away and establish itself in a separate kraal. The head and general heir to this branch of the family was the eldest son of the *ĩKóhlo* hut, who also mostly happened to be eldest son in the family. The tribal heir (of the *iNdlunkulu* hut) had no jurisdiction here over person or property ; that is, until he had become the tribal chief. Contrariwise, the *ĩKóhlo* son could never legally aspire to succession to the throne. A clear and complete cleavage had thus taken place in the clan's royal family.

As the elder branch of the family, the principal *ĩKóhlo* hut was " the depository of the family charms and medicines. It is the one which the chief inhabits during the periods of purification and other ceremonies ".⁴ He still regarded this *ĩKóhlo* kraal as his real ' home ' ; the Great-Place (*komKulu*) was rather his official residence or ' palace ', as king. This Zulu institution of the *ĩKóhlo* is somewhat reflected in the Uganda custom, whereby those sons born before their father became king were distinguished, as ' peasant princes ', from those born of the great and other wives after his accession to the throne.⁵ It resembled too the Spartan practice, where, although the normal law was that the eldest son be his father's successor,⁶ nevertheless, " if a king has sons before he came to the throne, and another son is born to him afterwards, the child so born is heir to his father's kingdom ".⁷

No Zulu can longer explain to us precisely what the original motive may have been for the creation of this peculiar

īKóhlo branch. To us the purpose seems clear : it was a simple and wise device to protect at once both the young queen and the older wives. The latter might well be expected to resent the sudden imposition upon them of a 'mere child' as their superior, while the former might have much to suffer from this resentment and jealousy of the older wives ; therefore keep them apart.

Of course, one must not suppose that with the advent of a queen, the king, as a marrying man, went out of business. On the contrary, a new task was now imposed upon him of supplying the several new female dignitaries (the *iNdlunkulu*, the *īNqadi*, the *īKóhlo*, and the *isiZinda* wives) with suitable *abaLobokazi* (young-brides), to serve them as helpmates and companions. The principal wife in each of the said family sections referred to such a subordinate bride as her *umHlane* (Back) ; and, by others (though hardly in their presence), such inferior wives were spoken of, collectively, as *amaBibi* (rubbish-heaps).

Though all this elaborate ordering of wives and sons had been specially devised for the benefit of kings, most of the latter treated these well-meant plannings of their subjects with scant respect. Whatever the clan may have thought, certainly the kings themselves did not regard this constitution of their family as any binding law ; for many of them kept it only in the breach. Neither Senzangakona, nor Shaka, nor Dingane, nor Mpande, nor Cetshwayo, nor Dinuzulu—six out of the twelve known Zulu kings ; and the rest may have done the same, for all we know—cared one atom about any such law or family disposition. Every one of them (save only the belated death-bed choice of Dinuzulu) thought Kamrasi's rule (above) the best, and followed it. Perhaps in the more peaceful times prior to Shaka, it may have been otherwise. But even in Shakan times, and since, the Zulu aristocrats (like the great court officers, Ngomane, Sotobe, Ndlela, and the rest), proved themselves more regal than their king, and indulged to the full in their privilege of *ukuBeka* (to set up in their kraals a Great Wife, and all the rest of them), despite the fact that, by birth, they were but commoners.

The Zulu clan, then, as we have said, was but a magnified family, consisting of the offspring of a single forefather, the

clan's founder, gradually multiplying and expanding itself by a process of geometrical progression, until it mustered at last several hundreds, and even thousands, of souls, all settled together in a single patch of country, sometimes as large as a small English county, all speaking the same language, practising the same customs, and united in their allegiance to their common ancestor's direct living representative, the tribal grand-patriarch, its chief or king (*iNkosi*). All such as were outside the clan's frontiers, even though obviously the same type of Bantu, were to it 'foreigners' or gentiles (*abeziZwe*, they-of-the-tribes). That the Zulus were still essentially patriarchal, and not monarchically minded, may be gathered from the fact that they consistently demanded that the chief of their clan be always he who was head of the family, and that they had never yet conceived the idea that an outstanding brave, a wisest sage, or a pushful reformer could ever rightfully be made their king.

While talking here of clans, we may remark on a great deal of confusion that has arisen in the matter of terms. The Gaelic term, *clann* (said to signify 'offspring', or 'a tribe of offspring'), in its English form 'clan', seems to us exactly the word here needed to fit the particular social group with which we are dealing. Further, up to quite recent times it was the word universally employed in English speech to express the object in mind. Then the newer generation of ethnologists began to fancy that their fathers' ways were not good enough for them; they could do better. So Frazer and Lang threw 'clan' overboard and replaced it by 'kin'. Lowie, in the United States, rejected 'kin' and supplanted it with 'sib' (which is said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *sibb* indicating 'relationship'; which, in turn, is obviously akin to the modern German *Sippe*, meaning 'clan', thus bringing us back to where we started): Other Americans then threw 'sib' aside and adopted 'gens' to indicate a 'clan on the patrilineal side', while retaining 'clan' to indicate such 'on the matrilineal side'. All which made no appeal whatever to Rivers, who, discarding all these new-fangled notions, proceeded to create a new one of his own, namely, 'sept', apparently an Irish term signifying 'a division of a tribe' (which, of course, a 'clan' commonly is; though not necessarily so). But if 'clan' sufficiently signifies already (as we believe it does)

' a division of a tribe ', why remove it, and replace it by an utterly unknown term, ' sept ', which conveys exactly the same meaning as did ' clan ' ?

The division of society into ' clans ' must have been a very ancient practice with mankind. We find it customary, not only everywhere in Negro and Bantu Africa, but also among the ancient Persians,⁸ the medieval Germans,⁹ and the modern Scotch.

The Bantu knew nothing of ' castes ', such as existed in Ancient Egypt¹⁰ and Sparta,¹¹ as well as in modern India. Rivers,¹² however, thought to detect them in being amongst the Ibos of Nigeria.

Among the Zulus, a clan was always the offspring of a single man, whose name (or that of his place) it took ; thus the *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-of-Zulu) clan was named after a certain *uZulu* (Mr Sky), from whom they and their sub-clans were all of them descended. A man was able to found a clan in this way, and so make himself immortal, by a simple process of migration—a man separating himself from his parent clan and striking out an independent life for himself in some distant unoccupied territory ; as, indeed, did Mr Zulu. Most of the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) clans were, no doubt, formed in this way, having been named after that particular individual, the head or leader of the migrating family, who first brought them down from the South African Central Plateau (Transvaal) into their present countries near the coast. The name of the original parent-clan that had remained behind, soon became in the new land obsolete and forgotten, all persons born subsequently to their arrival in the new home calling themselves after their present family-head, and so eventually forming a new clan.

Speke¹³ tells of similar occurrences away in Nyanzaland. " A sportsman from Unyoro," he says, " by name Uganda, came with a pack of dogs, a woman, a spear, and a shield, hunting on the left bank of the Katonga valley, not far from the lake. He was but a poor man, though so successful in hunting that vast numbers of the Wiru flocked to him for flesh, and became so fond of him as to invite him to be their king." In that way ' tribes ' were formed. And, in this way, ' colonies ' : " Now, Cleomenes," says Herodotus,¹⁴ " was not right in his

mind ; indeed, he verged on madness ; while Doreius surpassed all his co-mates, and looked confidently to receiving the kingdom on the score of merit. When, therefore, after the death of Anaxandridas, the Spartans kept to the law, and made Cleomenes, his eldest son, king in his room, Doreius, who had imagined that he should be chosen . . . asked the Spartans to give him a body of men, and left Sparta with them in order to found a colony." But, of course, neither of these two examples was a 'clan' in our sense here.

But out of clans, there frequently emerged 'sub-clans'. A common method by which such a sub-clan came into being was, when some king or prince fell in love with a bewitching girl of his own clan (technically, his 'clan-sister') and forthwith married her ; which marriage of one's 'sister' (exogamy being the binding rule among the Ngunis) was a serious breach of the law. The royal transgression, however, was soon rectified by a process of giving the girl's family a new clan-name ; so that it could no longer be said that his Majesty had broken the law and married his sister, but a maiden of Such-and-such other clan. Thus, a certain royal personage having taken in wedlock a girl of his own Zulu clan (a daughter of the Zulu king, Ndaba, belonging to his *emGázini* kraal), that portion of the royal family living in the said kraal (and their descendants after them) henceforth dropped the clan-name, *aba-kwa-Zulu* (they-of-Zulu), and adopted the new one of *aba-s-emGázini* (they-of-the-emGazini-kraal) ; though continuing as before to be subjects of the Zulu king. Originally dependent sub-clans of this kind very often in course of time set up on their own as independent clans, with chiefs of their own.

So we see that Nguni clan-names took as a rule either a personal form (with the prefix, *aba-kwa-*, they-of-So-and-so), or a locative one (with the prefix, *aba-s-e*, they-of-at-Such-and-such, a place). These were plainly old Bantu methods ; because we frequently find Congo travellers speaking of the '*Báqualunda*', the '*Baquakalosh*' (obviously the *ba-kwa-Lunda* and *ba-kwa-Kalosh*) and other such clans. We have a suspicion that those other common Congo forms, '*Bashilange*', '*Bashibombo*', '*Benaluntu*', '*Benakamba*', are also really of similar construction, and therefore more correctly written '*ba-shi-Lange*' and '*be-na-Luntu*'. A few Nguni clans (and

tribes) had simply 'collective' names (neither 'personal' nor 'locative'). The prefix here was usually *ama-* or *aba-*; thus, the *amaMbatá* (the-Mbatas), the *abaTēmbu* (the-Tembus). How or why this came about can no longer be discovered. The Zulus habitually applied names of this form to 'tribes' of nondescript foreigners, in a generic sense; thus, the *amaTóngá* (the-Tongas, or East African Bantu), *abaSutú* (the-Sutus, or South African Central Bantu), *amaNgisi* (the-English), *aba-Lungu* (the-Whitemen).

This clan-system (with its far-spread range of consanguineal relationships), coupled with those other customs of exogamy and polygamy (with their equally far-spread range of relationships by affinity) gave rise to a complicated system of inter-marriage prohibitions, which we shall deal with in the chapter on Marriage.

We spoke just now of the complicated system of Zulu relationships. Let us now consider this matter, with all its manifold implications, in greater detail. We shall then discover, perhaps to our surprise, that much of what we thought we understood before (the 'fathers' and 'mothers', the 'sisters' and 'brothers') was pure illusion, misinterpretations of our own, purely imaginary, and that the Zulu himself knows nothing of *our* 'fathers' and 'mothers', 'sisters' and 'brothers', as we understand those terms.

To the Zulu, the 'family' was *not* (as with us) solely that tiny group of individuals born of our own parents, inmates of our own home-kraal; it was rather the whole of our 'clan'. That is the cardinal point to be remembered, all the way through this matter of 'relationships'. His term, *Kiti* (our-place), signified at once his paternal-kraal and his paternal-clan (or its country); thus, he described both a member of his own family and a member of his own clan, by the one same term, *umuNtu waKiti* (a-person-of-our-place). He regarded his own individual family or kraal (as well as every other such family or kraal) simply as single constituent parts of *his* 'greater family'; just as with us father and mother, sister and brother, are the constituent parts of our own 'smaller family'. One's own father (in the Zulu 'clan'-system) was simply one's 'begetter' (*o-wa-ngi-Zalayo*, he-who-begot-me), on behalf of

the clan-family. Consequently *he* held no special title, peculiar solely to himself and inapplicable to every other man of the clan. There were, in a word, no words in the Zulu language exactly corresponding with *our* own terms of 'father', 'mother', 'sister', or 'brother'. The only 'relational' terms there in use were those of, what *we* might call, 'clan-father', 'clan-mother', 'clan-sister', and 'clan-brother'. A Zulu boy or girl called *every* family-head in the clan (including his own family-head) by one and the same name, *uBaba* (clan-father); and *every* mother in the clan (including his own mother) by the one same name, *uMame* (clan-mother). Similarly, *every* paterfamilias and materfamilias in the clan called *every* boy and girl therein (including their own) indiscriminately by the selfsame terms, *umFana waMi* (my boy or son), *iNtombazana yaMi* (my girl or daughter), or simply *umNtanami* (my-child).

The Bantu clan; then, was but a conglomerate of, what we call, mutually related 'families'. Such a family, then, we may regard as the basic clan-unit. Let us now consider the varied relationships between the several members of such a clan-unit, or, as we have it, of such a single family—never forgetting, however, that these relationship-terms apply equally to every other family in the clan.

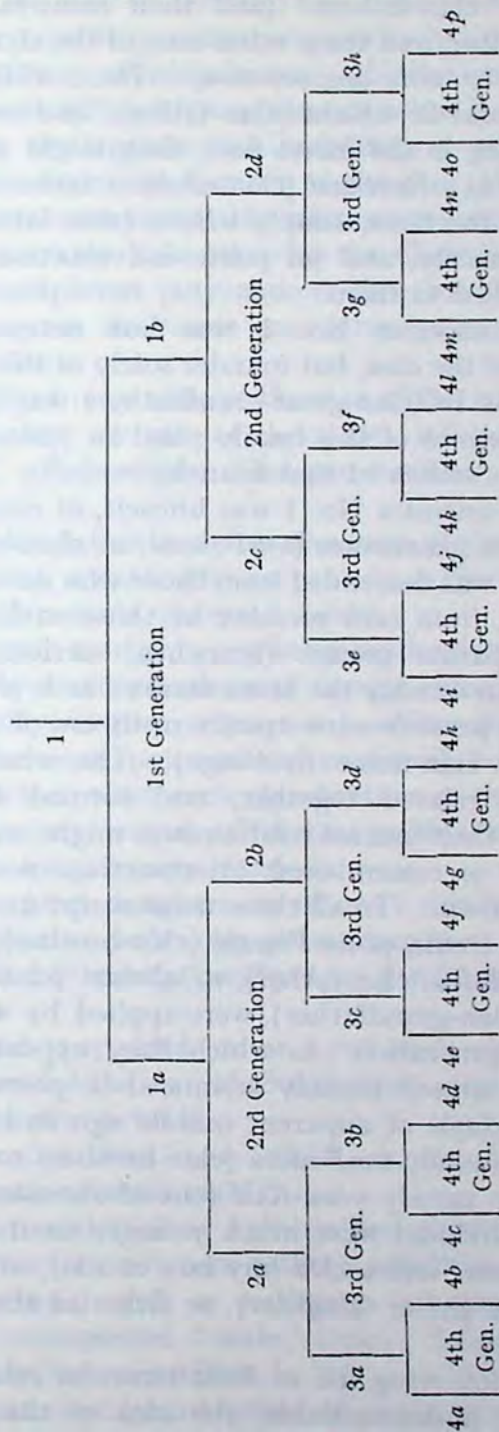
The fundamental rule for distinguishing relationships within the family was to divide the family members according to their 'generations'. The accompanying Table will picture this for us, and the following remarks will explain the picture.

Beginning at the bottom, with the youngest generation of the family, all those members of the family ranging from *4a* to *4p*, inclusive, called each other, without further distinction, *umFowetú* (clan-brother) or *uDadewetú* (clan-sister), as the case might be.

4a to *4p* called *3a* to *3h* inclusive, without distinction, *uBaba* (clan-father); *2a* to *2d*, *uBabamkúlu* (clan-grandfather); *1a* and *1b*, *uKókó* (clan-great-grandfather); and *1*, *uKokologó* or *uKúlukúlwane* (clan-ancestor).

Distinction, however, was sometimes deemed desirable; and so the newer title, *uBabekazi* (clan-uncle, or father's-brother, lit. 'greater-father' or 'father-in-the-wider-sense') came to be invented. The distinction really sought was that

A CLAN UNIT



between 'clan-fathers' (and their same-family brothers) *in the direct line*, and those other men of the clan of equal age who were one or more degrees away. Thus, while 4*a* and 4*b* called both 3*a* and 3*b* *uBaba* (clan-father), and never anything else (they being in the direct line), they might distinguish 3*c* to 3*h* inclusive as *uBabekazi* (clan-uncle or father-in-a-wider-sense); although the term, simply *uBaba* (clan-father), might still be quite correctly, and (in polite conversation) most commonly was, applied to them.

Clan-ancestor No. 1 was not necessarily himself the founder of the *clan*, but founder solely of this one *family* within it; just as 1*a* (clan-great-grandfather) was the founder of one ensuing *branch* of this family; and 2*a* (clan-grandfather), of a particular *section* of that branch.

Clan-ancestor No. 1 was himself, of course, but one of an earlier 4th generation (*umFowetú*, or clan-brothers), in so far as he too was descended from those who went before him. And similarly, from *each* member of those earlier fraternal series, other separate groups (branches, sections, etc.) had been derived, in exactly the same manner as is shown in the Table. All these persons were equally members of the clan, and bore the same clan-name (*isiBongo*). The whole multitude were therefore related together, and formed the 'clan'; and, although their mutual relationships might no longer be actually traceable or remembered, intermarriage was never permitted between them. To all these nondescript members of the clan, the same terms, of *umFowetú* (clan-brother), *uDadewetú* (clan-sister), *uBaba* (clan-father), *uBabekazi* (clan-uncle), or *uBabamkúlu* (clan-grandfather), were applied by 4*a* to 4*p*, according to the 'generation' to which they appeared to belong. A speaker, himself already advanced in years, might even call all individuals of apparent middle age and older, simply and indiscriminately *umFowetú* (clan-brother) or *uDadewetú* (clan-sister), or merely *o-wa-Kití* (one-of-our-clan or country); or, if the individual were much younger than himself, he might call him *umFana waMi* (my boy or son), or her, *iNtombazana yaMi* (my girl or daughter), or either of the two, *umNtanami* (my-child).

The following list of Zulu terms of relationship will now be better understandable, the idea of the 'clan', however, rather than of the 'family', being kept constantly in mind.

By ancestor, we may understand any male predecessor in the clan older than a great-grandfather ; and such was called an *uKogó*, *uKokologó*, or *uKúlukúlwane*. *UNkulunkulu* (apparently the same as *uKúlukúlwane*) has come to be confined, in a special sense (in legends and such-like) to the earliest or greatest clan-ancestor, the founder of the clan, the creator of the people. Hence was it that the missionaries adopted this as the nearest procurable Zulu term for the Christian ' God '.

Clan-great-grandparent (any male of the clan of approximately the same age as one's own great-grandparent ; or wife of the same), *uKókó*.

Clan-grandparent (any male of the clan of the same age as one's own grandfather ; or wife of the same), *uKúlu*, *uKoko* ; Clan-grandfather, *uBabamkúlu*, Clan-grandmother, *uMamekúlu*.

Clan-father (own father and any clansman of similar age), *uBaba* (my or our f.), *uYihlo* (thy or your f.), *uYise* (his, her, or their f.). See Clan-uncle, paternal, below.

Clan-mother (own mother or any other mother in the clan—all of whom are by birth members of foreign clans), *uMame* (my or our m.), *uNyoko* (thy or your m.), *uNina* (his, her or their m.). See Clan-aunt, paternal and maternal, below.

Clan-son (own son, or of one's clan-brother or clan-sister), *umFana waMi* (my boy or son) ; *iNdodana yaMi* (this term is mostly confined to sons already married).

Clan-daughter (own daughter, or of one's clan-brother or clan-sister), *iNtombazana yaMi* (my girl or daughter) ; *iNdodakazi yaMi* (this term is mostly confined to daughters already married).

Clan-grandchild (any child, m. or f., of one's clan-son or clan-daughter), *umZukúlu* or *umZukúlwana*, also *umNtanomNtanami* (child-of-my-child).

Clan-great-grandchildren (any child, m. or f., of the preceding), *umNta-nomZukúlu waMi*.

Clan-uncle, paternal (full or half-brother of own father), *uBaba* ; (clan-brother of one's own father), *uBabekazi*.

Clan-aunt, paternal (full or half-sister of own father), *uBaba* (note the unexpected ' male ' term) ; (clan-sister of one's own father), *uDade-wawoBaba*.

Clan-uncle, maternal (clan-brother of one's own or half-mother), *uMalume waMi*.

Clan-aunt, maternal (full or half-sister of one's own mother), *uMamekazi* (my or our), *uNyokokazi* (thy or your), *uNinakazi* (his, her or their); (clan-sister of one's own mother of half-mother), *uMamekazi*, etc. as before; (wife of maternal clan-uncle, see preceding), *uMka-Malume*.

Clan-brother (son of one's own or of any other clan-father—if *older* than the speaker), *umNewetú* (used by both male and female speakers).

Clan-brother (if of *equal* age with the speaker), *umFowetú* (if male speaking), *umNewetú* (if female speaking).

Clan-brother (if *younger* than the speaker), *umFowetú*, or *umNawa waMi* (if male speaking), *umNewetú* (if female speaking).

One brother or sister would speak of another 'full-brother' (i.e. boy or youth of the same mother) as *umFana waKwetú* (boy of-our-maternal-hut); and of a 'full-sister' (i.e. of same mother), as *iNtombazana yaKwetú* (girl of-our-hut).

Clan-sister (daughter of one's own or of any other clan-father)—(male speaking) *uDadewetú*; (female speaking) *uDadewetú* (if *older* than the speaker), *umFowetú* (if of *equal* age), *umNawa waMi* (if *younger*).

Clan-cousin, paternal (son of paternal clan-uncle, *older* than the speaker, latter being male or female), *umNewetú*; (ditto, of *equal* age or *younger*, male speaking), *umFowetú*; (ditto, female speaking), *umNewetú*.

Clan-cousin, paternal (daughter of paternal clan-uncle, male speaking), *uDadewetú*; (female speaking—if *older* than speaker), *uDadewetú*, (if of *equal* age or *younger*), *umFowetú*.

[The term, 'cousin', in the two preceding instances, is here used in the English sense. *To the Zulu*, they are simply 'clan-brothers' and 'clan-sisters'; hence the terms employed].

Clan-cousin, paternal (son or daughter of paternal clan-aunt; or of any other wife of her husband), *umZala* (here the term is different, because the individual is of a different clan to the speaker).

Clan-cousin, maternal (son or daughter of maternal clan-uncle), *umZala* (again because of different clan).

Clan-cousin, maternal (son or daughter of maternal clan-aunt; or of any other wife of her husband), *umNta-kaMame*.

Clan-nephew or Clan-niece, fraternal (son or daughter of clan-brother), *umFana waMi* (my son) or *iNtombazana yaMi* (my daughter), because all of the same clan; also *umNtanomFowetú* (child-of-my-brother).

Clan-nephew or niece, sororal (son or daughter of clan-sister), *umNta-kaDadewetú*; also sometimes used (but probably incorrectly, because of being of a different clan), *umFana waMi* (my son) or *iNtombazana yaMi* (my daughter).

Father-in-law, (male-speaking) *umKwé*; (female speaking) *uMamezala*.

Mother-in-law, (male speaking) *umKwékazi*; (female speaking) *uMamezala*.

Brother-in-law, (used by husband's to wife's clan) *umLamu waMi*, or *umLanda waMi* or *weTú*; (used by wife's to husband's clan) *umKwénya* or *umKwényana waMi* or *weTú*.

Sister-in-law, exactly the same as the preceding.

Son-in-law, *umKwénya* or *umKwényana waMi*.

Daughter-in-law, *uMalokazana waMi*.

Father or Mother of husband or wife, to each other, *uSebele* or *umLingane*.

Husband (used by wife), *umYeni waMi*.

Wife (used by husband), *uMka-mi*.

Remoter nondescript 'family relations' or 'clan cousins-german'—(descendants of ancestors prior to grandfather), singly or collectively, *umNdeni*.

Step-father, *uBabana*; step-mother, *uMamana*—only used when they not present; otherwise (by courtesy) *uBaba*, *uMame*.

Such, then, was the Zulu usage up to the beginning of the present century. But such has been the confusing and disordering influence of European association during the last 40 years, that Zulu men and women of middle age may already be heard disputing among themselves as to how their fathers and mothers really understood and applied the terms.

We turn now to *Personal* names. A Zulu, meeting a stranger and wishing to know who he might be, did not ask him his name, but asked him his clan—*U-ngo-wa-Pi*, *isiZalo saKini*? (you-are-of-what-place, as-to-your birth?) To which

the other would reply, giving the name of his clan (and country). The next question might be, *uYihlo u-nguBani?* (and-who-is your-father?). If this father chanced to be a notability of any kind, and so be known by report to the interrogator, the latter might then be asked *his* name; otherwise, that name was not worth enquiry.

According to modern European practice, every person has at least two names, a so-called 'Christian' name (e.g. James) and a family name or surname (e.g. Brown); and occasionally also a third, or 'nickname' of some kind given him by his associates. We say 'modern' European practice, because, until about the 13th or 14th century, surnames were both exceptional and changeable, at least in England. None, prior to that period, had more than a single 'personal' name (e.g. John). But about the time stated, it became the custom to make distinctions by appending a 'family' name (which, in reality, was usually nothing else than the 'clan-name', e.g. Howard or Campbell), where such was known; and when it was not known, then to distinguish a person by his trade, place or residence, or physical appearance. Thus John now became known in his neighbourhood as 'John Farrier', or 'John de Walden', or 'John Redhead'. How far back the Zulu system of naming extended, we naturally cannot tell; but we feel sure it must go much further back than the period mentioned, and probably right back to Negro beginnings.

Every Zulu babe, male or female, received soon after birth a 'personal-name' (*ṛGámu*) from its father, for instance, *Jama*. While, within the family itself, a person, being there well known, would always be called simply by his own personal name, among the outside public that personal name would often be conjoined with the personal name of his father; thus, *uJama kaNdaba* (Jama of-Ndaba), just as the Semites also said 'Moses of-Susan'. This, then, might be called the full name of a Zulu man. It was so too with the Greeks, whose notables we constantly find mentioned in history as, e.g. 'Demaratus, son of Ariston', or 'Callias, son of Phænippus'.

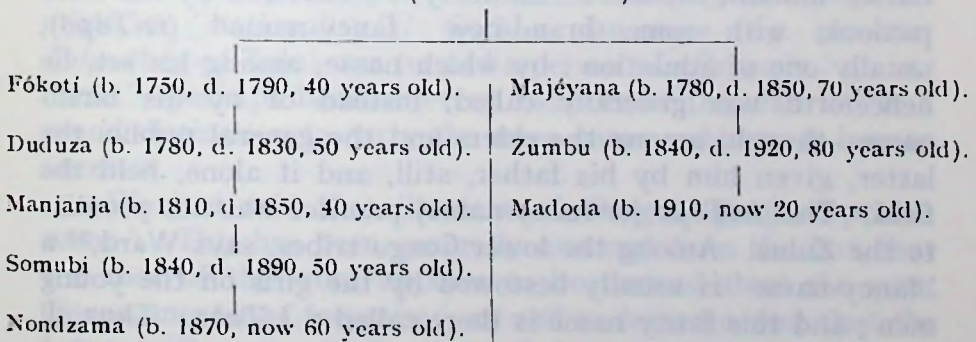
But not only his father's name was it that was often tacked on to the name of a Zulu man (as, indeed, also to that of the ancient Greek). It was quite customary, in regard to persons of quality, to add also that of their grandfather, great-grandfather and as many more of their ancestors as could

be remembered ; thus, *uDinuzulu kaCetshwayo, kaMphande, kaSendzangakona, kaJama, kaNdaba, kaPúnga noMagéba, kaZulu* (Dinuzulu of-Cetshwayo, etc.).

This penchant, so common among the Bantu, of reciting their pedigrees was not confined solely to kings ; every commoner did it upon occasion, and felt the more proud of himself the more names he could string together. And, as just said, the habit was not confined to the Bantu ; the ancient Persians and Greeks also cultivated it, and felt the same pride in stringing together as many fictitious names as they could safely get in. For instance, in his great speech before Xerxes, Artabanus, the Persian prince, was careful to prove his importance by reeling off his pedigree as ' the child of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teispes [the son of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses], the son of Teispes, the son of Achæmenes ',¹⁵ including, as he proceeded, in order to make things still more impressive, the names of Cyrus and Cambyses, that had no right there.

What motive may have underlain the Persian practice, we know not ; but as far as the Zulus were concerned, it was not one wholly of vanity and pride. The preservation of pedigrees was with them absolutely necessary, because, without it, descent (and consequent property rights) could not always be readily proved. Under the Zulu polygamous system, a robust man often begat children by a young bride in his old age ; which often caused curious things to happen. Consider, for example, the following :—

Faku (common ancestor).



The youth, Madoda, now 20 years of age, it will be noticed, is of the same ' generation ' of descent (i.e. the third from the

start) as Manjanja (who was born in 1810, exactly 100 years before him), who was therefore his 'clan-brother'; and so properly called by him, Madoda, *umNewetú* (a term he applies also to the young man who is his living elder brother). Manjanja's son, Somubi (though dead already 20 years before Madoda was born), being the son of Madoda's 'clan-brother', would have been rightly called by Madoda *umNtanami* (my-child) or *um'ana waMi* (my son); while Nondzama (this 'son's' son), although at the present time a grey-haired old man of 60, is quite correctly addressed by Madoda as *umNtanomNtanami* (my-grandson)! Had the pedigree on each side *not* been preserved, none would have known exactly what relation he was to the other, and Madoda (of 20) would probably have regarded and called Somubi, 'grandfather' (while, in reality, he is his 'son'), and would have called Nondzama, his 'father' (whereas he is, really, his 'grandson'). And, as a matter of fact, that is what actually did quite commonly happen, after a clan had become so multitudinous or (as in these present times) so scattered, that the clan-members could no longer possibly be acquainted with each other's descent and with their precise mutual relationship.

But not even yet have we reached the end of the Zulu name-scheme. Always mentally a child, the Zulu man dearly loved both praise and admiration, and so, to the preceding, 'praise-names' and other such now became added.

When now at length the babe (of the single paterna name) had grown into a brave and handsome youth, he was wont to flatter himself, or, more commonly, be flattered by his companions, with some brand-new 'fancy-name' (*isiTópó*), usually one of adulation; by which name, among his set, he henceforth was generally called, instead of by his birth-name—though, among the elders and the general public, the latter, given him by his father, still, and it alone, held the field. This *isiTópó* (or fancy-name) practice was not peculiar to the Zulus. Among the lower Congo tribes, says Ward,¹⁶ a 'fancy-name' is usually bestowed by the girls on the young men; and this fancy name is there called a *kiToko*. Thus all the Bantu world is kin.

A still further change of name occurred when the young man became a warrior in the Zulu army. Every Zulu youth at

last reached this stage, when, at about 18 to 20 years of age, he, along with all other such youths in the land, became embodied in a newly-formed regiment of their own, bearing its own distinguishing appellation (e.g. the *iNdlu-yeNgwé*, the-lair-of-the-leopard). This regimental name was thereafter assumed by every member as another new title of especial pride and honour; and by it he was henceforth spoken of in polite conversation, thus, *U-pi uNdlu-yeNgwé?* (where-is Leopard's-lair?).

It was at this period of life that opportunities arose for distinction in warfare or in the chase. Notable deeds, of all sorts, would once more earn for the young man still further titles, or 'praise-names' (as they were called—*isiBongo*); by which, again, he would often be referred to by his comrades, thus, *uNojiyelwa-kuLala* (He-who-is-hindered-from-lying-down-comfortably—owing to the wound he received in honourable combat), or *uNovandzi* (Agile-legs—owing to his skill in kicking about his legs when performing the *ukuGiya* dance).

So far, we have spoken only of 'personal' names. Were there, then, no 'family' names among the Zulus? There certainly were; but not in *our* sense. The only family-name the Zulu knew, was the name of that greater family, which was the 'clan'—akin to our own 'Campbells', 'O'Neils' and the like. Among the Nguni (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu alone there must have been, prior to the general break-up of the clans in Shaka's time, at least half a thousand such clans and sub-clans in existence,¹⁷ to one or other of which every man and woman belonged. Each clan and sub-clan had its own name; and by that name every member of it called himself (when asked his origin or 'nationality'). Such a clan-name (e.g. *aba-kwa-Zulu*, they-of-Zulu) was termed a person's *isiBongo* or 'praise-name'—perhaps because every member of the clan felt it a proud distinction to carry the same name as his most famous ancestor.

We just said that the term, *isiBongo*, signifies 'praise-name'. This has been generally assumed from the fact that the root of the word appears to be derived from the root, *Bonga*, meaning 'to-praise', as well as from the fact that the term, *isiBongo*, actually is applied to names and addresses obviously of an adulatory nature. Nevertheless, it were just *possible* (we will not go further than that) that the two terms,

isiBongo (clan-name) and *isiBongo* (praise-name), are etymologically quite distinct, and have become orthographically alike only by accident ; just as it has been mere coincidence that the term, *umLungu* (ancestral-god), possesses in some Bantu languages identically the same form as the term, *umLungu* (Whiteman), in other Bantu languages, whereas the two terms are in reality derived from entirely different sources. Says Park :¹⁸ " Among the Negroes every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong* or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs . . . as every Negro plumes himself upon the importance or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*." Park, of course, was here writing of the far-away Natives of West African Guinea ; yet the name, *kontong*, and its application, so strongly resembles the *isiBongo* (clan-name) and its application among the Zulus, that one may reasonably suspect an original connection between the two. One would have liked to hear more precisely what the essential signification of the Negro root, *kontong*, may have been. Rather curiously, the West Australian aborigines also call their tribal 'totem' (probably, more accurately, simply 'clan-name') their *Kobong* ; though we can hardly suppose any connection between that and the African words.

In ordinary conversation, however, a Zulu man was not generally addressed by his *isiBongo* (or clan-name), but by the *isiTákazelo* (title of address) peculiar to his clan ; for most (not all) clans possessed both these things. The *isiBongo* was the name of the actual clan-founder or of his place ; the *isiTákazelo* (like the *Kabiro* name in Uganda) is more obscure. It may have been a ' fancy-name ' or a ' praise-name ' of that founder, or the clan-name of the original clan to which that founder himself belonged. Anyway, to a member of the Zulu clan (*aba-kwa-Zulu*) it would not be said, *Sa-ku-Bona, Zulu* (Good-morning, Zulu)—this could be said properly only to the Zulu king, as Zulu's living representative—but *Sa-ku-Bona, Nda-bezitá* (Good-morning, Ndabezita), this latter being the *isiTá-kazelo* (or address-name) of this particular clan. Everybody was familiar with the *iziTákazelo* of the clans round about him, and in addressing their members habitually used them ; unless, of course, one preferred to address a man by his regiment (if he knew it).

From all which it will be seen that the Zulu man was more than amply supplied with names, and well able to hold up his head without shame before his Congo brethren. "The natives of the Lower Congo," says Ward,¹⁹ "are frequently the possessors of six names: the clan-name, the surname, the Christian name, the native baptismal name, the *Fua-Kongo* [apparently regimental name], and the *Kitoko* [Z. *isiTópó*], or fancy name, bestowed upon young men by the young girls of their village."

The Bantu possessed not only clan *names*, but many of them gloried also in tribal-*markings*. Our Zulus happily never impaired their natural 'beauty' by any such ugly body-mutilations—no keloids or cicatrices, no lip studs, no teeth-filings, to disfigure their bodies or faces, such as so many other Negro and Bantu peoples delighted in. Perhaps they had already left their northern birthplace and passed beyond the range of contamination before those unsightly practices had been conceived. And yet they did not escape entirely; for the ancient (so-called) 'Mosaic' dispensation of circumcision, a slight ear-boring, and some insignificant cicatrization among the females, they did not succeed in eluding. The Tembu clan (who, though apparently of the Nguni tribe, are somewhat of a mystery as to origin), however, had somehow somewhere annexed also the Bushman habit of little-finger amputation (*iNdiki*). A few of the *Nata* clans, too (perhaps learned during their former temporary sojourn among the East Coast Tongas), practised various forms—none of them noticeably disagreeable—of facial skin-slittings, for the purpose, as they said, of ridding their infants of bad-blood, though more probably to serve as signs of blood-relationship.

A Zulu kraal, as we have already seen, though possessing one only *paterfamilias* or kraal-head, was composed of several little 'families', each with its own mother and own little house. In a household so complex, one might have expected a general disorderly scramble for the spoils to have followed the chief's demise. Quite the contrary. Never did Solon, or Napoleon, or British Parliament devise with more precision the laws of inheritance and succession.

We have already outlined the system of family organization and inheritance in force in the royal and higher-class Zulu families. But the great mass (perhaps 90 per cent.) of every clan consisted of the 'common herd', whose kraals were small, and unpossessed of powers or riches to inherit. These, then, were subject to a much simpler 'common law'. To that law, the *iNdlunkulu* (Great House), the *ĩKohlo*, the *ĩNqadi* and the *isiZinda* were unknown, and had no place in these minor kraals. Nevertheless, the eldest or first-married wife was, by courtesy, called the family *iNkosikazi* (or principal-wife), although she exercised no authority over the other wife or wives and their offspring. The eldest surviving son of *each* hut became, in his own right, sole heir (*iNdlalifá*), after the father's death, to all such property as pertained to that particular hut (e.g. the bride-price paid for his sisters, goods left by deceased brothers or sisters, and, believe it or not, even the person of his own mother, who could not re-marry without his consent—which he actually sometimes refused!). Such a son was technically known as the *iNkosana yaKwabo* (the-little-lord of-his maternal-hut).

The eldest surviving son (*iNkosana kaYise*, the-little-lord or heir of the father) of the *first-wedded wife*, however, not only did all that, but became also the general family heir, that is to say, heir to all his father's personal property (cattle, etc.), not legally belonging or allotted to any particular hut; as well as to all property (girls, etc.) belonging to all other huts, where there existed no male issue capable of inheriting it—no female possessing any right to inherit anything.

Within each hut or little family, male seniority followed the order of birth. When in any kraal there was no male issue whatsoever, the kraal-head's full-brother (and his line) became the kraal heir; and, failing such full-brother, the eldest half-brother (and his line). Females, wives as well as daughters, were by law always minors, and mere heritable chattels. They had no right to dispose at will of their own persons or powers, whatever their status or their age; and while they were permitted to possess and bestow minor personal goods, they could neither inherit nor bequeath.

There was once a certain man named Nzenze, who bore no male offspring, had no relatives, but left some property—and a proverb. The expression, *ĩFá likaNdzendze, uNdzendze*

e-nga-Zala-nga (the-property-left by-Nzenze, Nzenze who-begat-nobody), was applied to any parcel of girls, cattle or other goods left 'abandoned' (*isiBēmbē*) by a deceased or absconded man, i.e. one with no known sons or other relations, who could rightfully inherit them. Such property was usually scrambled for by strangers posing as distant relatives, and other sharks; and in the last resort became what was termed an *isiZi* (i.e. property legally confiscatable by the clan-chief, like that of an executed criminal).

As regards the law of inheritance in the 'higher class' kraals (i.e. of royalties and aristocrats), all that we have just said applied again; save that now each separate *branch* or section of the family (viz. the *iNdlunkulu*, the *iNqadi*, the *iKóhlo* and the *isiZinda*) became to all intents and purposes a separate kraal or family, with its own *iNkosana* (or minor-head), who was the general heir in his own particular branch, enjoying within that branch the same rights as the 'general kraal-heir' (*iNkosana kaYise*) possessed in the *iNdlunkulu* branch. Should therefore male issue be lacking in any of the inferior huts of any branch, all property (girls, cattle, etc.) pertaining to that hut passed (the kraal-head being dead) to the 'general branch-heir'. And should male issue be lacking throughout the whole of any such branch (and no young-bride or *umLobokazi* have been already formally appointed by the paterfamilias to make good the deficiency), all property pertaining to such branches pass-up to the principal family-heir, the eldest surviving male of the *iNdlunkulu* (or Great Hut branch); and failing male issue there, to the general heir of the *iNqadi* section; which again failing, to him of the *iKóhlo*; and finally to him of the *isiZinda*.

It could not have been long in the history of mankind before intercourse between the sexes, the status of resultant children, and the position of husband and wife to each other and to their offspring, demanded regulation. Tribal social rules were therefore devised governing the selection of husbands and wives, deciding the manner of reckoning descent, defining the rights of inheritance and succession, and adjusting the division of power in the family. But these tribal rules were not everywhere alike.

Among the rules governing married life, those establishing what is termed 'father-right' and 'mother-right' were among the most important. By the former system, offspring, as well as wife, belonged to the husband or father, and descent was reckoned through *him*. That, too, was the Zulu system. By the system of mother-right, on the other hand, offspring, and sometimes also wife, belonged to the family or to the mother of the *wife*, and descent was reckoned through them. Such was the practice in many other Bantu and Negro tribes. All, however, seem to have been in agreement in this, that the female shall always be subject to a male—be it the wife's husband (in the case of 'father-right'), or the wife's father or brother (in the case of 'mother-right'); for, even where mother-right prevailed, actual ownership of person and inheritance, was, so far as we know, never vested in the mother herself, but always in some male of her family.

Mary Kingsley,²⁰ writing of the Igalwa Bantu of the Cameroons, gives us a description of what the system of mother-right amounted to among those people, and, generally speaking, amounts to elsewhere. "The really responsible male relative," she says, "is the mother's elder brother. From him must leave to marry be obtained for either girl or boy; to him and the mother must the present be taken, which is exacted on the marriage of a girl; and should the mother die, on him, and not on the father, lies the responsibility of rearing the children; they go to his house, and he treats and regards them as nearer and dearer to himself than his own children, and at his death . . . they become his heirs."

This anomalous position in the family of the mother caused that of the father to become no less anomalous. Since the father possessed no right of ownership over his own children, it followed that they (the children) could likewise claim no rights to his property or rank. Hence other strange laws of inheritance came into being on the father's side, his chieftainship, for instance, cattle and other heritable appurtenances passing on his death, not to *his* son, but to the eldest son of his eldest sister, or perhaps to his eldest surviving brother.

Though the institution of father-right undoubtedly predominates throughout the world, that of mother-right is quite common among the Negro and other primitive races. Both systems are to be met with among the Australian aborigines,²¹

as well as among the American Indians,²² and the Hamites and Negroes²³ of Africa. Among the Ganda Bantu,²⁴ strange to say, both systems are in force—all 'common-herd' children reckoning their descent through the father, while those of 'royalty' reckon it through their mother's clan: which makes it pretty plain that the Ganda royal family is of foreign, probably Hamitic, extraction. It was in Rotsiland (on the upper Zambezi) that Livingstone²⁵ observed "the first symptoms of that greater regard which is shown to the female sex in the districts to the north. There are few or no cases of women being elevated to the headship of towns south of this point." It was near by, in Lundaland (in Southern Congo), that he met "Manenko, the first female chief whom we encountered".²⁶ From the Zambezi line southwards (unless the Hereros²⁷ are an exception) mother-right comes to an abrupt end, and father-right universally prevails.

Turning from this consideration of 'father-right' to that of the rights of the ordinary father within his family, we shall find that the Zulu system was decidedly classical. Indeed, the Zulu fathers were here only one degree more civilized than the Roman: and the measure of a Roman father's power within his family, the so-called *patria potestas*, may be best described by his own term, tremendous, in all its meanings. He was explicitly permitted by written law to imprison, beat, carry bound to work in the fields, kill, or sell any of his family or household.²⁸ "All in the household were destitute of legal rights, the wife and the child no less than the bullock and the slave."²⁹

There was, of course, no written law among the Zulus; but the customary law there in force conferred upon the paterfamilias hardly less drastic powers than those just mentioned. Within the precincts of his kraal and the personnel of his family, his authority and rights were comparable with those exercised by a chief over his clan. He could, and did (though the instances were very rare) administer physical and mental torture by thrashing, binding, starving, confining, bodily mutilating, and even killing, either wife, grown-up son or daughter, or child. Yet, although his power was extreme, it had to be exercised within the limits of the customary law. For instance, an irate husband might emasculate a paramour and kill an adulterous wife caught *in flagranti delicto*, or impale a night-prowler (*umTákati*) caught in his kraal, or mortally

wound a dangerously aggressive son ; but a justifying cause had always to be present. Although he could not be arraigned for such acts before any tribal court, he had always to be very wary of public disgrace ; to which most Zulu men were rather sensitive. But, unlike the Roman paterfamilias, the Zulu father could never sell any member of his household, slavery, among the Zulus, being unknown and unrecognized. The most he could do in such a case was to expel the offending party from hearth and home.

Apart from these extremer and somewhat dubious cases of life and death, the position of paterfamilias in the Zulu family was perfectly clear. His word was law, his will supreme, his person sacrosanct. He was the creator of his children, the owner of his wives, king in his kraal, and living representative of the gods (his ancestors). Everybody and everything inside the kraal was his, and, within the recognized limits, he could do what he liked with them. The reverence and submission inspired into every member of the family by such a potentate, both during his life and after his death, can hardly be imagined by ourselves.³⁰

As the local potentate, he was recognized too by all outsiders. His kraal was in very truth his castle ; and he regarded it as a sacred duty to give sanctuary to any clansman or stranger flying to him for protection. Once within his walls, the pursuers had to stand and (as it was said) ' speak nicely ' ; for any attempt to force an entrance would be rightfully regarded by him as *ukuHlasela* (to-wage-war), which he was entitled by his law to resist by recourse to arms. Such a trusting fugitive, once received into his kraal, he now regarded as *umuNtu waKé* (his subject), and he considered it his duty to render him every moral and physical support. Should he consider that justice and law were on the side of the fugitive, a brave man (and most were such) would not readily deliver him up. Submission, in such a case, would be conceded only to the *force majeure*, the supremacy of his chief. And even that king himself, should a fugitive, criminal or political, succeed in reaching the purlieus of the royal ancestral graves (the so-called *emaKósini*), would not dare to follow and touch him there, as having entered the sanctuary of his own superiors.

From what has been said above, one must not conclude that wives and children were destitute of rights. The chief, as

tribal head, was public guardian of the persons and rights of the members of his community ; and a kraalhead who manifestly transgressed the accepted rules of justice and propriety, could hardly escape being called to account. While a chief might not himself directly interfere with family discipline, it devolved upon the father of a married daughter to see that humane treatment was shown to her, and to appeal to the chief if necessary. Upon sons too, the fact of birth conferred important rights, of which a father would not be permitted by the chief arbitrarily to deprive them. Just as the clan-chief himself consulted the elder clansmen in all major state decisions, so also was it the recognized custom for a father to consult with his elder sons before making any important change in general kraal-affairs. On the other hand, there was nothing recognized in Zulu customary law, which prevented a father from wholly and persistently neglecting the physical welfare of his children ; who were consequently entirely without appeal or redress.

Daughters and wives, as already said, were considered as merely property of their fathers and husbands. In former days (and even in our own) it was the practice of a father occasionally to 'give' his daughter away in marriage without consulting her to any aged man or ugly young one willing and able to pay the stipulated bride-price, whose drudge she became for the rest of her days. Although the Zulu system, like that of Ancient Greece, ordained that the women be kept constantly depressed in their lowly and helpless state, it did not deny them (as did the latter) all reasonable freedom to participate in the social life of the community ; for, personally, the average Zulu husband was sympathetic and humane, and the average Zulu wife found life with him perfectly happy and congenial. Indeed, his sentiments towards the weaker sex were often on a higher and holier plane than were those of some modern Christians and ancient Councils. "As late as 585 A.D.," writes Richard,³¹ "a Church Council of Gallic bishops at Macon discussed the question as to whether women were human beings or belonged to the animal world, and, as such, having no immortal souls, were excluded from the benefits of salvation. The ancient view of a wife as saleable property, on the other hand, has persisted down to the most recent times ; in 1839 a man in Manchester, England, making use of his legal right,

brought his wife, with a halter round her neck, to the market for sale ; a similar case was reported from Halifax about the same time."

As in every other nation, there were Zulu men on whom the goddess of Fate had never smiled. Cursed with physical ugliness, condemned to poverty, and at last left stranded with no known relatives, such men were glad to be received as menials (*isiKúza*) into the families of the wealthy. Making themselves there useful as general helps, such men were rewarded by being comfortably provided for and sympathetically treated, almost as members of the family, while at the same time retaining absolute freedom to depart whenever they willed. There is no tradition that serfdom, as we understand it, ever existed among the Zulus. The only ' slaves ' they ever heard of, were those brought to their country by ourselves ! In January, 1830, hardly more than 100 years ago, the Portuguese sloop, aptly named the *African Adventurer*, laden with slaves, sailed out from Sofala, hopefully for Mozambique, actually to its doom. They had started with a cargo of 160 slaves, but, having thrown a great many overboard, only 30 survived to land in Natal.³² Their descendants are presumably still there, flaunting perhaps some of those Native clan-names, which we have found so untraceable. More than one quite obvious Tonga (East African Bantu) have we come across, who proudly claimed to be a member of the Qwabe, Biyela or other thoroughbred Zulu clan !

We have noticed in recent years a regrettable tendency on the part of some ethnological writers to import into the Bantu social system an element termed ' *Totemism* ', an institution which, we are convinced, is absolutely unknown to those Africans (if, indeed, it is known anywhere !). This erroneous practice should be checked betimes, before it comes to invade our own Nguni field. Among the Ngunis, we must make it perfectly clear, such a thing as totemism (as generally understood) simply does not exist. What does exist is—a system of simply personal *clan-names* ; plus a religious system of *Ancestor Worship* ; plus a separate social system of *ukuZila* (i.e. of Tabu). Such a combination might possibly be mistaken for totemism by the ill-informed, and, indeed, already has been so misinterpreted in the case of many Bantu peoples.

But what is this Totemism? To us it appears to be, really, nothing more than such a mixture of clan-naming after its founder, an earlier ancestor-worship, with a later tabu. But that is not the explanation of the text-books, which present it as something, mysterious and mystifying, totally different.

Totemism, then, claims to be a special 'discovery', made by European ethnologists about the middle of last century, of a certain socio-religious belief and practice prevailing amongst the Indians of America, and later on supposedly 'discovered' amongst other primitive peoples all the world over. The term, totemism, is said to have been derived from an Algonkian root, *otem*, signifying, according to some, 'family or clan sign', according to others,³³ 'brother-sister kinship'. The essential feature of the scheme seems to have been the linking together, in some inscrutable and awesome manner, of the human and non-human world. The term, totemism, says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, should be "restricted to those cases where a systematic association of *groups of persons* with *species of animals* (occasionally *plants and inanimate objects*) is connected with a certain element of *social organization*" (the italics are ours).

Now, about the same period (the middle of last century) other 'discoveries' were also made among other primitive peoples, for example, the division of those peoples into *Clans*, all individuals of which called themselves after the name of their clan-founder; of the existence among them of a religion of *Ancestor Worship*; and of a certain social custom called *Tabu*. The unfortunate thing was that it never occurred to the ethnologists that all these institutions might somehow be related; that the 'totemism' (in America), the 'ancestor worship' (in Africa) and the 'tabu' (in Polynesia) might be, all of them alike, if not exactly one and the same institution, at any rate different manifestations or developments, among different races, of the same basic primitive concept, which, in its simplest and original form, was 'Ancestor Worship'. It did not occur to those earlier ethnologists that pure ancestor worship itself and alone (as it is practised, for instance, among our Zulus) fulfilled every one of the conditions laid down by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as necessary for the constitution of *Totemism*. The Zulu 'clan' system supplies the postulated 'groups of persons' · the clan 'names' (which are really the

names of their founders—and most Zulu names are the names of animals or other objects or ideas in nature) supply the necessary ‘association with species of animals, plants and inanimate objects’; and, lastly, the custom of so ‘reverencing’ those clan-founders and their names, that the very animals and other natural objects after which they were named, are themselves now, in turn, treated with a reflection of that selfsame reverence (so as to become henceforth quite unsuitable matter for food or even for vulgar mention—see *ukuZila*), and supply the needed ‘connection with a certain element of social organization’.

Our personal opinion is that, had the earlier ethnologists but dug down deep enough, they would have found that, even in America, the so-called ‘totemism’ there was, or originally had been, nothing other than the African Bantu system just described. The very fact that the Algonkian word, *otem* (which supplied the very name of ‘totemism’ itself), signified ‘family or clan sign’ or ‘brother-sister kinship’ should alone have sufficed to suggest the basic truth, as it now confirms our contention.

The ethnologists, then, having made their discovery in America, let us now accompany them, as they pass from America, through Asia, into Africa, making other appropriate ‘discoveries’ all the way. Keane³⁴ discovered that ‘totemism’ was the common thing even in Ancient Babylonia and Egypt, where “the earliest history revealed that there also the people were divided into clans or large families, of which the members were all descended from a common ancestor, and protected by a common god or goddess, who was the clan’s totem”. Why ‘totem’, we know not; seeing that the ‘god’ was obviously the clan’s ‘ancestral spirit’ protecting it. Others reported ‘totemism’ in Australia. Then Johnston³⁵ came to Africa, and discovered it there. “Crocodile flesh,” he says, “is in some districts [of the Congo] greedily eaten; in others it is eschewed for fetishistic reasons or because of some vague totem tradition”: all which, of course, is simply ‘tabu’ (*Z. ukuZila*) due to ‘ancestor-worship’. He continues:³⁶ “Grenfell has revealed the existence of a similar tabu [against eating certain animals] on the Upper Congo (Babangi), and it seems to exist among the Bangala. It may be anciently connected with totemism. Bentley does not seem to hold that opinion”—

probably being better informed. And again:³⁷ " Many of these clans [Congo] were associated, no doubt, at an earlier time, with Totemism, each family, brotherhood, community, adopting some creature, vegetable or object as their totem, family fetish, deity or mythical ancestor"—why ' mythical ' ? Keane, then joined Johnston in the African chase, and soon ' discovered ' that ' totemism ' ruled right through Africa, from the Dinkas³⁸ and Gandas³⁹ in the north to the Chwanas⁴⁰ in the south.

Aglow with the new enthusiasm, African missionaries rose bravely to the occasion and instituted enquiries on every side, and made as many new ' discoveries '. Roscoe,⁴¹ in Ganda-land, found that a clan " is a family which traces its origin to one ancestor and has common totems " ; Dennett,⁴² among the Vili Bantu of French Congo, writes : " Finally we come to that class, *Aza Bina* or totems, by which the Natives know whom they may marry and whom not " ; Edwin Smith⁴³ tells us about Ilaland (north of the mid-Zambezi), where " the clan system still exists. . . . These clans are totemic in character " ; while Ellenberger,⁴⁴ among the Sutus (in South Africa), heads one of the chapters in his book with the title, " Concerning *Liboko* (Tribal Emblems) or Totems ". The South-central Shona-Chwana group of Bantu seem, from descriptions, particularly infected with totemitis. The people there (presumably, the clans) are said each to have selected a special animal or other object (including ' sleep ') for its own ' totemic ' purpose. There is no professed relationship (it is explained) between these objects and the tribal ancestors, no religious worship paid to them, their only purpose being, so far as modern Natives are concerned, one of tabu (or *ukuZila*).

We hope our words do not appear flippant or derisive ; for none values more highly than we the unsurpassed knowledge possessed by these great pioneers on the field of Bantu ethnology ; none feels more gratitude and admiration for their outstanding literary achievements than we who are followers in their wake, profiting alike by their researches and their mistakes. All the same, we do feel that their importation into Bantu sociology of the term, totem, was unfortunate, and will prove misleading. If there be any difference at all between the social and religious systems up north and those down south, we feel sure it can lie only therein, that the northern Bantu

have, what shall we say? progressed beyond the more primitive Zulu stage; have forgotten much that was old and adopted much that is new. Had these students in other parts but been more familiar with the older and purer system, for instance, of the Zulus, in which the primitive foundations are still extant and the whole superstructure in a better state of preservation, that fog would have been dispelled which, apparently, so envelops those other Bantu social systems and weakens the vision of those Europeans who come to study them. According to the Zulu system (as we have already indicated), every clan is derived from a single ancestor, and similarly every separate family within the clan; which ancestor is now revered as the clan or the family 'god'; every person (and therefore every ancestor) has a personal birth-name (practically always that of some object or idea in nature); every father of a family (and therefore also every family ancestor) is profoundly revered, both in person and in name (the latter not to be so much as spoken by the members of the family; which is termed *ukuHlonipá*); while the natural object, designated by that name, is similarly 'respected' or 'abstained from' (that is, not only not to be mentioned, but also to be 'avoided', not touched, much less killed or eaten; which is termed *ukuZila*). All this is simply a natural outgrowth from their fundamental social law of *patria potestas* and their cult of ancestor worship.

Among the names of the Zulu clans (which, of course, are the names of the clan-founders—about which there is no room for doubt), we find such founders' names as *Nyati* (Buffalo), *Mnkomazi* (Cow), *Langa* (Sun), *Lutúli* (Dust), *Ngwénya* (Crocodile), *Ndlovu* (Elephant), *Ndlela* (Path), *ĩGázi* (Blood), *Mpundzi* (Duiker-buck), *Ndlazi* (Coly, bird), *Nyoka* (snake), *Mfene* (Baboon), *Ngwé* (Leopard) and other such. Around all these (still quite common personal names among the Zulu people) nothing whatever that is mystical or mythical has so far grown; these 'natural-object' clan-names (*isiBongo*) still remain what they always were, simply the names of clan-ancestors. And so, we feel sure, it must also have been with all other Bantu clans; and any present divergence of practice and understanding among them, can be due only to ancient traditions having sunk into oblivion and customs into obsolescence. Only that can explain how Edwin Smith⁴⁵ could come to write of the Ila Bantu (Northern Rhodesia) that their clans

“ are totemic in character—that is to say, are named after certain animals and plants, which are held in reverence by the clansmen. There are the Lion-clan, the Baboon-clan, etc. The reverence is shown by not eating the totem.” Of the Gandas, Roscoe⁴⁶ says : A clan “ is a family which traces its origin to one ancestor and has common totems, *mizi*ro. . . . Each clan has two totems : a spiritual totem, by which the clan is known, called its *Muzi*ro ; and a second totem, not so well known, called its *Kabi*ro. Both totems were held sacred by the clan, who never destroyed them.” Had Roscoe but been aware of the old-Bantu root, nowadays exemplified in the Zulu *ukuZila* (to-avoid-with-awe) ; Vili (French Congo), *kiZila* (a-forbidden-thing) ; Congo, *kiZila* (a-fetish) ; Ndonga (Ovamboland), *omuZile* (a-shadow) ; Bonde (Tanganyika Col.), *Zila* (abhor), *Diza* (abstain) ; Shambala (Tanganyika Col.), *Zila* (abstain) ; Jawunde (Cameroons), *Kili* (forbid), *Ki* (abstain)—he would have seen at once that the Ganda noun, *muZi*ro, is quite obviously derived from the same original root, with something like the meaning of the Zulu *ukuZila*, viz. ‘ to-avoid or abstain-from-out-of-awe ’ ; and he would have known that nothing could suggest itself to the Bantu mind as more worthy of such ‘ awe ’ than the name of the clan or family ‘ father ’ (and, by reflection from him, the object symbolizing that name). The *Kabi*ro (Roscoe’s second clan-‘ totem ’) may very well be something resembling the ‘ second clan-name ’ (or *isiTākazelo*) of the Zulus (see p. 436). Dennett,⁴⁷ speaking of various kinds of *Zila* (forbidden things) among the West African Vili Bantu, writes : “ Finally, we come to that class, *Aza Bina* or totems, by which the natives know whom they may marry and whom not . . . i.e. a man may not marry a woman whose *Xina* or totem is the same as that of his mother’s family ” (mother-right presumably there prevailing). It is plain that the mother’s *Xina* (or so-called ‘ totem ’) can be nothing other than her ‘ clan-name ’, and that into which the man is not allowed to marry, is simply her ‘ clan ’. The Duke of Mecklenburg,⁴⁸ writing of the Bantu tribes in the Kivu-Ruanda region says : “ As already mentioned, every clan reveres a totem, which in Kinjoro [= kiNyoro] is called *umuZimu*. Should the totem [or *umuZimu*] take the form of an animal, it is forbidden to kill or eat such animals. This interdiction is called *umuZiru* . . . their creed teaches that the spirits of departed relatives

enter the body of their object of adoration." [Parenthetically, the reader may be here reminded that, in the Bantu languages, the sounds or letters, *r* and *l*, are interchangeable]. You will observe, then, that Roscoe's *muZiro* (so-called 'totem') of Uganda has now become Mecklenburg's *umuZiru* (interdiction) of Nyoroland (which is precisely the meaning corresponding with that of the *ukuZila* of the Zulus). Further, it will be noticed that Roscoe's *muZiro* (or 'totem') of Uganda has now become Mecklenburg's *umuZimu* (or 'tribal totem') in Nyoroland. And what may this *umuZimu* really have been? Turn again to the Zulu; and there you will find that *umZimu* signifies 'ancestral spirit': and such, no doubt, was the meaning of *umuZimu* also in Nyoroland—anything but a 'totem' (comp. Venda, Transvaal, *moDzimo*, ancestral-spirit; Hima, Uganda, *muZimu*, ghost; Bwari, Tanganyika Lake, and Shambala, Tanganyika Col., *muZimu*, spirit; Dahomey, Guinea coast, *muZimo*, ancestral-spirit; Sagara, Tanganyika Col., *iZimu*, evil-spirit (so-called); Bondei, Tanganyika Col., *kuZimu*, place of departed spirits; Nyanja, Nyasa Lake, *mSimu*, spirit; Mbala, S.W. Congo, *miTyima*, spirits-of-dead; Fernando Po, *moRimo*, spirit; Chwana, Transvaal, and Sutu, *moRimo*, ancestral-spirit; Dwala, Cameroons, *eDimo*, spirit; Atakpame, Guinea coast, *Mimi*, ghost).

One feels it almost a profanity to criticize anything great Frazer wrote. Yet even Jove could nod. "The members of a totem clan," he says,⁴⁹ "call themselves by the name of their totem, and commonly believe themselves to be actually descended from it." That Africa was included within his general survey, is clear from other passages in his book.⁵⁰ Leonard,⁵¹ however, with long actual investigation on the spot, showed a much more accurate grasp of the facts when he wrote (of Nigeria): "It is necessary therefore, before proceeding further, to register this equally important fact, that the totem, certainly with these Delta people, is not, as it has hitherto been represented, a signification that its followers are descendants from any particular animal or object, but that it is, as already pointed out, merely the symbol of the protecting deity, holding as it does the ancestral spirit." Over and over again, in ethnological works, does one find animistic beliefs, as well as mere tabu, to be thus confused with 'totemism'.

Frazer, however, was on safer ground when he observed⁵² that "no satisfactory explanation of the origin of totemism has yet [when he wrote] been given." Certainly Lang⁵³ did not satisfy with one; although he propounded five. Of the ethnologist, Starke, he wrote:⁵⁴ "And he holds the eccentric opinion that totems are relatively late, and that the tribes with none are the more primitive!" Really, to our mind, Starke's 'eccentric' opinion is much nearer the truth than any of the more 'normal' opinions held or offered by Lang. In fact, it is our own belief that this modern invention, called 'totemism', is nothing more than a *later* misunderstanding (mainly by Europeans) of the *older* clan-system (with its ancestor-worship), now (in some places) ageing into a myth. Lang⁵⁵ continues: "Being an ancestor-worshipping people, the Bantu explain the circumstance [of their clan-names, *siBoko* or *isiBongo*; which, Lang simply 'assumed', *must* be his 'totems'], as they were certain to do, by a myth of ancestral spirits. . . . It should be superfluous to say that the Bantu myth cannot possibly throw any light on the real origin of totemism. The Bantu, ancestor-worshippers of great piety, find themselves saddled with sacred tribal *Siboko*; why, they know not. So they naturally invent the fable that the *Siboko*, which are sacred, are sacred because they are the shrines of what to them are really sacred, namely, ancestral spirits." Now, if a writer of Lang's repute can write such ignorant twaddle, what confidence can we place in the statements of less celebrated 'arm-chair' ethnological authorities? Those, on the other hand, who have spent their lives actually on the spot amidst those 'self-deluded' Bantu, know perfectly well that they (the Zulu Bantu anyway) have a much clearer and more reliable knowledge of the meaning of their own word, *isiBongo* or *siBoko*, than any European has; and, secondly, that there is no fable or myth about the matter, and that the term signifies what the Natives say it signifies, not a European fancy called a 'totem', but the plain and simple name of the clan's founder. As we write these words, here in Zululand, we are actually living amidst, and in daily converse with, men and women of the *Biyela* (or *emGázini*) clan, who are themselves the great-grandchildren of that clan's actual founder (see p. 424). To them, the history of their descent and the origin of their *isiBongo* is as clear and certain as is, to us,

the fact that George V descended from George I, and that 'Guelf' was *not* their 'totem'.

There is naught but honour in 'groping' for the truth; which will surely be found at last, if the groping be persistent. But while it lasts, the groping is apt to be amusing to onlookers in the light. Watch, for instance, how the ethnologists grope about for their imaginary 'totem', and catch at the end—an 'ancestor'. Says Hartland:⁵⁶ "A totemic clan is a body of real or reputed kinsmen named after some animal, plant or occasionally after some other phenomenon, with which its members claim a mystical connexion." Says Rivers:⁵⁷ "The totemic tie passes over by insensible gradations into the belief that the bond of union is descent from a common ancestor." Says Perry:⁵⁸ "Each clan consists of a number of men and women, who claim common descent. Moreover, each clan possesses an emblem, an animal, plant, or material object, to which it attaches particular importance. . . . Sometimes the animal is claimed as the ancestor of the clan. The emblem [i.e. the animal, plant, etc.] is usually called a Totem." First, then, the clan is a body 'named from some animal, with which it claims *mystical connexion*.' Then this claim of mystical animal-connexion becomes a 'belief in *actual descent from a common ancestor*'. Finally, that '*common ancestor*' becomes the '*animal itself*' (in other words, becomes the 'totem'). And now, after this circle of pure fancy has been so laboriously worked out and preached abroad, Perry⁵⁹ winds up: "The Australian tribes are practically universally organized in *totemic* clans, but a *close study* of that clan organization *reveals* that at bottom and *behind the totems lay the tribal ancestors*" (all italics ours). Why, then, all this fuss about 'totems' and 'totemism', when it has been sun-clear all along (to those who really knew), that all that exists is simply the *names of clan-ancestors*, and (through *Zila* or *Hlonipá* tabu, or animistic beliefs) a reflected reverence for the objects those names enshrine.

C. H. Harper⁶⁰ went to study "Totemism on the Gold Coast" (of Guinea). And what did he find? On the Gold Coast, he tells us, there are found amongst the tribes several separate groups of families [which are our 'clans'], as the Kwonna (Buffalo) family, the Ebrutu (corn-stalk) family, the Nsonna (Bush-cat) family, and so on. But *enquiry* shows, he

says (our italics), that these groups are "*patriarchal families*", therefore all members presumably descended from the same father; while the supposed "totems" (Buffalo, etc.) turn out to be only *those fathers' names*, now become "respected" or tabu. Identically the same position as in Bantu Zululand; though there is no 'Totemism' there.

Van der Bergh⁶¹ came from America to search for 'totems' in Eastern Africa. All he could report was: "I have been unable to find any totem system" among the Kenya Nyika Bantu; though he imagined he had found better luck among the neighbouring Kamba Bantu, meeting there with many "totems"; which, however, all turned out to be either clan-names⁶² or interdicted foods⁶³ (i.e. simply tabu or *Zila*). Wherefore we are not surprised to be told by Anwyl⁶⁴ that "totemism" is often confused with "tabu". Even Roscoe,⁶⁵ who announced a discovery of all kinds of 'totems' among the Ganda people, when he passed on to the baGesu (or Masaba) Bantu near by about Mt. Elgon, "one of the most primitive of the Negro tribes in Africa", was forced to own that "it is probable that these clans were not totemic; for not only did they refuse to acknowledge the existence of totems, but they seemed most surprised when questioned on the subject." But, unable to rid himself of his erroneous preconception, he clears himself by continuing: "It is, however, quite possible that they were totemic, and that some special conception of the meaning and use of totems led to this complete reticence on the subject."

Even in the motherland of totemism, America, the fog is gradually lifting before the blast of better knowledge. Dealing with the 'totemism' among the Indians of British Columbia, C. H. Tout⁶⁶ writes: "These crests and names are totemic in origin and significance, and are almost invariably derived from the *early ancestors* [our italics] of the family or group, commonly from the 'First man' or Founder of the family." More recently than that, the official Correspondent of the London *Daily Express* reported that the Canadian Government had interested itself in this same study of British Columbian 'totem poles'; had despatched an archæological party to investigate them in the Skeena Valley; and that the archæological party had discovered that, whereas "Indian totem poles had first been regarded as heathen idols, it had now been

proved that they were merely wooden monuments erected to the *illustrious dead*”; in other words, that the so-called ‘totems’ were nothing else than ancestral tomb-stones (or something corresponding)!

Although little was known in their time of the realities of primitive sociology, Spencer and Lubbock both showed themselves much more sagacious thinkers on the subject than did most of their confreres, then and since: for thought Herbert Spencer, “savages first named themselves after natural objects; and then, confusing those objects with their ancestors of the same names, revered them as they already revered their ancestors”, while Sir John Lubbock held the view “that totemism arose from the habit of naming persons and families [i.e. clans] after animals”.⁶⁷

The points, then, which we desire here especially to drive home are the following:—that the terms, ‘totem’ and ‘totemism’, are quite unsuitable and misleading, when applied to Bantu customs; that the Bantu customs are simply—to name a clan after its founder; to name clan-founders (like all other individuals) mainly after some natural object; to reverence the persons of those clan-founders after death as so many small ‘gods’ (ancestor-worship being the universal religion of the Bantu); and finally to show a measure of ‘reflected’ reverence (by abstentions, etc.) also for the natural objects after which those gods were named. These clan or founders’ names, and the natural objects bound together with those names, should, therefore, be called, certainly not ‘totems’, but simply what they really are, namely, ‘things sacred, not for vulgar usage’, or, in other words, (to use the Zulu term) simply *ukuZila*, or (as the Ganda has it) *miZiro*; the whole practice being understood, not as ‘totemism’, but simply as ‘tribal reverential awe, and tabu’ (*Z. ukuZila*).

It must be understood, however, that the *clan* tabus above dealt with constitute but *one single* example amongst a whole multitude of similar social ‘mustn’ts’ of all sorts and origins (some based on *ukuHioripá* or personal-reverence, others on *ukwEsaba* or superstition, and so on), which went to make up the whole Zulu system. For instance, no Zulu wife dared ever mention the name of her father-in-law; nor any Zulu man ever to eat the lung of a sheep, lest it make him timid; and dozens of other such social abstentions.

1. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 43.
2. *D.S.N.*, 430.
3. Tylor, *A.*, 423.
4. Shooter, *K.N.*, 105.
5. Roscoe, *B.*, 188.
6. Herodotus, VI, 52.
7. *ib.* VII, 3.
8. *ib.* I, 125.
9. Richard, *G.C.*
10. Herodotus, II, 164.
11. Hewitt, *R.R.*, vol. 1, 310; Herodotus, VI, 60.
12. *S.O.*, 128.
13. *D.S.N.*, 205; cp. Bryant, *O.T.*, 60, 518.
14. *V.*, 42.
15. Herodotus, VII, 11, 143.
16. *V.C.*, 274.
17. Bryant, *O.T.*, 681.
18. *T.*, 207.
19. *V.C.*, 274.
20. *T.W.A.*, 164.
21. Thomas, *N.A.*, 170; Tylor, *A.*, 402; Frazer, *T.*, 70.
22. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 371, 377; Tylor, *A.*, 402; Frazer, *T.*, 70.
23. Barth, *T.N.A.*, 152-3; Hunter, *H.I.*, 43; Migeod, *E.M.*, 110; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 180; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 468; Dennett, *B.M.M.*, 36; Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 274, 285, 40, 45; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 277.
24. Roscoe, *B.*, 128.
25. *T.*, 149.
26. *T.*, 182, 186; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 675, 683.
27. Shooter, *K.N.*, 396; Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 245.
28. Ragusa, *T.*, 142.
29. Mommsen, *H.R.*, vol. 1, 64.
30. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 229; Tylor, *A.*, 427.
31. *G.C.*, 63.
32. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 13.
33. Hartland, *P.L.*, 48.
34. *M.P.P.*, 269.
35. *G.G.C.*, 613.
36. *ib.* 673.
37. *ib.* 684 fn.
38. *M.P.P.*, 81.
39. *ib.* 97.
40. *ib.* 106.
41. *B.*, 133.
42. *B.M.M.*, 52.
43. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 20, p. 91.
44. *H.B.*, 240.
45. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 20, p. 91.
46. *B.*, 133.

47. *B.M.M.*, 52.
48. *H.A.*, 49.
49. *T.*, 3.
50. *T.*, 92, etc.
51. *L.N.*, 201.
52. *T.*, 95.
53. *S.T.*, 31-34.
54. *S.T.*, 8.
55. *S.T.*, 24, 27.
56. *P.L.*, 48.
57. *S.O.*, 22.
58. *O.M.R.*, 142.
59. *ib.* 144.
60. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 178.
61. *T.P.*, 21.
62. *ib.* 41.
63. *ib.* 42.
64. *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 16, p. 45.
65. *G.*, 1-3.
66. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 149.
67. Frazer, *T.*, 95; see also Frazer, *T.*, 3, 21, 23; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, 238; Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, vol. 2, 127, 103-4; Roscoe, *B.*, 161; E. Gottschling, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 378, 380; Keane, *B.S.*, 125-6; Stow, *N.R.*, 32; Tylor, *A.*, 389; Weule, *E.A.*, 317 fn.; Marett, *A.*, 166-7; Lyall, *A.S.*, 119, 122; Declé, *S.A.*, 443; Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 13; Allen, *E.I.G.*, 63, 66; Huxley, *S.H.T.*, 344; Theal, *Y.D.P.*, 44; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 227; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 319; Sollas, *A.H.*, 230, 231, 237; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 286; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 249; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 270, 49, 98, 140, 145, 433, 435; Molema, *B.*, 172.

Chapter 12

The State and the King

The uninformed often suppose that the more primitive a civilization, the simpler it must be. In the main, it may be so ; but not in all respects. In the domain of language, for example, it is almost a rule to find that the speech of the most barbarous peoples is more complex than is that of modern Europeans. In the social domain, again, one finds the marriage laws of the Australians, with their local groups and family groups, their moieties, phratries, classes and totem-kins, and the resultant criss-cross of relationships, so bewilderingly entangled that it is difficult even for the expert anthropologist to work his way through the maze.¹ The Zulu family arrangements, as we have just seen, were not quite so bad as that. Though somewhat exotic to us, they were not too involved. Their state organization, which we shall now consider, was likewise fairly simple and well-ordered, somewhat on the same lines as our own. It was by no means that disordered puerility one might have expected among so untutored a people.

While the Bantu possess no 'local groups' in the same sense as those of Australia, that is, communities whose tie of relationship consists in the possession of common hunting grounds,² yet every Bantu clan (in the older days) was in a sense a 'local group' in so far as its settlement was strictly localized, within borders jealously guarded against any sort of encroachment by intruders. In the language of the Zulus, the very name for 'clan' was *isiZwe* ; and the root in this word is

the same as that in the word, *iZwe*, signifying 'country'. The prefix, *isi-*, gave the root, *Zwe*, an idea of 'many-ness' or numerosity of component parts; hence the 'people' monopolizing such a 'country'. Thus the 'clan', to these Bantu, was regarded as a species of 'localized people', a 'local group', rather than as 'a people descended (as was also the fact) from a common ancestor'. This term, *isiZwe*, may have been of comparatively latter origin, having come into usage only after the migratory period had come to an end, and each separate isolated 'family party' had come to settle and to multiply on its own special location, and so had become differentiated from its remoter relatives by its difference of 'country' or fixed abode. Eventually, the people of an immediately common ancestor became thought of as the people of a particular spot, 'ancestry' and 'country' thus becoming in a measure synonymous: as, indeed, is largely the case also with ourselves.

The 'Nguni' Bantu group (Zulu-Xosas) reached South Africa with an instinct for discipline and order already (for their race) almost abnormally developed. This may have been due to some special natural sense for such things more strongly innate in these people, or it may have been due to the fact that they, of all Bantu folk, had migrated furthest into unknown lands and unknown dangers, which had impressed upon them, by hard and long experience, the necessity for strict and unselfish cohesion in one compact body of every element in the moving mass. Their great lesson may have been that their strength lay in their unity. To this primal cause, not only their recognition of the need for law and order, but also their extraordinary hospitality, generosity, mutual helpfulness and many other virtues that have made them so admirable a people, may perhaps be attributed.

If Aristotle was right, then the Zulu must have been his 'perfect state'; for all the demanded conditions seem to have existed there—ordered food supply; necessary implements; weapons of defence and for maintenance of authority; necessary revenue; an established religion; and a tribunal for justice and public care.

In passing now from family or kraal organization (see Chapter 11) to that of the clan, we shall find that the latter

was governed on precisely the same lines as the former, namely, by a gradual ascent, in rank and power, from the 'common people' (akin to the inferior wives and their families, the popularly called 'collection of rubbish', in the kraal), through a body of superior persons and officials of gradually increasing importance (comparable with the second-rate branches of the family, the *ĩKohlo*, *ĩNqadi* and *isiZinda*), up to the king in the Great Kraal (*k'omKulu*), who was supreme over all (just as was the paterfamilias, in his Great Hut, supreme in the family). All in the clan were as subject to the king, as were all subject to the paterfamilias in the family.

Over and above all persons reigned Law and Authority. By the law both king and commoners were bound alike—in principle anyway, though certainly not always in practice! The law, not written, but wholly traditional or customary, was based upon a strong foundation of experience, equity and logic. In its main principles changeless and precise, it at the same time allowed a large margin of elasticity and discretion in its administration to meet the reasonable demands of every occasion. It was thus the reverse of our own iron-bound statutes, the 'laws of the Medes and the Persians'. It adequately satisfied all the simple needs of the community, and was itself so simple and clear, that all its details were well-known and well-understood by everyone.

Its chief administrator and exponent was the king (in matters of highest importance, like war-waging, always guided by his Council, see ahead, of higher officials). He was at the same time the repository of supreme power and authority. The kingship (*ubuKósi*) was the birth-right of that family in the clan which had held the most direct descent in the male line from him who first gave the clan its birth and independence. The dignity was therefore hereditary (according to the rules already outlined in the preceding chapter on family organization). As with more civilized peoples, private dissension within the family or general discontent among the people might at times lead to irregularities in the succession; but even then an effort was always made to retain the crown within the hereditary royal family. Were an heir-apparent still a minor, the senior among his paternal-uncles, or even the principal son of such, would assume control until the minor had attained such

an age as would fit him to enter upon his rights. This regent might exceptionally be assisted in his office by an elder full-sister of the minor, if he happened to be a weak or rather distant relative, while she happened to be a more forceful character. Such a character was Mkabayi, daughter of the Zulu king, Jama. When this latter died, and the heir-apparent (Mkabayi's younger brother, Sendzangakona) was still a minor, the reins of government were taken in hand by Mudli (an elder first-cousin), son of Nkwelo, king Jama's full-brother. Mkabayi, however, took good care not to be left out of the reckoning; and, without awaiting any sanction of the clan, she calmly grabbed one of the ribbons of the state-coach and formed a kind of diarchy alongside her cousin, Mudli, on the box.³

A clan-king or chief (*inKosi*, pl. *amaKósi*) was no mere figure-head. He was captain of the ship and paterfamilias of the clan, absolute monarch both in fact and name; and the type of his government may be described as one of benevolent despotism. In a strong-willed and unprincipled man (and such there occasionally were, e.g. Shaka and Dingane), such a system had a natural tendency to degenerate into tyranny; but so long as the principal elders of the clan, who constituted the king's council, were fearless men and not mere craven sycophants (which very often they were), their strength was sufficient to check any unwise or unrighteous excesses on the part of their sovereign. A prudent chief, in all matters of gravity affecting the common welfare of the clan, would, as was expected of him, prior to embarking on any decisive move, first consult the members of his council; and he would rarely venture to oppose any consensus of opinion among them, knowing full well that to do so were to place his own head and welfare in jeopardy. On the other hand, in minor home affairs of merely individual or local concern, he would commonly proceed to action, administering justice or preserving the peace, on his own initiative and without consulting anyone, unless perhaps the district-headman concerned. In all such internal affairs, like the paterfamilias in the kraal, the king was supreme over all persons and all property; at once the law, the administrator and the judge. For he was ever the Court of Final Appeal, to which every clansman claimed and normally gained approach, and from which he expected and generally received a fair hearing.

While thus making its tribal chief a tribal despot, the Zulu state organization, as just hinted, had not failed to provide also some means for holding that despotism in control. In ancient Sparta, as in Dravidian India, there existed what has been called a 'two-king' system, in which there reigned a sovereign (at once king, lawgiver and judge) alongside a subordinate, almost his co-equal in power, who was the army-head or war-lord.¹ Something similar existed too among the Zulus.

In the Zulu state, as with most other primitives, age was regarded as synonymous with experience, wisdom and prestige. From among such elder clansmen of distinction and ability—strong characters, capable of ruling and leading others, always commended themselves here—the king chose his own council and executive, whose members were termed *izinDuna* (sing. *inDuna*), captains or headmen. These, therefore, functioned at once as ministers of state, crown counsellors and executive officers.

Among them was always one, the Great *inDuna*, who, though he may have been a commoner by birth, was now appointed by the king head of all the rest. He would have been called by us the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief rolled into one. He generally resided in the royal kraal (though having also a private kraal of his own), whence he functioned throughout the land as the king's voice and the king's hand. He was the *Tribal inDuna*, as distinct from the District *inDunas* mentioned below. Indeed, he often acted (within limits) as the supreme Court of Justice, to whom cases might be brought against the findings of the lower or district courts. He was so nearly all-powerful, both in home and foreign affairs, that he might well be likened to the second or subordinate king in the ancient Spartan state; or to the grand vizier of the Egyptian pharaohs, who was next in power to the king, and managed for him matters of war, justice and internal affairs, and acted as chief privy-councillor.^{1a}

Beside the greater Tribal *inDuna*, there were appointed by the king also other lesser *District inDunas*, each governing in his name, but subordinate to the preceding, a certain portion only of the tribal territory. These were the 'County Courts' and 'Chief Constables' in the land, possessing authority to adjudicate upon all matters, civil and criminal, of a purely

local nature, and power to put their judgments into operation. Within their own jurisdiction they could inflict even the extreme penalty of capital punishment ; but all confiscated property pertained by right to the crown.

Again, from among the more important kraal-heads in their own provinces, these District inDunas in turn selected one in each ' ward ' to act under them as *abaNumzana* (sing. *umNumzana*) or local lieutenants. Such a ward might comprise any considerable valley (*isiGódi*), or the country watered by a medium-sized river (*umFula*), or any other easily defined area. It was the duty of these officials to maintain law and order within their own wards, and they were vested with authority and power to adjust minor family matters, civil or criminal, as might be referred to them by residents therein. They constituted therefore the ' Lower Courts ', the ' magistrates ' in the land.

With so excellent a legal structure, one might have expected to find the administration of justice similarly perfect but, unfortunately, the Zulu judiciary was only human. We are not to suppose that the system was as incorrupt and incorruptible as is, let us say, that of England. At the same time, it was not more prone to prejudice and ' graft ' than is that of some of the so-called ' civilized ' states of Europe and America. True, the poor man found an easy access to the courts ; but if he chanced to be in conflict with a friend or favourite ' of the court ', the die was always heavily loaded against him, unless his case was perfectly clear or his claim irresistible. The Zulu, even the Zulu judge, was ever proverbially ' true to his friends ' !

Many of the Nguni clans, of course, were small, and did not need so elaborate a system. But larger clans, like the Qwabe, with territory 40 miles square (and still more so the ' Zulu nation ', as later founded by Shaka), provided ample space for a few District inDunas and a good number of Local Headmen.

Behind this array of organized authority, there stood an equal array of organized *power*. The king, acting through his prime-minister or war-lord, had the whole clan-army at his service ; the prime-minister and his district subordinates had, on their part, companies of warriors at disposal to deal with

refractory individuals, or for executing criminals and confiscating their property; and all, including the local headmen, had official messengers for citing or bringing offenders to their courts. This was the Zulu 'police-force'; and adequately it served its purpose. There were no regularly perambulating policemen, as with us; for the reason that laws were so few to break, and criminals so few to break them. The corollary of this was that there were no gaols; which was rather unfortunate (at times) for the criminals, because it allowed of two only penalties, stock-fines and death; so that, while there were no police, an official corps of executioners (*amaPisi*, sing. *iPisi*) still was needed.

With so many vultures toadying around eager for the royal crumbs, it was not to be expected that the plums would go round. Naturally, too, the king had always a certain entourage of personal favourites. So we found still another class among the clan's elite, termed *iziLomo* (sing. *isiLomo*), which may be interpreted as simply 'courtiers'. These had no special office, their duty being simply, from time to time, to appear at court on friendly visits and entertain Majesty with their congenial company.

The only 'nobles' in the Zulu state were the princes and princesses of the blood-royal, that is to say, the direct issue of present and past reigning monarchs. Such a one was termed an *umNtwana* (pl. *abaNtwana*) or 'child' (an ordinary child being, in good Zulu, called an *iNgáne*, pl. *iziNgáne*; though, in Natal, such ordinary child, of any commoner, is also called an *umNtwana*). Below these nobles, ranged what may be termed the 'aristocracy', comprising the *izinDuna* and *iziLomo* above spoken of; and below these again, the 'gentry', comprising the local *abaNumzana* (or headmen). Nobody could ever become an *umNtwana* (noble or prince) save by birth; but anybody, by merit (as well as by mere favour), could become an aristocrat or a gentleman. Heroism in war was the highest of all 'virtues'; and such persons were sure to have royal favours, of greater or lesser degree, bestowed upon them. But the feats here demanded by the Zulus were not so exactly defined as they were among the Negroes of Benin. There, men desirous of attaining to the status of tribal nobility had, by hook or by crook, to accomplish the slaughter of seven or fourteen persons, to relieve the women of their breasts and

the men of their penis, then to dry the parts and present them to the proper official; whereupon they would be dubbed *Okiason* or, let us say, 'knights', and be duly attired in the coral decorations of the Order.⁵

The collected assembly of the *izinDuna* and *iziLomo* (mentioned above) constituted the *Bandla* or 'Council' of the king. In that assembly complete freedom of speech may be said to have reigned; and the more able speakers rarely failed, not only to voice their own and general public feeling and opinion, but, in a reverential manner, even to criticize the actions of the king himself. Every member of the council having been personally selected by the latter, their criticism was never resented by him; on the contrary, a certain boldness on their part in attacking Majesty was regarded by him and by all as itself a form of bravery, which at all times was highly appreciated.

Once in every year, near about our Christmas time, was held the Royal Festival (*umKosi*). At this, new tribal laws and regulations were formally promulgated, new 'regiments' called up, and the royal mind made known on foreign affairs. At this great ceremony every man of the clan was bound to appear, or give the reason why: which he always found it much more prudent not to have to give. This united body of all the manhood of the clan (technically known as *wOnke umPakati wēZwe*, all the-inmates of-the-land) constituted what might be called the Grand National Assembly of the clan.

The Zulu land-system was communal. There were no privately owned estates, no land-titles, no land-sharks, no fences, no rents, in this utopia of liberty, fraternity and equality. The whole country belonged to the clan, and no individual thereof, be he commoner or king, was justified in usurping any portion of the common inheritance as his own personal property for all time. The Bantu idea was that all the elements of the world were for the common weal and a natural inheritance of all. This is why the system of 'civilization', now forced by drastic laws upon them, is so incomprehensible and harsh to Native notions of equity and logic. With them, a man is no more justified in arrogating to himself earth or water, than he would be, were he to claim the air and the light as his private property. Forest, therefore, and veld, grass and

wood, mineral and water, were the common and rightful possession of allsoever as cared to draw from them.

From this we are not to infer that there was no order in the distribution and temporary use of the common property ; that a perpetual state of conflict and scramble, with neither tenure nor security, reigned throughout the land. Far from it. That is why there were District *inDunas* and local *umNumzanas*. A newly arriving settler wishing to enter any particular district, would apply for permission to the former ; and if wishing to enter any particular ward, would apply to the latter. Thereafter he was free to build upon the ward or the site allotted to him, and to enter into private and friendly arrangements with his surrounding neighbours as to his prospective arable and pasture lands. Of other formalities there were none. Unreasonable obstruction on the part of his neighbours would bring the local *umNumzana* upon the scene, and he would decide ; indeed, the settlement of field and cattle disputes constituted a large part of that official's duty. Actual possession, then, of arable and pasture lands, once legally obtained, carried with it a prescriptive right to their continuous occupation and usufruct ; which rights were always and everywhere scrupulously respected and protected. Thus established, a family had unhampered liberty to help themselves to all nature's products, water, wood, grass, reeds, fruits, herbs, clay or stone, or anything else. For this, no payment whatever was exacted ; but a general duty of fief or standing tribute of service (for manual labour or war) was tacitly understood as due by every adult male to the state, be it the king or his representative, the District *inDuna*, whenever they cared to demand it ; which was seldom. For this service no wage would be paid, nor even their daily fare supplied. All which seemed to them perfectly natural, reasonable and fair ; and there was never a breath of comp'aint or feeling of hardship among them.

A state and social organization so admirably ordered and equitable, indeed in many respects so much in advance of our own, may well astound those who had imagined that the institutions of European civilization were the acme of perfection and righteousness, and that these primitive Africans were merely a disorderly mob of lawless savages. It will furthermore

show the reader exactly how much and what the Natives have lost by our coming.

In reading the following paragraphs concerning various functions connected with royalty, it is necessary to understand that there were no rigidly laid down rules of procedure governing at once all the clans and all the times. Roughly speaking, there was nothing more than a general basis of similarity in the main features of the several ceremonies. This was largely due to the fact that so much of the proceedings was in the hands of the tribal medicine-men. The doctoring of the armies, the 'charming' of the king, and all the multitude of details that accompanied such, were entirely under their direction; and it was a characteristic of these medicine-men that each prided himself on his own special particular knowledge and private hocus-pocus, which distinguished him from all his rivals. Consequently, the treatment of an army by one man might be in certain respects divergent from that of another; and the procedure at the Royal Festival (*umKósi*) in one clan, or one reign, indeed in one year, be in some of the performances quite unlike those of another clan, another reign, another year. Only one picture can be presented here, as a fair example; and that picture will present the show as generally played by the Zulu clan.

Gentlemen, the King! thou the-Awe-inspiring-One! thou the-Wild-beast! thou the-Lion of-the-Heavens! (*Nkosi! wena o-Mnyama! wena Silo! wena Ngónyama yēZulu!*).

The king of the clan was generally he of the longest known lineage, direct from the clan's founder. The pride of pedigree was a universal human weakness; and pedigrees were wont to grow, as time progressed. We have already touched on this particular tendency in another work,⁶ where among other things we wrote: "It is noteworthy that forty, fifty and sixty years ago none of these more recent accretions to the Zulu pedigree were ever heard of. Colenso, Callaway and Grout [middle of last century] all made special enquiries as to the lineage of the then-reigning Zulu king, Mpande; but they never got further back than Punga and Mageba [i.e. 5 kings before the beginning of last century]. Nor did this present writer, when, in 1883, he started to follow in their footsteps." It was

in the latter part of Cetshwayo's reign [d. 1884] that the genealogical list of Zulu kings for the first time started growing ; until by 1929, Wanger seriously presented us with a formidable list of 16 successive kings of the Zulu clan, a tall story indeed ! Eight generations or reigns, in our experience, is about as much, as Native tradition can retain any *reliable* memory of. The Rev. Robertson [c. 1850] was able to mention to Ludlow,⁷ as a matter of unusual surprise, just 'one chief' in Zululand who professed to count back as far as the 11th generation. The earliest missionary to the neighbouring Sutus was, we believe, Casalis. He too, like Colenso and Callaway at the same period among the Zulus, apparently could get no further back than a 5th royal generation. "We have undoubted proof," he says,⁸ "that the Basutoes have, for at least five generations, possessed the territory on which we found them in 1833." How confusing royal genealogies are wont to become after the lapse of centuries, even among such highly civilized peoples as were the Ancient Egyptians, who, moreover, possessed the knowledge of preserving them in writing, is clearly apparent from a perusal of Petrie's *History of Egypt* (vol. 2, pp. 202-205).

English people, apparently, consider the day of their birth the greatest in their lives—at any rate, the only one worth any annual lifelong commemoration. Now, the Zulus knew nothing of dates or birthdays ; but to a Zulu king, his accession to the throne was to him and his people as good as a royal 'nativity', and was celebrated accordingly with all such pomp and ceremony as was appropriate ; though, among the Bantu, sometimes rather grim.

A Zulu king possessing an orderly mind and a sense of tribal duty always took care to name his successor prior to his own departure for Spiritland. The proper method of doing this has already been described (p. 416) ; but, under certain circumstances, it was done in a death-bed whisper to the clan prime-minister ; while, on other occasions, it was not done at all, and the spoils were either fought for by the sons, or the clan elders intervened and appointed the man of their choice.⁹ The candidate, however, had always to be a direct-line member of the royal house.

We deem it a probable certainty that 'primogenitary (eldest son) inheritance' was the first and oldest system in

vogue amongst mankind ; but it seems equally probable that the system of ' special or selective nomination ' was as old as the Bantu ; for we find the practice as firmly established in Uganda as in Zululand. In Uganda, the successor to the throne was not appointed by the deceased king, but was selected from among his sons by the assembled tribal elders after his death.¹⁰ In the Congo, on the other hand, we are told by Ward¹¹ (with what accuracy, we cannot say) that " hereditary chieftainship seldom exists, although, in cases where blood succession is observed, the eldest son of the chief's sister [see Mother-right, p. 440] by the same mother is accepted as the heir." It has been asserted too that some of the Nguni clans (e.g. among the Lalas and other such in Natal) have, even in recent times, practised the system, not of selective appointment, but of simple primogenitary succession. That may be so ; for these Natal Natives had, prior to their arrival there, been considerably tainted by foreign, principally Tonga and Sutu, influences. But even here, we feel it were advisable to scrutinize the evidence with care before deciding definitely that this procedure (if it really existed) was not simply a recent innovation or reversion. For instance, among those Natal clans cited as following the rule of primogenitary succession, we hear the Nyuswa (Ngcobo) clan included ; and yet we personally recollect that, some 40 years ago, the Ngongoma branch of that clan was regarded as the ' *isiZinda* ' house of the Ngcobó family. But if, in the Ngcobó family, there was an *isiZinda* house, there must also, we think, have been an *iNdlunkulu* house (which, of course, might, or might not, have been that of the first-married wife, and not that of a later specially taken bride).

A deceased Zulu king was buried (except for special details) like every other paterfamilias in the clan (see Chap. 18). His grave was dug outside the upper left-hand top of the palisade surrounding the central cattle-fold (*isiBaya*), and during the digging, the tribal heir (*iNkosana*) and the left-hand heir (*iKóhlo*) stood by it.

The royal burial over, a general levy was made by the prime-minister on all the kraal-heads of the clan to supply the cattle required for ceremonial purposes at the ' coronation ' of the new king. A month or two having elapsed since the interment, the regulation *iHlambo* (see also Chap. 18) was held

' to wash the weapons ' (*ukuGéza iziKáli*) of any *umMnyama* (evil influence) that may have come down upon them owing to the royal demise. For this function, all the clansmen assembled at the Great Place (*k'omKúlu*) and a hunt was organized ; which, in the palmier days of the Zulu ' nation ', often amplified itself into a hunt after loot in the domain of some specially disliked royal neighbour. Normally, however, a selected wood having been surrounded and all available game been duly slaughtered, the assembled clansmen kindled fire there on the veld, sat themselves down and feasted ; by which procedure, it was believed, all *umMnyama* had been in a most agreeable manner completely wiped away from all the clan spears. After this, they returned rejoicing to the royal kraal, where they rejoiced still more over copious pots of beer—a perfect Irish wake.

To that kraal the most celebrated of doctors specializing in this particular business of the *ukuMisa* (to-make-stand-firm) of kings had already been summoned to perform as grand tribal magician. Then, from their several camps, the assembled regiments wended their way to the Great Place, chanting, as they approached, the national anthem (*iHubo*) of the clan. The warriors having been disposed in a great circle inside the cattle-fold, the medicine-man started operations by kindling the new fire (see p. 194) with the tribal fire-sticks (*ūZwati lomuzi*), thereby inaugurating, as it were, a new ' day ' (reign) in the life of the clan. He next mixed up the fortifying charms (*ubuLawu*), and manufactured the new king's *inKata* (see p. 476) or magic grass-ring. For these purposes he had already provided himself with all manner of *amaKótáma* (grass stolen from the top of the doorways of neighbouring kings) and *iziDwedwe* (rags of foreign royal body-wear) and *iziBi* (bits of rubbish) collected from all the pathways leading to the royal kraal. Some of these he burned to ash, and therewith smeared the new king (*ukuQunga*), thus, homeopathically, fortifying him against all possible noxious influences bearing upon him from without. Vegetable and other charms were further boiled in potsherds from which the king *Ncinda'd* (i.e. thrust in his finger-tips, and then licked them of the brew)—the bark of the *isEngama* tree, to confer upon him ' imposingness ' (*isiTúndzi*) ; of the *uManaye*, to cause him to stand firmly and bravely by the clan ; of the

uMpondonde, to make him grow 'tall' or outstanding among his peers; and an emetic of the *umGóbandlovu* shrub, to render him powerful to break the backs even of 'elephants'. But most precious of all was the great 'animal' charm, consisting of the fat of a black-skinned 'human' (who had been specially stalked and killed for the purpose), which, combined with the fat of the great-mamba snake (*inDlondlo*) and that of any other fearsomest of wild-beasts (*iziNyamazane*), was appropriately daubed about the face and body of his Majesty to bestow upon him such combined awesomeness and agreeableness and other occult powers and protection, that by now indeed he must have become possessed of all the virtues and all the safeguards poor human nature could safely endure.

Somewhat similar 'magic' accompanied the 'coronation' also of the king of Uganda. There too a man was caught, taken before the new king at night, slightly stabbed by him, and thereafter strangled, all for the purpose of 'fortifying' the sovereign.¹²

In this grimy state (*ukuQunga*), his Zulu majesty presented an appearance well suited to the grim performance next to follow. Into the Great Hut all the body-servants (*iNceku*), who had attended the deceased king during his life, had already some time earlier been ceremonially led, and there been sacrificed to follow their lord (see *umGándo*, near end of Chapter), by having their necks, arms and legs broken. Upon their heaped carcasses the new king enthroned himself; whereafter the bodies were taken away and buried near their departed master. What became of Mndindi of Mhlekehleke (of the *emaNgádini* clan), and Geveza, and Notekwane, all menials of the king *uMpande*, who so suddenly and mysteriously disappeared after that king's demise—was the constant question among the warriors of the *umCijō* regiment (at that time in garrison at the royal Nodwengu kraal). But nobody could (or would) tell; for these ceremonial executions were state secrets, unsuitable knowledge for the populace.

Thus magically adorned with every virtue, the king now went up to the temple to pray. His gods were his ancestors. So, with the whole body of his clansmen, he marched away, along with a herd of black oxen (*izinKomo zemZimu*) and did the round of the royal family ancestral tombs (*ukuGézela emaLibeni*) to 'wash-himself-clean over-the-graves'. First on

the list, and to him greatest of all, was the grave of his grandfather—his father, hardly yet across the Styx, was not yet within spiritual hail or capable to help. There a halt was made, bullocks were sacrificed, the blessing of the ancestor invoked and a solemn chant (*ṽHubo*) sung in his honour.

The whole series of great ancestral graves having thus been visited, the assembled clan returned to the Great Place. There, within the cattle-fold (always the most sacred spot within every home, the temple and altar of all ancestral sacrifices), encircled by the elders of the clan and its younger warriors, the new king, standing upon the tribal magic-coil (*inKatá yēZwe*) and bearing in his hand the tribal spear (*umKónto wenKosi o-y-isiMakade*, the 'royal spear that-stands-for-ever'—among the Zulus, this was an *isiJula* or hurling-spear), was formally proclaimed by the prime-minister: *Nantso-ke inKosi yeNu, baKiti, namhla-nje* (behold-him, ye-of-our-clan, who-is-your-king this-day)! Upon which felicitous pronouncement, the crowd would burst into roars of acclamation with the shout of *Bayede* (hail, Majesty)! the elder women of the clan trotting about before the assembly, uttering with exultation that ancient shrill cry of *Li! li! li!* (*uku-Lilizela*),¹³ and the rejoicing clansmen dispersing without delay to transfer their attention to the more substantial formalities of chunks of beef and pots of beer.

Some, though, there often were, who were not quite so merry as they appeared; for it was quite customary for newly-appointed kings to render their position still more secure by having all jealous brethren and other dangerous persons quietly 'removed' as soon as possible out of harm's way. Shaka took this precaution; and so did Dingane. The same was the practice also in Uganda, where all other princes of the blood royal were wont to be captured by the new king and killed, 'in order to secure peace'.¹⁴

This grisly installation into office must have sufficed to impress upon all concerned the awful sacredness of the royal person. High tribal priest, as well as tribal king, and a 'prospective' god, no wonder his person was inviolable. Whoever, in the best of causes, injured or killed a king, himself was *ipso facto* already doomed. One could hardly dare succeed him on the throne and hope to prosper with the heinous crime of his king's or his father's blood upon one's head. So somebody

else was employed to do the foul deed. In the case of the assassination of Shaka, his body-servant, Mbopa, was thus employed, and then himself destroyed; and though Dingane, Shaka's brother and successor, certainly took a hand in the affair and personally stabbed the tyrant, he probably regarded him as no rightful king, but as a usurper, and, further, not his father. Once more we find a reflection of the position in Uganda. There too, as with Mbopa, who at first was lavishly rewarded, "the person who struck down a King or rival Prince . . . was belauded on all hands as a great hero; and he would be loaded with honours and gifts at the time. The next king however, when he was established on the throne, would seek out the person and put him to death, as one who had shed royal blood. He was therefore obliged to escape into some other country, or to face death at the hands of the new king".¹⁵

August royalty therefore enjoyed all power and every privilege within the clan. Nobody dared to gainsay his word or wish. Every person and every beast was his, as high paterfamilias of the clan, to command or commandeer. He was the law, and his was the order, which he was always zealous to maintain, exterminating all malefactors as they appeared (having no gaols wherein to incarcerate them), and claiming for himself their property, including their daughters (who were called the crown *isiZi*). The privileges of a Spartan king were trifling compared with this, to wit, one whole beast twice monthly at public cost, and the hide and chine of any other slaughtered.¹⁶ There, as with the Zulus, the tribal cattle constituted the tribal wealth, and provided the royal, as well as one's private, revenue. When the tribal funds got low, the Zulu king did as the Egyptian Tut-ankh-amen, and 'organized raids in the plains to the south', or anywhere else, where a weak but wealthy neighbour offered a sporting chance.

In the pre-Shakan period of independent clans, the Great Place of the clan-chief (*k'omKulu*—by-the-way, the royal residence in Nyamweziland, Tanganyika Colony, is likewise so termed, *kwiKuru*) was, comparatively, but a very small place, comprising perhaps no more than a dozen huts (or wives), disposed in the manner already described in any ordinary kraal. But in the more spacious days of the Zulu 'nation', Shaka's Great Place, *kwaBulawayo* (between Eshowe and Empangeni),

was great indeed—a huge circular stockade almost a mile in diameter, containing 1,400 beehive grass-huts, arranged in a broad circular band inside the enclosure, and surrounding an immense circular palisaded open space in the centre of the area, forming the royal cattle-fold.¹⁷ These huts were occupied by some 10,000 or more warriors, divided into two 'sides' (*ūHlangoti*), with each side again subdivided into several 'sections' (*isiGába*, company). The prime-minister, Ngomane of Mqombolo, of the emDletsheni clan, had his quarters at the highest point on the right-hand side of the kraal, near the royal reserve.

This royal reserve consisted of a big segment, cut off by a high palisaded fence, at the upper end of the great kraal, to serve as the strictly private quarters (*isiGódlo*) of royalty. At the further end or top of this *isiGódlo* stood the king's private hut or *īLawu*, with the huts of his wives (if he had any) scattered about alongside. Shaka and Dingane, of course, had no wives, their taste being rather that for unbreeding concubines. In this upper section of the *isiGódlo*, known as the 'Black Reserve' (*isiGódlo esiMnyama*), besides the wives, were housed also the elite (mostly the elder) of the *umNdlunkulu* girls (see ahead), serving as the royal concubines, or the wives as maids. This particular troupe of the *umNdlunkulu* girls was sometimes referred to as the *amaNcasakazi* (the gentle, amiable females). They were divided into several bands (each with its own distinguishing name, e.g. the *inKwelemba*, of Cetshwayo); and each band, into several huts (each again with its own title, e.g. the *īDuka* hut, of the *inKwelemba* band). Each hut was separately fenced round, with openings from one to the other. All this upper portion of the *isiGódlo* was especially sacred to the king; for in it were caged those females dearest to him, and it was on that account that it was known as the *isiGódlo esiMnyama*, the Black (or specially dreaded) Reserve, to enter which, save by royal favour, would involve instant death.

A special fence separated this upper or 'Black' *isiGódlo* from the lower or 'White' (the *isiGódlo esiMhlopé*), which immediately adjoined the main (or warriors') portion of the great kraal. In this White Reserve were placed, on the one side, the several huts occupied by the royal children (*abaNtwana benKosi*), who were collectively known as the *imVoko*

(the untouchables, they being, sexually, very strictly tabu to everybody). On the opposite side, were the several huts occupied by the younger or less favoured girls of the *umNdlunkulu* corps. And it was on that account that this lower portion of the royal reserve was termed the *isiGódlo esiMhlopé* (the White Reserve), as being less dreaded, though quite dangerous enough for any intruder to lose his head, if found prowling there. Indeed, so feared were all these royal girls, that men, unexpectedly meeting them outside on the highway, took good care to give them a wide berth. And yet, despite all risks, they had their paramours!¹⁸

Another high palisade separated the whole of the *isiGódlo* or Royal Reserve from the main kraal, containing the great cattle-fold in the centre, with the great mass of warriors' huts surrounding it, round the inside of the major kraal-fence. Near by the *isiGódlo* palisade, on its inner side, was built a small mound of earth (about the size of an ant-heap) known as the *isiNgxapálazi*. It was kept scrupulously clean and polished; because upon it Majesty was accustomed to stand whenever he wished to shout out an order over the fence, or to see what was going on. A similar spy-mound stood also before the royal *iLawu* (or private hut), behind the reed-screen (*isiHonqo*) erected before its doorway, and from which the king could keep his eye on the *isiGódlo* itself.

So, you see, the royal quarters were well 'looked after', by night no less than day. While the king was away embraced in the arms of Morpheus, his faithful (more or less!) watchmen or *oGqayinyanga* (moon-gazers; also sometimes called *imVakashi*, this latter term having, more recently, been introduced from the Xosa tongue by the Cape man, Jacob)¹⁹ kept their ceaseless vigil against all intruders, acting at the same time, as they went, as royal scavengers, sweeping the pathways of rubbish, dog-droppings and other matter out of place. The kraal *imVali* (gate-closer) was responsible for barring up at night all main entrances, only the small side-apertures (*inTuba*) remaining open.

Majesty itself was equally well looked after. Inside his hut, crosswise before the doorway, lay at night his valet (appropriately called by the Zulus, his *inTsila*, his 'Dirt'), whose duty it was, within the hut, to receive upon his body the royal nasal and throat discharges, and who by day dressed the

king's hair, bathed his body, and adorned it with its finery. The *inTshasa* (chamber-man) was responsible for the cleanliness of the royal hut within, and the *umLindankosi* (king's-guard) kept watch on it without ; while the *isiSindabiso* (anus-wiper) accompanied his Majesty to stool. The principal duty of this latter was to keep a good look-out against prying *abaTákati* (secret evil-doers) and to hide away from them, the royal excreta, a much-valued acquisition for evil magic. All which is once again reminiscent of Uganda, where " the chief had several trusted gatekeepers ; each of these would be on duty for a month at a time. The houses in the capital were enclosed in high reed-fences, which were so guarded that a woman could only converse with her own sex ".²⁰ The butler (*iNcekú*) of the Zulu king, not only cooked, but also served the royal food, and was, as all his class are wont to think themselves, a somewhat superior type of servant. But the Zulu king, like every other respectable clansman, ' ate ' not only with his mouth, but also with his nose. Wherefore he was provided with another trusty servant ' to carry his snuff-box ' (*ukuPátá iShungu lenKosi*) and to grind his snuff. We say ' trusty ' because snuff was one of the commonest media for secretly administering ' poison ' (*umQotó*) ; wherefore it behoved the snuff-box carrier, as well as the butler, to be ever on the *qui vive*. The private personal medicines (mostly charms) of the king also demanded a special keeper. This was always a young female (*inTombazana yokuPátá iziHlazi zenKosi*) chosen from among the *umNdlunkulu* girls. She lived and slept, along with other immature girls, in a special hut (from which upon attaining puberty she was removed), called the ' Hut of the King's Water ' (*inDlu yamaNdzi enKosi*). The Rotsi king (Upper Zambezi) had a similar ' medicine-girl ', termed the *siBimbi*, who not only carried the royal or national medicine-horn, but also marched before the army to battle, bearing before it the invincible tribal war-charms.²¹ With the official messengers (*iNxusa*) we complete the lower-grade staff of the household of the Zulu king. All these royal servants had the privilege of being exempt from, otherwise compulsory military service ; whence they were called *iziTóyitóyi*.

The national war-charms of the Zulus, unlike those of the Rotsis, were always kept very safely guarded at home. They

were preserved in the form of a ring-like bundle or coil (called the *inKatá*), far too precious to be entrusted to anybody less than an elderly lady. Every Zulu king had among his medicine-men an outstanding specialist, known as 'the doctor for making the land stand firm' (*iNyanga yokuMisa iZwe*); and every Zulu king had his own special private *inKatá*, which, when he died, was incorporated into the greater State or National *inKatá* (made up of the *inKatás* of previous monarchs). This great or national *inKatá* was always an heirloom of the *inDlunkululu* (or Great Hut) of the royal family, and was entrusted to the keeping of one of the elder queens; the king's private *inKatá*, on the other hand, was entrusted to the care of a specially selected old lady (*isaLukazi*), who took up her quarters in the royal reserve (*isiGódlo*), and into whose hut no female dare enter during the period of her menses.

In far away Uganda, when a man builds a new family-hut, he commences, strange to be told, at the top, and lays his foundations in the roof. There, at the apex of the conical structure, where supporting-pillar and rafters meet, he fixes, on the inside of the thatched roof, and one lower than the other, three ring-like magic coils of beaten palm-fibre wrapt in papyrus, one ring larger than the other, whose combined purpose is said to be to hold the whole bunch of rafters and pillar (in other words, the whole house) firmly and securely together at the top. The first and highest, albeit the smallest, of these coils the Uganda man calls the *enKata*. So important are these magic house-coils, that the makers of those destined for the royal residences are exempt from all taxation, and enjoy the unique privilege of passing the king's wives with impunity.²²

Now, then, in Zululand, a new king was about to be installed, the doctor aforesaid 'for making safe the land' sent his emissaries (*inTloli*) secretly forth to procure for him by night bits of thatch from over the doorways of every surrounding chief, all regarded, of course, as foes *in posse*. These bits of thatch (all very carefully handled, after self-treatment with charms, to overcome all possible danger or contamination lurking therein) the doctor now formed into a coil, binding the whole round with palm-fibre or *umTshiki* grass, and finally wrapping it in python skin. This constituted the new king's private *inKatá* 'for binding together the country' (*inKatá yokuSonga iZwe*).

A king in happy possession of such a coil or accumulation of such *amaKótámo* (or 'doorway-tops') was held to be thereby possessed of the power of life or death over all their former owners, his potential enemies; for, you must know, the thatch at the top of the low Zulu doorway was necessarily frequently rubbed by the royal back as it crawled through; and that accumulated 'body-dirt' (as valuable to the Zulu magician as the body itself) was now in the keeping of the Zulu king.

Both the private and the national *inKatá* were, as said above, always very carefully hidden away and guarded. That of the Zulu king, Sendzangakona, Shaka's father, had been entrusted to the care of his wife, Langazana, residing at his *esiKlebéni* kraal. As the coil of each succeeding monarch was added to that of those who went before him, the bundle grew in dimensions, like a snow-ball, as time rolled on. By king Mpande's time, the Zulu national *inKatá* had grown into a great ring of grass and other miscellaneous rubbish 18 inches in diameter, sufficiently large, one would have thought, to preserve the Zulu state from every conceivable calamity. As fate would have it, the most dangerous foe of all had been entirely forgotten; or, rather, we should say, he possessed neither *amaKótámo* (doorway-thatch) nor 'body-dirt' for the royal magician's emissaries to steal, and, worst of all, was to them quite unreachable! So, when the British army walked across the Zulu border, rightfully or wrongly, in 1879 and burned king Cetshwayo's *uluNdi* kraal, the combined *inKatás* of all the ages and all the Zulu kings went up in smoke, the Zulu state came down with a crash, and the glory passed away from Israel for ever.²³

Alongside the tribal *inKatá*, at the back (*emSamo*) of the same lady-keeper's hut, was preserved also the tribal sacrificial spear (*umKónto wenKosi o-y-isiMakade*, the-everlasting royal assegai, or *umKonto wezinKomo wemZimu*, the-assegai of-the-cattle of-the-ancestral-spirits), being, with the Zulus, an ordinary *isiJula* or hurling-spear. Being used solely for the slaughter of beasts offered to the tribal ancestral kings, it was so seldom made use of, that its shaft was normally black with smoke and dirt, and its blade covered with rust. When fleeing from the burning *uluNdi* kraal, king Cetshwayo, while

neglecting the national *inKatá*, succeeded in grabbing up this national assegai and taking it with him in his flight. Effective enough (presumably) with ancestral spirits, it lamentably failed to preserve him from his English pursuers, who finally captured him. When, in later years dying, he handed the weapon over to the care of his half-brother, Dabulamandzi, with the injunction : *Nank' umKóntó wēZwe; u-Fike u-m-Nike Lowo o-Bekwa-yo* (here-is the-assegai of-the-nation ; get and-give-it to-him who-shall-be-appointed-successor). Presumably it rests today in king Solomon's museum of antiques.

Each king, however, like each paterfamilias, possessed also a personal assegai, used by him at hunt or war. This too was inherited by the family heir, and was held by him when standing at his father's burial.

Would you that the machine work smoothly, then (say the mechanics) pour in the oil. So too, in Zululand, if one sought royal favours, one's first concern was to grease well the cockles of the royal heart. And, with wide experience of human nature, what, thought he, more acceptable than a pretty maid? So from among his daughters he selected the most bewitching and presented her to the king, whose sole property she henceforth became, for personal use or sale, worth in the marriage-market as many cows as he cared to demand for her. The whole body of such presentation girls was called the *umNdlunkulu* (the Great-hut Troupe). We have already seen how carefully they were caged away within the *isiGódlo* (or Royal Reserve) at the top of the king's kraal. In the older and more primitive times of clan-independence, a chief could hardly have collected more than a dozen such girls; but in the days of Shaka's 'nation', the kings gathered them up by the hundred—Farewell calculated that Shaka's wealth in them amounted to 1,200 head. These later Zulu kings had a large number of military or regimental-kraals (*amaKánda*), each of which was at the same time an occasional royal residence, presided over by one of the great royal ladies (mothers, aunts and the like) and provided with a bevy of these *umNdlunkulu* unfortunates. We say 'unfortunates', because the lot of these girls was seldom a happy one. Removed entirely from all parental sympathy, and although they were now the king's private chattels and lived alongside him and his daughters,

nobody cared one whit for them and their body's needs; so that they were usually less well fed and attended to than were the royal cattle. Miss Mackenzie,²⁴ writing from personal experience of the *umNdlunkulu* girls of king Mpande (middle of last century), states: "I had been struck by the squalor and miserable look of these children, and *Umfundisi* [Rev. Mr. Robertson] told me they were the children of the great men of the country, who were obliged to attend upon the king's children. They are treated very roughly; their chief duty is to watch the huts and keep dogs and people away, and the only food they have is what is left by the queens and by the children of the king, which is thrown to them in scraps and shared with the dogs. . . . An hour afterwards they returned, and this time Unkungo's [one of the king's sons] sister . . . came with them. She is a very nice girl, affectionate and gentle in manner, but scarcely more happy in reality than the poor children whose squalor contrasted strangely with her stoutness. She was adorned with many of the things we had given the children, which confirmed my opinion that they were beggars for their superiors."

In another work,²⁵ we have written something of the life and hardships of these young prisoners of the harem. "Day after day these presentation lassies trooped up to court, and, as they came, were drafted off to one or other of the various seraglios attached to the several royal kraals. To prevent all possible misunderstanding (but quite uselessly, no doubt), Shaka called them 'his sisters'. . . . There, in each kraal, twenty to a hundred of them resided, caged in numerous huts, out of profane sight and reach, behind the hedged enclosure . . . sacred to the king. . . . Shaka was a greedy and jealous god, feasting alone upon Olympus, while the nether world starved. To cross the threshold of his *isiGódlo*, to hold converse with females of his seraglio wherever met, involved, if seen, summary execution. The more timorous of men accordingly gave such persons and places a very wide berth; but not always so the more amorous. Encountering the girls along the path or by the river, the former invariably described a broad detour to save their skins; the latter, on the contrary, would approach the very *isiGódlo* fence (but always by night) and risk their lives with pleasure. Nature brooked no frustration of her eternal plan, and proved, even than Shaka himself, a

more inexorable tyrant. With certitude of death staring them in the face, Adam and Eve could not be kept apart. . . . In such hazardous ways throughout the day, the royal girls did their best to fulfil Nature's stern decrees, till the shades of evening fell and the more considerate night dropped a curtain of darkness between their watchmen and themselves. Then at the midnight hour, Pyramus would venture forth and serenade in mouse-like stillness outside the harem fence. Ere long, on the inner side, a pair of damsels would stealthily approach. Then . . . over the thorny fence she would fling her goat-skin blanket, and, with her girl-companion's aid, scramble over—into her lover's arms."

The student of Zulu and Ganda customs will have observed over and over again how very alike they were, demonstrating quite convincingly a very close relationship between the two peoples. We have just noticed this in regard to the *inKatá*. Now compare the *umNdlunkulu* girls above with the similar seraglios of the Nyoro and Ganda kings. In Nyoro, writes Speke,²⁶ "young virgins, the daughters of Wakungu . . . are presented by their fathers in propitiation of some offence, and to fill the harem." In Uganda, says Roscoe,²⁷ "the king was willingly supplied with young girls, for they would in all probability become mothers of princes. . . . It was customary for a person to present the king with one or two girls when asking a favour." "The king filled his enclosure with women to become his wives, and appointed his chief wives as guardians over various blocks of houses. He made many a levy on the country for girls." Furthermore, as with the Zulus, "the most stringent care was exercised by the King and the chiefs, but it proved insufficient to keep the sexes apart, while the horrible punishments meted out to delinquents when caught, seemed only to add zest to the danger incurred. . . . The women made it possible for the men to enter the inner enclosures by enlarging the gutters under the fences, so that a man could crawl under them; or they placed a pole against a fence, on which he could climb down without making a noise." Speke²⁸ calculated that Mtesa, the Ganda king, had "three or four hundred such ladies"; while Declé²⁹ reckoned the harem of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi king, as "about twenty [wives] and a thousand concubines."

The Ganda king, it will have been noted, turned these tribute-girls into wives at will. This he could do, because there the royal family was of an origin alien to that of its subjects whence the girls derived. The old Zulu clan-kings could not do this, because there exogamy prevailed, and the daughters of their subjects were practically wholly of the same clan as the kings themselves. But after the formation by Shaka of the Zulu 'nation' (comprising scores of different clans), the Zulu king might quite legally have wedded any of the *umNdlunkulu* girls not members of his own 'Zulu' clan.

Aping the Aristocracy was one of those human frailties that made all the world akin. Zulu grandees, of course, could not dare compete with Majesty by only running *umNdlunkulu* troupes 'bnt, as persons having great influence with the king, they were never averse to having that influence bought by the present of a pretty concubine (*isaNcinza*), under the pretext of such a one serving them as a 'maize-crushing maid' (or *imPotili*).

Seeing that kings were everywhere and at all times the most human of men, we are not surprised to hear that also in Ancient Egypt, "not only did the Egyptians take thousands of female slaves . . . but a regular tribute of girls was rendered from various places".³⁰ The goddess, Vesta, too, in Ancient Rome had her virgin devotees; who, however, so far as we know, remained unsullied by the sport of kings. Otherwise was it in Peru, where the 'virgins of the Sun' approximated to the Ganda and Zulu style, the Inca of Peru conveniently proclaiming himself to be the 'Sun', and so making most of the 'virgins' his brides.³¹

We do not place much faith in the stories told by casual European travellers in Africa that this or that Negro or Bantu potentate had so many 'hundreds', or even 'thousands', of 'wives'.³² The record, we opine, must have been broken by the monarch of Loango, of whom "the wives . . . were estimated at 7,000".³³ That they may have amassed within their harems large numbers of marriageable girls, can be believed, as in perfect accord with custom. Ellenberger,³⁴ writing of the Sutu Bantu of South Africa, was nearer the truth when he stated that "before the rise of Mohlomi [who was accredited with 'approximately' 40 spouses], Basuto chiefs

were content with a moderate number of wives, rarely more than four or five." We would submit that as a fair reflection of the position also among the Zulu chieftains in old clan-days.

We read of the Nyoro (Uganda) king, that his "sisters are not allowed to wed; they live and die virgins in his palace. Their only occupation in life consisted in drinking milk, of which each one consumes the produce daily of from ten to twenty cows, and hence they become so inordinately fat that they cannot walk. Should they wish to see a relative, or go outside the hut for any purpose, it requires eight men to lift any of them on a litter".³⁵ There have been distinct tendencies in this direction also among the Zulus. Most of Sendzangakona's own sisters were laid, or put themselves, on the shelf and lived as free-lances in this way; as did also his daughters, during his and his son, Shaka's, reign. It was not until the coming of Shaka's successor, Dingane, that, when already about their menopause, they were, most of them, presented to his old friend, Mlandela, chief of the Mtetwa clan, as acceptable spouses,³⁶ and with one of them we personally had the pleasure of acquaintance, while she still lived in the kraal of Mlandela's heir, Sokwetshata.

The daily life of a Zulu chief of the older type was practically the same as that of any high-class commoner, such as we have already outlined in former chapters. It was not until the greater days of the 'nation' under Shaka that the Zulu court attained the zenith of natural refinement and dignified ceremonial. We have already shown how he withdrew his august presence from profane eyes into the unapproachable privacy of the 'Black Reserve' (*isiGódlo esiMnyama*). There he spent his days in congenial company, not of his wives (for he had none), but of his scores of *umNdlunkulu* 'sisters', his high officials and favoured courtiers.

One of the earliest functions of the day was no doubt that of performing his toilet. This function was arranged by the king's *inTsila* (or 'Body-dirt'), the very expressive title of the menial specially in charge of his Majesty's cleanliness. An array of water-carriers, wash-basin (*umCengezi*) bringers, 'soap'-holders and sun-shade bearers were mustered by him in the calf-fold (*isiBaya samaTóle*), at the top of the great cattle-fold (where his Majesty habitually bathed), awaiting his

coming. It might have been in the court of the Pharaohs, where "every morning a score of technical branches busied themselves over his toilet, from the Manufacturer-in-Chief of False Hair for the king's wigs, to the Valets of the Hands and their immediate superiors, the Directors of his Majesty's Nail-doers, with the Chiefs of the Scented Oils and Pastes for rubbing his Majesty's body." What the Zulu ceremony was like may be gathered from the following account by Farewell and Fynn. Visiting Shaka at his Bulawayo kraal (near Eshowe), "they found his majesty having his bath." But bath and toilet with the Zulus being on the true Pompeian model, a public spectacle, they marched right in. The function was performed *al fresco* at the top of the kraal. Three page-boys approached, two bearing gourds of water, the third a large black dish . . . each bearing his article in both hands raised vertically above the head. Standing upon a rush-mat, and assisted by his valet (especially in the rubbing down of his back, which he could not reach, with *inKweza* leaves), majesty proceeded to wash itself. Having first 'soaped' the whole body with a paste of bruised fat and ground Kafir-corn (which presumably gathered up the dust), the king then washed the compound away with water from the wooden dish held before him. Meanwhile he chattered gaily with those around him; until, turning suddenly about, he perfunctorily ordered one of the near-by men off to instant execution, 'for what reason we could not learn, but soon found it to be one of the common occurrences in the course of the day'. . . . The gentle breeze having functioned as a towel, the cosmetic-bearer again drew nigh, bearing a small basket, which likewise he held in both hands and presented with arms outstretched: this, we may say, was the universal Zulu etiquette when offering anything to or receiving it from a superior. From the basket his Majesty extracted a lump of red-clay paste, with which he besmeared the skin, rubbing the mixture well in, till it had almost disappeared. A final unction with sheep-tail fat or Native butter rendered the body resplendent with a beautiful ruddy silky gloss, as became a king.

From the bath-room, Shaka then proceeded to his dressing-room, likewise *al fresco*, in the cool shadow of a tree. There, in the shade, he comfortably donned his brown-and-black kilt of furry tails, with armlets, leglets and tippet of silky white

bushes from cow-tails ; or, seated on his chair (a thick roll of *inDuli* rushes), had his head and body bedecked with red lowry plumes and variegated beadwork. Beside him, throughout the ceremony, stood a page bearing the royal umbrella (a large ox-hide shield), wherewith to ward off any intruding sun-rays.³⁷ This elegant dress, of course, was something special, for 'distinguished visitors'; but we think it probable that so great a majesty as Shaka washed itself every day, if not always to the full extent of a body-bath.

Whenever the king required the presence of any official or servant, all of whom, of course, had their quarters outside the royal reserve, in the main kraal, he would either send one of his 'sisters' to fetch him, or would himself mount the spy-mound (*isiNgxapálazi*) beside the separating palisade, and bellow out his name. Whereupon instant commotion would ensue within the main kraal, and the person summoned respond with a shout of *Nkosi* (Sire)!, and a double-quick trot into the presence.

Upon approaching the royal hut, the comer would announce his arrival, while standing some distance from the doorway, by raising his right hand in salute above his head and uttering this same shout of *Nkosi!* followed by a short string of the usual royal praise-names. Nobody dared to enter the king's hut unbidden. If called inside, he would go down on his hands and knees (*ukuGúqa ngamaDolo*) and so crawl up to his Majesty. Upon arriving before him, he would sink down, so as to half-recline, as it were, with his left hip and elbow resting upon the ground (*ukuLala ngeNqulu*). In that posture he would receive orders, applauding each separate order with a separate cry of *Nkosi!* or *Baba* (father)! Finally he would crawl away, as he came, on his knees, without rising. Etiquette in the Zulu court was on Cave Man lines ; there were no effeminate kow-tows or curtseys there.³⁸

Strange to say, it never occurred even to so despotic a character as Shaka to cause himself to be carried anywhere. On the longest and most fatiguing marches, he trudged along bare-footed, and sometimes foot-sore, like the commonest menial. Other Bantu potentates had a finer sense of comfort, perhaps because they were naturally less Spartan. In Awembaland,

chiefs were habitually carried upon the shoulders of one of their men.³⁹ The same was the case in Angola.⁴⁰ In Uganda, the Buffalo clansmen held the hereditary right to bear majesty about astride upon their shoulders; and not the king only, but also the queens.⁴¹

Like everybody else, the Zulu king had a personal name of his own; but nobody ever had the temerity to address him by it. He was not averse, however, to being addressed by the great ancestral name of 'Zulu' (the personal name of his clan's founder), or by that of 'Gumede' (perhaps the *isiTákazelo* of Zulu's paternal clan), or 'Mngúni' (i.e. the *umNgúni* par excellence among all the family of *abaNgúni* Bantu), or by any of his special praise-names. Indeed, it was always customary and advisable to introduce an interview with a preliminary utterance of a string of such praises. A common formula was '*Bayede! Wen' uMnyama! Wena waPákati! Wena wōHlanga! Wen' uDl' amaDoda* (Hail! thou who-art-awe-inspiring! thou of-the-inmost-recesses—perhaps, of the *isiGódlo* or royal reserve! thou of-the-original-stem, of the clan! thou who-eatest-up men—by first having them killed and then confiscating their property!).

Indeed, so partial to praise were these savage potentates, that they installed a special functionary, called the *imBongi* (official praiser) to do nothing else. Court-jesters seem to have been deemed by earlier European monarchs a necessary adjunct to every royal court. Bantu kings do not seem to have, as a rule, ever struck precisely that idea; though Noziyingili (the Tembe or Tonga chieftain) kept in his kraal a personage, Ngcina by name, not far removed from being a standing 'court joke'. He was 33 inches in height, with ears whose length reminded of those of an ass; whence it would appear that his principal purpose was to make the king and his courtiers laugh.⁴²

The Bantu, or at any rate the Zulu, counterpart of the European jester was the *imBongi* aforesaid. From our own experience of one of two specimens, we should say that these men were, not exactly mentally deficient, but mentally abnormal. They lived in a chronic state of vociferous delirium; though otherwise quite intelligent. They would keep up a continuous harangue, addressed to nobody in particular and,

so to say, for hours at a time, whether sitting at home or marching alone across the veld. They had the gift of 'speech' in a most extraordinary degree; and extraordinary memories too. They made it their business to know everything that the king and all his ancestors ever did or ever had done; then to frame the several events into terse phrases, mostly simply commemorative, but frequently disguised by metaphor or even humorously satirical; and finally to recite their compositions before king and public, by loud incessant shouting, whenever opportunity occurred. Dressed in the most grotesque of trappings, with skins and feathers, numerous medicine-horns and other quaint bric-a-brac hanging and dangling and waving from every part of their body, they would stride wildly up and down, especially on great festal occasions, blazoning abroad, in a never-ending rigmarole, such brief references to every creditable, and even discreditable, incident in the king's and his ancestors' lives; in brief, the whole story, so far as remembered, of his and their reigns; for, in this their rude fashion, these were the official historians of the clan, and like the jesters of old, they were permitted such extravagant freedom of speech, that they put on record much that it might otherwise have been dangerous to state. Such a procedure was termed *uku-Bonga inKosi* (to-tell-the-praises of-the-king), and the several statements themselves were termed his *iziBongo* (praises).

Clan traditions have preserved a goodly number of these *iziBongo* of the earlier chiefs; but the *iziBongo* alas! have not preserved much of clan history, largely due to the fact that, although the various statements may have been obvious enough at the time when they were first made, they convey little or no meaning to us now, who know not to what they allude. The following excerpts from the more modern *iziBongo* of the late Zulu chief, Dinuzulu, will suffice to exemplify what the older royal 'praises' really were like.

UDlotóvu ka-Békeki na-ngameHlo. The shaggy one, he cannot even be looked at.

U-Fána nemSebe yēLanga. He is like unto the rays of the sun.

ISO laKé li-Fána noNyazi wēZulu. His eye is like the lightning flash.

I-nga-Ti eleNgwé neNgónyama. It is as that of the leopard and the lion.

UMavel'-a-Jahe, o-njengēBínu la-k'ōPewula. He who from the beginning was robustly built, like one of Kruger's Dutchmen.

U-Búkuda ngomKónto kwaDiki. He frolics about with his assegai at Dick's.

UsiNtshongo si-y-inTutú yamaBósho e-Dutshulwa ngō-Nongqayi esiKanisweni kwaNongóma. He is the fume which is the smoke of the cartridges shot by the Police at the Nongoma Camp.

UNxeba la-Púm' inTutú yesiBámu. He whose wound emitted gun-smoke.

UsiKúni si-'maZinga. Firebrand that is wrinkled.

UmPondo za-Mila eNjeni. Ingabe enKomeni z'-Esaba-ni ; lokú sasi-yakw-Endza amaGúdu okuBéma. Horns that grew on a dog. One wonders why they feared to grow on a cow, seeing that then we should have made hubble-bubbles of them.

NKonyana kaPúnga noMageba. Calf of Punga and Mageba.

IziNgqungqulu zi-Beténe pézulu ; ng'ekaMapitá eNye, ng'ekaNjinjinindi eNye. A-ngi-Qedi n'e-zo-Bábálala. Kwa-Ti e-kaMapitá ya-Bábálala. The eagles are fighting in the sky ; one is that of Mapita, one that of Cetshwayo. I am not sure which will flop to the ground. As it turned out, that of Mapita flopped.

Mamb' eMnyama kaNjinjinindi. Black mamba of Cetshwayo !

U-m-Dwengula dwishi, a-l'-Endz'ĩ Qéle, a-l'-Etwése ama-Mbúka. He tears one to strips, and makes thereof a head-band for the traitors to wear.

MHlahlela-nTloko zabaFó. Cleaver of the heads of foes !

INja ka-yi-Suke laḡ' emNyango ; ngóba kuKóna iziKúlu—kuKóna uZiwedu noMnyamana ; kuKóna uTshanibezwe noMabóko.⁴³ Let that dog get away from this door ; for there are great men here—there is Ziwedu and Mnyamana ; there is Tshanibezwe and Maboko.

Etc., etc.

It is interesting to note that identically the same kind of rodomontade was as beloved of Babylonian and Egyptian

kings as of those of modern Zululand. "Hammurabi!", shouted the crowd in Babylon; "the elect shepherd of Bel; the hero king who has restored Eridu; purifier of the cult of E Absu. Invader of the four quarters, exalter of the fame of Babylon. . . . Avenging warrior of Larsam. . . . The grave of the foe, by whose help victory is attained; who has enlarged Kutha. . . . The far-seeing one, who has carefully provided pasture and drinking places for Shirpurla and Gursu. The wise, the active, who has struck down the bandits," and so forth.⁴⁴ As for Egypt, royal praises began to appear on the scarabs of the XVIII Dynasty (c. 1450 B.C.), e.g. 'The good god, lion over Egypt, lord of might, giving life like the sun'.⁴⁵ "Sesostris II, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, for ever. He made his monuments in the Jackal nome, restoring that which he found obliterated . . . putting a landmark at his southern boundary, perpetuating the northern like the heavens. . . . He divided the great river along the middle, its western side to the Jackal nome", and the rest.⁴⁶ Writes King:⁴⁷ "With certain tribes of Africa at the present day, who possess no knowledge of writing, there are functionaries charged with the duty of preserving tribal traditions, who transmit orally to their successors a remembrance of past chiefs and some details of events that occurred centuries before. The predynastic Egyptians may well have adopted similar means of preserving a remembrance of their past history." "All these temple records," says Breasted,⁴⁸ "being for the glory of Pharaoh, are couched in language very poetic and highly colored, although the poetic form is not always discernible. . . . Some of these contain references and allusions which, in view of the scantiness of our material, may be employed historically. Such hymns probably existed from the earliest days of the dynasties."

These more intellectual and cultured bards of Egypt and Babylon were but the successors in office of those much older tribal functionaries among the primitive peoples who have persisted almost unchanged in the *izimBongi* of Bantuland. The earliest of Arab historians of East Africa (Masudi, c. 900 A.D.) found them established among the East African Bantu upon the first arrival of the Arabs there.⁴⁹ Tremearne⁵⁰ tells of them also among the Benue Negroes. "In addition," he says, "to the drummers and trumpeters meeting the stranger, there are some *Masubam-maganna* ('makers of big

words'), who call out in a loud voice all the virtues real and imaginary of the stranger";—incidentally, we may remark that, upon our own first arrival in Zululand (at the Emoyeni seat of John Dunn, the famous 'Whiteman' of kings Mpande and Cetshwayo), his official *imBongi* similarly strode up and down before the verandah of the house, shouting out 'all our virtues real and imaginary'. Schweinfurth,⁵¹ too, dilates upon similar 'praisers' in Equatorial Africa. Among the Nyamnyams, he says, "there is a singular class of professional musicians, who make their appearance decked out in the most fantastic way with feathers, and covered with a promiscuous array of bits of wood and roots and all the pretentious emblems of magical art, the feet of earth-pigs, the shells of tortoises, the beaks of eagles, the claws of birds, and teeth in every variety. When one of this fraternity presents himself, he at once begins to recite all the details of his [more probably of the other party's] travel and experiences, in an emphatic recitative." "Under minor differences of aspect, these men may be found nearly everywhere in Africa. Baker and some other travellers have dignified them with the romantic name of 'minnesingers', but the designation of 'hashash' (buffoons) bestowed upon them by the Arabs of the Sudan would more fairly describe their character. The Niam-niam themselves . . . calling them 'nzangah' [obviously akin to the Zulu term, *iNyana*, a-skilled-craftsman]." Krapf⁵² refers to them in Eastern Africa; while Livingstone⁵³ encountered them in Congo Lundaland:—"Then Sambanza, and Nyamoana's spokesman, stalked backwards and forwards in front of Shinto, vociferating all they knew of my history and my connection with the Makololo"; just as John Dunn's *imBongi* had done for ourselves.

In the old system of the clans, every adult male was by his very nature a fighting-man, a warrior. It was as much his duty to protect his clan, as it was to protect his family; for with him the two were one. But when we say that every man was a warrior, we do not mean that every man was a 'soldier', in our sense of the term, spending his time in drilling, practising with his weapons, marching about in bands, and the like. In the pre-Shakan days of numerous independent small clans, he was simply an ordinary family-man, who lived a purely

civilian life in his own kraal, becoming a warrior only after being called upon by his chief to wage war or resist aggression. In Shaka's time, however, when his wide conquests gave birth to the infinitely greater Zulu 'nation', then something very like soldiers and a standing army came into being, and the older circumcision-guilds became transformed into regiments.

For, in those older clan days, circumcision was still the universal practice among the Nguni Bantu (Zulu-Xosas). When a sufficient number of lads, of, say, 16-18 years of age, had grown up in the clan, the chief gave orders that they be circumcised (*ukuSoka*). A number of special grass-huts (*iDikodo*) were built in any secluded spot, and the boys assembled there. They white-washed their bodies with clay, perhaps to announce to strangers who and what they were; for visitors were strictly forbidden. Food was taken to them regularly by elderly female relatives already beyond their menopause. The foreskin was smartly snipped off by an expert with an assegai-blade. The youths remained incarcerated in their camp, until the wound was healed. Then, having slipped over the penis a suitable substitute for the vanished foreskin, in the form of a tight cover of supple leather, resembling a finger-stall and called an *isiZiba*, they all marched bravely back to the clan, where they were welcomed like heroes with feasts of meat and beer—the latter alas! to be partaken of solely by their elders, while they looked on, and feasted on the 'honour'.

Although we hear nothing of it, we have a suspicion that there must have been something more than 'white-wash' on the bodies of the Zulu initiates. The Zulus were but another branch of the same Nguni Bantu family as were the Xosas of the Cape, and in both branches the procedure was probably alike. So early as 1593, the survivors of the wrecked *St. Albert* encountered Native boys along the south coast "dressed in reeds fashioned like mats, which is the attire of a young noble before he bears arms or has female associates, which is generally at the age of twenty-two and upwards".^{53a} In 1688, the mariners of the *Centaur* found the circumcised youths of the Cape "dressed with green leaves".^{53b} The traveller, Thompson,^{53c} writing of those same parts in 1827, tells us that they "are obliged to wear a sort of kilt or petticoat of palm-leaves, which is made by fastening the leaves to a cord long

enough to go five times round the body, so that their loose ends reach about half-way down the thigh. . . . They wear also a cap of the same materials which is so contrived that the leaves partly cover the face." Moodie,⁵³¹ writing soon after (in 1835) adds some further details. "Their faces and bodies," he says, "were bedaubed all over with white and red clay; and they had huge bundles of rushes or water-flags suspended round their middles from a girdle, hanging half-way down their thighs. Their heads were also ornamented with bundles of stiff flags, which stuck out two or three feet behind them. Each of them carried a long thin wand, with which they belaboured the children whenever they came within their reach, as they slowly waddled about. . . . They were never allowed to rest for a moment, but followed each other in a long procession, attended by crowds of children, teasing and taunting them continually. The women were collected in a mass at a little distance, beating their drums, clapping their hands, laughing, singing and yelling."

Both the body-whitening and the grass-costumes must have been hoary old African customs. Indeed, even the initiates into the so-called 'Mysteries' of ancient Greece had their bodies smeared with white clay,⁵³² and the practice is still almost universal throughout Negroland—on the Cross River of Calabar,^{53f} on the Congo,^{53g} in Kikuyuland,^{53h} among the Giriyama near Mombasa,⁵³ⁱ among the Chwana of the south,^{53j} and elsewhere. The grass-costumes too are met with among the Banda Negroes of Equatorial Africa,^{53k} in East Africa,^{53l} and among the Nkimba guild-boys of the Congo.^{53m}

Each such circumcision-group, then, was known, among the Zulus, as an *ĩButó* (a collection or gathering-together), and each such *ĩButó* received a special distinguishing name, which was common to all its members, and by which they were henceforth known and called. Being all approximately of the same age, an *ĩButó* served the purpose also of an 'age-group'.^{53o}

For some incomprehensible reason, circumcision fell into abeyance, and absolute obsolescence, among many South African tribes, about the same period. Brown^{53p} tells us that among the Chwanas it was "long ago given up . . . although there has been a recrudescence in recent years." Peters^{53q} says it was 'formerly' practised among the Kalangas of Rhodesia, but has now been abolished. When precisely the custom went

out of fashion among the Zulus, is not clearly discoverable. Sendzangakona, the Zulu king (b. circa 1757, d. circa 1816), was not yet circumcised when he married Shaka's mother, Nandi. But since, when he married Nandi, he was already married to a previous wife, it is fairly certain that he never got circumcised later on. That his son and successor, Shaka (b. circa 1787, d. 1828), as well as the contemporary Mtetwa chief, Dingiswayo (b. circa 1780, d. circa 1818), were un-circumcised, is well known.^{53r} It would seem, then, that the circumcision custom commenced to fall into desuetude among the Zulu and neighbouring tribes already in the reign of Jama (Sendzangakona's father, d. circa 1781); therefore about 1770-1780; that it flickered feebly on through the reign of Sendzangakona, and became finally extinct during that of his son, Shaka,^{53s} though Arbousset^{53t} declares that it was still permitted by this latter among his elder warriors (i.e., we think, among these latter while they were still youths). Confirmation is given to the approximate accuracy of our date by the fact that Kay,^{53u} in Kaffraria, could write, as early as 1825, that "this rite [of circumcision] does not appear to obtain either among them [the Zulus] or the Fingoes [Natal refugees]; herein therefore they differ both from the Kaffirs [Xosas of the Cape] and the Boochuana."

Some have surmised that the till recently surviving *um.Shopi* (see Chap. 16) ceremonies may have been nothing more than a remnant of the former circumcision rites. Beyond the grass-costume worn in both, we see no further resemblance whatsoever between the two customs, and prefer to think that *um.Shopi* and circumcision are of equal antiquity. Nowadays as common in Polynesia as in Africa, it is impossible any longer to discover where circumcision originated. W. H. Rivers^{53v} has suggested that the particular form of phallic mutilation known as 'incision' (a slitting of the prepuce in its dorsal aspect), now commonest in Polynesia and said to have been in vogue in Egypt in earliest pre-dynastic times—something similar is said to be still practised by the Kikuyus of Kenya Colony—was carried about the world by 'the heliolithic folk'.^{53w} In Africa, this practice of incision, it is thought, was later supplanted or supplemented by full circumcision, introduced from the neighbouring Semitic nations. Elliot Smith, however, believes that both circumcision and incision were spread abroad through

Africa by 'the megalithic folk originating in Egypt'. Johnston^{53x} surmises that "the practice arose in connection with religious belief somewhere in Egypt, Arabia, Syria or the Mediterranean coastlands, and gradually made its way south into Africa." But Herodotus,^{53y} our earliest enlightener, says: "The Colchians, the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, are the only nations who have practised circumcision from the earliest times. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine themselves confess that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians." But "the Egyptians said that they believed the Colchians to be descended from the army of Sesostris [Usertesen I, first pharaoh of the 12th dynasty]. They are black-skinned and have woolly hair"—apparently Egyptian Negro recruits. Wherefore Herodotus concludes, "with respect to the Ethiopians [Negroes], indeed, I cannot decide whether they learnt the practice from the Egyptians, or the Egyptians of them—it is undoubtedly of very ancient date in Ethiopia".^{53z}

As for the cognate subject of female clitoridectomy, we may, parenthetically, ask: Was it perchance an early demand for 'equal rights' that led to this corresponding pudendal mutilation among the females? Or was the Mesopotamian physician, Aëtios of Amida, nearer the mark when, in the 6th century A.D., he re-discovered (what perhaps had been known æons before) that hypertrophy of the clitoris was connected with certain exaggerated manifestations of the sexual instinct, as well as with the development of vicious sexual habits?^{53aa} Whether or not our Zulu girls were liable to these vicious habits, we cannot say—from their *isiGwéba* custom (see Chap. 14), we opine they were; but they certainly escaped the knowledge and the mutilation. They knew nothing of clitoridectomy. And yet among their next-door neighbours, the Sutus, the practice was universal. Writes Casalis:^{53bb} "Girls from twelve to thirteen years of age are also subjected to a rite, to which certain tribes give the name of circumcision, but which more resembles *baptism*." We may be mistaken, but we are inclined to believe that this 'baptism' was really some form of mutilation of the clitoris. Clitoridectomy seems to be slightly practised also among the Congo Bantu.^{53cc} It is, however, more prevalent further north, both among the Equatorial Negroes^{53dd} and the Hamitic Somalis and Masais,^{53ee} as well as among the Guinea Negroes^{53ff} and the Kenya Kikuyus.^{53gg}

What precisely may be the form of the mutilation among the lower Zambezi Bantu is not clear from Maugham's^{53hh} statement, that there girls "are similarly separated. . . . Regarding what follows I have been variously informed, but I have come to the conclusion that, whilst in some districts an artificial *dilatatio vaginæ* is performed, in others the same result is arrived at by natural means." The Masaba Bantu in Uganda also have a female mutilation apparently peculiarly their own, namely, "a bit of flesh cut away from the *labia majora*".⁵³ⁱⁱ Still worse in ancient Ethiopia, where, says Strabo,^{53jj} they "spay the females, as is the custom also among the jews, who are of Egyptian origin." Whether any mutilation accompanied the female initiation ceremonies described by Baines^{53kk} among the beChwana, by Mohr^{53ll} among the baMangwato, and by Thompson^{53mm} among the Xosas, we cannot say. Certainly there is no mention of clitoridectomy.

But, although the custom of circumcision became obsolete among the Zulus, the practice of regularly banding together into 'groups' (*amaButó*) all clan youths of a similar age, continued as before. Until Shaka turned them all into real soldiers and real 'regiments', these youth-bands continued for the nonce simply 'age-groups', such as we read of among the Melanesians of the Pacific, where all male children born in every period of 2 years form a group called a *kimta*; with similar groups for women.⁵⁴ Or among the Hidatsa American Indians; or the Masai, where (as with the Zulus in older times) the determining event is circumcision, not birth.⁵⁵

The change from circumcision-guilds to soldier-regiments occurred, as far as the Zulus are concerned, just at the commencement of what may be termed their 'historical period'; for, with the very earliest mention, in their traditions, of the 'age-groups' by their particular names, we find them functioning as 'regiments', fighting the battles of their clans. On such battle-fields was it that we hear for the first time of king Jobe's *uYengandlovu* regiment, of the Mtetwa clan; of king Pakatwayo's *imQula*, of the Qwabe clan; of king Zwide's *amaPéla*, of the Ndwandwe clan—all which kings were outstanding stars in the firmament of Nguni royalties. Soon after this, the star that was Shaka, of the Zulu clan, rose into the ascendant and extinguished the lot by its incomparable effulgence. Hardly

seated on the Zulu throne, he forthwith launched out on his ambitious scheme of conquering 'the world'; and such a martial genius was he, that within a few years, he had not only subjugated, but had actually incorporated within his own every surrounding clan within his horizon. Henceforward there existed no longer a hundred separate reigning chiefs; only one, himself. No longer a hundred separate independent clans; only one 'nation', comprising them all, the 'Zulu nation'. With his subjects now numbering, no longer a few hundreds, but scores of thousands, a new organization of the nation's manhood was imperative. Regardless of clan-origins, youths of a like age were re-drafted into larger bodies (still called *amaButó*, or collected-bands), numbering several hundreds apiece, whose sole purpose was to await the beck of their sovereign and to perform the services of the state. In that service, conquest and raiding held the first and most important place. Thus did the original 'age-groups' become henceforth pure 'regiments'.

So far as is known, there had never been among the Nguni Bantu any female counterpart of the circumcision custom among the males (e.g. clitoridectomy or other similar mutilation); and whether or not, in older clan times, the girls had been banded together in named 'age-groups', is no longer discoverable. Certain is it, however, that, with the accession of Shaka and his organization of the male adults into *amaButó* (or regiments), adult girls also, similarly and periodically, were formed into groups (likewise termed *amaButó*), each with its own name and its special purpose of providing the opposite male *ĩButó* (or regiment) with wives. Thus, as each of the male 'fighting' *amaButó* became sufficiently advanced in age (ay, 40-45 years old), all marriageable maidens not yet married were by royal decree now nominally 'collected together' (*ukuButá*) into a single 'marriage' *ĩButó*, and ordered to form early matrimonial alliances with the regiment of males just released from bachelorhood. We say 'nominally' collected, because the girls never actually left their homes to be massed, like the males, in any common barracks; though their groups, like those of the males, received each its special distinguishing name.

This practice of regular periodical formation of male and female *amaButó* continued right down to the time of the Zulu

War (1879) and the final destruction of the Zulu state by the British in the reign of the last of the Zulu kings, Cetshwayo. Since then, it has entirely ceased ; though an effort was made for some years later, during Dinuzulu's lifetime, to perpetuate the ancient custom by simply coining new age-group ' names ' from time to time, the names to be assumed by all such Zulu youths as appeared to fit the age. Even that has now practically ceased.

A complete list of the Zulu regiments, male and female, in so far as they were still remembered some 60 years ago (just after the Zulu War), will be found in this author's *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (pp. 642-6).

How the Zulu boy became a soldier must now be described. We have already in a preceding chapter (p. 187) outlined the first part of a boy's debut into public life—how, at about the age of 14 years, he blossomed forth into an *ūDibi* (or luggage-carrier). This was really the commencement of his public career ; for now he first left home, to serve others than the members of his own family, to serve the general community and the state. He remained with the private family where his father may have placed him ' to carry ' (*ukuTwála*), usually until the attainment of puberty, when he might return home. The boys were always very proud of this new advancement in life, the *ubuDibi* (or carriership). They already felt they were growing into ' men ' ; and it was a common question put to youths in after-life, *Wā-Twálel' uBani ?* (For-whom did-you-carry) ; and they fancied themselves radiant with some of the reflected glory, if they could reply with the name of some great man.

A year or two after puberty, the boy was considered big enough to ' go up to *Kleza* ' (to-milk-into-his-mouth). His father accordingly selected for him one or other of the many royal military-kraals (*īKánda*) ; and so, carrying on his head a bundle of maize or sorghum grain (sufficient to last him, on spare diet, a month or two), off went the boy once more into the still greater world. From time to time, his sisters would come to replenish his supplies ; for, though lodging was free, and cattle galore to herd, there was nothing to eat and nothing to earn ; which was probably the basic reason for the boy's practice, indeed need, of ' milking into his mouth ' (*ukuKleza*) during this period.

Whenever it appeared to the authorities that the bigger *Kleza* boys (i.e. those of about 18 years of age) were, collectively in all the military-kraals, sufficient in number to form a new *ĩButó* (or regiment), orders went forth from the king (generally at the time of the annual *umKósi* or royal festival), that they be gathered together. He then conferred upon them some new fancy name of his own, gave directions as to what distinguishing dress or body ornament they should wear and what colour their shields should be, and finally nominated some competent notable to be their *inDuna* (or colonel), who, in turn, would appoint from among the youths themselves divers 'captains' (*ĩPini*), one over each *isiGába* (battalion), there being three or four such battalions to each regiment, each battalion comprising 5 or more *amaViyo* (companies), and each company containing some 50 or more warriors.

The first duty of the new regiment was to go off and build a new military-kraal or barracks for itself. These kraals were always uncommonly large, having to accommodate several hundreds, even a thousand, men and therefore enclosing (between the great outer kraal-fence and the central royal cattle-fold) some hundreds of beehive grass-huts, divided up (like the regiment itself), first, into two *izinTlangoti* (or sides), and then each side into *iziGába* (or battalion-sections). Each 'side' had its *inDuna* (or head-officer, resident at its upper end), and each 'section' its *ĩPini* (or captain). Every military-kraal being also a royal residence, above the '*eziGábeni*' (or barrack portion of the kraal), was erected an *isiGódlo* (or royal reserve), separated from the former by a high fence, and in which his Majesty or his family took up an occasional residence. Each such *isiGódlo* was placed in charge of one or other of the queens or queen-mothers, who was provided with a party of *umNdlunkulu* girls to serve as handmaids. The barracks being completed, many of the youths returned for a period to their homes; but there always remained in garrison a sufficient number to meet any royal demands for service (e.g. field-hoeing, wood-chopping, kraal and hut repairing and such-like).⁵⁵¹ In return for this personal sacrifice for king and country, the warriors were graciously forbidden to marry (during their period of soldiery), and were permitted to feed themselves, and to get no reward. They obtained their food-supplies from their own homes, or from their comrades: for

such was the extraordinary generosity and hospitality of these people, that whatever one had to eat oneself, and however small its quantity, was always gladly shared with allsoever as cared to come and partake.

So it came about that, with the birth of the Zulu 'nation' under Shaka, the old 'burgher' system of the clans became transformed into a standing army, comprising all the nation's manhood, under the supreme command of the official warlord (*inDuna yeMpi*), who in Shaka's time happened to be one, Mdlaka of Ncidi, of the emGázini clan; who, after having won most of the nation's victories, was himself graciously rewarded by being put to death by Dingane, Shaka's successor.

Rather strangely, not long after these great political changes had been wrought in Zululand by Shaka, away in the north, king Mtesa rose to achieve similar greatness in Uganda. Mtesa, says Roscoe,⁵⁶ "was the greatest of all the Kings of Uganda, not only in mind, but also in progressive policy. . . . Mtesa formed a regular standing army, and made a new chieftainship for the general or commander-in-chief, whom he called *Mujasi*; he gave him the rank of one of the principal District Chiefs. The troops were settled in every district, and had estates given to them in lieu of pay. In each district there was a chief in command of the troops, who was given a similar title to that of the District Chief", just as in Zululand both District Chiefs and Army Generals were also all alike called *inDuna*.

The conquering of neighbouring independent clans had become such an easy and frequent sport with Shaka, that it grew at length to become an insuperable passion. Nobody was allowed to rest in peace, either at home or abroad. It was the general public revulsion against this new and unknown plague of ceaseless warfare, with all the continuous hardships and miseries it involved, that finally wrought his own undoing and culminated in his own well-merited assassination. The grandiose achievements of the 'nation' had by no means extinguished within the conquered clansmen the infinitely sweeter memories of the quiet Arcadian days of yore. True, there had been occasional intertribal strife even then. But how Gilbertian it used to be! How different from this present

Shakan style of wholesale slaughter and universal devastation, with its hecatombs of dead and enslavement of all who survived!

In another work⁵⁷ we have written: "On rare occasions, misunderstandings did arise between clan and clan; and, peaceful efforts providing no remedy, recourse must needs be had to the arbitrament of arms. . . . A day having been mutually arranged beforehand, each clan turned out *en masse* to witness, and perhaps to enjoy, the excitement. A score or two of warrior youths from each clan—for single clans were mostly small before the union—bearing assegais and shields, marched proudly and gleefully forth to the field of battle, with as many women and girls to stand behind and cheer. No deep-felt malice was there; no hateful intent to kill their neighbours, with whom but yesterday they had joined in merry beer-drink or love-dance; no longing to burn down their homes or destroy their herds; nought but an enthusiastic patriotism to safeguard their country's interests, and an ambition to excel. Each party, drawn up at a distance from the other, for all the world like ancient Philistines or Greeks, would send forth its chosen braves to single combat in the arena. Such a champion, if falling wounded, would become the prize of the victors and be taken home by them to be ransomed, perhaps before sundown, with a head of cattle, 'like a mere captured woman'. Or, again, each party might stand there before the other in battle array and provoke its rival to action by pungent taunts, shouting at them, not the Philistinian challenge, 'We defy the armies of Israel this day', but the ruder jibe, 'Ya-Ntsiniza, ya-Ti sina!' (it, the dog, merely shows its gums and snarls—afraid to bite), or 'Ya-nTsini zaNja, nje-ya! nje-ya! nje-ya!' (it was merely a dog baring its teeth, like that one over there, like that one there, like that one there). Then would the javelins fly, each returning back the darts of its rivals, till at length the worsted took to their heels and fled; whereupon a rush would be made for male and female prisoners and enemy cattle, the former to be ransomed, as before, the latter to be permanently retained by the victorious clan. Over the slain, mutual condolences would be exchanged; and had a youth perchance a sweetheart in the hostile clan, he would oftentimes send home his shield with his friends and go off with the recent foes to prosecute his love-suit with their sister."

How strangely identical, once more, was all this with the warfare of the South Australian aborigines. There, says Hartland,^{57a} "apart from mere raids in punishment of a real or supposed murder, their wars consisted of regular appointed battles at places and times previously agreed on." They rarely lasted "for more than three or four hours, and they were nearly always witnessed by the women and children. . . . Few of those engaged are killed outright, though deaths from wounds are often numerous. The hostile foes stand face to face, and provoke one another with noisy demonstrations and threats ; spears are thrown and warded off or avoided. Finally, wounds may be inflicted, or somebody may be killed, and the contest ends."

And not only in Australia do we find a simile. We might find another away back in Achæan Greece. Battles there, says Breasted,⁵⁸ "consisted of a series of single combats, each between two heroes. Their individual skill, experience and daring won the battle, rather than the discipline of drilled masses. The victor seized his fallen adversary's armour and weapons ; and having fastened the naked body of the vanquished to his chariot, he dragged it triumphantly across the field, only to expose it to be devoured by birds of prey and wild animals. There was thus many a savage struggle to rescue the body of a fallen hero. When a Greek town was captured, its unhappy people were slaughtered or carried away as slaves, and its houses plundered or burned. There was savage joy in such treatment of the vanquished, and such deeds were thought to increase the fame and glory of the victors." And so we see that Shaka himself might have proven a great Greek hero ; and his countrymen have proven themselves even more 'cultured' than were the 'savages' of Achæan Greece 3,000 years ago !

Battles became campaigns as Shaka's power increased. Going out to war became a great and serious undertaking, that needed all the aid of magic and of gods. But these ceremonies of medical fortification and religious invocation were not of Shaka's creation ; they had always been the fashion, in a simpler way. It was only their more imposing scale that can be attributed to him.

It is customary for intelligent Europeans, 'who do not know', to ascribe Shaka's martial successes to his own superior intelligence, personality and skill. *He* knew better. He 'knew' that fortune could not be his without the favour of the ancestral gods and the all-superable powers of his army-doctors (*iNyanga yokuShikaqa iMphi*), who were, first, Nondumo, later, Mqalane, both of the Ndzuzu clan.

Let us take the magicians first. Their treatment (*uku-Shikaqa*), of course, was not needed upon every army venture; but, whenever something especially risky was contemplated, like the major encounters with the formidable Zwide (chief of the Ndwandwe clan), then no precautions could be omitted. The medical treatment of the army was in the main always more or less alike; though the medicines employed might be different, and the doctor add methods of his own, implying special secret knowledge. The following will suffice to give a general idea of the procedure.

Only such regiments as were to take part in the campaign were treated, and they were treated regiment by regiment. With warriors drawn up in a single file around him, the doctor, holding in his hand an *isaNdwili* bulb, strode round the circle, thrusting the bulb into the faces of the warriors as he passed, asking as he did so, 'U-m-Bonile yiNi' (Have you seen him)? To which each immediately replied in the affirmative. Great war-charm that *isaNdwili*! The next turn was still more impressive. This time the doctor was armed with his renowned war-torch (*isiHlanti seMphi*) of grass fiercely blazing. The blaze was kept at full strength by the magician taking from time to time a mouthful of the prepared fats of certain fierce and powerful beasts, and squirting the mixture out upon the flame. Walking round the circle, he blew the blazing flame on to the bare chest and round the ribs of each warrior as he passed. No sensation of scorch or pain was felt! That fire should fail to burn was, to our unsophisticated Zulu, already strange enough; and he quite rightly termed this performance an *umLingo* (a marvel or miracle). Should a man get burnt, the fault was placed on him, the doctor and his attendants protesting loudly, 'U-nomuTi omuBi lo-muNtu' (He possesses some bad medicine, does this man). But, if all this was 'magic' to the Zulu, the next performance was to him perfectly natural and intelligible. The magic-torch having been

laid aside, the doctor marched round the circle once more, sprinkling (*ukuCéla*), as he went, with his gnu-tail sperge, each man, both before and behind, and later also smearing his weapons, with a very special *inTelezi* (to be sprinkled) war-charm. This was a *mixtum compositum* (of which the red roots of the *uMabopé* tree, *acrido arpus natalitius*, was an invariable ingredient), which would render the warriors 'slippe y' (*buShelezi*) against all manner of danger, especially against all enemy assegais, which though striking the body, would glide harmlessly away, leaving it uninjured. There was no *umLingo* or miracle about this, because the action was natural to the plant, pure honest 'medical knowledge' (*uku-y-Azi imiTi*)—at least to the Zulu mind! So was the following:—Medicine for generating courage and tenacity (*ukuMisa isi-Bindi*) having been prepared, and a bullock having been slaughtered and skinned, the former was well smeared by the doctor everywhere about the carcase of the latter. Long slender strips of meat (*umBengo*) were then cut from the carcase and roasted upon the embers until black. The regimental *inDuna* next took up such a roasted strip, bit off a mouthful, chewed it thoroughly to extract and swallow the potent medicines that had been smeared thereon, and finally spit out the refuse. Immediately after having bitten off his morsel, he flung the long strip, like a dangling serpent, into the air, to be caught by the next warrior in the line, who, in turn, proceeded to repeat the whole operation as his predecessor had done. Each one thus passed on the strip to another, until there was nothing of it left. Other similar strips were being flung round everywhere else. Should, however, a strip by any mischance fall to the ground, it was immediately cast upon the fire as useless, all the magic having departed from it by the mishap. At the end, whatever remained over of the carcase was incinerated on the fire. Early on the morrow, every trooper received from the doctor an emetic, which was vomited (*uku-Gábá*) into a special trench or hole prepared therefor.

The religious faith of the Zulus was of the Puritanical brand. With Cromwell, they preached 'Trust in the gods', but placed more faith in 'Keeping the powder dry'. So, having first of all seen that the efficiency of their assegais had been guaranteed, the army now wended its way, with warlords and royalty in tow, to invoke and propitiate the tribal

gods, none being sure how these testy deities might view the venture. These tribal gods, of course, were none other than the departed clan kings, reigning now, not on the summit of Olympus, but down in the nether-world (hence called *aba-Pántsi*, they-of-down-below; or, *abomHlaba*, they-of-in-the-ground).

The only ancestral clan-gods (*amaKósi*) that mattered now, since the foundation of the Zulu 'nation', were those of the Zulu clan, to which the national kings belonged. What had happened to the myriad gods of the conquered clans, now dispossessed of their peoples' allegiance, we cannot think; nor can those people inform us. Presumably Shaka, along with the kings, had swept also their idols away into a common bin. Anyhow, the Zulu army headed now for the Qanqato ridge, overlooking the Mpembeni stream (a mile or so away), where, down in their graves, the spirits of Sendzangakona (Shaka's father) and Jama (his grandfather) were still enjoying life in their 'heaven'; while Ndaba (his great-grandfather) and Punga and Mageba (still earlier ancestors) were doing the same on this or the other side of the Mpembeni. All this area (portion of the original country of the 'Zulu' clan) was consequently known as *emaKósini* (among-the-kings).

Upon reaching one of the graves, the army formed into a great circle around it; the king and the war-lords offered prayer and praises (*ukuBonga*) to the particular spirit to procure its benevolent aid; the national anthem (*ĩHubo*) was solemnly chanted; a stately dance (*ukuKétá*) was performed, and after a final thunderous salute (*ukuKúleka*) of 'Bayede!' to the there reigning spirit, the army proceeded to another of the graves; or returned to its temporary camp (*eziHonqeni*). On the next or another day, the army continued its march to, what seems to be, a still older *emaKósini*, where, in Shaka's time, his aunt, Mkabayi, had erected her private *emaHlabaneni* kraal. Now, this spot was (prior to Shaka) in 'foreign territory', beyond the country belonging to the people of 'Zulu'. Why, then, did they now betake themselves there for further worship before embarking on their campaign? Certainly it was not in order to visit Mkabayi. Although there is no tradition definitely explaining so unusual a course, we think it just possible that thereabouts may have been the home of Zulu's

father, Malandela, or of that father's own clan (the *aba-kw'a-Ntseló*, or, possibly, the *aba-kwa-Gúmede*); where Malandela and his forefathers may have sojourned prior to their moving, first to ēTálaneni, then to the Mhlatuze.

So, from emaHlabaneni, the Zulu army, by this time, we may assume, utterly invincible, sped away to victory. In pre-Shakan times, when the clans were tiny independent states, and their armies proportionately small, it looks very much as though tactics hardly had a place in warfare, the clans simply clashing together in irregular mass-formation, or in the still more primitive fashion already described. But Shaka, the all-conquering chieftain of the Zulu clan, changed all that. For the first time in Nguni history, he had brought a Nguni 'nation' suddenly into being, and he now found himself in command of a real standing army, comprising 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers, divided into some half-dozen large regiments, each with its further subdivisions into sections. Isaacs^{58a} tells us that he once saw on review "seventeen regiments of Amabootoes with black shields, and twelve regiments with white ones. . . . There appeared about 30,000 fighting men." We think some of these so-called 'regiments' must have been rather sub-regiments or regimental sections, and that the number of fighting-men was over-estimated. Farewell,^{58b} a trained Naval officer, estimated Shaka's army at about 14,000, which we consider more likely.

Shaka's natural martial genius was not long in lighting upon the idea of more orderly planning, and the advantage of employing more crafty tactics when waging war. So with him we find the Zulu army normally divided into three main divisions, of which the central (termed the *isiFúba*, or chest) contained the veteran or older regiments, who bore the brunt of the fight; while the two supporting wings (termed *izi-mPondo*, or horns) consisted of the more agile and fiery younger men. From the 'horns' were sent out parties (*izinJóla*) for the purpose of encircling or circumventing the enemy. The 'chest' or veteran division comprised 'white regiments' only (*amaButó aMhlopé*), carrying white shields, and consisting (in later times, anyway) solely of ringed men (*amaKéhla*). The younger warriors of the 'horns' belonged all of them to 'black regiments' (*amaButó aMnyama*), carrying always dark-coloured shields, and wearing no head-rings (*izinTsizwa*).

The weapons carried in the earlier clan-days or pre-Shakan times, were of the hurling or javelin type (*isiJula*) ; but in Shaka's campaigns, after he had introduced the close-quarters system of attack, the principal arm was the heavy-bladed *IKlwa* spear, and its somewhat smaller brother, the *uNtlekwane*. An *isiJula*, however, was also always carried in case of need. The extra assegais were borne in the left hand, along with the great ox-hide war-shield (*isiHlangu*), 4 to 4½ feet long, in shape an elongated oval slightly pointed at the ends, and therefore somewhat resembling, though much larger than, the shields used by the Ganda Bantu.^{58c} The Zulu, when grasping the assegai for hurling or stabbing, held his hand, not upright (as we might be inclined to do), but bent at a right-angle from the wrist, the assegai thus resting flat upon the horizontal palm. This seems to be the normal Negro method ; since Mecklenburg^{58d} shows it to be in use also in Equatorial Africa. The battle-axe of the Sutus, Swazis and other neighbouring Bantu, though known to the Zulus by importation (and called an *imBemba*), was never one of their war weapons. The same may be said of the bow and arrow a weapon still in use among some Bantu tribes further north.^{58e}

When the invasion of any foreign tribe was contemplated, spies (*inTloli*) were despatched well beforehand to see how the land lay ; and the Zulu spies were past-masters at the art. There was nothing Shaka did not know about his enemy and the enemy country before he ventured on a campaign. And were it later discovered that the report had been false (to the Zulus always signifying a concoction of 'lies', they never making any allowance for mistakes), both Shaka and Dingane were wont to relieve the offending spies of their eyes, as useless organs and a public danger.

Already on the march within the enemy country, the army was always safely convoyed by numerous scouts (*inTsaba*), dispersed, individually, in every possible direction, ahead, on flanks and rear. These were the army's eyes. As occasion demanded, especially when Shaka was in command, they were employed also as decoys, to lead the enemy onward into traps.

Were an attack anticipated from the enemy on the home country, stationary observers (*imBonisi*) were sent to take up positions on every point of vantage, so as to give a timely warning, the alarm being given by the observers (always

posted on elevated spots) shouting out to the neighbouring kraals, ' *Ka-yi-Hlome! Nantsi iMpi bo!* ' (To-arms! Here-is the-enemy coming!) Similar precautions seem to have been customary also among the Negroes of Guinea.^{58f}

While the Zulu army 'marched on its stomach' as truly did any of Napoleon it never encumbered itself with any commissariat. It simply 'lived on the land', wherever it might be, as it passed along. When starting forth on a distant campaign, each Zulu warrior usually took the precaution of carrying a supply of substantial food for himself in a skin sack (*inTlanti*), sufficient for a few days on spare rations (to which latter he had already become well inured by his Spartan barrack training). A cooked cow's liver and maize-grains were the favourites on such occasions. Even in times of peace, whenever a Zulu warrior passed a kraal on his travels (going to camp or returning therefrom, or when sent on an errand), he was legally entitled to demand board and lodging, or to commandeer it if refused—which, however, none ever dared to do in Shaka's time.^{58g}

The opposing hosts, then, having at length somewhere met and clashed (since in Shaka's time the older fashion of hurling at their foes from a distance had largely been abolished and replaced by onrushes and close-quarters contests), the armies at once broke up into opposing pairs or parties, and the general conflict resolved itself into numberless individual combats. Having slain his man, the warrior at once ripped up the abdomen (*ukuQáqá*) of the fallen, on the principle that prevention is better than cure; for, did he fail to do so, the corpse would 'swell' (*ukuQumba*), and he swell, sympathetically, with it. Then, snatching one of his enemy's assegais (now called an *iSimula*) from his hand, to serve 'as a sign', off he would dash to engage another foe; until at last one or other of the contending armies found its numbers so depleted and its strength so reduced, that it was forced to fall back (*uku-Hlehla*) and eventually to flee (*ukuBaleka*), either back to camp, or, if a rout, to home or hiding.

A single engagement between two conflicting hosts was termed an *isiWombe* (an onrush). Both sides being temporarily exhausted without any decisive result either way, they might retire for a time, and thereafter re engage. Some battles, therefore, comprised two or three such *iziWombe*.

Upon occasion, when circumstances seemed to favour or demand, the whole Zulu army was suddenly thrown bodily upon an enemy; simply let go, as it liked, in one great overwhelming onrush, which was termed an *uTēla-wa-Yeka*.

On the way back to their camp, allsoever as had killed a foe (such a one was called an *īNxeleha* or *inGwazi*) at once made themselves apparent by doffing their skin-girdles (*īBéshu*) and penis-covers (*umNcedo*) and carrying them in their raised right hand, along with the assegai (also called an *īNxeleha*), blade upwards, that had done the deed.

Arrived in camp, the captains called upon all such forthwith to fortify themselves (*ukuQunga*) against all evil consequences by various processes of *ukuNcinda* (to suck from their finger-tips a hot decoction of certain medicinal herbs, *uZankleni*, etc.) and *ukuCintsa* (to spirt out from their mouths other mixtures in the direction of the sun), the whole procedure having the effect of cleansing them of all *umMnyama* (any dark or obscure evil) following from their deed. The warriors were now adjudged sufficiently 'clean' to re-don their girdles and penis-covers, and sufficiently 'safe' to venture into the presence of his Majesty; to whom they now betook themselves.

While the good-for-nothings, who had succeeded only in saving their own skins or getting themselves incapacitated, were at once dismissed and went off home, all those of more honourable mention (*amaQáwe*), with one or more victims to their credit, in company with the army captains and the loot, marched straightway to the Great Place of the king. Such warriors were easily picked out from the crowd owing to their wearing on their heads, as a distinguishing mark, a sprig of wild-asparagus (*īPingantlola*), one sprig for each victim. Furthermore, besides their own assegai, borne point upwards, they carried as many captured enemy-assegais (*amaSimula*) as they had had victims.

In this honourably decorated state, they went *ukuPimpūtisa inKosi* (to-hoodwink the-king). They entered the kraal, shouting *NgaTi! ngaTi! ngaTi!* (By-us! by-us!—i.e. *we* were the victors!—whatever may have been the drubbing they had received by the foe), and took their station in the great central cattle-fold. The king, himself already previously fortified against any possible evil infection arising from contact with these slaughterers (by having his face and body well smeared

with appropriate charms), followed them and sat himself on his throne (*isiHlalo*, the royal roll of *inDuli* rushes) at the top of the kraal. The army chiefs then delivered a brief account of the fight, always, of course, flamboyantly described as a glorious victory for themselves; with which being effectively 'hoodwinked', his Majesty at once dismissed the army for their homes.

But before such a warrior could enter home, something else had to happen: by hook or by crook, he had to secure sexual intercourse with somebody (old women, or even herd-boys, being his easiest prey), in order to *ukuSula isiKúba*, or *īZembe* (to-wipe-away the-*īZembe*); and the particular *īZembe* from which it was necessary to wipe himself clean, was that particular abdominal ailment (*īZembe*) which would otherwise result from his actions on the battlefield. Until he had accomplished this act, he had to wander about the veld, and sleep there.

He was at last fit to enter his home, wearing now all his ordinary clothing, as well as his newly acquired decorations; and it was from these latter, the asparagus sprig waving on his head and the manner of his holding his assegai, that the family knew what had happened, and that he was not, even yet, a quite fit and proper person to return into their society. So he betook himself to the hut of any old woman (*isaLukazi*) in the kraal, and there temporarily resided.

Before he could partake of any food (save clotted-milk and meat; but not the leg), the local medical practitioner had to put him through still another course of purifying and fortifying treatment. The warrior had first to *Ncinda* with the potent 'black *īZembe*' medicines, which would eradicate all still remaining danger; finishing up with the 'white *īZembe*' medicines, which, mixed with milk, and *Ncinda*'d as before, would have the effect of 'evacuating' the previous 'black' drugs, and render him 'nice and clean', fit to return again into respectable society. And yet, somehow, he would not even yet, nor ever could, become altogether clear of consequences, being henceforth condemned to a perpetual penalty of abstinence (*ukuZila*)—never again being allowed to eat *amaSi* made from the milk of a cow whose calf has not yet shown its horns; and furthermore, must refrain every year from eating

the first-fruits of the season (or *ĩHlobo*, that is, from pumpkins, gourds and the like), and from drinking any beer brewed from the new season's grain, until he shall have first fortified himself by taking certain medicines.

No wonder, after so elaborate a course of treatment, he should feel himself at last a new man, back, as it were, from death to life ; proud to wear the *umNyezane* necklet proclaiming him a hero (small pieces of wood from that tree strung on a string and worn round the neck) ; worthy of a new *umuTsha* (or skin-girdle—to which he would treat himself) ; and capable of proving himself a first-class trencher-knight (on the meat of the white-haired goat, with which his family now regaled him).

Peace, 'tis said, hath its victories, no less than war ; and certainly the young warrior went up yearly in gala dress to the Great Place for the Royal Festival (*umKósi*) with greater delight than he had ever gone forth to war.

For this festival the first harvest fruits were needed ; and those fruits first needed planting. The time for field-planting in the Zulu country was judged by the progress of the season in the country about the Nkandla forest, a warm, damp and luxuriant locality southwards of the Zulu country, inhabited by the *emaCubeni* clan. Climatic prognosis proving favourable, the Zulu king proceeded to 'lick the hoe' (*ukuKótá ĩGéja*),⁵⁹ as it was called, which was the signal to all the land to recultivate the fields. Messengers were despatched to purloin small quantities of soil from the fields of all surrounding potentates, to be used by the doctors in their process of charming the fields of the king. The Zulu king's fields were hoed up by a general levy on all the national troops. The warriors, writes Isaacs,⁶⁰ "meet twice a year from all parts of the nation at the residence of the king to plant two immense fields [termed the *umButiso*] for his Majesty's use. At harvest, no one is exempt from working in the king's fields and gardens [save a few favoured nabobs, called *iziV.liya*], and the monarch appears personally at the head of his warriors to supervise the gathering of the corn. No one is allowed to eat of the new corn before the king has commenced himself." The first of these two gatherings of the warriors was that for the purpose of hoeing the soil and planting the seed (which occurred usually during the *uMfumsu*

moon, our September-October); the second was for the purpose of reaping (usually during the *uNgiúlazibuya* moon, our March-April).

At the planting of the royal *umButiso* fields, the same process of charming the soil was performed, though more elaborately, as was customary also with the common folk (see 301). Further, a portion of the soil was taken to the Great Place for the purpose of being there boiled by the doctors on a potsherd along with other medicaments, of which hot mixture the king was required to *Ncinda* (thrust in his fingers and then lick them). From this action was derived the term, *ukuKótá iGeja* (above).

It was about this same *uMfumfu* month that *izinTloli* (spies) were despatched to secure, preferably from the king's most mortal enemy, the wildest bull in creation and of whatever colour. Before they went, these men were specially treated with marvellous medicines (*iSulubezi*), which would blind the eyes of everyone they met, so that they could not even see them, and so enabled the emissaries to prosecute their plans without obstacle or interference.

Thus fortified, they set out for the selected foreign land, where, having arrived, they carefully scrutinized every herd as they passed, testing for its wildness every likely-looking bull, while the cattle were resting on the veld at midday and the herdboys were away hunting or bathing.

Having found their beast, they concealed themselves till night-fall in the woods; then at midnight, with bodies and sticks all properly charmed, so that neither kraal-inmates nor cattle should notice them, they stealthily entered the kraal, struck the selected bull gently with their charmed stick, and drove it away like a lamb, without anyone, not even the bull, being aware of their presence. Travelling only through the night, and through unoccupied country by day, they at last reached home and deposited the beast amidst the king's herds.

The moon that followed *umFumfu* (the budding or sprouting moon, from *ukuFumfusa*, to sprout or bud) was called *uZibandlela* (the path-hiding moon, when the grass, already long-grown, concealed the pathways; from *ukuZiba*, to-conceal, and *iNdlela*, path). During this month (which

corresponded with our October-November) nature was left in peace to grow and bear fruit. Then followed the *uMasingana* moon, corresponding with our November-December ; so called because it was then that everybody went forth to 'look for and scrutinize' (*ukuSinga*) the fruits that had grown. The ordinary kraal-folk inspected mainly their pumpkins and gourds and melons ; but the special royal messengers (half a dozen men and boys) who had been sent by the king down to the coast, confined their inspection to the small, round gourds (some 3 inches in diameter) of the wild *iSelwa* or *uTangazana* plant (*Luffa sphaerica*), which the king would need for the coming celebrations. The date of the celebrations depended entirely on the results of these two investigations. Normally, the required fruits were sufficiently mature before the next moon, the *uNtlolanja* (dog-inspecting-moon), corresponding with our December-January. That period, therefore, when the moon was full, was generally selected for the Royal Festival (*umKósi*). The actual date was decided on by the king after his messengers to the coast had returned with their supply of wild-gourds, as well as with a quantity of sea-water, to which had been added some further water taken from each river as they crossed. These messengers too travelled by stealth and by night ; and anybody who had chanced to encounter them, would never dare make mention of the fact. That was the reason why, upon getting back to the royal kraal, they did not enter by the main gateway, but stole in by a private aperture at the kraal-top. The fear probably was, lest the gourds be maliciously tampered with, and so deprived of their magical properties.

The grand annual celebration consisted of two parts—the *ukwEshwama* or *ukuNyatéla* (the Harvest Celebration) and the *umKósi* (the Royal Celebration). There was generally an interval of a few weeks (or, in some years, only a few days) between the two. The first took place mostly during the *uMasingana* moon (Nov.-Dec.) ; the latter, during the next following, *uNtlolanja* (Dec.-Jan.) moon, therefore somewhere about our Christmas time.

The Harvest Celebration (*ukuNyatéla*) was the official opening of the new season's food consumption. Prior to this ceremony, nobody in the land was permitted, without

becoming guilty of serious 'contempt of court' (which, if discovered, might mean death), to partake even of his own 'first fruits'. Such an act were tantamount to a direct defiance of the king, the contumacy of assuming precedence over him. For this, the minor, ceremony, the whole nation was not required to put in an appearance. Only the principal headmen, certain selected regiments or companies therefrom, and a body of carrier-boys (*ūDibi*) for general service, were needed.

Early in the morning, some of the troops proceeded to collect firewood, and the *Dibi* boys to fetch green branches, the latter to build a cool shelter for the king in the *isiBaya sama-Tôle* (calf-fold), situated at the upper part of the greater cattle-fold (*isiBaya seziNkomo*), and consequently in the vicinity of the *isiGódlo* (royal reserve).

Upon the return of the soldiers with the firewood, a black bull taken from the king's own herds was found already standing in the great cattle-fold. This, one of the regiments or companies was directed to catch bare-handed and kill by twisting its neck, incidentally breaking in the process most of the other limbs.—Parenthetically, we would like to say that we are not altogether satisfied with the evidence here (supplied by old European accounts) that the bull was (at *this* minor, *ukuNyatela*, ceremony) slaughtered 'bare-handed', without any instrument or arms; though there is no doubt at all about that at the major, *umKósi*, festival (ahead).—Having skinned the beast, they carried the carcass into the small calf-fold, whither the king had already betaken himself, and where the doctors received it.

From the carcass the latter collected the blood and excised certain parts as were required for medical purposes. The remainder of the beast was cremated on a great fire there already kindled and tended by the *ūDibi* boys, but only such as had not yet attained the age of puberty. These, and these only, were permitted to cut long thin strips (*umBengo*) from the meat, and to roast and eat it there. This, indeed, was the only food they got that day; for, once inside, they were not allowed to come out until the morrow, having to sleep there overnight, continuously feeding the fire, until the whole beast had been burnt to ashes.

Meanwhile, the doctors had dug up a clod of earth from the main road leading to the Great Place, and boiled it together

with the blood of the bull, fragments of the new fruits and the bark or roots of the *isEngama*, *uManaye* and other plants. The king was required to *Ncinda* with his fingers from the decoction, with the magical result that he would thereby be rendered beloved of his people, duly respected by surrounding monarchs, and so forth. This particular item on the programme was termed *ukuGinga iGáde* (to-swallow the-earth-clod), and it was but one dose in the general treatment for *ukuMisa iNkosi* (the-setting-up, or making-to-stand-firm, of-the-king). Finally, the king was washed clean (*ukuPótiila*) from the ill-effects of the 'black medicines' (*imiTi eMnyama*) by a dose of 'white' ones (*imiTi eMhlope*), in which, apparently, a copious draught of the water fetched from the sea figured as an emetic.

Now that the king had formally tasted of the First Fruits, the assembly dispersed. The warriors returned to their respective barracks, or wended their way to their homes. There every one was at last at liberty to indulge once more in the fresh pumpkins, melons, sweet-reed and maize from their *iziVande* (small gardens by the river-side for early eating), and the herd-boys were free to celebrate the general rejoicing by playing soft airs on their syringes (*umTshingo*, reed-whistle) over the hills and the veld.

But before each family ventured to partake of the new green fruits, they first followed the wise example of their king, and dosed themselves with medicine. For it had been generally observed that a too sudden transition from the sparse dry foods of winter to the green abundance of summer was apt to result in disagreeable stomach trouble. So, with a little new *iBéce* melon, *uSelwa* gourd, *iMfe* stalks, and a more liberal allowance of *uZankleni* roots (a certain marsh-plant) they prepared a tonic decoction, which they called *uDoloqina* (a knee-strengthenener), and filled themselves with that.

It must here be remembered that the last Royal Festival (*umKósi*) held in Zululand was that of Cetshwayo, the last of the Zulu kings, in the year 1879, just prior to the Zulu War and the break-up of the Zulu nation by the British. The very youngest of the warriors who attended on that occasion and are still living (1932), are already over 70 years of age. Such men now are very few, and their memories somewhat dim; and since the ceremonies themselves were so multitudinous and

unfamiliar, it is only natural that the accounts they give us are often divergent and hardly reliable in all their details, the methods employed, and the order of procedure. Our descriptions, here, however, must be pretty near the truth, since the information was collected some 30-50 years ago, when older men were still numerous.

It was deemed an impious act for a reigning Zulu monarch to presume to celebrate this most solemn of clan festivals without the presence and approval of the presiding gods (which were the spirits of the departed tribal kings).

In olden days, the territory of the Zulu clan comprised the small patch of country stretching from the middle White Mfolozi river, up the Mpémbeni and Mkúmbané tributaries (on its southern side), and over the upper Mhlatúze river (a district later occupied by the Mpungose clan), as far as the ēTálaneni hill. Within those boundaries all the Zulu kings lay buried: buried, and yet, in some obscure manner no Zulu could explain or understand, living still, enjoying life right royally 'down below' (*Pántsi*, in-the-nether-regions); and, still more strange, at the same time occasionally visibly appearing 'up above' (on earth) in the form of pretty green snakes (named *iNyandezulu*), oftentimes noticed basking themselves on their homekraal fences in the genial sunshine.

Now, in this ophidian form the departed monarchs, 'twas said, were wont to stray far abroad from their old homekraals; so that, prior to the annual Great Clan Festival (*umKósi*), it was deemed necessary to round them up from the veld betimes and bring them home, in order that they too might be present to bestow their blessing on the clan and to prosper the magic. So now that the Festival was approaching, the reigning Zulu king, not so much in his capacity of monarch of the Zulu 'nation' (of post-Shakan times), as of that of Chief of the Zulu 'clan' proper, despatched a party of the higher members of his family, together with some regiments of warriors and a herd of bullocks, called the *iziNkomo zemZimu* (the-cattle-of-the-tribal-gods), to circumambulate the ancient home-land and, by savoury sacrifice, to entice the divers scattered ancestral snakes back each to its own sepulchral bush. These particular cattle were drawn, not from those pertaining to the more modern Shakan 'nation', but from among those belonging

solely to the original kraals of the older 'clan' families, at Nobamba, esiKlebéni and elsewhere.

The place to which these royal ancestral snakes were most prone to wander was, rather strangely, said to have been to the *kwaNkomonye* kraal, away at the extremest end of the Zulu country, near the ēTálaneni hill. Was this perchance the spot where Zulu's father, Malandela, once did dwell prior to his migrating coastwards, to the Mhlatuze? ; for certainly there is a tradition that he went down there 'from about the Babanango hill'.

Anyhow, the whole assembly now proceeded there, to *kwaNkomonye*. Upon reaching the spot, each man saluted the royal ancestors by raising aloft both arms and shouting loudly the royal salute, *Bayede* (Hail)! Then the national anthem (*ĩHúbo*) was solemnly chanted. And, as they sang, lo and behold! the there assembled ancestral snakes vanished from the spot, none seeing when, or whither! On the morrow, two bullocks were sacrificed in their honour, and the rest returned with the clansmen to the clan's headquarters, at the Nobamba and esiKlebéni kraals. This ceremony was known as the *ukuTátwá* or *ukuBuyiselwa kwamaKósi* (the-bringing-back of-the-kings).⁶¹

When the moon of the *uNtlolanja* month was at its full (a short time before our Christmas), the Royal Festival (*um-Kósi*) was publicly announced. At it, all the nation's manhood was bound to appear; and they did so with exceeding pleasure. At no other time did they behold so magnificent a display of massed beauty and elegance of dress, of bravery and magic. Every man, every young bride, every carrier-boy and every girl, wended their way together to the regimental headquarters of their particular male folk, the boys carrying the sleeping-mats and karosses of their fathers and elder brothers, the girls a food-supply sufficient for at least a week. Should those regimental headquarters happen to be located in a distant part of the country, the particular regiments erected for themselves temporary villages of grass-huts (*ĩDokodo*), where they and theirs took up their abode for the feast. For a couple of miles on every side, the Great Place (*k'omKúlu*) was surrounded by such villages, swarming with perhaps fifteen to twenty thousands (in the great days of the nation) of men and women.

boys and girls, all in their finest attire, come to take part, as actors or spectators, in the magnificent fête.

Very early in the morning of the first day, his Majesty proceeded to his 'bath-room', which was the *isiBaya samaTóle* (calf-fold), in which he not only regularly washed, but also received all magical medical treatment. There he seated himself, or sometimes stood, while receiving the doctor's attentions—his official seat or 'chair' (*isiHlalo*) being a great roll of *iNduli* rushes. Concoctions and decoctions mysterious and weird, all of them profound secrets of the operators, were there prepared and administered. Curious oddments purloined from the persons or places of surrounding monarchs (all of them potential enemies), roots and herbs possessing all manner of marvellous properties, were either burned to ashes on the fire or boiled thereon in potsherds (*ūDéngézi*). With the ashes and other grimy material his Majesty's countenance, already anything but genial—he was generally supposed to be in a chronic state of rage throughout the proceedings—was smeared down both cheeks, down forehead and nose, round the eyes (and, some say, about the body) in divers patterns and varied colours, black, white and red, until his aspect became both fearsome and grotesque to the view. Into the decoctions in the potsherds, containing the 'pickings' from the foreign Chieftains, he first thrust his finger-tips, then licked them (*ukuNcinda*), and finally jumped over the potsherds themselves, first to obtain and then to prove his present occult ascendancy over those royal enemies whose body-particles were therein contained. This idea, it is thought, had been deduced by analogy from the habit of dogs, which, when one voided urine over that of another—wherefore earth-clods moistened with royal urine were always in especial request for this royal ceremony—it was assumed that it thereby gained a certain 'power' over that other. Hence the term, *ukuTónya*, was used on both occasions. This particular process of the fortification and protection of royalty was termed *ukuQunga* (to-become-'darkened' or sinister, by a general stirring up of occult powers within); and the king, from now on till tomorrow, had to 'fast' or abstain (*ukuZila*) from all food—perhaps to keep him in a suitably angry frame of mind!

His body was now considered to be in a forbidding or 'grimy' (*ukuGqunqa*) state; whence today he donned a special

temporary costume. This was constructed, after the pattern of the *umQubula* dress, of long, thin green rushes (*inūZi*). These were strung together in several 'fringe-girdles', one of which was worn round the buttocks, another round the waist, a third round the chest, in such a way that the one—each fringe was about two feet long—overlapped the other, and formed a continuous cloak that concealed the whole body. Finally, the head was crowned with a shorter similar fringe, which effectively hid the face.

In this quaint attire, his Majesty now proceeded to dance. For the various regiments had meanwhile marched over from their camps, and certain of them been disposed in a great circle (*umKúmbi*) within the huge cattle-fold (sometimes a quarter of a mile across), the rest standing as spectators outside the palisade. From the calf-fold the king now passed into the great arena, and seated himself at the top thereof on his *isiHlalo* (above), with the 'white' regiments (*amaButó aMhlopé*) near beside him and the 'black' regiments (*amaButó aMnyama*) away at the lower end. The 'white' regiments were those consisting of the older men, all wearing headrings (that is, the *amaKéhla*) and carrying white shields; the 'black' regiments were those consisting of the younger men (*izi-Ntsizwa*), with unringed heads and carrying black or brown shields. The various regiments, moreover, were further distinguished one from the other by their different 'facings', one wearing a single crane-feather rising from a circlet of leopard-skin round the head; another, one, or two, ostrich-feathers; another, huge bunches of black finch-tails; another, a pair of white cow-tails, one on each side of the head, and so on.

All in readiness, his Majesty rose, and rushed (in so far as his usual portly proportions permitted) into the centre of the arena, where he strutted about (*ukuKáfúla*), brandishing his war-shield in the left hand and his 'sceptre' or stick-of-state (said to have been a discoloured brass-rod) in his right, shouting and gesticulating as he went, to the roaring plaudits of the crowd. Then the great captains, sitting by the king at the top of the kraal, struck up the royal dance-song (*iNgóma*), followed by the deep basses of the older men of the white regiments near-by:—

Ba-ya-m-Zonda, ba-Zond' iNkosi (they-hate-him, they-hate the king).

After a moment, the younger men of the black regiments down below joined in with their higher, shriller tones :—

Ba-ya-m-Zonda, ba-Zond' uPúnga noMageba (they-hate-him, they-hate Punga and-Mageba).

The two choirs thenceforward sang together, each its own part, with differing words and differing tunes, and yet all so tastefully blended together as to create perfectly harmonious, albeit exotic, music. As they sang, all danced together, assuming simultaneously, in perfect unity and much barbaric grace, identically the same poses of body and movement of limbs, shields and sticks, as to present a combination of harmonious sound and rhythmic action most grateful at once to both ear and eye. The dancing ceased soon after midday ; when his Majesty withdrew to the royal reserve, and the warriors to their camps.

That same evening towards sundown, the great bull-fight was staged. This was the savage beast (already mentioned above), that had been stolen from, and now personified, some particularly hated neighbouring monarch. At the festival of the year before, the regiment (always one whose members were in their prime), which should perform this gladiatorial feat of wrestling with the bull, had already been selected. So when all was ready, and the bull already pawing fiercely in the arena, the selected company marched bravely in to encircle and then to capture it. As neither assegais, nor shields, nor cudgels, were carried, the sport became at once both fast and furious ; as intensely exciting as any bull-fight in Madrid, and even more dangerous. Some of the braves were bound to get damaged more or less seriously in the fight ; but at last the harassed animal became exhausted ; whereupon one or other of the men would seize its tail, others simultaneously its horns, others again its nethèr limbs. In this way it was toppled over, a song of triumph struck up and chanted, as they dragged the beast by all four legs to the upper part of the enclosure. There, still held firmly by the men, the chief of the doctors (and sometimes the king himself) dealt the bull a heavy blow with the special ceremonial hatchet on the back of the neck. Dead or not dead, it was immediately skinned, and the carcase borne into the calf-fold, where both king and doctors had been interested spectators, and now received it.

On rare occasions, this business turned out a fiasco, much to the wrath of the medical men, whose magic, they protested, would thereby become affected. For instance, the bull once proved so fractious that it could not be driven into the kraal; and, when finally the Tulwane boys did get it there, it was so piteously hamstrung, that it could barely limp its way into their hands, to death. Such a disgraceful failure involved the particular regiment in a heavy cattle-fine.

The doctors at once proceeded to chop up the carcase, selecting such parts as they required for magic, and threw the rest to become incinerated on the fire. Further treatment of the king here followed; and, finally, the royal *inKatá* (476), after having received additional charmed oddments to its bulk, was bound up by the doctors anew.

Still clad in his costume of green rushes, his Majesty left the magic-surgery (which, as said, was the calf-fold) and retired to his private reserve near-by. But he did not go, in his present hideous and grimy state, into his own private quarters. For this occasion only, he took up his residence in a commonplace hut, chosen from among those usually occupied by some inferior old-woman (*isaLukazi*) living within the reserve. On account of the royal person being at this time daubed all over with incinerated medicines (*umSizi*), this hut now received the appellation of *eya-s-emSizini* (that-of-in-the-magic-ashes). Within the hut, he found one of the royal damsels (or sometimes one of his wives) already awaiting him. As became his present repulsive appearance, this *umNdlunkulu* (478) girl (or inferior wife) was generally supposed to be the most ugly in the harem—though those of the inner circle professed to know better! The lady was to keep royalty company for the night. Should a child be born from this particular intercourse, it was technically known as the *owa-s-emSizini* (he or she-of-the-hut-of-magic-ashes), and held an inferior rank in the family; and yet both king Mpande and Dinuzulu are said to have been of this low origin. Was this royal 'consort', however, a virgin of the *umNdlunkulu* school (and not a wife), the intercourse is said to have been rarely consummated.

Hardly had it dawned, before the whole kraal was filled with a universal cry. The whole mass of *umNdlunkulu* girls had emerged from the royal enclosure with lusty shouts of *Wo-Za! wo-Za-ke! wo-Za lapá!* (Come! come! come here!),

in which the troops now joined in ; so that the uproar could be heard in all the distant camps—apparently the local ‘ bugle-call ’ to everyone to hasten to the next performance.

The regiments having been once again drawn up in a huge circle within the great cattle-fold, standing shoulder to shoulder with their war-shields resting vertically on the ground like a continuous wall before them and over which only their heads appeared, his Majesty, still clad in the green-rush costume (under which he had now taken the precaution to don an old *umuTsha*, or skin-girdle), emerged from the *isiGódlo* (or royal private quarters), along with his wives and *umNdlunkulu* girls, all in gala attire. Alone, he entered the calf-fold (the females remaining spectators outside the palisade), where he found the medicine-men and kraal-guards (*ōGqayinyanga*) already assembled. With these he proceeded into the great cattle-fold, where the warriors stood awaiting him. Then, from a basket of *ūTángazana* gourds (the small, soft-shelled, pulpy fruit brought up from the coast, p. 115) held by one of the doctors, he took out one and hurled it with all his force at the nearest warriors, upon whose shields it was shattered into fragments. The kraal-guards (who were also the kraal-scavengers) immediately rushed to gather up the pieces and return them to the basket. In this way the king proceeded right round the kraal, until he had completed the whole circle of stationary troops.

This performance at an end, the king, attended by the doctors, marched to the kraal-entrance (*ēSangweni*), just outside of which he hurled another gourd, representing now his bitterest foe, to the ground and trampled triumphantly upon the fragments, the while the encompassing army shouted *Wu! wu!* and himself shouting *wā-Wa uMswazi!* And so *uMswazi* (the Swazi king, and particular foe intended) fell! From potsherds already placed there, he then *Ncinda*’d new magic with his finger-tips, took a mouthful of medicated gourd-mash (*ūSelwa*) in his mouth, and spurted it out against the just then rising sun (presumably in *uMswazi*’s direction : others say, he also cut the sun in twain with a ceremonial *imBemba* (war-hatchet), commonly used by *Mswazi*’s warriors).⁶² Thereafter his Majesty formally disrobed before the crowd, but by no means startling them ; because, to their surprise, he wore that ancient *umuTsha* underneath. The discarded rush-costume was wrapped round the body of his attendant body-servant

(*iNtsila*), who thereupon headed the procession of king and doctors back to the calf-fold, where the medicine-men completed the ceremony with doses of cleansing-medicines (*imiTi eMhlopé*, white medicines) to free the king from all the ill-effects (*umMnyama*, or 'darkness') attaching to the previous 'black' medicines. Finally, the rush-costume, and the sleeping-mat used on the previous night in the *umSizi* hut, were burned upon the fire, and his Majesty returned to his private quarters, glad, no doubt, to be at length quit of a tiring and tedious ordeal.

Meanwhile the troops had betaken themselves to the river, there to 'wash off' (*ukuGéza* or *Pótula*) any 'blackness' (*umMnyama*) still clinging to them and, like their king, spurting it out (*ukuCintsa*), in mouthfuls of medicine, into the light of the rising sun. Thereafter they went to their camps, took at midday a hearty meal and, in the afternoon, returned to the Great Place for the great final dance, at which the king, now in full state attire, would participate (*ukuKáfula*) and preside. At the close of the dance, the prime minister made various public announcements on behalf of the king—that this or that male regiment should now assume the wedded state, as well as headrings; that this or that female 'regiment' should assume the topknot and provide them with wives; that the multitude of still unrecruited *Kleza* (496) boys should now be collected to form another new regiment, and other such matters.

With that, the Royal Festival (*umKósi*) was at an end, and everyone dispersed for camp or home.⁶³

Many of the peculiar customs we have just been describing are in reality of much more than local interest. They are still-living survivals (or rather were living until well within our own lifetime) of customs probably older even than the laws of Moses; customs practised by mankind long before our present historic times. It may all seem rather incredible; but let us see. Of the South American Bororo Indians we read that "the children cannot eat the green and unripe husks of corn before they have been blessed by the [tribal] priest. This ceremony of blessing, to taste the corn before which would mean certain death, consists . . . in placing it before the medicine-man", who sings and dances around it.⁶⁴ Feasts of the First Fruits are performed with the same regularity and at the same time

of the year among the Santals of Bengal, the islanders of Borneo (where it is called *Nycapian*), the Fijians (there called *Inachi*), as among the Zulus.⁶⁵ The ancient Semites (Hebrews, etc.) held it unlawful to eat of the first fruits before the god had first received his due.⁶⁶ Throughout the Cross River region of Nigeria, "the eating of new yams is celebrated with great rejoicings. Nobody may eat of them until a portion has been ceremonially offered to the deities".⁶⁷ Said the big juju man, "I am the oldest man in the town, and they keep me here to look after the jujus and to conduct the rites . . . I bring game to the hunter, cause the yam crop to be good . . . and make rain to fall . . . To make rain, I drink water and squirt it out and pray to our big deities".⁶⁸ This ejection of the 'field magic' from the mouth reappears again across the Atlantic, as well as in Zululand. "In harvest-time," says Frazer,⁶⁹ "when the birds eat the corn, the Small Bird clan of the Omahas [American Indians] take some corn, which they chew and spit over the fields. This is thought to keep the birds from the crops". A festival celebrating the incoming of the new year is annually held by the Nika Bantu of Kenya Colony.⁷⁰ The Chwanas of the northern Transvaal have a great annual festival (called *goLoma Nwaga*, to-bite the-new-year, or *goLoma Thotse*, to-bite the-gourd, or *goChwara Thotse*, to-seize the-gourd, just as with the Zulus) held by the Chief at his Great Place, at which all the adult males of the tribe must be present. Thereafter the new crops may be eaten; and one night after the ceremony every man must sleep with his principal wife. At another such annual festival, called by the baMangwato Bantu of Bechuanaland *Dipheku*, a black bull is sacrificed, whose parts, in decoction with other medicines, are smeared on poles, etc., all over the country as charms to ward off all manner of evil.⁷¹ Even among the ancient Greeks we find many of these customs reappearing at the annual Dionysian celebrations in spring-time. "The Lydians," says Frazer,⁷² "certainly celebrated the advent of Dionysus in spring; the god was supposed to bring the season with him . . . The rending and devouring of live bulls and calves appear to have been a regular feature of the Dionysian rites."

What may have been the original motive behind this bull-rending business cannot now be known; but so far as our modern Zulus were concerned, it provided an excellent means

for keeping the young warriors in good form by supplying exercise and test for bravery; for to attack and overpower a savage bull empty-handed needed some courage. Having succeeded in mastering a bull, one might easily have expected them to be capable of mastering almost anything. That, the Zulu king, Mpande, actually did; for he one day "directed a lion, which had been destroying his cattle, to be caught . . . Dingaana [another Zulu king] gave a similar command to one of his regiments; four men were killed in the attack, when Umpahlane seized the lion's tail, Tapuza jumped to one of his jaws, a third person laid hold of the other, and the animal was taken alive into the king's presence".⁷³

Something analogous to the Zulu *emSizini* (519) custom seems to have existed in medieval Mexico. "A rule of continence," writes Allen,⁷⁴ "was ordinarily imposed upon him [the high priest of the Zapotecs]; but on certain days of the year which were high festivals, it was usual for him to get ceremonially and sacramentally drunk. On such days, we may be sure, the high gods peculiarly entered into him with the intoxicating *pulque*, and the ancestral spirits reinforced his godhead. While in this exalted state ('full of the god', as a Greek or Roman would have said), the divine pontiff received a visit from one of the most beautiful of the virgins consecrated to the service of the gods. If the child she bore was a son, it succeeded in due time to the throne of the Zapotecs."

The Zulu king was not only the clan's sovereign lord; he was also its high-priest. So we find him functioning, at different times, in both capacities. So far as the Zulus knew, the great ancestral spirits, the spirits of their departed kings, were the only gods, and the reigning monarch was their living representative.

Nowadays the Zulus call an ordinary 'ancestral spirit' an *ĩDlozi* (pl. *amaDlozi*). But there is also another term, which is confined to the 'great tribal spirits', that is to say, to the departed spirits of the clan's kings; namely, *umZimuu* (pl. *imZimuu*). As these ancestral kings were customarily worshipped together *en bloc*, this last term was almost only used in its plural form, and in the solitary phrase, *iziNkomo zemZimuu* (the-cattle of-the-great-tribal-spirits). We have already referred to these sacrificial beasts on previous pages.

One of the most important of the king's functions in his capacity of high-priest was that of rain-making (*ukuCela imVula emaKósini*, to-beg-for rain from-the-kings). Personally the king took no part in this ceremony ; but he commanded the performance and supplied the goods. The goods were the above-mentioned *iziNkomo zemZimu*. Since such a general drought affected, not any particular individual, but the whole clan, the cattle on this occasion were drawn from the national herds at the Great Place ; and, further, it was not only the members of the royal family that attended the ceremony, but also all the great men of the clan, together with a large body of warriors in gala dress (save for the ox-tail fringes). On these occasions, 'twas said, the rain never failed to oblige—well, hardly ever ! Nor was the prayer answered with the pomp and glory of a tropical storm ; but gently, as of a dew from heaven falling.

The gods, you must remember, were invoked only as a last resort. Prior to this, the public and the professional rain-makers had been quietly working on their own account every rain-making device they knew for all it was worth. For even with the Zulus, the adage held that the gods help those who first have helped themselves. On these occasions the inhabitants of a district would assemble and scour the country for offending *iziKónkwane* (wooden pegs, stones and the like supposedly placed by wicked men (*abaTákati*) for the evil purpose of driving away the rain). Every likely piece of wood found stuck up in the ground (sometimes left by merely playing herdboys), every suspicious stone, was gathered up. Then, each person bearing an *umSenge* branch in the hand, the crowd would proceed with the collected rubbish to the local 'water' (river), and cast it all therein ; and themselves in after it, there to frolic about bearing their *umSenge* branches. The invocation here, apparently, was not to any gods. The ceremony, at least in historical times, was regarded rather in the nature of an *izaBa* (a chance effort), a mere *umKúba* (a custom, something 'that was done') believed to bring about (naturally, as they thought ; as we would say, magically) certain results. Only when all this had failed, did the king feel it fitting to exercise the royal prerogative and implore the good services of the gods.

Reaching, then, the centre of the old Zulu *emaKósini* or 'royal graves' district (which was between the Mpembeni and

Mkumbane rivers), the whole multitude came to a stand, with the sacrificial cattle peacefully grazing before them, and struck up the great national chant (*ĩHũbo*). Then the official *imBongi* (professional 'praiser') marched wildly about shouting out the praises of the kings; to be followed, in a similar fashion, by the great leaders of the clan. And as they praised, and made a great noise before the lords, behold, *Cĩpi! cĩpi!* (drip, drip!) fell the dew from heaven, and all got drenched!

Which only encouraged them to further efforts. So the assembled warriors broke up into several parties, one going off in this direction, another in that; so that eventually each and every of the royal graves would be specially visited and have its own little ceremony. Having duly reached its allotted grave, each party struck up the regulation song, '*WoZa-ke! woZa lapá!* (Come! come here!)', moving, as it sang, first forwards, then backwards, making at the same time beckoning motions with their shields (*amaHáwu*), as if to coax the divine attention towards them. No sacrificial beast was slaughtered there on the veld; but when the warriors had returned to the old royal Nobamba and esiKlebéni kraals, two beasts were slaughtered in each kraal (the remainder, later on); and the whole crowd returned to the present king's Great Place 'wet to the skin'.⁷⁵

At last, sooner or later, the present king became himself a 'god'. But first got sick. And when sick, none ever dared to say so! To make such a statement were the next best thing to declaring that the king was 'dead';—then, to a wish that he *were* dead—all of them thoughts quite too awful to entertain, and still more risky to express. So, whatever might be the royal complaint, and whether mild or mortal, it was always described alike—'the king is *Dúnguzele*' (or 'indisposed'). And in this state of 'mild indisposition', which disturbed nobody, the royal ghost flitted away, quite unbeknowns, to Hades, leaving its shell behind to be buried.

A practice similar to the preceding ruled also in Uganda. There, "when the King fell sick, he was said to have a cold (*Senyiga*), and this pretence was kept up during the whole time that his illness lasted, unless it was proved that he had some stomach trouble".⁷⁶

Unfortunately for the historian, this dread of open statement continued right through the period also of burial. All

was so hushed up and concealed behind a cloak of secrecy and deception, that those who really knew were too scared to tell, and those in the vicinity could only surmise. Naturally, most of the details eventually leaked out ; but they became so distorted and conflicting in the process, that one could hardly sort out fact from fiction.

The burial of a Zulu king was, in the main, but an enlarged edition, with embellishments, of the burial of any ordinary Zulu family-head (see Chap. 18). Our present interest is in the embellishments, some of them rather ghastly. The last of the Zulu kings to be buried with full national honours was probably Sendzangakóna (d. 1816), Shaka's father. His successors, Shaka and Dín-gane, were both assassinated and informally interred. The burial of Mpande (d. 1872), the last of the Zulu kings to die during the period of Zulu independence, came near (perhaps even went the whole way) to restoring the older order ; though with him, Cétshwayo, his heir, fearing perhaps subsequent trouble with the ever-watching British Government in Natal, is said to have vetoed some of the more atrocious items on the programme. We have a suspicion, however, that this veto did not count for much with the then prime-minister, Masipúla, who quite credibly, as indeed rumour doth aver, despite the interdiction, put the programme through, determining that it was his bounden duty to see his royal master through to Hades with all due and proper ceremony.

No sooner, then, had the king expired, than his body, while still supple, was bent into the usual sitting posture, and wrapped and bound inside the hide, still wet, of a beast specially slaughtered for the purpose. For a whole month thereafter the body remained propped up against the central pillar in the hut, with a blazing fire near by, till at last it had become quite odourless and dry. Throughout the whole of that period, men had to sit ' watching ' (*ukuLinda*) in the hut, with their nostrils plugged with *umSuzwane* leaves, and the fire to be kept supplied with fragrant woods and other odoriferous fuel, in order to counteract and overwhelm the stench. No ' family wailing ' (see Chap. 18) was permitted at a king's burial, lest it give the show away ; and throughout the whole of the afore-said period, the king was reported to be (quite appropriately) ' unwell '.

The grave was dug in the usual place allotted to family-heads, just outside the top of the great cattle-fold (*isiBaya*) of Mpande's Nodwengu kraal, on the left-hand side. Three thorny bushes and a small tree, about three-quarters of a mile from the present Ulundi store, now mark the spot. Into the grave, first of all, went Ntlangano, of the Ntuli clan (and father of a later neighbour of our own, Sisimana, then a district-headman). This had been the dead king's valet (*inTsilá*), who was now duly strangled and then deposited within the grave, as a soft and fitting couch whereon to lay his Majesty. Naturally the king had more body-servants (*iNceku*) than one; and in due course, in one way or another, they all alike found their way into the royal *umGándo* corps—this term, *umGándo*, covering the whole body of royal burial victims. Some got there soon after the burial, at the time of the new king's accession (468); others (like the royal undertakers) were allowed to abide for a time in peace, perhaps for years; but at last Nemesis inevitably overtook them, and they too were quietly removed in the usual 'bloodless' *umGándo* way, by strangulation. The individuals responsible for Mpande's burial included Ntlongolwana of Sodaba (of the Biyela clan), Majiya of Gininda (of the Ntombela clan), and Sondombana (of the *emaNgáдини* clan). As it happened, this portion of Mpande's *umGándo* group formed the 'exception to the rule'; for, luckily for them, the Zulu War broke out before they had yet been disposed of, and, we believe, they all escaped the normal fate.

All the body-wear of the deceased king, his skin-girdles, blankets, snuff-boxes and the like, were buried with the corpse. Not so the assegais. These had been carefully removed from the hut immediately on the king's demise and buried secretly far away 'out of reach', lest he should turn, spiritually, malicious, and stab with them his former friends and foes, and even cattle, left behind on earth. In the case of man, such spiteful stab would manifest itself in the form of the disease known as *amaNxeba* (or 'wounds'), of which one would feel the painful proof internally, though externally he appeared perfectly sound. Similarly with a beast—nothing would appear outside; but inside, the wound would most certainly be found! As a matter of fact (in the case of mankind), these *amaNxeba* pains were simply those of muscular rheumatism.

Meanwhile, a beast (*iziNkomo zomGándo*) had been slaughtered daily, until the occurrence of the *ĩHlambo* ceremony, as pabulum for the royal ghost and his accompanying servants. But it could hardly be expected that a royal ghost could feel entirely comfortable in Hades with cows and servants only. Were it possible that such royal ghost could be perfectly happy unloved? So the daughter of Mtántató (of the Qwabe clan), queen of the emDúmezulu kraal, and she of Myakayaka (of the Maháye Ntombelas), queen of the Bulawayo kraal, were called upon, during the month succeeding the burial, to accompany their lord, in order, so 'twas said, to bear his Majesty's snuff-box in spiritland. Silently and submissively they obeyed the call to duty, and walked strongly, if sorrowfully, to execution. Three long miles they had to walk, till they reached *kwaNkatá*, where the deed was done—this was the name of a flat bushy spot, opposite *õPáté* hill (on the further bank of the White Mfolozi river), a mile or so below the present ford. There the official executioners (*amaPísi*) entwined a long rope round the ladies' necks. While two men pulled the rope taut with all their strength, a third dealt heavy blows with a kerry, not on the victim's head, but on the rope alongside it; for it was not lawful for a royal *umGándo* victim to appear before the royal master in the nether world with the semblance of an executed criminal, 'with blood upon the person'. When strangulation in this way was complete, the bodies were left untouched, lying as they fell, to be devoured by vultures.

But the *umGándo* party was not yet complete. By Zulu customary law, the whole menage of a departed monarch had to face the same music as the valet and the queens. Although we have no definite evidence that this actually occurred in Mpande's case, we have already stated (470) how certain of his still remaining menials are said, by those who were living at the Nodwengu kraal at the time, to have mysteriously 'disappeared' from society about the period of the king's *ĩHlambo* (see Chap. 18). Happily, and somehow, the girl, Nyumbaze of Somdingi (of the Mtétwá clan), who had had charge of the king's private medicines (*iziHlāzi*) and who, 'tis said, should 'by rights' have gone the regulation *umGándo* way, managed to escape, for the happier fate of marrying one, Muntumuni (of the emGázini clan). In this ghastly *umGándo* business, the Zulus were but following the precedent of the

highly respectable Egyptian pharaohs, whose court officials (at least during the 2nd dynasty) were similarly ceremonially slain at their king's demise.⁷⁷ Despite a suggestion by Fynn, we have personally never heard of any tradition that burial *alive* was ever practised by the Zulus.⁷⁸

The customary *īHlambo* hunt (Chap. 18) for the purpose of *ukuHlamba imKónto* (to-wash-the-assegais, of any *umMnyama* or evil-effects come upon them owing to the family demise) was naturally performed in the case of kings as in that of every other family-head. But in the case of royalty, the tamer chasing after bucks was frequently replaced by the more fitting sport of chasing after rival kings. Wherefore a small war was usually organized, in the form of a raid into the territory and on the cattle of some specially disliked royal neighbour.⁷⁹

1. Thomas, *N.A.*, 158 sq.
2. *ib.*
3. Bryant, *O.T.*, 40, 41.
4. Hewitt, *R.R.*, vol. 1, 299.
- 4a. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 2, 272 sq.
5. Punch, *G.B.*, 65.
6. Bryant, *O.T.*, 29-35.
7. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 101.
8. Casalis, *B.*, 156.
9. Shooter, *K.N.*, 105.
10. Roscoe, *B.*, 189.
11. *V.C.*, 247.
12. Roscoe, *B.*, 209.
13. Bryant, *B.O.*
14. Roscoe, *B.*, 99.
15. *ib.* 348.
16. Herodotus, VI, 56-7.
17. Bryant, *O.T.*, 570.
18. *ib.* 637.
19. *ib.* 563, etc.
20. Roscoe, *B.*, 94.
21. Voillard, *T.C.A.*, 303.
22. Roscoe, *B.*, 369.
23. Stuart, *K.*, 120 ; Samuelson, *Z.C.*, 138.
24. *M.*, 212.
25. Bryant, *O.T.*, 636, 575, 50.
26. *D.S.N.*, 212.
27. *B.*, 10, 86, 95, 204, 245, 276.
28. *D.S.N.*, 234.

29. *S.A.*, 348.
 30. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 2, 274.
 31. Waterman, *S.S.*, 47.
 32. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 109, 200 ; vol. 2, 51 ; Declé, *S.A.*, 160 ; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 286 ; Colenso, *T.W.N.*, 132 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 365.
 33. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 2, 45.
 34. *H.B.*, 97.
 35. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 420.
 36. Bryant, *O.T.*, 41, 42, 47, 49, 52, 53.
 37. *ib.* 571-2.
 38. See Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 11.
 39. Grogan, *C.C.*, 79.
 40. Capello, *B.T.Y.*
 41. Roscoe, *B.*, 154.
 42. Leslie, *A.Z.*, 250.
 43. Samuelson, *Z.D.*, XIX-XXII.
 44. Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 13.
 45. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. 2, 162.
 46. Breasted, *R.E.*, vol. 1, 286.
 47. King, *L.B.E.*, 26 ; Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 189.
 48. *R.E.*, vol. 1, 11.
 49. Bryant, *B.O.*
 50. *T.H.H.*, 51.
 51. *H.A.*, vol. 1, 146, 295.
 52. *T.E.A.*, 395.
 53. *T.*, 199.
 53a. Theal, *R.*, vol. 2, 317.
 53b. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 42.
 53c. *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 354.
 53d. *T.Y.*, vol. 2, 249.
 53e. Lyall, *A.S.*, 125.
 53f. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 216.
 53g. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 192, 363.
 53h. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 248 ; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 154.
 53i. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 110.
 53j. Willoughby, *J.A.I.*, 39 ; Livingstone, *T.*, 98.
 53k. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. 2, 261.
 53l. Weule, *E.A.*, 211.
 53m. Johnston, *R.C.* ; *G.G.C.*, 669.
 53o. Weule, *E.A.*, 295-304 ; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 108.
 53p. *J.A.I.*, 51, 420.
 53q. *E.A.*, 124.
 53r. Gardiner, *J.Z.C.*, 95.
 52s. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 306.
 53t. *N.E.T.*, 139.
 53u. *T.C.*, 406.
 53v. *P.E.*, 62, 64.
 53w. Elliot Smith, *S.E.M.*
 53x. *G.G.C.*, 669.

- 53y. *I.*, 36.
- 53z. See Ellenberger, *H.B.*, 7, 280; Arbousset, *N.E.T.*, 254; Sparrman, *V.C.*, vol. 2, 33; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 203; Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. 1, 136; vol. 2, 53, 64; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 31; vol. 2, 126; Merolla, *V.C.*, 722; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 92; Holden, *H.N.*, 437; Wallace, *T.A.*, 359; Kay, *T.C.*, 75, 273; Torday and Joyce, *J.A.I.*, 36, 36-40, 46, 273; Gottschling, *J.A.I.*, 35, 368.
- 53aa. Walsh, *M.M.*, 28.
- 53bb. *B.*, 268.
- 53cc. Johnstone, *G.G.C.*, 666.
- 53dd. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. 1, 31.
- 53ee. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 175, 212, 219.
- 53ff. Parkinson, *J.A.I.*, 36, 318; Park, *T.*, 203.
- 53gg. Hobley, *B.B.*
- 53hh. *Z.*, 332.
- 53ii. Roscoe, *J.A.I.*, 39, 186.
- 53jj. XVII, ch. 2, §5.
- 53kk. *E.*, 174.
- 53ll. *V.F.*, 137.
- 53mm. *T.S.A.*, vol. 2, 355.
54. Seligman, *M.*, 470, 614.
55. Rivers, *S.O.*, 137.
- 55a. Shooter, *K.N.*, 338.
56. Roscoe, *B.*, 137.
57. Bryant, *O.T.*, 79.
- 57a. Hartland, *P.L.*, 126.
58. *A.T.*, 274.
- 58a. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 140.
- 58b. Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 192.
- 58c. Roscoe, *B.*, 406; Baines, *E.*, 433; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 216.
- 58d. *C.N.*, vol. 1, 36.
- 58e. Peters, *E.A.*, 123; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 217; Speke, *D.S.N.*, 30; New, *L.E.A.*, 332; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 336; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 317; Herosotus, VII, 69; Scott-Elliot, *P.M.*, 167.
- 58f. Park, *T.*, 73.
- 58g. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 73.
59. Stuart, *H.*, 106.
60. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 2, 291.
61. Stuart, *K.*, 222.
62. Fuze, *A.A.*, 160.
63. Stuart, *H.*, 105; Fuze, *A.A.*, 159; Samuelson, *Z.C.*, 141; Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. 1, 56; vol. 2, 292; Mackenzie, *M.*, 293; Leslie, *A.Z.*, 91, 97; Bird, *A.N.*, vol. 1, 301; Callaway, *R.S.*, 340; Werner, *B.C.A.*, 67; Rowley, *R.A.*, 182; Leonard, *L.N.*, 182; Declé, *S.A.*, 155; Bent, *R.C.M.*, 230, 340; *J.A.I.*, 35, 311, 36, 392; Baines, *G.R.*, 45; Shooter, *K.N.*, 26; Allen, *E.I.G.*, 88; Elliot, *P.M.*, 86; Jevons, *C.R.*, 35; Frazer, *T.*, 24; Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 198, 266.
64. *J.A.I.*, 36, 392.
65. Hewitt, *R.R.*, vol. 1, 124.

- 66. R. Smith, *R.S.*, 241.
- 67. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 266.
- 68. *ib.* 201.
- 69. *T.*, 24.
- 70. New, *L.E.A.*, 116.
- 71. G. Viche, *F.L.J.*; also Baines, *G.R.*, 45.
- 72. *G.B.*, vol. 2, 164-5.
- 73. Shooter, *K.N.*, 40 (from Arbousset, *N.E.T.*).
- 74. *E.I.G.*, 88.
- 75. Stuart, *H.*, 108; Fuze, *A.A.*, 161.
- 76. Roscoe, *B.*, 98.
- 77. Flinders Petrie, Lect. in Univ. Coll., London, 20/5/22.
- 78. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 204; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. 2, 110; Kay, *T.C.*, 194, 345.
- 79. Stuart, *K.*, 209 fn.

Chapter 13

Maziyana Woos and Weds

King Mpande, whom we have just followed to the grave, had had a long and inglorious reign (1840—1872). His most illustrious, and most applauded, achievement was that he permitted his people to love. The heretofore ban on soldier-marriage—and every man was a soldier—so strictly enforced by his two predecessors, Shaka and Dingane, if he did not formally abrogate, he certainly connived at its transgression.

Amongst those who most lustily cheered this new release, was Maziyana,* son of old Jomela, and now a youth of twenty-five. A graceful, handsome boy, a living statue in black marble such as Angelo or Praxiteles might have wrought, there one day he stood outside the entrance to his home, deeply wrapped in thought, and as deep in love, like some voluptuous Apollo alighted from Olympus and seeking Daphne. How familiar do not these gods appear, these fauns and nymphs, when met with in the flesh in Zululand! And yet within their prosaic thoughts and deeds all poesy lies hidden, to be read and lived again by all with eyes to see and hearts to feel.

Maziyana had had many falls in early life; but none, he vowed, so sweet as when he fell in love. Some say the African is incapable of love. But he as passionately protested:

* Pronounced *Mah zee-yah'-nah*.

The cold in clime [he said] are cold in blood.
Their love can scarce deserve the name.
 But mine was like the lava flood
 That boils in Aetna's breast of flame.
 If changing cheek, and scorching vein,
 Lips taught to writhe, but not complain ;
 If bursting heart and madd'ning brain,
 And daring deed, and vengeful steel,
 And all that I have felt, and feel,
 Betoken love—that love was mine.

Byron, *The Giaour*.

For long years now he had wooed the girls, but only, he said, for play. Now he was tired of sowing wild oats that bore no fruit. His father old, he knew that on him devolved the duty of carrying on the old tradition and of making his father's seed endure. Actual marriage, of course, was still a long way off ; for in those earlier days, the courting season was prolonged. The custom of many wives has, as its corollary, as many sweet-hearts. So now, from the crowd of his former play-girls, he would select the best, as his prospective bride ; and of them all none was so dear as was Nomona,* child of the neighbouring Zungu clan. He would seek her out, alone, in some sylvan nook when gathering wood, or by the brook when fetching water, and unburden to her his heart and serious intent.

He found her there, there by the brook, buxom and mature. At first she met his overtures with scorn, as ladies will—" like towns besieged, for honour's sake, will some defence, or its appearance, make ". To forego the free joys of girlhood, and leave her loving mother, for bonds and drudgery of wife, was to her at first a horrid vision, and she rebelled. But Maziyana was neither disappointed nor dismayed. He knew the ways of courted maids and Zulu wooing, the last faint vestige of those ancient days when brides were won by capture—first, a stout resistance in the maid, met by equal stout persistence in the male ; then, the inevitable surrender, and victory.¹ This was the way of every Zulu girl ; and of Nomona too.

Ere long, the first shock passed, she grew more calm and thoughtful ; then more confident ; and at last quite happy,

* Pronounced, roughly, *Naw-maw'-nah*.

that someone, some male, esteemed, admired her. Yet she dared not own it, "I am still a child" (i.e. too young), she pleaded, despite her longing to consent, but unable, by Zulu custom, to proclaim it, till first her elder sisters had removed the ban by telling her she was old enough.

With their consent, she gave herself to him. His weekly visits now, before resented, were transformed to yearned-for joys; his passionate coaxings, sweet as honey; his company, as heaven. Week by week she knew the common trysting-place, down by the brook;

And as she runs, the bushes in the way,
Some catch her by the neck, some kiss her face,
Some twine about her thigh to make her stay:
She wildly breaketh from their strict embrace,
Like a milch doe, whose swelling dugs do ache,
Hasting to feel the fawn, hid in some brake.

Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*.

And so it came to pass one day that, to his infinite delight, a small white string of beads (*ūCū*) was brought to him—sent by Nomona. That, he knew, was her 'letter' (*iNcwadi*) of acceptance, her formal announcement that she had 'chosen' (*uku Qoma*) him to be her husband. In loving acknowledgement he sent her back a little gourd-like box (*īTóngwane*) of snuff, yclept the *uGinqwayo* (the-thing-rolled-to-and-fro); so called because its contents were for the common regalement of all and sundry females in her family, who rolled it one to another about the hut-floor. And in return, once more, came back a similar *īTóngwane* with snuff for him, sent by Nomona.

The affair was still of the young. Fathers and mothers had no 'official' knowledge yet of what was happening; though it was not long before Nomona confided her secret to her mother, who 'would understand'; but not so her father. Meanwhile, the youth of both families, already in the secret, would learn something of each other. So one day to Nomona's kraal there came the brothers of Maziyana to thank her elder sisters for their favour. Another day there came his sisters; another still, his mothers (i.e. his father's wives), all for the same purpose.

Later on, these visits were returned—for all the world as though these accounted 'savages' were well abreast of London manners. First of all there went two elder sisters of Nomona to see what kind of home this Maziyana had. Being satisfied with all they saw, soon Nomona went herself, accompanied by an elder girl companion. But they returned back home that selfsame day.

All this while, according to Zulu custom, Maziyana had been begging Nomona's elder sisters to open the way for him to 'intercourse' (*ukuHlobonga*) by permitting her to come and stay a night—which she would not do without their sanction. In due course they consented. So, when it was dark, but before the family had yet retired to rest, Nomona and a companion girl quietly entered Maziyana's kraal, and went straightway into the young-men's private-hut (*īLawu*). This his brothers immediately abandoned for the occasion, so that Maziyana and Nomona might pass the night alone, her companion likewise going off to the *īLawu* of the elder girls. At cock-crow on the morrow, Nomona retraced her steps, and reached her home before her family was up, so that Pa, at any rate, might be none the wiser. Such short surreptitious visits were known as *uku-Gádla*. They occurred twice or thrice a year; and they were surreptitious only so long as that was necessary, that is, so long as the love-suit was still a secret, and 'unlegalized' by formal betrothal; after which they would be replaced by more open and 'regular' *ukuVimbezela* visits (see ahead).

But Pa was often wiser than the young folk thought, and generally had a shrewd idea of what was going on. Accordingly, said he one day to Nomona, "*Hamba, u-yo-Fún' iziNkomo ēSokeni laKó* (Get-thee-off, and-seek some-cattle from-that-lover of-yours)"—every father, of course, taking it for granted that every full-grown girl already had one such. This was, to Nomona, a rather surprising, but very welcome, order. Despite her disinclination to leave the dear home-kraal for a long time yet, nevertheless this formal paternal license was very grateful, as removing all further need for secrecy and opening a freer course to love.

Nomona was not long in acting on her orders. From one of her half-mothers she borrowed a woman's leathern kilt

(*isiDwaba*), whispered her intention to her mother (who gave her some wise advice as to how, and how not, to comport herself), and, accompanied by her best girl-friend, set out for her sweetheart's home. When nearing there—'twas already sundown—she doffed her loin-fringe of girlhood and donned the borrowed kilt of wifehood, and led the way into the kraal. Arrived at the upper part, she stood (*ukuMa*) near the open doorway of the principal hut, outside. Seeing this, the inmates of the hut came out and gave her greeting. To which she paid no heed, but stood there silent. From that sign they knew; and then enquired of the girls, *NiKwela ngoBani?* (On-whose-account come-ye?). Nomona gave them his name—the which, of course, they had already expected. They then invited her inside their hut; but she refused. A goat (termed the *umNgénisandlini*, the-introducer-to-the-hut) was offered as inducement; whereupon she entered. Within, they tendered her a sitting-mat. She again refused, till, receiving a present of some beads, she at last consented.

Everything now settled to everyone's content, all the youth of the family swarmed out into the courtyard, and danced and sang with glee around the kraal (*ukuGqumushela*), in this way proclaiming the good news abroad. When night-time came, Nomona went off to sleep with the family-girls in their private *iLawu*.

In the morning, the father of Maziyana and his elder sons conferred together as to how many cattle could be spared as bride-price (*ukuLobola*); the while the women prepared the food. Meanwhile Nomona and her companion, escorted by a daughter of the family, went to the river to bathe. Home again, they were tendered water in a basin wherein to wash their hands preparatory to eating. Once more they declined, demanding first that goat (also known as the *inDlakudlayeNtombi*, the-food-of-the-girl). This pantomime having been anticipated, the goat was forthwith produced already cooked, and all the girls set to to eat the meat together. But not Nomona; to her the meat was tabu. Her particular turn just here was to divest herself of all her body-wear (save only the leathern kilt); with the result that the young men now present considered it their duty to provide her with an entirely new outfit—new *uLembu* cloth to cover her loins, and new bead-work *iziGqizo* for her wrists and ankles:

Days passed, three days perhaps, or five, in the home-kraal, everyone wondering (or pretending to wonder) what had become of Nomona. Both mothers and sisters professed their utter inability to throw any light whatever on the matter. Then her father heard a calling from the veld, and looking forth, he beheld a man (known as the *umLoboli* or *umKóngi*, the-bridegroom's-agent) of the neighbouring Sibiya clan, accompanied by a young steer (*iNkomo yokuMemeza*), standing afar off and shouting, apparently to them, "*Fúnela-ni neno, nina ba-kwa-Zungu* (Look-for-her over-here, you of-the-Zungu-clan)". Then for the first time her father knew what had become of Nomona, and that she had found a bidder. "Come nearer", he replied, "and let us hear". As the accustomed honourable amende, he accepted the proffered beast, and gave the visitor in return his own orders, namely, the number of cows he demanded as bride-price for his daughter—in those days perhaps three head to ten, according to his rank.

A week, or even a month, elapsed, during which Maziyana's people were considering the ways and means of getting the bride-price together. A preliminary instalment having been decided on, they reappeared at Nomona's home (along with herself), driving before them some of the demanded cattle. They were politely welcomed as before with a small beast (*iNkomo yomLoboli*) slaughtered in their honour. But of their own cattle brought along with them, some were indignantly refused—they were too young, too old, mere worthless cows instead of oxen, and so on. So, leaving Nomona behind, they went back home with their cattle, which her father had declined. As a parting word, "Bring now", he shouted, "the head-tuft beast" (*iNkomo yoku-yi-Kéhla*). This latter beast having been duly forwarded, her father gave instructions that Nomona should now assume the reddened top-knot (*iNlloko*) indicative of betrothal, and one of the wives immediately set to to build up on Nomona's head the regulation hair-dress (*ukuKéhla*). This first small portion of her bride-price having thus been formally accepted and herself duly 'top-knotted', Nomona became henceforth a legalized fiancée (*iNgúqa*).

The whole of this second act in her marriage drama (namely, that of mysteriously disappearing from her home) was technically known as *ukuBaleka* (the-running-away). But if,

instead of a girl going thus off or 'running-away' to her sweetheart on her own account, she had been ordered to go there by her father (desiring perhaps to bring the matter to a conclusion, and he so secure her cattle, which he happened to be in personal need of), then the term, *ukuYa 'kuMa* (to-go and-stand), would be applied to her in place of *ukuBaleka*. Again, if the father had ordered his daughter off against her will (which he had power to do) to marry, not a sweetheart (of which perhaps she had none), but some particular friend of his own, or some old man wealthy in cattle, then neither *ukuBaleka* nor *ukuMa* would be applicable. In such cases, it would be said that her father had 'thrown her at' So-and-so (*ukuGádla ngaYe kuBani*). In the reigns of Shaka and Dingane, when free marriage was not allowed, a girl who 'ran away' to a sweetheart belonging to a regiment not yet *Jujiwe* (released for marriage) by the king, was said 'to-go and-kneel (entreatingly) to-So-and-so' (*ukuYa 'kuGúqa kuBani*).

One of the first things that Nomona did after returning home, was to prepare and convey to her sweetheart's kraal the first of the many of the succeeding presents of beer and food-stuffs (*umBondo*)—this first sending being known as the *iNdzib' amaSondo* (the-covering-up of-the-footprints, i.e. the footprints of the bride-price cattle that had been sent along with her).

There was no eagerness whatever on Nomona's part to hasten the wedding. She loved her mother and her home too much to feel any strong desire to lose them both. Better, she felt, to bask awhile in the raptures of the lovely prospect, than to see it suddenly transformed into the hideous reality of perpetual bondage and drudgery. Nor did her parents by any means object to the delay; on the contrary, they much preferred to retain her services for themselves as long as possible.

Maziyana too did not object to another year or two of the present idyllic and unrestricted diversion. He, like her, was well aware that with their marriage the beautiful bubble of illusion would then be pricked and burst beyond restore.

In the Zulu order of things, the practice of external intercourse (*ukuHlobonga*) was regarded as a natural physical function or need. In the earlier period of wooing, meetings had

been held in secret, in grass or bush, or the young-man's home. Formal espousals having now been initiated, the position was changed, and the meetings, though still in some degree clandestine (as far as the girl's father was concerned), nevertheless in the eyes of the general public obtained some sort of legal sanction. The visits consequently were now termed, no longer *ukuGádla*, but *ukuVimbezela* (to-stop-by-force).

Whenever wishing to bring such a visit about, Maziyana would send word to Nomona—generally his mother would despatch one of his sisters—to invite her over. At the other end, Nomona's mother—always ready to help, as all mothers were, when they saw that the bride-price was being seriously paid up—concocted a plan to get her daughter away without her father knowing, as fathers were often apt to be unindulgent. So she told him she was sending Nomona off to her aunt's with a present of foodstuffs.

Prior to her going, Nomona's elder sisters, always first in her confidence, had been carefully priming her in the proper methods of procedure. The gist of their instructions was summed up in the metaphor, *u-nga-z'-Eneki iziNkomo* (don't-spread-out the-cattle), or *wo-zi-Qoqa iziNkomo zabaNtu* (you-must-keep-together the-other-people's cattle), the reference being to any subsequent intercourse.

Thereafter Nomona, with a girl-companion, disappeared. She reached Maziyana's home and, after a chat, made a pretence of leaving. Quite naturally, this they forbade her, and 'forced her to stay' (*ukuVimbezela*) in Maziyana's hut; and there she remained, out of the sight of any visiting strangers, throughout the period of her stay. Should necessity urge, she never went outside alone, but always in the company of one of the girls of the family, who would call out to her, *a-si-Ye 'kuPóla* (let-us-go-out and-get-some-fresh-air). She was also particularly careful, when partaking of food, to make a good impression by eating sparingly.

Thus imprisoned, Nomona spent two days and nights; and on the third day set off home 'on an empty stomach', and with instructions not to come again before two months (i.e. two menstrual periods) had elapsed: which, again, had reference to certain possible consequences of their intercourse.

Strange to say, while Nomona evinced no sense whatever of any shame regarding (as we would say) such 'naughtiness',

she was otherwise so extraordinarily modest that she dared not so much as appear in the presence of Maziyana's father, elder brothers or mothers, much less speak to them—unless she were wearing her 'engagement kilt' (*isiDwaba*). Should she chance to meet them unawares, and in the 'undressed' state, it was her duty to conceal herself or get out of their way. Maziyana too, out of 'respect', never allowed himself to partake of food or drink when Nomona's mothers were present.

Another way of passing the time agreeably away during this period of betrothal was for the bridegroom to organize one of those always enjoyable *ĩCece* or sweethearts'-parties. This might be held either in the bridegroom's home or out in some sylvan glade, where the swain and his male companions would entertain his sweetheart and her girl friends with a quiet little beer-feast. Furthermore, a private pot of beer (*umNjonjo*) would always be brought for him by his fiancée, whenever he might attend the wedding of any other person or any public celebration.

However, after a reasonable spell of these delights, Maziyana's father and he himself would deem it fitting to complete their bride-price debt, and so bring the bride finally and permanently to their home. So they got busy once more and raked together such further cattle as were needed to complete the payment. That settled, they sent over to notify Nomona's people of their coming.

Elaborate preparations were at once made by these latter to provide a cheerful welcome. Her father sent forth the word, "Get ready the beer (*uTshwala babaYeni*); for the bridegroom's party (*abaYeni*) is coming". So along came the girls from the surrounding kraals to help them grind the millet. The beer being brewed, and in the afternoon put through the strainers, a messenger was despatched to the bridegroom's people, saying, Come along now, all is now ready.

At sundown on the morrow, the bridegroom's party (young men and maidens of the bridegroom's clan), driving before them the rest of the bride-price, arrived at the entrance of Nomona's home, where halting, they shouted to them that were within, "Here are the cattle for your child". Immediately the cry was heard, Nomona's sisters and companions dashed from their huts to challenge this 'foreign' impudence.

They hastily barred up the kraal-entrance, and refused to reopen it, until the invading party had first thrown over the fence large lumps of meat (*umPóso*) brought for this purpose from home. Even when the bars had been removed, much wordy warfare and pantomimic wrestling was needed before the visiting party could effect an entrance.

But the defenders at last gave way, and the invaders marched merrily into the kraal, and planted their cattle within the cattle-fold. From one of the family-huts everything had been previously removed, and into it the visitors were ushered. As usual, they refused to enter unless a slaughter-beast (*iNkomo yabaYeni*) was promised for their entertainment. This forthcoming, in they went, with a troop of Nomona's sisters behind them, escorting a huge pot of beer and several serving-pots (*ūKámba*). The visitors having seated themselves on mats upon the floor, before each two or three of them a pot of ale was set, the kneeling serving-girl first taking a sip herself to prove that it contained nothing harmful.

The leader of the bridegroom's party (at which the bridegroom himself was never present) was, as ever, the official *umLoboli*, now called, by courtesy, the *umKwényana* (bridegroom). This started the proceedings once again by the ceremonial refusal—he would not touch their beer, until a goat (the *iNdlakudla yomKwényana*, or bride-groom's food) had been produced. No sooner said, than done; and they proceeded forthwith to the feast.

Meanwhile the young-men of Nomona's party had been putting on their best attire, and she herself and her adult girl-companions dressed themselves in leathern kilts. All being ready, and the visitors refreshed, the bridal-party appeared in the courtyard (*ēGcekeni*), and, moving forward in a group, males in front and girls behind, they performed the *uku-Gqumushela* dance around the kraal. Tired out at last—for you will recollect that the visitors had reached the kraal at eventide—all retired to sleep.

Morning come, the ox and the goat, that had yesterday been promised, were slaughtered for the visitors. Meanwhile, Nomona's girl-friends had disappeared back to their homes, there to prepare all sorts of dainties and return with them to the kraal. Upon their arrival, the entire company descended to the

river to bathe, the youths to one selected spot, the girls to another. Back home again, the bridegroom's party repaired to their allotted hut ; but, arrived there, their leader, the *umLoboli*, insisted (which was grossly impolite of him) on sitting upon the bare floor—until they had coaxed him off by offering him a brand-new mat for himself. That settled, the feast was brought in, the beef and the goat-flesh, and the delicacies from the kraals. Just here was it, that the *umLoboli's* carrier-boy (*ūDibi*) asserted himself, and declined to eat unless they 'opened his mouth' with a present. The way now clear, the youths of the bridegroom's party served out the food into the several dishes and baskets, taking care, first of all, to put aside for the parents of Nomona (who, again, was not here present) the choicest cuts. Such was the crowd of visiting strangers (for the Zulu, at his feasts, always kept open house for all), that when the meal was over, not a scrap of ox or goat remained—only the breast (*isiFūba*) of the ox, the perquisite of the bridegroom himself, which would be carried home to him, when the party left in the afternoon.

Even Zulu marriage preliminaries came at long last to an end, and the culminating act had to be staged. And yet even now, notwithstanding that the bride-price had long been fully paid, Nomona's father was still loth to let her go. Ever and anon the bridegroom's *umLoboli* had to visit him and urge delivery ; but always with the same prevarication—"he could not spare her yet", "he had not the wherewithal for her trousseau", and all the rest. At length, further excuses failing, and exhausted by their importunity, he surrendered to the inevitable. "Well, go," he said, "and soak the millet-grain" (*ukuCwilisa amaBele*). The millet well soaked and sprouted for malt, a messenger was despatched from the bridegroom's kraal to enquire of Nomona's father, when the grain might be ground (*ukuGāya amaBele*)? So he appointed a day ; but it was never at the change of moon—the moonless night, or rather the day following, was known as the *ūSuku oluMnyama* (the black, or eminently unlucky, day). At the very least, one should wait till the new moon appeared, and so be on the lucky side ; but the common rule was, at the full of the moon, for the convenience of the moonlight when travelling, and dancing in the kraal.

The grinding of the corn occupied some days. It was the business of the morning hours ; and every afternoon, when the work was over, all the youths and maidens of Nomona's clan (or neighbourhood), who would form the bridal-party (*umTimba*) at the wedding, repaired to her kraal for the purpose of learning (*ukuFúnda*) and practising the words and movements of the dance-songs they would perform. The various clans were very proud and jealous of their skill at dancing ; wherefore great pains were taken that all be thoroughly mastered, and gracefully and harmoniously performed before the always critical ' foreign ' public. At Maziyana's home precisely the same course was followed, all the youths and maidens of his clan (or neighbourhood) coming together in the hope that the bridegroom's party (*iKétó*) might, at the wedding, by their perfect performance put the rival party utterly in eclipse. The general procedure at these *ukuFúnda* practices has been already described (228).

For every Zulu girl, the going forth to marriage was a very mixed joy ; for this first, and final, parting from her mother—who, with her father, for the sake of their own and their daughter's feelings, never personally attended their daughter's wedding, but always remained quietly and alone at home—was without any doubt one of the saddest experiences in a girl's life. That sorrowful severance was now, in Nomona's case, fast approaching. As noon-day drew nigh, her bridal-party trooped in and assembled in her kraal, where her father had slaughtered a beast for their regalement.

The afternoon was spent in feasting, followed by a short and farewell dance within the cattle-fold, which, you must know, was the family's sacred spot, the ancestral temple, in every Zulu kraal. From this dance Nomona betook herself to her hut, where her father and elder brothers awaited her. It was their last and loving duty there to dress her in her finery. That completed, her father took her gently by her wrist and formally led her back into the cattle-fold. There the bridal-maids struck up the old song, so sad to those it touched,

Ng'-Enda, nga-m-Shiy' uBaba, nga-m-Shiy' uBabo (I-went-off-to-marry, and-left my-father, yes !-left my-father).

To which the second choir replied,

U-Tét' amaNgá-ke (thou-sayest what-is-not-so).

Still holding his daughter's wrist, the father reverently led her up the right side of the fold, then circled round the top, and down on the left, and so out through the gateway, from the home. There he silently released her; and so she went, shedding bitter tears, from the home where she was born, into an alien clan; and, as the ritual doth prescribe, must never, as she goes, cast one loving, lingering look behind at the dear old spot and dear old people. Where, in all our vaunted 'civilization', can be found a parting more beautifully touching than this 'savage' send-off?

It was already dusk by now, as they set forth on their march. Nomona was dressed in her borrowed kilt; but this she doffed when out of sight of home, and wrapped herself in her skin-kaross (*isiPúku*). Nor did she wear her girlhood's girdle; for that had been laid aside already when the first of her bride-price cattle had been received, and she had become betrothed. Such a bridal-party on the march was called an *ūDwendwe*.

As they drew near to the bridegroom's kraal, they formed themselves into a compact group, with the men in front and the girls behind, and Nomona, not to be seen, hidden away in between them. Then slowly they approached, solemnly chanting, as they went, with up-lifted shields, the national anthem (*īHubo*) of their clan. Turn here and read on p. 231 how sacred and sweet were the ancient clan-songs (come down from pre-Shakan days) to these simple people.

Having reached the kraal (where Maziyana had recently erected a new *īLawu* for himself to serve as his *īQátá* or bridal-home), the bridal-party entered the gateway and marched slowly up the courtyard on the right-hand side, still solemnly chanting, until, arrived at the top of the kraal, they halted. Then from their huts the matrons of the family emerged, and, holding small sticks upright in their hands, joyously strutted about the open spaces, crying shrilly as they went, *Li! li! li! li! kuHle kweTú; kuBi kwaBo kaNtombi* (Li li li li! better-is-it with-us; worse-is-it in-the-home of-the-bride)—intending thereby, no doubt, to cheer the bride by telling of their own

experiences for her present comfort. This joyful cry of the matrons was termed *ukuLilizela*—a very ancient custom and interesting study. It almost looks as though the cry was taken over by the Negroes, 10,000 years ago perhaps, from the ancient Caucasian Mediterranean Race; unless, which were quite possible, the latter took it from the Negroes. The Zulus use it both at weddings and at funerals; therefore as an expression both of sorrow and of joy. And that is precisely how it is still (and ever has been) used also by the *fellahin* (peasants) of Egypt, nearest modern descendants of the Ancient Egyptians. It is customary also among many Sudanic Negro tribes. When the steamer arrived on the Shari, writes Landor,^{1a} the women showed great delight “tapping their lips rapidly with the open hand, giving a tremolo to their shrill ululations of welcome; which were identical with those employed in the British Sudan”. This Zulu *ukuLilizela* is also quite obviously akin to the *ululare* (to wail or utter shrill cries) of the ancient Latins in Italy (see Bryant, *B.O.*).

Now to return. The bridal-party, having ceased its solemn chant, now struck up a more practical and lively air, singing for a special hut for themselves,

*Si-Gódola, ye! ye! mKwényana; ku-maKáza, ye! ye!
mKwényana; ye! ye! Mka-Dade; u-Qalis' ukuGánwa, we:
siTsholo* (We-are-shivering-with-cold, hi! you-bridegroom;
it-is-cold, hi! you-bridegroom; hi! you-husband-of-our-sister;
you-rejected-of-the-girls) (obviously getting married for the
first time).

This musical, if hardly polite, request procured for them a hut; but unless a goat was produced forthwith, they would never enter it. However, having entered, they struck up a ‘hand-clapping’ song (*ukuNqukuza*), often performed with small stones in the palms in order to make more noise. This was held to be equivalent to a call for beer. Having refreshed themselves with the latter, they all went out from the hut (leaving Nomona and her maid or *isiGqila* alone therein), and joined the bridegroom’s party in an informal *ukuGqumushela* dance round the kraal. And thus they danced the rest of the night away.

Next morning, Nomona and all her bridal-party packed up their belongings and removed in a body from the kraal into an adjacent bush (*esiHlahleni*). To this bush the *imBeko* (see ahead) beasts were brought, direct from Nomona's home. From the bush a girl was sent up to the kraal to hasten along the goat promised last evening. Along with it, if the family was rich, came also a slaughter-ox. The goat was called the *isiWukulu* (the-mute-thing), because it was killed by a twisting of the neck, while the mouth was held to prevent it from crying. The supplementary ox was known as the *isiPeko* (the-stuff-for-cooking). This was indeed ample fare for breakfast. Alas! to Nomona it was all tabu.

After breakfast, they all dispersed to dress, but still in the selfsame bush. First of all, Nomona, already in her leathern kilt, was decorated in all her finery by her elder brothers. A long fringe veil (*imVakazi*), made of the under-skin of the *ubEndle* leaves, was suspended dangling before her face; ornamental ropes (*umGáxo*) of twisted calf-skin, or of bead-work, were strung in a coil over her shoulder and under the arm; silver-white cow-tail fringes (*inGéqe*) were bound round above the elbows and below the knees; on her right wrist were tied the distended gall-bladders of the goat and ox slaughtered for her prior to her leaving home; a lengthy fringe of goat-hair (*iziPúnga zesiYepú*) was wound round her neck; a bundle of ten plaited grass-belts (*isiFóciya*) encircled her waist, an extra belt (*iM pempe*) being sometimes left to hang down her thigh; and, finally, upon her head was placed a plume (*umNyakanya*) of black Sakabuli feathers.

At last, there went up from the bush to the bridegroom's kraal a party of Nomona's brothers and their young wives (*abaLobokazi*) to announce the coming of the bride. First, the young wives entered the kraal alone, some passing up the right side, others up the left, all strutting about and uttering the women's shrill jubilant cry of *Li! li! li!* (see before). Each of the two parties, crossing each other at the kraal-top, continued its course down to the gateway. There they gave place to the men, who repeated the evolution, all finally reuniting at the kraal-entrance and, men and women together, returning to their bush.

The bridegroom's people now pointed out the selected dancing-ground (*isiGcawu*); which was, normally, in their

cattle-fold (if large enough), otherwise out on the veld. The spot in the bush, where the bridal-party had been staying, having been cleaned up by burning all the rubbish, the whole party now moved off in one compact group, men in front and girls behind, with Nomona hidden away out of sight, and often screened by mats, in between the two groups. They marched slowly and sedately to the dancing-ground, chanting, with up-lifted shields, the national anthem (*ǀHubo*) of their clan.

Having reached the ground, where a great crowd of spectators had already assembled and seated themselves on the grass, the bridal-party's men drew up in line in front of the girls, with Nomona again in the rear. This bridal-party was always much smaller in number than was that accompanying the bridegroom, and made a comparatively small impression on the assembly. Nevertheless, they went through a few minor dances; whereafter the men retired to the rear, and a line of the younger girls moved to the front, who, having gone through their paces, gave place to the older girls, all in leathern kilts and with Nomona in their centre, who now performed the *umGcagco* or wedding-dance proper.

All this finished, the whole bridal-party, men and girls, moved up to where the bridegroom's family were seated on the grass. The passage was made in single file, one behind the other, dancing the while the peculiar *umGqigqo* dance (in which forward and backward movements alternate). Arrived upon the spot, up rose Nomona's uncle (representative of her father), who, having commanded silence, prayed aloud to his paternal ancestors, especially those he had personally known (and including his own father, even though he were still living), his grandfather and the rest, invoking them severally and conjointly to bless their child with offspring. "*Letí, mNgáne,*" he cried, "*si-Kúlekela ǀBomvu, wena wa-kwa Zungu*" (Grant, o-friend! we-pray-for that-which-is-red, i.e. a new born babe, thou of-the-Zungu-clan). And having completed his prayer, he wildly danced a solo dance (*ukuGíya*, 230) 'before the ancestral spirits', as a fervent *Amen*. Following their leader's example, all Nomona's elder brothers likewise rushed into the arena and *Gíya*'d wildly, as he.

Amidst the silence, still maintained, Nomona, the object of this prayer, approached, surrounded by her bridesmaids. Herself she carried in her left hand a dancing-shield (*ǀHawu*)

and in her right, held upright, a shaftless spear-blade (*isi-Nqindi*); while they, all with reddened top-knots (*iziNkehli*) and leathern kilts and a single *umGáxo* rope across their shoulders, bore smaller shields and dancing-sticks. Nomona then struck up a song and, moving from the rear to the front, took her place in the middle of the line, and all accompanied her in a dance, the while the bridegroom, Maziyana himself, performed a furious *pas seul* before them. Seeing which, and moved beyond control, the matrons of the family rushed also into the arena, carrying shaftless spear-blades (with maize-cobs on their points to prevent any accident) uplifted in their hands, and strutted everywhere about, uttering their joy-cry, *Li! li! li!*

Soon the bridegroom's man (*umLoboli*), who had so successfully carried through the deal, was escorted to the fore by a bevy of beaded damsels, and took his place beside the bride, dancing a while with her, and then returning to his place.

Next there came along Nomona's brothers driving before them the *imBeko* cattle. These, according to wealth, might be five or six, but always three at least, to wit, the *umBeko* (presentation) beast itself; secondly, a fine bullock, called the *isiGódo* (tree-stump); and thirdly, a smaller beast, called its 'tail' (*īShoba*), or the 'switch' (*ūSwazi*) for driving it. The *isiGódo* was a sacrificial beast. It was called the 'tree-stump' because it symbolized to these people the implanting or setting up of their blood within the foreign clan (into which Nomona now was marrying). It would later on be slaughtered to Nomona's ancestral gods as a prayer for offspring (hence it was sometimes referred to as *e-yoku-Kúlekel' iNdzalo*, the beast for-praying-for offspring). But to Nomona and all her girl-companions of like age, its flesh was tabu.²

These cattle, then, having been brought on to the arena, the whole bridal-party, driving them before them, now moved up from the spot whereon they had been dancing, and came and stood before the family of the bridegroom seated on the grass. The cattle having been duly presented and then driven away, Nomona stepped forward from the ranks and knelt humbly on the turf before the bridegroom's father. There she begged him to accept her into his family. "Adopt-me", she prayed, "thou of-the-Sibiya-clan" (*Ngi-Tóle, Wena wa-kwa-Sibiya*). To which her father-in-law replied, "It is I who

shall be cared for by thee ; treat me well, and I shall so treat thee" (*Mina ngi-yaku-Londolozwa nguWe ; u-ngi-Páté kaHle, naNi ngi-yaku-ku-Pátá kaHle*).

So was concluded the first half of the play, the *uku-Canguza kwomTimba* (the-dance of-the-bridal-party). And with it, the bridal-party retired from the stage.

Readers with sympathetic and understanding hearts will not have failed to notice how much of the preceding ceremonies was really in the nature of a religious service, beautiful indeed and touching in its artless simplicity, sincerity and trust. Piety and pleasure, worship and dance, were all commingled together without any sense whatever of their mutual incongruity, in a way that only the truly religious can comprehend.

But the dance of the day, the *pièce de résistance*, was yet to come. The bridal-party having had to travel from afar, from a foreign clan, was necessarily small, and its dancing always lacked the impressive weight of numbers. Otherwise was it with the home-clan, who mustered in full strength, and assembled with ease and comfort. The home or bridegroom's party was known as the *ĩKétó*. Until now, it had been sitting as spectators on the grass, admiring, we will not say, the dance, but certainly the girls, all to it new in face and form. So now the *ĩKétó* disbanded ' to dress '.

The preceding show had been mainly a dance of the girls ; the *ĩKétó* would be a dance mainly of the men, though the home-girls too would be there, but in the rear, mainly to give aid with their clapping. In most of the dances, the men spread themselves out in one long line facing to the front ; or, if held in the cattle-fold, in one great circle. The dancing of the *ĩKétó* was always better disciplined and more stately than was that of the *umTimba*, and, with the thunderous stamping and deep bass roar of the many men (often 50 or 80 in number), was much more impressive.

The graceful *ĩNkondlo* dance always opened the show, to be followed by the quieter and more dignified *isiQubulo*, the rousing *isiGékle*, and the prettiest of all, the *isiWiliwili* or *umPéndu*. These dances have already been described elsewhere (pp. 225-30). In a high-class family, or if the clan-chief himself were present, the performance would always end with

the great tribal dance-song or *iNgóma*. Like the dance of the *umTimba*, that too of the *iKétó* usually covered an hour or more.

The bridegroom's dance ceased towards sundown. Thereafter the multitude of spectators dispersed for their homes, while the wedding parties returned to their kraal, where, after quaffing themselves dozy with beer, they all retired to sleep.

That is, if the concert permitted; for ere long the bridal-girls turned out in force, apparently quite fresh and unexhausted, and called for meat with much song and clapping (*ukuNqukuza*), but no dancing—some crying,

Si-ya-yi-Tánda sOnke iNyama (We all of us do so love meat);

while others joined in with,

Na' iNyama, mKwényana (Here, bridegroom with your meat);

and others still with,

Si-ngamaKlozakloza iNyama (We-are-ravenous-eaters of-meat).

Whether they got any, or not, does not appear. Anyway, up with the dawn, they commenced the second day's festivities with the same old plaint, but to new words and air. Some sang,

A-si-Dle amaVólovólo (Let-us-eat the-fat-meat);

others,

A-si-Dle okwEhla ngeNgálo (Let-us-eat that-which-falls by-the-skilful-hand).

Then the first choir continued,

A-yi-We klasha! (May-it-fall *klasha!*—i.e. with the soft slushy sound of fat);

to which the second choir replied,

A-yi-Lale ngōPóndo (May-it-fall-and-lie on-its-horn, i.e. drop with one effective stab).

At last father-in-law, aroused from his slumbers, named a beast to his sons, which they were to slaughter for the bridesmaids. This ox was named the *umQóliso* (that-which-will-scent-them-nicely). Should it turn out to be a scraggy animal, the ladies would, as usual, refuse; until their wishes were fulfilled. Into the cattle-fold, then, the beast was driven; and along with it, but at a discreet distance, went also the bridal girls, who remained there throughout the killing. The presence of the ladies in the ring demanded that the stab be one only, and fatal; otherwise penalty followed, and disgrace for the slaughterer. Wherefore the most skilful butcher in the family or the clan was specially engaged for the occasion. While this was proceeding within the cattle-fold, Nomona (to whom this meat also was tabu) rose up within her hut, and continued standing, until the beast had fallen and died. But the bridal girls in the fold clapped their hands (*ukuNqukuza*) and sang, as it died,

INkomo kaDade a-yi-Vúke (May the-beast of-our-sister get-up);

to which those of the bridegroom, outside of the fence, replied,

A-yi-Lale (May-it-lie-down).

The bridesmaids inside continued,

INkomo kaDade i-Lele ngōPóndo (The-beast of-our-sister is-lying on-its-horn). *Wo! ma-yi-Vúke* (Oh! may-it-get-up);

and those outside,

Ma-yi-Lale (May-it-lie-there),

then those inside,

I-Lele ngēNxeba. Wo! ma-yi-Vúke (It-is-lying on-its-wound. Oh! may-it-get-up),

and those outside,

Ma-yi-Lale (May-it-lie-there).

Should the animal take over-long to expire and need a second stab, the bridal-party would, in their pretended disappointment, file out of the fold, and betake themselves to the hut of the bride, where the bridegroom's people would have to pay a fine of beads or a goat, wherewith to 'close' the second wound. The penalty paid, the girls would return to the cattle-fold and watch the skinning. But no part in the cutting-up was to be taken by them. The young-men of the bridal-party, however, having been allotted their joints, off they went to roast them, not in the kraal, but out on the veld, leaving the girls alone in the fold. The internal dung removed from the beast was carefully buried within the fold, lest it get into the hands of *abaTákati* (evil-doers), who therewith might prevent the bride from bearing children. The hide of the beast became the perquisite of the bride's private maid (*isiGqila*).

Out of the slaughtered ox the bridegroom's youths had excised the gall-bladder, and now proceeded therewith in force to the hut where Nomona was sitting. Her bridesmaids, already collected there, were excitedly awaiting them. All movable furniture having been shifted to the back of the hut, the older girls sat themselves down together on the right-hand side, while the younger, in whose midst sat the bride, took up their position on the left, all of them alike armed with sticks. The bridegroom's boys drew near with the gall-bladder; but he who bore it, hid it from sight, so that the girls might not know whence to expect it. They entered the hut, but no sooner in, than up rose the whole company of girls to attack them and prevent their access to the bride. A fierce scuffle then ensued between the sexes; but eventually one of the boys succeeded in sprinkling the gall (*iNyongo*) from the bladder over the bride. Should, however, the gall miss its mark and become sprinkled on some of the girls, as well as the bride, a fine was demanded from the boys payable to those girls who had been improperly sprinkled. Or should it have been spilled upon the bride's top-knot instead of upon her body, then, again, a fine was payable to the *isiGqila* of the bride; around whose wrist, moreover, the bladder itself was later tied, to be ceremonially removed still later on by the arrival of the *umShisanyongo* beer.

The gall having been satisfactorily sprinkled on Nomona, she with her bridesmaids betook themselves to the river to wash

it off again, to the tune of a song termed an *isiMekezo* (any primal-union song). Back home again, Nomona formally removed from her waist the bundle of grass-belts (*iziFóciya*) she had hitherto been wearing, and presented them, along with the *iMpempe* belt dangling down her side, to her several mothers-in-law, such presentation being called the *ukuShay'-iMpempe* (the-presenting-of-the-*iMpempe*).—This particular *iMpempe* item is doubtfully an 'old Zulu' custom, but may have been a later importation there from Natal (Laaland), where it was always a custom.—On the other hand, the *umQóliso* custom as here described was the 'old Zulu' usage; though *otherwise* employed in Natal. From this *umQóliso* beast, in Zululand, the prime cut, from the wounded side (*iNtsonyama yēNxeba*), already cooked, was placed before the assembled girls; hence it was termed the *īGqumu leziNtombi* (the-long-strip-of-the-girls).

After the meal, a short farewell dance was held in the cattle-fold, first by the bridegroom's party, then by that of the bride; after which the latter party departed for home.

But the more intimate few remained behind, and later in the evening regaled themselves once more with the breast (*isiFúba*) of the slaughtered ox and a kind of minced collops called the *amaKá*. This meal finished, there entered a sister of Maziyana, and with a switch gently struck Nomona on the body. This act, strangely, caused the bride to cry out—not in tears, but in song (also called an *isiMekezo*), saying,

U-s'e-zi-Dlile ezi-kaBabo. O! mayihoya! wa-Buya naZo
(He-has-eaten-up the cattle-of-my-father. Oh! my! he-has-got-hold of-them).

To which her companions replied,

U-y-iNtandane; lo-Za li-Shone. E! e! e! u-y-iNtandane;
ma-yi-Ze neno (She-is-a-fatherless-child; but the sun will-at-last go-down (and her tribulations end). Yes, yes, yes! she-is-a-fatherless-child; let-her-come here-to-us).

That night Nomona remained and slept with the bridesmaids; and their prayer before they slept, was the clapping song (*ukuNqukuza*), running with double choir as follows,

1. *uMkadade u-Ye ngaPi na ?* (What has become of our sister's husband ?).

2. *Wo ! ka-s'-Azi* (Oh ! we do not know).

1. *u-yo-Gáwula ; u-Ye-pi na ?* (He has gone to cut wood. But where ?).

2. *Wo ! 'ka-s'-Azi* (Oh ! we know not).

1. *E-nge-'siGáwuli ; u-Ye-pi na ?* (And he not a wood-cutter. Where has he gone ?)

2. *Wo ! ka-s'-Azi* (Oh ! we know not).

1. *u-Ye 'kuPéka ; u-Ye ngaPi na ?* (He has gone away to cook ; but whereabouts ?).

2. *Wo ! ka-s'-Azi* (We do not know).

1. *E-nge-'siPéki nje, u-Ye-pi na ?* (And he not a cook, where has he gone ?).

2. *Wo ! ka-s'-Azi* (Oh ! we know not).

And so, with this and other *isiMekezo* hymns, they went to sleep.

And now the third day has come ; and with it, the consummation of the play. The bridal party rose early and trooped to the river to bathe. There, having bathed, they passed the time away until it was late forenoon, when, singing another *isiMekezo* as they went, they ascended to the kraal. Arrived there, they entered the cattle-fold, and after them, the bridegroom and his companions. Nomona now placed two beads in the palm of her hand, a white and a red, and going to the bridegroom, requested him to pick out the white, she meanwhile making it difficult by shaking them in her hand. The white bead having been successfully taken, Nomona poured water into a dish, and into the water many other beads. Then, taking an assegai, she gently struck with its shaft the bridegroom's girl who last evening had struck her with the switch ; and, throwing out the water, with the beads, from the dish, left that girl to pick them up again. That was the present she made to her. Among the other girls and youths of the bridegroom's party she distributed shoulder-coils (*umGáxo*) of beads or calf-skin ; but to the principal youth she gave a goat, to the principal girl two or three new sleeping-mats, and to the

bridegroom's father a couple of goats. All which distribution of prizes was termed the *ukuHlambisa ngeMpahla* (to-wash-them-all-clean with-presents).

From this ceremony in the cattle-fold, Nomona repaired to her hut. There she dressed in her best, and bound round her head, below the top-knot, her *umNqwazi* head-band (of salem-pore or beads). This was worn as a sign of respect for (*ukuHlonipá*) her mother-in-law, and was to be worn continuously until, later on, the latter permitted its removal; but should her father-in-law meanwhile die, then, without further ado, she would remove it to *Hlonipá* him.

Thus attired, she betook herself to the great-hut of the kraal (*iNdlunkulu*), taking with her some of the fat (*amaFútá*, for body unction) which she had brought from home. Kneeling down in the hut, she was presented by one of the elder wives with a baby boy, which, having anointed with her fat, she placed upon her back. At the same time the old woman, with her own fat, smeared Nomona on the back; which Nomona repaid by smearing the old woman in the face with hers. It was now for Nomona to 'pretend an escape from her fate' by running back to her father's home with the child on her back—if only she could accomplish it; for all kraal outlets had already been barred against her. But should she, by some chance, succeed in giving them the slip and breaking out, the bridegroom's family were by her mulcted in a cow.

So now to the farewell and final feast. A goat, called the *uMeke* (vagina-opener), was slaughtered and cooked for the still remaining bridesmaids; and after they had made a hearty meal, they wished the bride and bridegroom good-luck, and at once departed for their homes, leaving the pair alone for this third night of the festivities for the consummation (*uku-Mekezisa*) of the marriage. At that, none but themselves would be present—in which the Zulus showed themselves instinctively more refined than, for instance, are the Kikuyus (or Gikoyos) of Kenya Co'ony, who require the presence of two boys and two girls as witnesses.³

Although every Zulu clan-chieftain was a 'despot' within his own realm, everything and everyone being under his rule, yet one prerogative he had failed to claim—luckily never having heard of it!—namely, the *jus primæ noctis*

arrogated by ancient Libyan kings and medieval feudal lords, by which the first night with the bride was the perquisite, not of the husband, but of his overlord.⁴

Nomona was now all alone in a 'foreign' land, amongst a strange people. All that remained to her of her own kith and kin was the small girl (usually a half-sister or close relation) who had been her baggage-bearer on the march, and would now continue as her private maid (or *isiGqila*) for many months, and might even grow up in the kraal until adult.

Immediately subsequent to the marriage consummation, Nomona (now technically known as an *umLobokazi* or 'young wife', as the bridegroom too had now become her *umYeni*, young husband) was put through a severe course of rigorous training, consisting of 'solitary confinement', 'spare diet', and other restrictions and restraints. For a whole week, more or less, she was kept in seclusion (*ukuGóya*) in her hut, with head and face veiled (*ukuGubuzela*) and breasts covered (*ukwAmbesa*). She would continue so imprisoned and disciplined during her mother-in-law's pleasure. Indeed, the whole and only purpose of the whole procedure was, apparently, that of inculcating into the new bride a wholesome respect for 'mother-in-law'!

Throughout the period of her seclusion, the only absence permitted from the hut was a daily task of fetching water from the river. And even when doing this, out of 'respect for mother-in-law', she had to pass, with head and face veiled, only along the rear of the kraal huts, until she had reached and passed out of the gateway. Furthermore, she had imposed upon her a heavy serving of the double law of *ukuZila* (to-refrain-from) and *ukuHlonipá* (to-show-respect-to), of obligation and forbiddance. She was condemned to a total abstinence from meat and milk (*amaSi*), must not perambulate the kraal or enter the cattle-fold, and must continue all the time veiled and wearing her *umNqwazi* (head-band).

So soon as mother-in-law's conceit had been appeased and, to her thinking, Nomona sufficiently tamed (which, as said, was generally about a week after her incarceration), she condescended 'to invite her to her hut' (*uku-m-Bizela kwaKé*), which signified Nomona's return to favour and imminent

release. One by one the several disabilities would now be ceremonially removed.

First of all, mother-in-law would procure a goat, which, she said, would 'uncover the bride' (*ukwAmbul' umLobokazi*)—in some clans, it is said,⁵ a sheep was used. So on the day she invited Nomona to her hut, she had the goat-flesh, already cooked, placed on a meat-tray before Nomona, to whom she then gave a knife (*umuKwa*) and directed her to cut it and distribute the pieces amongst the children gathered there. This cutting of the meat (termed the *ukuSikiswa kwomLobokazi*, the-being-made-to-cut of-the-bride) marked the 'severance' of that bond of abstinence from flesh, by which she had hitherto been bound; and, although she could not partake of this particular goat today, she would henceforward be able to do so, and a second goat would be slaughtered tomorrow for her special benefit. Further, this slaughter and eating of the goat had also released her from any further need of veiling her face, covering the breasts, wearing the head-band, and having to steal out of the kraal by the rear of the huts. Henceforth she would be at liberty to eat at will, to walk abroad and so let herself be seen. But not yet to eat *amaSi* (clotted milk) or to enter the cattle-fold (*isiBaya*). These prohibitions would be lifted some weeks, or months, or even years, later.

The above-described Zulu practice of post-nuptial seclusion must have been among the very ancient customs of mankind; because also among the Arabs of Tunisia, we are told, both bride and bridegroom remain concealed in their room for the week subsequent to marriage. During that period the bride may see none of her own family, and only the women of her husband's; while the bridegroom may see none of his wife's family, and, should he chance to meet his father-in-law, he must cover his face with his burnous.

At the time of Nomona's betrothal, there had been inaugurated a long process of what was called *ukuBonda*, that is, to send along (by the bride's family to that of the bridegroom) periodical presents (*umBondo*) of beer or foodstuffs. Every year, for instance, from the time of her betrothal, Nomona had gathered from her mother's already ripened fields (but without the knowledge of any other in the family) a large basketful of young maize and sweet-reed, which, with a pumpkin or two,

she and her companions would secretly convey to her lover's home, as a so-called *umBondo wokuBik' iHlobo* (a-present for-announcing the-new-year's-fruits). Had she not done so, it was explained, his (the lover's) 'spirits would have weakened' (*ukuTámb' amaNdlá*)—presumably implying some 'disappointment' on his part at her forgetfulness of him. So along went the annual tribute; to be continued by her mother even after Nomona's marriage, so long as that mother lived, and until Nomona herself had grown to middle-age.

In more recent times in Natal, this *ukuBonda* practice (like so many others) seems to have run riot. The innate Bantu proclivity to cadging and squeezing dry every possible victim that comes their way, has there led to the addition of innumerable 'extras' quite unknown in Zululand, as well in regard to the legal bride-price (*ukuLobola*) as to the normal *umBondo* gifts. The long list of these latter given by Wanger⁶ are largely, not Zulu customs, but more modern accretions thereto confined to Natal.

A month or more, then, after her wedding, Nomona with great joy paid her first visit home. The excuse given was that she was going home 'to get shaven' (*ukuPúca*) around the top-knot. She remained at home only that night, and on the morrow returned, accompanied by a number of girls bearing an *umBondo* of several pots of beer (technically known as the *iMpúco*, or shaving-beer; also as the *umShisa-nyongo*, or gall-bladder-burner, because, upon the beer's arrival, the bride's *isiGqila* or maid was permitted to remove from her wrist the gall-bladder that had been tied there during the wedding (553).

It was not long after her return, that Nomona was presented by her father-in-law with a goat as a symbol of her release from that particular abstinence (*ukuZila*) restriction which forbade her, as an alien from a foreign clan, from eating the *amaSi* (clotted milk) of the new clan; for, among the Nguni Bantu, the *amaSi* of a foreign clan was never eaten, as tabu. This present goat was later taken home by Nomona to her father's kraal, and from there another, as a present to her father-in-law, was brought back, and called the *e-yōKézo* (it-of-the-spoon, i.e. the spoon wherewith she would now start eating (*ukwOmula*) the new *amaSi*).

The cattle-fold was still tabu; but not for long. The circular palisaded cattle-fold (*isiBaya*), which stands in the centre

of every Zulu kraal, is the family 'temple', sacred to the ancestral manes. For a bride coming, as she always must, among the exogamous Zulus, from a foreign clan, to tread such hallowed ground without due ceremonial introduction, would be a serious profanation. Such ceremony may be deferred for months, even years, and yet throughout all that time the ground continues to the young wife strictly tabu. In Nomona's case, it was decided to perform the rite so soon as the coming crops were ripe. After reaping, word was passed round to brew the beer. This duly brewed and decanted into pots, the several wives, each with a pot balanced on her head, solemnly marched from the kraal-entrance, one behind the other, into the cattle-fold, up its right-hand side, and deposited their burdens on the ground at the top of the fold. There the beer was drunk, and afterwards a beast was slaughtered there in the fold, and forthwith consumed. Such was Nomona's introduction into the family sanctuary (*ukuNgéniswa esiBayeni*, the-introduction into-the-cattle-fold).

Thus far, Nomona's poor mother had been kept humbly in the background ; as you know, she had not even been present at her daughter's wedding ! But now at last she would appear in force. Leading a file of sturdy wives, each with a huge pot of beer upon her head (the which was another of those *umBondos* already spoken of, and termed the *o-wokuKúlekel' umuMba*, that-for-begging for-the-*umuMba*-beast), she boldly invaded her son-in-law's kraal, and demanded to know where she came in. So they got out a fine big cow (technically termed the *umuMba*) and presented it to her in liquidation of all her claims upon the spoils. This beast was later driven to her home, not to be slaughtered, but to become the private property of her own family-hut, and generally becoming the inheritance of the younger son therein. When she got home, a further *umBondo* of beer was despatched 'to-thank-for the-beast' (*o-wokuBong' umuMba*).

Such, then, is a description of the marriage ceremonies as they used to be conducted in Zululand prior to the entry of the Whiteman into their country after the Boer War (c. 1900), and, indeed, as they still are in families of good standing. Some of the details, naturally, may be found to differ among different clans and in different parts of the country, as, for instance, the

various songs. But in the main, the procedure is, in the better class kraals, that given above ; though, in the smaller kraals where, for the last half century, the men have become accustomed to leave their homes for work among the Whites, many customs have already become neglected, and are almost unknown. As for Natal, the Natives there belong mostly to the ancient Lala clans, an entirely different branch of the Nguni Bantu group. Prior to Shaka's time (c. 1820), they had their own speech and their own customs ; but at that time the Zulu life and Zulu language was, by conquest, imposed upon them. Still more variations may therefore be expected there in their marriage customs. As for the younger Natalians, who have grown up from birth in the midst of a European population, they manifest small interest in their ancient traditional ways of life. The clan-spirit has become irreparably broken up and lost, and an individualistic 'do as you please' is now more in accord with the modern younger frame of mind. At Native weddings consequently one may expect in Natal to find little or nothing of that which we have described above.

Nevertheless, our Zulus (of Zululand) appear to have retained quite a lot of the old and original Bantu life, as well as language. The fact of constant similarities with the speech and practices in Uganda, we think, proves that. The following notes on the Uganda wedding-ceremonies, culled from Roscoe,⁷ will illustrate what we say. The bride, says Roscoe, "was taken to her husband's house after dark ; if the journey was a long one, it was so timed that she might arrive after nightfall [compare *uDwendwe*, pp. 544-5] . . . She was veiled in a bark-cloth, which was thrown over her head [cp. *iMvakazi*, 547] . . . The bridal party consisted of the bride's brother [cp. not her father, 544] and a number of her friends [cp. *umTimba*, 544]. One young girl who was decorated with ornaments and well-dressed, went with the bride [cp. *isiGqila*, 553] ; she was either a sister or a near relative . . . This girl was called 'The one who accompanies' (*mPerekezi*—cp. Zulu, *Pelekezela*, accompany) ; she stayed with the bride for some days after the marriage, it might be for a week, or for as long a period as three months [cp. p. 557] . . . When the bride reached her husband's house, she refused to enter [cp. ceremonial refusals, 537, 538, 542, etc.], until he had given her a few shells

. . . When the evening meal was dished up, she would not touch the food, until her husband gave her a few more cowry-shells, and again, when it was bedtime, she would not move, until a further sum had been given her . . . On the third night the marriage was consummated [cp. 555] . . . on the following day . . . he gave the bride a goat [cp. *uMeke*, goat, 556] . . . For some time the bride remained in seclusion [cp. *ukuGóya*, 557-8] . . . When the bride was allowed to go out, she first visited her own people (559)."

Among the Himas (of Uganda) too we note that throughout the wedding ceremonies the bride is closely veiled in a finely-dressed cow-hide ;⁸ while of the Kambas (of Kenya Colony) it is said,⁹ " the day after this [wedding] ceremony, three of the girl's female friends . . . receive some beads " [cp. 555].

All which proves to us that these wedding ceremonies of the Zulus must have been already customary with them may-be half a millennium ago, prior to their descent to the Cape from northern Bantuland ; and probably long before even that. It teaches us, moreover, how imperfect our understanding of Zulu customs must really be without this wider knowledge, which alone can give them the fullness of their meaning.

So much, then, for the general picture and procedure of the Zulu wooing and the Zulu wedding. We shall now proceed to consider in greater detail certain of that picture's more important features.

Courting knows nor race nor age. It is instinctive in mankind, and as old. Why, even the animals and birds indulge and are adepts at it. Already in Grecian times, it had developed in man into a ' refined ' art, and become so ennobled into poetry and romance. When Cyclops Polyphemus wooed Galatea, said he to her : " I loved thee first when thou camest with thy mother to gather hyacinths by the mountain, and I was thy leader on the way. But I could not cease from that day to this to look upon thee. But, by Jove ! thou carest not a bit for me ".¹⁰ How like what Maziyana one day spoke unto Nomona ! All but his very words ; certainly, his thoughts.

With the Zulus, boys especially, and in a lesser degree girls, manifest the instinct of sensual desire (as yet unconsciously and sexlessly) sometimes as early as their third years.

Somewhere about their fourth, consciousness of sex seems to dawn, and an incipient sense of modesty and shame appears. This latter fact becomes at once apparent whenever the child becomes conscious that its nudity is noticed by a stranger, male or female; whereupon it will immediately respond by concealing the pudenda, as though feeling some sense of intrusion on its privacy, not altogether unpleasant indeed (as its merry laugh will show), but obviously inconvenient. As the puberal organs develop—let us say, in the sixth or seventh year—sex-consciousness is already distinctly felt, and by the eighth or ninth, sex selection and sexual magnetism are strongly experienced and displayed. Of course, the mere fact of sex-difference had always been obvious among the unclothed children; but during the earlier years that difference had remained a mere organic fact. Later, without understanding exactly why, the small boy and small girl now both experienced quite a new sensation of special attraction and fascination for its opposite type. This preference for the opposite sex and a certain aversion towards its own, had been constant since the fifth or sixth year. So, about this time most small boys and girls commenced to 'court' each other and choose secret paramours, partly in imitation (for they were most observant, as well as imitative) of their elder brothers and sisters.

So far, all this has been regarded by the children as mere childish play, pure physical gratification. But with the advent of puberty and its accompanying revelations, the real purpose and function of sex becomes gradually manifest. As understanding increases, the mere 'playfulness' of childhood wears off, and by the time the boy has reached, say, his eighteenth year and the girl her sixteenth, they have already commenced to be fully aware of the more serious business before them.

Such was the process of sexual growth among Zulu children and youths. Some day a charming maiden of an alien clan chances to cross young Adam's path. The spell of her enchantment draws him sweetly, holds him bound, and will not release him till he and she be one. Another new sensation is being born within him, and a new stage reached in the mystery of sex. Could he but explain to you his present feelings, the enamoured Zulu youth would tell you that this charming creature, or some force emanating from her, has excited within him an insuperable craving for her person. Yet no longer is it a purely carnal

passion that animates his breast. It is indeed, physically, still all that, but sanctified now by the infusion of something more spiritual, more sacred ; something higher, nobler than anything that went before—it is the first rosy dawn of love ; the spring-time blossoming of the fully-matured sexual instinct, which, when the autumn comes, will bear its fruit in child-birth. This is no hyperbole ; but what every simple Zulu really feels ; though he could not express it thus.

Throughout the wooing period, the young man called his girl his *iGxila*, but after their engagement she became his *isiGxebe* (sweetheart), or even simply his *iNtombi* (his 'girl') ; while, to her, he became her *iSoka* (her 'young-man'—in older days signifying rather her 'already-circumcised-youth'). Among the Zulus, the male was always the 'aggressive' party, at once the 'hunter' and the 'fighter' ; for it was the height of impropriety, indeed positively lewd, for a female to make overtures to a man. That was his sole privilege ; and with no Leap Year.

But if his protestations proved of no avail, what then ? He never threw up the sponge ; but had immediate recourse to the more powerful, if less amiable, means—of artifice. And the 'art' he employed was the science of magic. This particular branch of the magical science was termed that of *ubuLawu*. In its simplest form, this *ubuLawu* consisted of certain 'medicines' supposedly possessing suitable powers. Of these, the Zulu youths possessed a whole pharmacopœia, mostly emetics and mainly herbal. So the amorous youth proceeded to 'wash himself' internally with, for example, an infusion of *uMaguqu* roots, to make him 'feel nice' ; others, of the *ũQũme*, to make him 'look lovable' ; those of the *iPópómo*, to bring him 'good luck' ; those of the *ũMnandi-wa-Vesha*, to ensure agreeable intercourse ; and those of the *uNgtnakile*, to make her to dream of him at nights. When at length her love has been won, lest she be stolen from him by some rival swain, he 'nailed her down' to himself (*ukuBetélela*, to-nail-down) by the application of such magical plants as the *iNcancatéla* and the *uNginyakameleni*, or by such potent mixtures (procurable from the 'professional' men) as the following : Take of the *iMbambela* (cuttle-fish), the *uManaye* (plant), the *uNgtnakile* (plant), the *uZililo* (plant), the *amaFútá eNgwé* (leopard fat), and the *uLukúni-ng'Omile* (species of sea-weed), each a part, and mix

with the spittle of the girl (if you can get it) and your own ; place all, carefully covered up, beneath a projecting rock in the local precipice ; and the girl will become securely ' fixed ' to you against all rivals.

Should all the preceding measures prove ineffective to bring the girl down, the exasperated youth might have recourse to the sterner method of taking reprisals by ' throwing at her ' (*ukuPósa*). Here other weird mixtures (*isiPóso*) of animal and snake fats, excrements and vomits, chemicals and plants, would, by some stealthy device, be brought into contact with the person of the recalcitrant girl, with the magical result that she would become afflicted with hysteria, or go insane, or, better still, become ' blind ' to the charms of the rival swain, and even grow to dislike him.

Othersome put less faith in magic and more in the more natural art of personal charming. Such a one would somehow contrive to gain her father's good-will, in the hope that, seeing that Pa was favourable, the girl herself might soften and follow his good example. In this case, the smitten youth, along with two or three companions, would betake himself one fine evening to the parents' kraal. There at the kraal-entrance they would take their stand, with heads and eyes bent down, arms across their breasts and hands on shoulders, very disconsolate-like and pathetic, while one of their number ventured gently up the kraal. Arrived before the doorway of the principal hut, he would courteously announce his presence by a salutation of the kraal-head ; and, when asked his errand, would in humble tones crave permission to converse with his daughters. Most Zulu fathers, being themselves good sports, and above all ever on the look out for a chance of making capital out of the *Lobola* of their daughters, would usually consent. So, into one of the private huts (*amaLawu*) the party would be ushered ; whereafter it did not take long before all the curious little minxes of the family began to troop in (incl. her) to spend a pleasant evening with the lads.¹¹

Contrary to expectation among so crude a people, a sense of beauty is, among the Zulus, quite highly developed. No people are more fastidious and vain about their fine physique and personal appearance, especially among the courting youths. Yet their tastes are not always ours. Keane¹² has said that the Zulus are " almost more Hamites than Negroes ". Certainly

the perfect type of personal beauty seems, in the Zulu estimation, to be a bland combining in about equal proportions Negro and Hamitic characteristics. And yet the *pure* Hamite, with the finely chiselled features, the swan-like neck and slim body, though sometimes met with, is not the Zulu ideal of fema'e beauty, nor would such a girl be likely to capture the heart of our Maziyana. The belle he loves is distinctly plump, but with flesh firm, not flabby ; with face round and broad, rather than oval or long ; with nose moderately broad and low, not thin and pointed ; eyes large and softly gazing like those of a gazelle, under a pair of glossy black eyebrows ; lips full ; neck strong ; waist broad, with buttocks massive and protruding ; legs thick at the thighs and gradually tapering, over well-stuffed calves, to delicate ankles, and two small white-arched feet, serving as fitting pedestal to so enchanting a figure. To such physical beauty must too be added the moral virtues of gentle submissiveness and willing service, agricultural and domestic diligence, and healthy generative organs.¹³ The swain most loved is of the slightly fair-skinned type, of good medium height, with sleek muscular frame, but small buttocks. All this may perhaps explain why we are told that " Fritsch's measurements show that the Zulu physique is sometimes far from the almost ideal [presumably our own, or Grecian] standard of beauty, with which some early observers have credited it ".¹⁴

The penchant for fat females seems a universal African trait. Park¹⁵ says of the Moorish women that they are remarkably corpulent, " which is considered here [presumably also among the Guinea Negroes] as the highest mark of beauty." Similar tastes rule in Bantu Nyanzaland. Speke¹⁶ mentions " the extraordinary dimensions, yet pleasing beauty, of the immoderately fat fair one, his wife [speaking of a personage in Karagwe, Victoria Nyanza]. She could not rise ; and so large were her arms, that, between the joints, the flesh hung down like large, loose stuffed puddings."

In the Zulu youth's search for a typical beauty, none helped more faithfully and effectively than did his sisters. Their brother's need was always in their minds, and as they moved about the land and kraals, they kept eyes open for anything he might admire. Going along the road, many a strange girl they would chance to meet. Saluting her, and in playful imitation of their brother's custom, they would beg of

her to 'choose' (*uku Qoma*) them in marriage. The other girl having consented, they would ask her to 'uncover' her person (*ukw Ambula*); whereupon she would expose her buttocks for their admiration. Upon reaching home, "Oh! what a beautiful daughter So-and-so has", would be their report to their brother.

The more selfish male, apparently, was less considerate of his sisters' interests; for even 'old maids' were not absolutely unknown in Zululand. But it must be owned, this was always due to some special ugliness or deformity of person. Such a spinster was referred to (with ridicule) as an *um Jele*, an *um Jendevu*, or an *um Gxikivana*, according to her apparent antiquity. In the case of royal daughters, retarded marriage was often due to force of circumstances, none being willing to pay the heavier bride-price.

And there were bachelors too, not indeed of choice, but of necessity; who, unblessed by the gods, lacked either the physique, the manner of life, the means, or the luck to be attractive to the females. Some lost their chance by being, as 'twas said, an *̄Duma* (insipid); others, an *̄Hlule* (common-place); others, again, an *iNyamfunyamfu* (dull, stupid), or an *ama Qafukana* (coarse-featured), or an *isiKánavú* (clumsy, loutish), or an *amaNupúngana* (dirty-looking), or an *iMfilitifiti* (ugly-faced), or a positive *iMpisi* (distinctly repulsive). But all alike, who were discarded by the girls, whatever was the cause, were derisively referred to as an *isiGwádi*, or *isi-Shinikezi*, or *isiShumanqa*. Fortunately, there was no bachelor-tax in Zululand, as in Ancient Rome. Nor was any *Lex Julia* (imposing penalties on those who delayed to wed) needed there to goad the Zulu on.

There was, however, a match-making agency among the Zulus much more effective even than their sisters. That was the dance; and particularly the *̄Jadu* and *uNomzimane* dances. The *̄Jadu* was arranged between two neighbouring clans, the young men and girls of the one (generally during the post-harvest months) inviting those of the other to meet together on a selected spot (usually out on the veld) for a dancing-competition (*ukuNcintisana*), the real object being, of course, to supply the boys and girls with an agreeable opportunity to meet and admire one another in perfect freedom and with a

view to matrimony. A somewhat similar custom is said to exist also among the Assamese, where, on the Bengali New Year's Day, a dance is arranged, at which all unmarried youths and maidens appear. Those who fancy each other then elope to the jungle for a few days, later reappearing to face the music before the irate parents and receiving from them permission to marry. The *uNomzimane* dance, on the other hand, was of a more private nature, being connected with the first menstruation of one particular girl. It will accordingly be found described in Chapter 15.

It never occurred to a Zulu boy or girl that nature's functions and nature's promptings could, in themselves, ever be morally wrong. In fact, it would seem that, to the Zulu mind, *moral* principles of right and wrong have no place or play whatever within the sphere of sex. These matters, to them, in no sense differ from common seeing and touching, eating and drinking, and other such ordinances of nature. What do exist among them, and very strongly, are certain *social* principles of right and wrong (that is, certain 'customary' laws) which are universally recognized; for instance, that sex-relationships need regulating, and that sexual indulgence needs controlling. Transgressions in these cases would be 'socially' wrong because of their infringing against the laws of 'property' (e.g. adultery), or against the rules of 'propriety' (e.g. incest). So far as the Zulus are concerned, Hartland^{16a} was quite right, when he wrote: "In general the savage lays no imbargo upon the gratification of the sexual impulse by the unmarried youth of either sex, provided the rule of exogamy or that of prohibited degrees be not violated."

Regarded, then, in such a way, *ukuHlobonga* (external sexual intercourse between the unmarried) is universally practised among the Zulus without any qualms of conscience. It is practised only by free and mutual consent on both sides, and only within certain lawful bounds. Even among lovers, an 'undeliberate' impregnation of a girl was, in former times, a transgression hardly less grave than was that of rape itself. Incredible as it may seem, prior to the Whiteman's coming, both those offences were in Zululand virtually unheard of; they were so rare. Though we personally dwelt for many long years amidst thousands of Zulu Natives, all of them heathens,

and while the country was still purely Native territory, we can recall not more than a single case of rape and not one of illegitimacy.

UkuHlobonga, then, is, what *we* should call, a 'regulated' vice, bound by many 'rules'. It occurs only between the unmarried; with those married, such intercourse would be termed *ukuPinga* (adultery). It must be confined, by the male, only to those whom he may legitimately marry, that is, must be exogamous—no intermarriage, no *Hlobonga* (properly so called). A transgression in this last respect, though, of course, not punishable, would still be regarded as a serious impropriety, if not disgrace. In modern times, however, that is, during Cetshwayo's reign, Sigcwelegcwele, head of the emaNgadini clan, is said to have countenanced *ukuHlobonga* within his own clan, even between full brothers and sisters. The excuse he made, was that 'he could see no wrong in it'; and his clansmen are said to have proceeded forthwith to put his seeing into doing. Since then, promiscuous intercourse of this kind is frequently heard of among certain families of the said clan. But, owing to the universal disapprobation of such conduct in other clans, a strong effort has been made to keep the practice a family secret; but, as we have heard, without complete success. Of course, when taxed by other clansmen, the emaNgadini always repudiate the charge as an infamous aspersion on their good name. Intra-clan (endogamous) marriage would be a corollary naturally to be expected from such relationships; but, so far as we know, no such marriage has yet occurred. Perhaps Sigcwelegcwele died too soon! However, such a custom as that just noted would be nothing new. W. H. Rivers¹⁷ "learnt that in New Guinea, not only may sexual intercourse take place between children, but that little is thought of it even in the case of brother and sister." And yet, after puberty, incest there, as with the Zulus, was regarded as a grave offence. It must be acknowledged, however, that those emaNgadini clansmen were in perfectly 'respectable' company with their peculiar views regarding sexual relationships, that is to say, they could anyway point to 'Biblical' precedents—"and Amnon said to Tamar, Come, lie with me, my sister. And she answered him, Nay, my brother . . . for no such thing ought to be done in Israel" (II Samuel, 13. 11-12). Exactly the Zulu position!

During the process of simple wooing (that is, after the girl's expression of choice and consent, but before the formal betrothal), the girl's parents are kept in the dark as to their meetings. These consequently must be surreptitious, and intercourse can only be 'stolen' in the secrecy of night or bush. The girl appoints (*ukuNqumela*) a day and place, and when all are asleep at home (her sisters alone in the know), off she steals, and steals back again before dawn. On the other hand, after her former betrothal (by her father's acceptance of a portion or all of her bride-price), intercourse takes place in the young-man's home, with her father's tacit consent, though without his actual knowledge: these are the *ukuVimbezela* visits, of which we have already spoken.

But whether stolen or licensed, common 'decency' demanded that the intercourse take place only in privacy and at night. No self-respecting Zulu youth or girl, in older Native times, would have lowered him or herself to indulge in open daylight 'like the dogs'; although the more modern youth, it must be owned, is no longer so punctilious. The Solomon Islanders in the Pacific seem to have the same sentiment. Says Rivers,¹⁸ "It is definitely taboo for anyone after puberty to see the genital organs of one of the opposite sex: this applies also after marriage, and it is probable that the objection to intercourse in the daytime is connected with this taboo." On the other hand, the former objection to general daytime intercourse may, we think, have been due rather to a common feeling in the human nature that the period of greatest sexual activity is in the night.

At the same time, the Zulus are in alignment with the Solomon Islanders of Rivers in that they regard a deliberate exposure of the genitalia between the sexes, even when married, as a sort of indecency or impropriety. The Zulu females especially are sensitive on this point, they regarding the male organs as an object to be 'revered' (*ukuHlonipá*) alike in sight and touch, not so much from a feeling of shame, as from a sense of 'sacredness' (*ukwEsaba*). Of course, both sexes during their years of childhood amply satisfied their natural curiosity and acquired some degree of knowledge.

The early African missionary, Merolla,¹⁹ says of the Congoese: "The way of marrying, *in facie Ecclesiæ*, is not at

all approved of by them, for they must first be satisfied whether their Wife will have children." But once married, "they will live so Christian-like and lovingly together, that the Wife would sooner suffer herself to be cut to pieces, than consent to defile her Husband's Bed." A desire for this pre-knowledge of potency is also in some degree present in the Zulu mind; but with them the desire is stronger in the female. The custom of *Hlobonga* may in some measure be attributable to this innate feeling; though in greater measure, we think, to the universal natural craving for sexual commerce amongst all robust humans. For the Zulus hold no monopoly of the practice. Sir Richard Burton²⁰ notes its existence also among the Somalis, where it is termed *Hudhudu*; among the Abyssinians, where it is known as 'eye-love'; among the Afghans, who call it *Namzad-bazi*; and among the Semites, who call it *Ishkuzri*. Westermarck²¹ declares that among the Natives of India and Indo-China "unmarried girls may cohabit freely with young men", but "a woman usually confines herself to one lover." Also in Borneo, "among the wild tribes . . . there is almost unrestrained intercourse between the youth of both sexes; but if pregnancy ensue, marriage is regarded as necessary".²² Even "in Scotland, prior to the Reformation, there was a practice, called 'hand-fasting', which certainly may be characterized as unrestricted freedom before marriage." And, as we have already noted, Hartland,²³ speaking of 'savages' in general, says they "lay no embargo upon the gratification of the sexual impulse by the unmarried youth of either sex."

The position usually adopted among the Zulus, married and unmarried alike, was face to face, lying on their sides, a habit apparently common among the Bantu, since Torday²⁴ reports it also among the Huanas of the Congo. The incumbent position was, with the Zulus, deemed vulgar and unbecoming in a human being, as following the 'manner of the animals'.

Though sexual freedom of the kind above mentioned was regarded as perfectly 'proper' in the males, the Zulu girls (with no such liberties, nor apparently at all desirous of them) were, under the circumstances, remarkably self-restrained and well-behaved. Black sheep of looser morals there certainly were, but they were very few indeed. Such a girl of ill repute they called an *isiGálegála* or an *isiVétúla*; and her frailty was attributed to the so-called *isiGwéba* (or lust-itch) ailment,

from which she was supposed to suffer, owing to her mother having failed to treat her properly after birth (see Chap. 14). To fling spittle at a girl, whether by hand or by mouth, was tantamount to insulting her with one or other of the preceding disgraceful names. In former times, there was a recognized law by which a girl so abused was empowered to clear her honour by assembling her girl friends and going in force with them to the slanderer's kraal; whereupon he, if wise, would make himself immediately scarce, for the girls were armed with heavy sticks. Arrived at the kraal, they would demand that the wives there make an examination of the particular party's person. Having passed the examination with honours, the girl had the right to proceed to destroy every thing in the slanderer's hut, and then go off and kill any one of the family cattle. From this latter they would cut away the gall-bladder, and sprinkle the calumniated girl with its contents. Leaving the carcass there, they would then proceed to the nearest stream to wash the aspersion away.

An unmarried girl so unlucky as to get herself into a state of pregnancy, was said to have received from her lover an *umLanjwana*. This word, while implying the unlawful pregnancy, was used also to signify the consequent feud or mutual enmity that was now sure to arise between the two clans concerned. For such an occurrence was regarded by the girl's clan almost as seriously as the murder of one of their men, because now the girl would have her prospects ruined for life, to have become mere soiled or second-hand goods. As a rule the youth would be forced to marry (i.e. pay the bride-price for) her; because instances of *umLanjwana* were practically confined to parties already in love or even betrothed, though not yet wedded.

The wedding-ceremony of such a girl as had had this misfortune of, as they said, *ukuMitél' ēKáya* (to-become-pregnant in-her-home) was, especially for herself, a very sad affair, resembling that of a widow. All the gaiety and ceremony of the regular wedding was omitted. She was simply escorted from her home by the married women of her clan, and, upon arrival at the other kraal, a beast was slaughtered (without any dancing), to be eaten by those women, but not to be touched by the 'bride' or by any girl (of either party) of her age.

There were always a number of lads lacking sweethearts with whom to have intercourse. Should a youth be seen in the early morning betaking himself to the river, it was thereby known that he was going there on account of an involuntary nocturnal emission. Such an emission was termed an *uku-Shawa yiziBuko*, or *ngamaNdzi* (to-be-splashed by-the-drift-water, or simply by-water).

Marriage by capture was a great sport in olden times. With the Spartans, it constituted the recognized wedding ceremony,²⁵ and Roman history opens with the Rape of the Sabines—still re-farced by the Roumanians even today.²⁶ Australians,²⁷ Brazilians,²⁸ and natives of Central India²⁹ still revel in it. Nearer home, here in Africa, the custom is still going strong among the Congo Pygmies,³⁰ among the Mongala Forest tribes³¹ and among the Bantu-speaking abaBua, baBati and baIeu of the upper Wele, and the Bomokandi of the upper Rubi rivers.³² Even the Nyasa Bantu³³ are said still to indulge in the practice. Mock-capture enlivens the proceedings among the Kamba Bantu in Kenya Colony, where, although marriage is by purchase, the groom "must then carry off the bride by force or stratagem";³⁴ while the Hausa bride in Nigeria, "veiled and screaming, is carried off by her husband's people."³⁵ Among the Bushmen, the game is even more 'painfully' realistic. "In the middle of this [wedding] feast, the young man catches hold of his bride; her relations at once set on him with their 'kibis or digging-sticks, and beat him on the head and everywhere; all the Bushmen then begin to fight together, during which the young fellow must hold his bride fast and receive all the hammering they choose to give him, without letting his treasure escape; if he can hold out, they at length leave him, and he is a married man".³⁶

The Zulu marriage is a quite effeminate proceeding compared with all that; although we have personally witnessed an exceptional case of a bridegroom forcibly carrying off on his shoulders (with her guardian's concurrence) a recalcitrant girl struggling wildly and unwilling to go to him, after having previously consented to be paid for—which girl we, later on, met with, and found to be a happy and cheerful wife. The Zulus were, as we have said elsewhere, patripotestal; all legal rights with them, as with the Romans, were vested in the

paterfamilias, the family father. Before the Whiteman came, when Native law alone prevailed, the family father held alone the power of control over his children's marriages. And, in those earlier times, the Zulu father quite frequently exercised this right by selecting wives for his sons and husbands for his daughters, without their being so much as consulted. Naturally, a son would at times rebel ; when only one course lay open to him—to leave the family and the clan ; and if a girl, to be driven or carried off to her husband by force. But generally, being a well-disciplined people, sons and daughters were well aware of paternal powers and filial duties, and they quietly submitted to their father's authority and arrangements without demur. In common practice, however, having no need and no desire to exercise his rights, a father allowed his children a reasonable freedom of choice to pair as they pleased. The Zulu girls, then, even in those ancient times, were better off than were their Athenian sisters, who enjoyed no such privilege—save on the historical occasion when Gallias, son of Phænippus, was called by Herodotus³⁷ a 'remarkable' man because he allowed his three daughters to marry the men of their choice.

Although they started their sexual life pretty early in life and spent most of their spring-time in courting, the Zulu boys and girls were, as a rule, in no hurry—we are, of course, not speaking of these present days—to bind themselves in wedlock. Indeed, they tended rather to be on the late side, marrying nearer to their 30th than to their 20th year. The date was still later in Shaka's time, when he, and his successor, Dingane, introduced the institution of a standing and constantly warring army, with an accompanying prohibition of marriage among their warriors until almost middle life.³⁸ They were therefore extraordinarily respectable Negroes, and would never have shocked Mary Kingsley³⁹ as did the Nigerian Igalwas, where an uncommonly ugly male, having failed to enamour the girls, "being very cunning, hit on the idea of becoming betrothed to one before she could exercise her own choice in the matter ; and knowing a family in which an interesting event was likely to occur, he made heavy presents in the proper quarter and bespoke the coming infant, if it should be a girl. A girl it was ; and thus, say the Igalwa, arose the custom." Such practices, we know, are common enough in India ; and even among the African Bushmen, Burchell⁴⁰ asserts that girls were engaged

while still in the womb ; which is the case also among the West Indian Caribs.⁴¹ The Eskimos, of colder climes and colder passions, find it not impossible to hold out at least, as Franklin⁴² tells, until the child is born ; whereupon a lad of foresight immediately betakes himself to the father, and bespeaks it. The Bini Negroes are slightly less impetuous, according to Dennett,⁴³ betrothing their girls, anyway not before they reach the age of infancy !

The nearest approach, we know of, to anything like this in Bantuland, is found among the Zambebian Rotses, who, while affiancing their children during infancy, do not turn them into ' wives ' until maturity.⁴⁴ Among the Congo baMbala too a small boy may report himself as in love with their small daughter, and so obtain a prescriptive right over her.⁴⁵ The Congo Pygmies, not far away, do not wait for prescriptive rights, but take her then and there away, at 8 or 9 years of age ; when, presumably, she is already mature.⁴⁶ Mere attainment of puberty is the commonest signal for marriage throughout the Negro field, e.g. among the Budumas of Lake Tshad,⁴⁷ the baKongo on the Congo,⁴⁸ and the Nyikas of Kenya Colony,⁴⁹ as it was also in Ancient Egypt,⁵⁰ where girls became wives at thirteen.

We have already mentioned how the tyrant, Shaka, at the beginning of last century, abolished the older system of paternal freedom and arrogated to himself the sole right of permission to marry. Warriors thenceforward married only after release from military service nearer 40 years of age than 30, while the corresponding batch of girls had no choice but to wait for the men's release and then to marry them, unless they preferred to give themselves away to men still older. It was not until king Mpande's reign, in the middle of last century, that youthful love and alliance regained something of its former freedom.

It may be noted that, while the greater apes are monogamous, man himself has, at least among many primitive peoples, elected to follow the smaller monkeys, and become polygamous. The reason sometimes given is that he purposed thereby to keep up the national fighting strength. We believe the real reason lay rather in the flesh than in the mind. The Zulus too belong to the much-wived fraternity ; for the question

is and always was with them, How can a normal man forbid his heart to love ; how confine that love to one sole woman ? The obvious answer to that poser will suffice, we think, to explain the polygamous habit anywhere ; for that habit extended from Ancient Babylonia⁵¹ and Persia⁵² right up to modern Polynesia⁵³ and Africa.

In polygamous society, the Zulus, in the mass, would not have been deemed particularly uxorious. Most of them never got beyond a couple of wives, and very many (from Hobson's choice) had to be content with one. What Isaao⁵⁴ wrote a hundred years ago, that "instances were rare when one individual had more than twenty wives", would be even truer today ; and would have been truer even then, had he reduced his figure by half, or even to a quarter. We do not believe that, in this respect, the Zulus differed from their Xosa brothers ; and yet of the latter Thompson,⁵⁵ writing at about the same time as Isaacs, says, "Scarcely any man of common rank weds more than one [wife]. Some of the chiefs, however, have four or five wives ; and Gaika, who is somewhat of a Turk in this, has upwards of a dozen." So too among the Zulu clans, there were a few elect who, possessing extraordinary wealth in cattle, could aspire to greater luxury. "A chief," says Isaacs⁵⁶ again, "is frequently to be found with eighty or ninety wives." We cannot credit that. Our investigations into royal Zulu genealogies in the period of which Isaacs wrote, have never revealed more than a dozen spouses at the very most, and with the generality of chieftains even fewer than that. Roscoe's⁵⁷ enquiries in Uganda met with similar results. He writes : "In early times, kings did not have so many wives as the later kings indulged in ; as a rule they had three." Early European writers (practically all of them utterly ignorant of the social system of the Bantu Natives they visited, and usually kept 'at a distance' from themselves) probably mistook for wives the *umNdlunkulu*, *izaNcinda* and other such adult girls then common in royal and aristocratic kraals, these being in reality merely girls presented to these lords as servants or 'girl-property', no doubt serving at the same time other intimate personal needs, but never *en règle* becoming enceinte. Casual European travellers, when writing up the stories of their travels, naturally love to give their readers a thrill, and consequently are as naturally prone to exaggeration. We do not

place much credence in the following travellers' reports. The Natal chief, Langalibalele, was stated by Colenso⁵⁸ to have rejoiced in 80 wives ; a Sudan chief, by the Duke of Mecklenburg,⁵⁹ to have had 100 ; a Mangbetu chief, 150 ;⁶⁰ Declé⁶¹ says Mzilikazi, the Rhodesian chief, had 800 ; and another Sudanese chief, says Mecklenburg,⁶² " married about twelve hundred wives."

Darwin wrote :⁶³ " With mankind, polygamy has also been supposed to lead to the birth of a greater proportion of female infants ; but Dr. J. Campbell carefully attended to this subject in the harems of Siam and concludes that the proportion of male to female births is the same as from monogamous unions." So far as we have observed among the Zulus, the fact of polygamy does not seem to have affected the average number of births per wife ; but we do think that among them the percentage of adult females (we do not say, necessarily therefore also of female babies) is somewhat higher than that of the males.

With many nations of the world there were legitimate concubines, as well as legitimate wives, and both at the same time ; as, for instance, in modern China⁶⁴ and in Ancient Egypt.⁶⁵

From what we gather from the writings of travellers, it looks as though concubinage is not altogether unknown also among the high and mighty of Negroland. In older Zululand it certainly did exist ; but it was a prerogative solely and strictly confined to royalty and the great, and probably, we think, confined to the Shakan and post-Shakan period. Royalty in that country was always a law unto itself ; and finding itself surrounded by a kraal-ful of numberless houris, presented to the king by favour-currying sycophants—and technically known as the *umNdlunkulu* or Great-House girls—it could hardly have been expected to resist the temptation, and, as a matter of history, it did not. The great Zulu kings, Shaka and Dingane, were particularly addicted to free-love of this kind, owing to their having wasted none on wives. Gradually the higher aristocracy ventured to ape royalty in a small way by keeping one or two charming maidens as 'maize-crushers' (*iMpotili*) or 'pinchers' (*isaNcindza*). This may perhaps

have been regarded as an extension of the *Hlobonga* system, already mentioned as general among the common people.

Though we may well believe that polyandry was the oldest marriage *law* among mankind,⁶⁶ we are not so sure that McLannan⁶⁷ was right in describing it as a universal institution. We know it is common enough among the Hindus,⁶⁸ as well as among the American Indians.⁶⁹ Caesar⁷⁰ attests that it was not unknown among our own ancestors in Ancient Britain. But it does not appear to have been a practice within the Negro race in historic times, unless as an anomaly. Of the Himas (Bantuized Hamites), however, of Uganda, Roscoe⁷¹ avers that several brothers of small means may sometimes club together and purchase a common wife ; and he adds in a footnote that " the only other Bantu people known to the writer (Roscoe) to be polyandr sts are the Baziba to the south of Uganda." With our Zulus, polyandry, as an overt institution, was utterly unknown ; indeed, with them, adultery was always regarded as one of the most heinous of capital crimes ; for the lady, if caught by her husband, was liable to instant death, as was the case also in Uganda.⁷² From this it must by no means be inferred that every married Zulu woman was averse to a paramour ; for many had them. Of Julias and Don Juans Spain held no monopoly ; but here as there such intercourse was guarded by the greatest secrecy, for the very good reason just stated. In Zululand, there was no temple of Mylitta as in Babylonia, where every woman had by law to sit and await the coming of her ' stranger ', with whom she went for intercourse ' beyond the holy ground '.⁷³

In the day of the desolation of their land by Shaka,⁷⁴ when, with clans dispersed and women-folk destroyed, many of their men, and fewer of their females, found themselves hopelessly and homelessly roaming the uninhabited wilds southwards of Natal, the Lala Ngunis of that country were often only too eager to relax their consciences and laws, and to connive at a common practice of wife-lending, somewhat perhaps on the principle of the Massagetæ and Agathyrsi of ancient Western Asia, who " had wives in common, that so they may be all brothers, and neither envy nor hate one another ".⁷⁵ This innovation in southern Natal endured (to our personal

knowledge) until quite recent times. Whenever a family friend or a person of importance (including European officials) visited one of these Lala kraals down there and had to stay the night, it was considered polite manners to offer him one of the family ladies as part of his hospitable entertainment. We have not heard of any such custom also among the people of Zululand; though we hold them quite capable of it, they being such past-masters in all the virtues of hospitality.

We said just now 'innovation'; but we are by no means certain that it was not simply a continuation of an old-established practice, or a revival of such; for the custom seems pretty prevalent throughout Bantuland. Among the Rotses on the Zambesi, says Schulz,⁷⁶ "to the traveller is accorded the privilege, once prevalent in Europe, of hospitality to bed and board." So long ago as 1680, the pious Merolla⁷⁷ was shocked to find in Congoland that "those Women that receive Strangers into their Houses are obliged by a barbarous Custom to admit them to their Embraces for a night or two." Equally obliging are the Himas of Nyakoleland, up Uganda way, where "it was accepted as an essential part of the entertainment of a visitor that he should sleep in the same bed as his host and his wife, and have the use of the wife",⁷⁸ a privilege offered likewise by the Kamba Bantu in Kenya Colony.⁷⁹ The Yawos of East Africa are hardly less accommodating; for there "it is a common thing for two men who are friends to lend each other their wives";⁸⁰ and in the Ubangi district of the northern Congo, when the men go away rubber-gathering, they regularly oblige each other with their women during their absence.⁸¹ As for India, "the sacred law of Manu lays down the rules to be observed, and the persons to whom the wife can be lent for this purpose [of begetting children for the husband]".^{81a}

Turning now to the other side of the picture, husband-lending. There once more our Zulus are practically absent from the scene. But it is not so throughout Bantuland. For instance, marital impotence is quickly remedied with the Yakas of western Congo; there such a man "will introduce his brother to his wife",⁸² and so overcome his difficulty. Yet even in Natal we have heard whisperings of a certain tribal chief, who in similar straits did precisely the same, and by fraternal aid procured a much-desired son and heir; though the tribe, now ruled by that son, knows nothing at all about it! In Rotseland

on the Zambezi, every man is as good as a brother ; so, when a husband is burdened with a superfluity of importunate wives, he " calls to his assistance some willing youth . . . who takes the place of auxiliary husband ".⁸³ Our Zulus are not yet so advanced as that, being on the contrary all too jealous of their wives ; indeed so jealous that one important member of the royal house of Mpande, whom we knew, though himself physically incapable of supplying this need of his wives, preferred to let them be, and have no children.

There is no tradition of promiscuous intercourse, in the consummated sense, ever having prevailed among the Zulus ; but, unlike the Hindus, the Zulus had no historians to put on record their doings of more ancient times. The *Mahabharata*⁸⁴ of the Indian, however, states : " Women were formerly unconfined, and roved about at their pleasure, independent. Though in their youthful innocence, they went astray from their husbands, they were guilty of no offence, for such was the rule in early times. This ancient custom . . . is supported by authority, and is observed by great *rishis*, and it is still practised among the northern Kurus ". The practice, according to the legend, was abolished by Svetaketu, son of the *rishi*, Uddalaka, who was incensed at seeing his mother led away by a strange Brahman. His father told him there was no reason to be angry, as " the women of all castes on earth are unconfined : just as cattle are situated, so are human beings too, within their respective castes ". Svetaketu, however, revolted against the idea and established the rule that henceforth wives should remain faithful to their husbands, and husbands to wives. We do not know of any part of Bantuland where promiscuity reigns today ; though Johnston⁸⁵ declares that a close approach to it exists among the Congo pygmies.

Similarly, there is no knowledge among the Zulus of anything of what is termed ' group marriage ', whereby all the men of one special tribal group become the husbands of all the women of another group, and all the women of the first group become the wives of all the men of the second.

Rivers⁸⁶ has suggested that earlier promiscuity, or rather ' communal marriage ' may be evidenced by ' communal relationship ', that is to say, where a man ' classifies ' with his wife, all other women whom she would call ' sister ', or where a

woman 'classifies' with her husband, all those men whom he calls 'brother'. Now, with the Zulus and other Ngunis, this form of 'group relationship' is precisely that which is there in force, every clansman of the husband being a 'husband' (but only 'nominally' so) also to his wife, and every clanswoman of the wife being a 'wife' (but only 'nominally' so) also to her husband. Yet in spite of this, there is no faintest tradition or indication that communal intercourse was ever promiscuously permitted between the two groups. There is nothing among the Bantu, so far as we know, comparable with the state of affairs among the Hindus, where, among the Nairs, "no one knows his father", for the same reason, no doubt, as with the Tottiyars, where "brothers, uncles, nephews and other kindred, hold their wives in common", or with the Todas, where, when a man marries a girl, she becomes the wife of all his brothers, and these latter become the husbands of all her sisters.⁸⁷ The nearest we can find to this among the Negro race occurs among the chiefs of a tribe "in the valley of the middle Mubangi", who claim "marital rights over the sisters of their wives, the wives of their brothers, and the wives of their wives' brothers".⁸⁸

This universe and this existence of ours is planned on a dualistic basis, and with freedom are always bound up shackles. Though the Zulu might take as many wives as he liked (that is, as his wealth in cattle permitted), he could not take them where he liked. Most Europeans feel an antipathy against marrying their own family; similarly, most Africans feel an antipathy against marrying their own clan. For with them the clan is but the family magnified, being wholly and solely composed of descendants of the one same ancestor; consequently, all its members are 'brothers' and 'sisters' together, and between such no sexual intercourse is countenanced. Every Zulu therefore has to seek a wife or husband outside his or her own clan: which is termed exogamy. This system, of course, is no invention of the Zulus. It has come down to them from very ancient times, and is equally prevalent among Australians and, in a lesser degree, the Bushmen,⁸⁹ as well as in civilised India, where "a Brahman is not to marry a wife whose clan-name (his 'cow-stall', as they say) is the same as his; nor may a Chinese take a wife of his own surname".⁹⁰ Indeed, survivals

of this kind of thing are found even today in Europe ; for with the Albanians, the Catholic Mirdite clansmen are compelled to select their wives among the clanswomen of the Ghegs, who are of Turkish and Muhammadan origin.⁹¹

What exactly gave rise to this world-wide custom of exogamy, were not easy to divine. Its immediate origin, we think, must be traced to that sentiment of repugnance, somehow innate in the human race, to sexual intercourse with those whom he regards of his own blood or family. This too is Tylor's⁹² opinion. "Long experience has convinced me", he writes, "that the respect to consanguinity by which they [the South American Abipones] are deterred from marrying into their own families, is implanted by nature in the minds of most of the people of Paraguay." Of course, this is not to solve the riddle, but merely to push the answer further back, perhaps to earlier, harmful experiences. The sentiment can hardly have been an inheritance from the animal mind, or from animal experience. With human-beings, on the other hand, there do seem to be some grounds for believing that in-breeding tends to intellectual, if not also to physical, degeneration ; and may-be the ancient primitives had already noticed it. And yet the highly enlightened and highly religious Ancient Egyptians, surprisingly, had not done so ; for, as Maspero⁹³ relates, men of the lower classes there "have only one wife, who is frequently their own sister or one of their nearest relatives." And not the lower classes only ; for princess Hatshepsut, daughter of the pharaoh, Tahutmes I, was married by him to his own eldest son (her half-brother), later Tahutmes II.⁹⁴ Marriage between brother and sister, says Rivers,⁹⁵ "and sometimes even of mother and son . . . was, as is well known a custom of certain royal families of antiquity, such as those of Egypt, Persia and Peru, and it still exists . . . in the Hawaian Islands, where it is limited to the royal families . . . In these islands the highest kind of chief was one who was the child of brother and sister." Even Biblical precedents are not lacking ; for the patriarch, Abraham, married his own half-sister, and moreover the Lord approved of it. So we can hardly point the finger at the Bantu Yawos of East Africa, when they marry their grandchild.⁹⁶ The Zulus would not tolerate such obscenities ; their relationships are rather with the Australians and North American Indians, who commonly bar marriage into the mother's clan, and with

the Chinese and Central American Indians, who bar it into that of the father.⁹⁷

The opposite of exogamy is endogamy ; whereby all are required to marry, not outside of, but within their clan. We have not come across any scientific accounts of what have proven the results, physical and mental, of such a course. To the Zulus, as said, the idea is repugnant. And yet, even among them (where their kings were always a law unto themselves), some of their kings have not demurred from intermarriage with their own clanswomen, and in that way have given rise to sub-clans (e.g. the Biyela sub-clan from the Zulu clan proper). But no harmful consequences whatever are noticeable among those Biyela people. Unfortunately, one does not usually know exactly how close the consanguinity was. In the case of the Biyelas, it seems to have been that the Zulu king, Sendzangakona, married his second-cousin, Mehlwana (whose people henceforth were called members, not of the Zulu clan, but of the Biyela sub-clan).

Endogamy (marriage within the clan), however, as an established institution, is not unknown in Negroland ; though it is a rare exception to the general rule. In some tribes, it may occur simply as a matter of personal choice ; as among the Yambos of the Sudan ;⁹⁸ in others, as a matter of necessity, as among the Bantu awaTwa of the Lukanga Swamp (in north-western Rhodesia), where the girls of the adjoining mainland cannot be induced to adopt the semi-aquatic life of the swamp dwellers.⁹⁹ Also among some of the Congo tribes, says Johnston,¹⁰⁰ " there is very little desire for exogamy or marriage with a stranger, rather the reverse ; there is a greater tendency towards marrying in and in, barely stopping short of incest. Marriage between cousins is nowhere disapproved ; but uncle and niece is everywhere tabued." The last-mentioned type of inter-marriage, however, is said to be met with among the Somalis and some Negro tribes.¹⁰¹

The Ibo Negroes of Nigeria seem to be passing through a transition stage from exogamy to endogamy ; for there a man, though compelled to marry within his tribe, must never do so within his own village.¹⁰² Likewise among the Himas of Uganda ; who, however, are moving along another line—

daughters being required to marry within the clan, but men without.¹⁰³

With the Zulus, then, exogamy was the rule of life. One must marry, men and women, outside the clan ; but may not marry *anywhere*. The signpost, *Verboten!* confronts them on every side ; and consanguinity, as well as affinity, are at the bottom of the prohibitions.

(a) *Clan prohibitions* :—

1. the clan of one's father ;
2. the clan of one's mother or half-mother (i.e. other wife of one's father) ;
3. the clan of one's paternal grandmother or half-grandmother ;
4. the clan of one's maternal grandmother or half-grandmother ;
5. the clan into which one's paternal uncle (*uBabekazi*) has married ;
6. the clan into which one's paternal aunt (*uDade wawo-Baba*) has married—this prohibition applies only to males ; a daughter may ' follow her mother ' and marry into that clan ;
7. the clan into which one's maternal aunt (*uMamekazi*) has married ; but one may marry into the clan into which one's maternal uncle (*uMalume*) has married ;
8. any ' collateral ' clan (for instance, the Qwabe and Zulu clans, both descended from sons of the same father, but who separated more than 200 years ago) ;
9. any sub-clan (for instance, the Biyela sub-clan of the Zulu clan, although the division in the family took place 150 years ago) ;
10. any clan into which one's mother or half-mothers have re-married, as widows ;
11. clans of other wives of the husband of such re-married mothers or half-mothers.

(b) *Family prohibitions* :—

One may not marry any person whom one properly calls (see 429) one's uBaba, uBabekazi, uMame, uMamekazi,

umNewetú, umFowetú, uDadewetú, umZala, or umNta-kaMame ; nor the children of them.

That these manifold restraints and restrictions were irksome to amorous young men goes without saying. Indeed, so much so, that the chiefs themselves oftentimes rebelled, and abrogated them in their own (though in nobody else's) favour, selecting brides when love impelled, as already said, even among the damsels of their own clan. In this way were many sub-clans created, the girl's family henceforward assuming a new clan-name of its own, so that nobody could afterwards say that their chief had disgraced himself by marrying within his clan, by marrying his own 'sister'.

Since Shakan times, when the various clans became broken up and their members everywhere dispersed, these rules of 'prohibited degrees' have not been so strictly adhered to, though in Zululand as a rule they still hold good. The falling off is especially noticeable among the semi-civilized 'town' and 'mission' Natives ; and we think it will not be long before the less 'respectable' of these will be found marrying their own clanswomen.

Since the Whiteman's coming, a new type of exogamous marriage has appeared on the tapis, namely, marriage between a Zulu female and a European or Asiatic (Chinese or Indian). Reeve¹⁰⁴ has observed that "apparently, the northern European races will not cross successfully with the negro, save through the intermediary of the southern Europeans, with centuries of Moorish or African blood in their veins." That may hold good for the Gambia region ; but the Zulus seem to intermarry quite well with Europeans, northern or otherwise. In earlier times, when European women were scarce in the remoter parts, many colonists of the Cape and Natal were not averse to a Native bride, and have left behind them a considerable progeny of half-castes, in whom one notices no obvious signs of deterioration. These offspring have yellow skins, pleasant features, fair intelligence, and, apparently, normal breeding powers. The data collected by Darwin¹⁰⁵ pointed in this same direction. They showed the half-caste to be as fertile as either pure whites or pure blacks, and also as strong. "No doubt," he continues, "both animal and vegetable hybrids, when produced from extremely distinct species, are liable to premature death ;

but the parents of mulattoes cannot be put under the category of extremely distinct species. The common mule, so notorious for long life and vigour, and yet so sterile, shows how little necessary connection there is in hybrids between fertility and vitality."

How strange is it that, among the primitive races, woman, obviously as human a being as is the man, should, almost all the world over, have become so degraded by him as to be placed on a level hardly higher than that of his prized stock, or worse, that of a mere commercial commodity, a piece of trade-goods.¹⁰⁶ Was it man's vile selfishness and greed for gain that led him to such ignoble depths, to take so mean an advantage of his daughters' helplessness, as to place upon the public market the noblest product of his love? We fear it was. Yet there are some who opine that this sale of women was rather a token of their value, and was due to their scarcity in former times, especially during periods of migration.¹⁰⁷ That may have been so once; but with the cause removed, it would not account for the continuation and perpetuation of the evil throughout all ages and everywhere.

It is true that, among many of those peoples we regard as 'ancient', woman had already advanced to an honoured position in society. Maspero¹⁰⁸ tells us that "the Egyptian woman of the lower and middle classes is more respected and more independent than any other woman in the world", and "to the end she is 'the beloved of her husband' and mistress of the house." Even among the barbarian Teutons, Tacitus affirms that women were already "honoured by the Germans as something sacred and prophetic,"¹⁰⁹ an epithet reminiscent of that applied by Cato to the ladies of Rome.

But all that was in the comparatively later period of 'historic' times. In more primeval days, even among those selfsame peoples, woman, we fear, was 'respected' and 'sacred' only in so far as she was a highly valued and jealously guarded piece of live-stock. Certainly there was a time, both in Greece and Rome, when fathers possessed and exercised over their females the same power of life and death as over their slaves; while in earlier Ancient Egypt we see no reason to believe that the state of things in woman's regard was anything different

from what we know it to have been, prior to 2750 B.C., in pre-Sargonic Babylonia, where "a fair was annually held in one of the markets of the city for the sale of girls. A public crier put them up to auction, one after the other." This custom, however, became abolished after Sargon's time, and women were "no longer bought in public, but generally from their relations."¹¹⁰ Thus were the daughters of Babylon brought into line with those of Thrace, where "brides are purchased of their parents for large sums of money."¹¹¹ Six hundred years after Sargon, this custom of a market 'bride-price' had already become fixed and legalized by statute law; for in sections 150-160 of the oft-called 'oldest code of laws known to man', Hammurabi (2100 B.C.) had ordained, "If a man has brought goods into the house of his father-in-law, and has given the bride-price, and has looked upon another woman, and has said to his father-in-law, 'Thy daughter I will not marry', then the father of the girl shall retain all that has been brought"; but if it be the father-in-law that refuses to hand over the girl after payment therefor has been received, then "he shall equal all that has been brought in and repay it".

It may interest our lady readers to hear still more of what ancient and modern men thought and think of them, African, Asiatic and European, and what they were willing to pay for them on the markets of the world. In Ancient Babylonia, in earlier times, a sum of money (the *tirhatu*)—later replaced by oxen, sheep, or goats—was paid by a young man for his bride.¹¹² Now, this Ancient Babylonia is thought by some to have been the very source of our 'civilization'; and it certainly looks like it. Listen to the story told by one, George Talbot, aged 88 years, of Brandon village, Suffolk, England, which appeared in the *Overseas Daily Mail* of May 14, 1932. When 8 years of age (in 1852), he witnessed the following incident enacted in the village aforesaid. A travelling tinker turned up there with his wife. They naturally gravitated at once to the local pub., and as naturally came at once to loggerheads over the beer; whereupon the irate husband put a halter round the woman's neck, dragged her off to Market Hill, and there put her up to auction to the highest bidder. The only bidder was a hawker, who offered the sum of 2s. 6d.; and got her! The husband, wreathed in smiles at the easy riddance, returned to the pub. to celebrate the occasion.

Bride-price (or as the Zulus call it, *ukuLobola*) is quite commonly identified by Europeans with 'dowry', which is really the reverse. The latter is the system in France, where the *dot* goes to the girl; the former is the system in Africa, where the *doti* (length of calico, etc.) goes to her father. Undoubtedly the African system is the oldest; and the earliest evidence of a turn-about seems to have been in Ancient Greece. As civilization there advanced, the status of women was elevated with it; so that at last, "even at an early period, the gift *to* the father of the bride ['bride-price'] was changed into a gift *from* the father ['dowry'], which made a considerable difference in her [woman's] moral position".¹¹³

Turning to more modern times, but to more primitive peoples, among the Australians the commonest and simplest procedure is the exchange of sisters; but bartering [bride-price] also exists, as well as forced betrothal, abduction, and marriage by inheritance.¹¹⁴ That bride-price was customary among the Hottentots, we know from Stow.¹¹⁵ Describing things Polynesian, Rivers¹¹⁶ says: "On the following day . . . he [the bridegroom] presents the marriage-price, which consists of a certain number of *poata* [arm-rings], usually ten, but only two for a widow, while as many as twenty-five might be given for the daughter of a chief." In Papua, pigs and feathers are adjudged an adequate equivalent for a lady.

As for the Negroes of Africa, we know nowhere where a bride is so easily won as among the mother-right Huanas of south-west Congo. There the lover simply betakes himself to the girl's mother and declares his desire [Huana, *kuZola*; comp. Zulu, *ukuZola*, to-woo] for her. To which the mother replies, 'Alright!'; and the man goes home with the girl.¹¹⁷ Why, even the Bushman could obtain his bride only by staging a painful farce of mock-capture;¹¹⁸ while his black-brother among the Congo forest pygmies is mulcted in "three or four spears and ten to fifteen arrows"¹¹⁹—that is, when he cannot steal her.¹²⁰ Among the Olemba Bantu in the same vicinity, "the usual price paid by the bride-groom to the lady's father is about eight copper crosses, thirty-five chickens and four dogs".¹²¹ With the neighbouring Tetela tribe, "a man used to pay ten to thirty [hoe] blades for a wife, when four . . . would buy a goat, and when the price of a male slave would not usually exceed twenty".¹²² But in other parts of the Congo,

great advances towards civilization have more recently been made, and there all demands have been superseded by percussion-guns.¹²³ In the French Congo, among the upper classes an infant bride can be bespoken for four kolos, three cowries, and some palm-wine.¹²⁴ In 1820, a woman's worth among the Bantu of the Gaboon was "two neptunes; one kettle; two cutlasses; one fine hat; one cape; two silk handkerchiefs; six knives; four plates; four glasses; four mugs; four dishes; one jibbo; one coat; and three jars of rum".¹²⁵ In Negro Guinea and thereabouts, says Park,¹²⁶ the common price of a woman is "the value of two slaves"; but how many hoe-blades, fowls, dogs, or pounds sterling went to a slave, we are left to imagine. Perhaps the Sierra-Leonese may enable us to guess; for there a bride is paid for in goats, cloth, or beads, or otherwise three to five pounds sterling. "A man pays for his wife about four or five *dotis*" (of cloth) in Nyasaland;¹²⁷ but in Nyamweziland in Tanganyika Colony, "the price of a free girl is from forty to fifty *dotis* (paid in slaves, calico and copper)," the *doti* there being a piece of cotton-cloth four yards long.¹²⁸ In Uganda, "among peasants, the customary price is fifteen gourds of beer, a basketful of salt, one bark-cloth *lubogo*, 1,000 shells (*Simbi*, cowries) and a goat".¹²⁹ The Sudanese Mogwandi tribe on the middle Mubangi river have raised the price to 10 goats for a girl of 6 to 7 years;¹³⁰ but the Mbala Bantu of the Congo let the goats go, but raise the number of *jimbu* shells to 10,000.¹³¹ Among the Kikuyu of Kenya Colony, after the usual haggling, the price "is generally settled at about thirty goats and two cows".¹³²

At last we have arrived at the point where a woman's worth is measured in cows, the currency in which, among the cattle-breeding Negroes, from Dinkaland on the Nile to Xosaland at the Cape, "bride-price and blood-fines are paid".¹³³ Gessi tells us that the Nile Shilluks pay up in oxen and sheep. The Nilotic Bari system rather resembles that of the Zulus—10 head of cattle being paid, one going to the girl's mother, another to open the discussion, and so on.¹³⁴ Among the Nilotic Kavirondo, before the plague of 1883, a lady was valued at 20 cows, but nowadays her price has fallen to 7, or even less¹³⁵—though Bergh¹³⁶ states, 10 to 15 head. The Masaba Bantu of Mount Elgon (Uganda) pay from "two to ten head of cattle".¹³⁷ The Himas are content with a heifer and a milch-cow.¹³⁸ The

Kambas of Kenya Colony ask 40 goats, which, when we have got down to Mashonaland in Southern Rhodesia, have dwindled to 10. The Yawos, not far away in Nyasaland, consider the few sheep and goats they possess as more valuable than a wife; so they buy her with a piece of calico.¹³⁹ Cattle or goats are the price on the Zambezi;¹⁴⁰ and in Bechuanaland, "not more than five or six head of cattle";¹⁴¹ but in Basutu land, "thirty head are required, but occasionally fifteen or twenty, with a horse or a few goats thrown in".¹⁴² Among the Xosas of the Cape, 10 oxen were the customary bride-price at the beginning of last century, though a chief might demand five to six times that number.¹⁴³ Shooter¹⁴⁴ tells us that in Natal the amount varied with the qualifications. "Good looks have their value, and a reasonable amount of corpulence is admired; but a woman's most important recommendation is the ability to work hard . . . In Natal . . . a tolerably good-looking spinster could hardly be obtained, even from a poor person, for less than six cows; while the daughters of the rich men may command twelve."

In olden times in Zululand, prior to the reign of king Ndaba (d. c. 1763), a man purchased his wife with a number of hoe-blades (Zulu, *ĩLembe*, *ĩKũba*, or *ĩGẽja*), or of goats, or, if particularly wealthy, of cattle. Had he none of these, he could still get a wife by contracting with the girl's father to pass over to him her first female offspring. Then king Mangobe appeared (reigned c. 1746-1764) on the scene, not indeed in Zululand, but in the neighbouring Tembe Tonga kingdom, near Delagoa Bay. Now, Mangobe was a monarch with progressive ideas, and he soon turned his subjects (or, more probably, they turned themselves) into a tribe of industrious hawkers, who set forth to overrun all surrounding territories, including Zululand, selling hardware, cloth, medicines, monkey-skins and cats. The hardware consisted principally of heavy rings (six inches across, or less, and an inch thick) of a new and beautiful metal named *ĩTũsi* (white *ĩTũsi*, brass; red *ĩTũsi*, copper). Out of these brass and copper rings (called in Zulu, *umDaka*), the Zulu smiths manufactured various body-ornaments, chiefly the *ũBẽdu* (copper neck-ring), the *ĩSongo* (brass arm-ring), the *iNdondo* (large brass bead), later the *iNgxotá* (brass wrist gauntlet), and (perhaps the *umNaka* (brass neck-ring). These prizes were much sought after by the Zulus, and their

saleable daughters very soon came on to the brass and copper market. It is said that a father in those times was willing to exchange his daughter for one sole *umDaka* ring. We think it pretty certain that the Zulus were possessed of cattle long before they entered Zululand; but they were a rare possession, probably confined to the rich; so that a hoe, or later an *umDaka* was as much as a commoner could afford for a wife. The accession of Shaka to the Zulu throne inaugurated a period of general and continuous conquest and raiding all round, and before very long even the poor man came to own a cow or two. Zululand being a good pasture-country, the cattle increased rapidly in numbers, the *umDaka* became ousted from the market and the girls rose to the cattle standard, where they have ever since remained.

Thus it came about that, even during Shaka's lifetime (d. 1828), some ordinary folk could 'bride-price' (*ukuLobola*) a girl for "three head of cattle",¹⁴⁵ "the highest price seldom exceeding ten cows"¹⁴⁶ even among the highest classes. Ten years later cattle had so increased, that in Dingane's reign (c. 1835) Captain Gardiner¹⁴⁷ found "the usual sum demanded is four to six cows, according to the circumstances of the parties, though in the case of chief's daughters, from twenty to fifty, or one hundred, head are not unfrequent." Even fifty years later, the figures had not materially advanced; for, says Ludlow (1882),¹⁴⁸ "the number varies from five to ten", and today (1933) the price of a girl on the public market is still ten cows, while a chief's daughter remains precisely the same value as she had in 1835, namely, 100 head (at least for Great Hut daughters).

The more cattle there were, the greedier did fathers become, and it was their arbitrary and exorbitant demands that compelled the Natal Government in May, 1869, on the advice of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to issue a proclamation (called the *isiTábatába si-kaSomtsewu*) fixing the present legal number of a girl's bride-price (or *Lobola*) cattle (*amaBeka*) at 10 head, plus one beast (Z. *umuMba*; N. *iNgqutú*) for her mother.¹⁴⁹

There has been much disputation as to the real underlying meaning, as well as the morality, of this bride-price convention among African peoples. Now, the practice, as we have already seen, was *not* an African invention, but a common inheritance

from primordial times amongst almost the whole of the human race. It is plainly nothing more than a natural outcome of the universal human instinct for gain—having something good which the other man desires to possess, why not make something for oneself out of the transaction ?

There are many, well conversant with Native customs, who assert that, with the Zulus anyway, the bride-price or *Lobola* custom constitutes no 'sale'. We personally would find it difficult to maintain that thesis. Many hard questions would have to be faced and answered. If not a sale by exchange (or rather, barter), what then is it ? The girl is certainly not presented as a free gift. There is a lengthy bargaining over her procurance and possession. The decisive element in that bargain is payment. Only on the condition of the discharge of that payment are the goods handed over, and possession transferred from father to groom ; and the law supports the father in his refusal to consent to his daughter's marriage (even though the girl herself be both adult and willing), until the debt has been discharged. But upon the delivery and the acceptance by the father of the price, and as exchange for that alone, the girl passes into the rightful possession of the groom, even though (until recent times) the girl herself were unwilling. The cattle are demanded by the father as the price of his property, and are no more accepted as a gift, than is the money demanded by a shopkeeper for his wares. They are not given, and not asked for, as a compensation for lost services of the girl in the home, nor as a recompense for the father's care of the girl during childhood. The demand is justified simply and solely by the fact that the girl is his daughter, his property. A father's claim to bride-price remains entirely unaffected even though he had received no services whatsoever from her, and even though he had consistently neglected her from birth and she had been abandoned to be cared for by others. Those who had cared for such a child throughout her life did not thereby become entitled to her bride-price ; but they did become entitled to a claim on the father for one single beast, termed the *isOndlo* (the-nurturing-fee). We thus come to the conclusion that the bride-price or *Lobola* transaction is a real sale or barter : " the essence of sale," says Sir M. Chalmers (*Ency. Brit.*, art. ' Sale of Goods ') " is the transference of property for a price."

All the same, the sale is not absolutely unconditional and without obligations on the part of the buyer. The latter secures the sole right, so to say, to the usufruct of the property so long as he wishes ; he obtains, as it were, a life-lease on it, on condition that he treat it well, and on the understanding that he shall not re-sell it to another party. But should he for any reason not care to retain possession of the bride and personally 'divorce' her (by ordering her away from his kraal and family), or should he cruelly ill-use her, his ownership would (in the first case) and might (in the second) become forfeit, and she would revert to her father.

And what of the more strictly moral or 'humanitarian' side of the transaction ? According to Zulu law, as just said, a daughter was ever mere saleable property—goods purchasable, while a daughter ; goods purchased, while a wife. It is this law of the 'sale' of females, that Europeans feel to be so repugnant to the higher and better instincts of humanity. The matter, again, is more complicated than would at first appear ; for, incredible as one wou'd suppose, the girls themselves prefer it so ! Quite obviously, we have here to deal with a people on a human plane altogether different from and lower than our own ; whose frame of mind, whose moral ideas, whose natural instincts and feelings, whose disciplinary needs, whose whole character, economy and circumstances of life, we can hardly even yet be said to know and perfectly to understand. Is our judgment to be guided by African facts and Native wishes, or by our own wishes and the dictates of our civilization ? Have we a natural or any other right to force our social and moral views on other races who think and would have things otherwise ?

We spoke just now about the 'instincts of humanity'. But what *is* humanity ? Are the Native females themselves not humanity ? What, then, if *they* will it so ? Despite much personal enquiry, we have yet to meet the raw Native female who would have things otherwise than they are, or who would not resent any interference by Europeans in their own *Lobola* arrangements and married status. Grout,¹⁵⁰ almost a century ago, met with this same frame of mind, and was shocked at it. "It is a painful part of South African experience," he writes, "to note the debasing effects of this custom—*ukuLobola*—on the female mind. Instead of shrinking from the idea of being

bought and sold for cattle, the poor heathen girl glories in it, esteeming it a proof of her worth. Nor is the man himself (whilst a heathen) willing to have a wife for nothing."

Undoubtedly, in former times of Native rule, the *Lobola* custom (or rather, perhaps we should say, the customary law of paternal rights) resulted in much cruel hardship on many Native girls. Inhuman and unprincipled fathers abused their rights, and cared nothing for the feelings of their daughters. Having the right and using it, they sometimes made presents of their girls to powerful men whose favours they sought, or ordered them off to marry any decrepit or repulsive male willing to pay their price. Under British rule most of that has disappeared, and now we may safely assert that Native females in general regard the *Lobola* custom with equanimity, and many of them, as an unqualified blessing, the happiest device ever planned for their welfare, guaranteeing for them at once more attention by their fathers, which otherwise they would never receive, enhancing their value, increasing their husband's esteem, and providing for them a measure of protection against the excesses of aggressively passionate males. On the other side (that of the males), it constrains the young men to work for the prize, as no other incentive would, and, after having worked and won, binds to him more effectively the fickle bride by making it more difficult for her to break the bonds. That the present 'letter' of the law is in some respects still defective and its administration sometimes lax, is, however, also beyond dispute; and, under cover of those omissions, unprincipled fathers and guardians can and do still inflict many injustices on the girls. But all that were easily remediable by a dutiful and sympathetic Government.

If, then, in a perfected and ameliorated form, we should still judge the *Lobola* custom unrighteous, what have we to put in its place? Let us picture to ourselves the inevitable results, were the bride-price law abolished. Fathers, having nothing more to gain—it is futile to speak of their feelings or morals—would concern themselves less than ever with their daughters' welfare; and having no further duty or incentive to withhold consent, their girls, conscious of the lessened parental powers, would at once cast to the winds all parental respect, would emancipate themselves from all home bonds and parental control, and, in their ignorance and inexperience, simply

throw themselves away. Young men, with the urge to work reduced by half, would pick wives up for the mere asking on every roadside and in every town, and march home with as many as they could or cared to impose upon without further ado. Should we not, in our enthusiasm for beautiful ideals, rather succeed in making realities more deplorable than they already are, by converting, not alone those locations of so-called 'civilized' Natives adjacent to many European towns, but the whole Native territory, into one great cesspool of raging and chaotic immorality? Let sleeping lions lie; in due time they too will die a natural death due to inevitable decay.¹⁵¹

There is some doubtfulness as to precisely at what point in the prolonged negotiations a Native marriage contract was held to be sealed. The Zulu, like all Negroes, was naturally slipshod in his thinking, and bothered himself little about technical niceties in law. These were normally settled, and generally to everybody's satisfaction, by the simple expedient of common-sense. There is some evidence in the Zulu practice which would lead one to think that the bargain was clinched at the moment the girl's father accepted final payment of her bride-price; or, again, on the event of the bride's first childbirth. Ourselves we think that the bargain was assented to by the father at the time he accepted final payment of the bride-price (or agreed to its deferment), but was finally sealed only when, in the presence of his ancestors, he solemnly handed over his daughter to the alien clan in the formal ceremony at the wedding-dance (548).¹⁵²

We spoke above of some of the rights of the bride-groom, following his marriage-contract. But the bride also has her obligations. She must prove sexually fertile, and live a sufficient time to do so. A year was regarded as a reasonable period wherein to prove a bride's fertility. Should she conceive and then die before parturition, or not conceive but die before the expiry of the first year, all her bride-price had to be returned; or, if the bridegroom were agreeable, the father might supply another of his daughters to take her place, and so retain to himself the original bride-price. In this case, no new bride-price would be payable to the father for this second bride. Further, inasmuch as all the wedding celebrations (in the case

of this substitute bride) would proceed exactly as in the case of a regular marriage, all those particular ceremonial cattle required in the worship of the ancestral spirits of the bride (547) would have to be supplied once more, but this time by the bridegroom. Further, of the offspring of this substitute bride one child would be affiliated (nominally) to the hut of the deceased sister. Should, however, a bride appear to be sterile (but not die within the time-limit), or should she bear children who persistently die in infancy, then no return of his bride-price could be demanded by the bridegroom, since the defect might later on remedy itself, or it might lie in the male. In such cases, the bride's father usually considered it his duty to appeal to his family ancestors and to supply the cattle necessary for the sacrifice ; and if that did not help, he might supply a substitute from among his other daughters, either without any, or with reduced, bride-price.¹⁵³

Once a wife, the woman became the ' child ' or the property (for women remained always minors) of the purchasing family. Should she run away, she was brought back. Should she refuse her husband access, she was compelled by force ; but she on her side had no claim on her husband for conjugal rights, and neither on that account, nor on any other, could she demand a dissolution of the marriage. In case of physical cruelty, she retained the right of appeal to her father, and he, if he judged proper, might bring the matter to the notice of the bride-groom's clan chief. Some women (even living today) have never known coition with their husbands from the time of their wedding until old age. The husband, on the contrary, had the right of personally divorcing a wife at any time and for any cause by simply ordering her away, without any reference whatever to the courts.

We have already stated that the Zulu social system was patripotestal. To that we may now add that it was also patrilocal ; that is, that their young men, when marrying, brought over their brides to live with them in their father's home or clan, and did not themselves go away from their clan to live in the home of the bride. They were also patrilineal, that is, that the children of these Zulu young men became members of the clan of the bridegroom's father, not of the clan of the bride's mother ; for, as said, the bride, when marrying

into the Zulu clan, became herself a member of that clan by adoption.

The Zulus being polygamous, in most kraals there were at least a couple of wives ; in others, anything up to a dozen. The principal wife (among commoners, the first married ; among royalties and aristocrats, any wife, even the last-taken, specially appointed to fill that position) was termed the *iNkosikazi* (the-female-lord), and as such she was always highly respected by the younger wives, though without any authority to interfere in their private or family affairs. A young wife was called an *umLobokazi*, and a newly-taken bride an *uMakoti*. One wife called another wife of the same husband, *uZa-kwaBo*. All alike lived in perfect amity and independence together, and all were equally subject to the kraal-head or paterfamilias.

All in all, Zulu marital relationships resembled those of Ancient Rome, rather than those of modern England. Marriage, with the Zulus, was simply a private family contract, as with the Romans ; and had nothing to do with the state, as with us. The Zulu demand for absolute subjection in his wife, and equally absolute freedom for himself, was again decidedly Roman ; but the Roman man's interpretation of that liberty in terms of unrestrained licentiousness did not prevail among the Zulus. Absolute faithfulness, to be sure, was not expected of the Zulu husband, nor was it practised ; but he was such a perfect ' gentleman ', that his amorous intrigues were always so discreetly screened, that the unsophisticated might even believe they were never there !¹⁵⁴

Did this harden the lot of the Zulu wife ? Certainly not ; she revelled in the game, and even (though to a lesser extent) played it herself. She would have regarded her husband as an emasculated muff had he done otherwise. The more her husband proved himself a ladies' man, the prouder she was of him, she who had already ' won ' him—which was more than those other ladies had ! The Zulu woman, you must understand, had her own ideas as to what the male was made for ; and what the female. Nor had she any ' unnatural ' notions about female emancipation or equality of sex. She knew exactly where her duty, and her wisdom, lay, to wit, in willing and cheerful submission to the male. Without so doing, to her

mind, life were purposeless, her destiny could never be fulfilled, her one supreme desire (for children) never be attained. Out of that self-sacrifice and self-abasement, she knew, would someday be born to her such a reward of glory and pride and joy, as no mere male could ever aspire to or achieve ; and she become sole bearer of mankind and mother of her race—Nature's grand requital !

“ Now if anything deserves our admiration,” wrote Delagorgue,¹⁵⁵ “ assuredly it is the conduct that will be evinced by the first wife to the Zulu husband. All her efforts are henceforth directed to make her husband rich enough by her work [that is, by her breeding] to acquire a second wife—that is the first triumph, the result of which is to open up to her a future of more extensive views and greater ease ; for the proceeds of the labour of the two wives are to bring about, without long delay, the acquisition of a third wife ; and the greater the number of wives, the greater becomes the ease of their position,” and, we might add, the more elevated their position within the tribal society.

Where there are wives, there are widows. Such a one was in Zulu termed an *umFelwakazi* (a-bereaved-female). In this forlorn condition, the woman might continue to reside where she was, and be cared for by her grown-up sons ; or, if the latter were lacking, and she cared not to re-marry, she might return to her father's kraal (though still remaining the ‘ property ’ of the family into which she married).

Upon the death of her husband, she had become the property of her eldest son ; or, lacking male issue, of the principal kraal-heir. Should she now wish to place herself one more upon the marriage-market, she was free to do so, but only with his consent. As a young or marriageable widow, she would be referred to as an *īDikazi*. The new suitor, however, did not get her for nothing ; he too must pay a bride-price (now payable to her eldest son) proportionate to the number of children she had already borne—in these modern times, each child born secures a reduction of bride-price by one beast. The new batch of children would now belong to the new husband. Should she bring along with herself into the new kraal one or more of her younger children by the former husband, such child, not belonging to the new

family or clan, would be referred to there as an *ĩZa-naNkande*, an appellation rather distasteful, because it was also sometimes applied to a child born out of wedlock (more properly called an *ĩVéza-Ndlebe*), which, of course, was always a great disgrace.

But if a widow married into a new family without any payment of a further bride-price (as she might be permitted to do), she was said to do so *uku-zi-Tólel' amaLongwe* (to-procure-for-herself fuel, that is, to raise further offspring wherewith to 'warm up' herself). Or she might be said *ukuHlumelela umNtanaké* (to-grow-offshoots-for her-son, to which latter any new children would belong, no bride-price having been paid). Such a child as this was called an *iNduku yomGáwuli* (a-stick for-him-who-chopped-it-off).

Young men naturally fought shy of such second-hand wares. To start married life with a widow was regarded as nothing short of self-degradation; and should such a man subsequently marry an ordinary bride (i.e. a non-widow), any girls borne by such widow would devolve on the heir of the new bride, as *his* property, and not that of the widow's son.

There was, however, still another course open to the widowed woman, namely, the levirate; for the Zulus had this custom as well as the Jews. Nor did they borrow it from them; for it was a world-wide practice long before Abraham was. In this case, instead of leaving her original husband's family, she would re-marry within it, selecting from among the brothers or half-brothers of the latter any one of them that took her fancy, or who himself had coaxed her into doing so, to act as the dead man's proxy. Such procedure the Zulus termed *ukuNgéna* (to-enter-into). The marital visits might be made to her in her old hut, or she might visit him in his kraal. The proceeds of the union, if girls, became the property, not of the acting-husband, but of the woman's eldest son by her original marriage.

Whoever married her, however, took certain necessary precautions beforehand. The local medical practitioner was called in 'to join them together' (*uku-ba-Hlanganisa*). Incisions were cut in the body of the new husband and medicine rubbed in; or the flame of a blazing firebrand (of sneezewood) might be applied to certain parts of his body. After that,

other magic was cooked in a potsherd, from which both husband and wife partook together by dipping in their finger-tips and then licking them (*ukuNcinda*). All this was to prevent the widow from passing on to the new husband certain evil effects that otherwise might follow their union.

Another form of the levirate or *ukuNgéna* occurred when a husband died leaving an already *Lobola*'d (with bride-price already paid), but not yet married, fiancée. This girl (if she were willing) might now be taken over by a brother of the deceased and be *Ngéna*'d by him, again as his proxy. But now, unlike the previous case, any female issue became the property of the eldest son of this new hut.

Again, if a man died leaving daughters only (who, under Zulu law, are incapable of independence or of inheriting property), an entirely new bride might be purchased with the deceased man's cattle, with the same purpose of raising up seed to him, and in the hope of thereby producing a son and general family heir.

Still another similar custom (but not now termed *ukuNgéna*) was that by which, when an *unmarried* man died, leaving cattle, his brother might therewith purchase a bride for the purpose of raising up a family for the deceased, or, as it was said, for his 'departed spirit' (*isiTútá*). The Zulu king, Mpande, did this favour for his full-brother, Ndzibe (who died with neither wife nor fiancée), and so raised up for Ndzibe a son and heir, uHamu.

The levirate, as said, was common throughout all Negroland; but it was not everywhere alike. For instance, among the Mpongwe and Igalwa Bantu (West Africa) "the younger brother may not marry the elder brother's widows, but the elder brothers may marry those of the younger brother. Should any of the women object to the arrangement, they may 'leave the family'".¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, among the Nika Bantu (East Africa), the "wives of the deceased fall to the brother next in years. . . . He may, however, marry them to other men, if he chooses to do so".¹⁵⁷ In Benin, the arrangement was that "the son marries his deceased father's wives, who have not borne children to him"; and so he marries his own half-mothers.¹⁵⁸

As for the wedding of an ordinary Zulu widow, it was quite an informal affair. She arrived in the evening, and on the

morrow a beast was slaughtered and she was sprinkled with its gall—a form of 'baptism into the new clan'.

Divorce, as we know it, by judicial decree upon appeal to a court of justice, was unknown to the Zulus. Yet, as we have already said, any man could himself divorce a wife by simple 'driving away' (*ukuXosha*), with (to him) any sufficient cause, like persistent insubordination, practice of 'witchcraft', or other serious provocation. Having thus driven her away, he thereby abandoned all further right or claim upon her, and she returned to her father's kraal, and became his property once more. Nor does the father return her bride-price; on the contrary, should the divorcée re-marry, the new bride-price becomes his, as well as the original. As for the wife, no cause whatever justified her in separating herself from her husband, who had the right to bring her back, whithersoever she betook herself.

In other tribes, as among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the bride-price in cases of divorce would be returnable.¹⁵⁹ Among the Nika Bantu, the parties "can snap the bond at pleasure. If the parties weary of each other, they separate without any formality, except that the husband demands the return of his money".¹⁶⁰ Thus these Nikas held the same view as the Romans, with whom divorce by mutual consent, or by simple repudiation by one of the parties, was perfectly legal.

The wedding of the Zulu divorcée was the same simple ceremony as was that in the case of the widow (above).

All Zulu females were minors all their life, first to father, then to husband, and finally to eldest son—the Ancient Roman rule again.¹⁶¹ The whole control of their person and all they possessed was vested in the man. Upon her husband's death, the widow could not even re-marry without her eldest son's consent; which he was not always ready to give. Does that amount to 'slavery'? New¹⁶² thinks it does. Writing of the Nika Bantu of East Africa, he says: "A woman here is a toy, a tool, a slave in the very worst sense; indeed she is treated as though she were a mere brute". Then Park¹⁶³ describes conditions among the Negroes in West Africa. "Though the African husbands," he says, "are possessed of great authority over their wives, I did not observe that in general they treat

them with cruelty. . . . They permit their wives to partake of all public diversions, and this indulgence is seldom abused ; for though the Negro women are very cheerful and frank in their behaviour, they are by no means given to intrigue. I believe that instances of conjugal infidelity are not common. When the wives quarrel among themselves . . . the husband decides between them, and sometimes finds it necessary to administer a little corporal chastisement before tranquillity can be restored." That, in general, is a fair statement also of the Zulu case ; though cases of (what we regard as) ' infidelity ' are by no means unknown.

But before committing oneself to any judgment, perhaps it were wiser to consult the Zulu wife herself. One would then discover that the Native women, themselves actually living under these conditions, not only find no fault with them, but desire no change ; that they are by no means discontented with their lot, but, on the whole, are quite as happy—we venture to believe, even happier—than are the majority of their European sisters. True, in former times, they were very strictly disciplined, and in cases, for instance, of marital infidelity, if caught *in flagrante delicto*, were liable to be put to death by the husband : which, indeed, is none other than the practice still in vogue in southern Italy. Signora Melegari,¹⁶¹ writing so recently as 1899 of conditions there, said : " In the south of Italy, especially, a woman may suffer death at the hands of the males of her family, and public opinion be not in the least moved to reprobation thereby."

The Zulu women, then, have only to do their duty to husband and child, and nobody will so much as pain them with a harsh word. They enjoy all the reasonable freedom they desire, their husbands being in the rule broad-minded, tolerant, considerate, and easily satisfied men. The care of the children, and of the girls even when adult, all the domestic and agricultural duties, are left, without interference, entirely in the hands of the women. They rise, they work, they eat, they sleep, how, what and when they will, and as large a margin for visiting friends is allowed them as is customary with some European wives. On the other hand, mere gadding about after pleasure is with them utterly unknown. They have no servants apart from their own daughters, with whom to divide the

labour ; no artisans to make or mend ; so that their minds are ever occupied and their hands kept ever busy with tasks at home of their own ordering and own choosing. In a word, they have all they desire, have no longing to be elsewhere, no yearning after further rights, no morbid contemplation of self-created grievances. They fall quite naturally into their right place in society, and indulge no hankering to encroach upon or curtail the recognized privileges and preserves of the males. Ah ! but then, you see, in Zululand there were no soured and embittered old maids ! Was that perchance the cause of the absence of the common European outcry for ' Women's Rights ' ?

Do you still say that the position of the Zulu woman was one of slavery ? Perhaps you do. Anyway, under normal circumstances it was a purely voluntary and fairly benevolent slavery. The Zulus, in the mass, were a people already possessed of quite a goodly measure of humane sentiment and decent manners. They loved their children, liked to see them happy—though never so demonstrative about it as we are—and generally conceded them their wishes when they considered them reasonable and harmless. Precisely the same treatment (as though they were but so many grown-up children) was shown by husbands to their wives. A normal Zulu father allowed his daughter freedom of choice when selecting a lover ; while young men cherished a real affection for their sweethearts, which they retained just as much as does the average European, when that sweetheart became later on a mere wife. Daughters and wives were always permitted the unrestricted usufruct of any property earned by their own free efforts, though technically the ownership was vested in the father or the husband. The cruel father and cruel husband were undeniably there, as they are with us ; but they were rare and universally denounced. The Zulu law was certainly defective in that it made little or no provision for the rights of children or for the protection of wives ; but, once again, in that they were only like ourselves (until comparatively recent times).

Generally speaking, then, it would be correct to say that the actual treatment of females among the ' savage ' Zulus was fairly humane, and in practice did not appreciably differ from that ruling amongst some of the ' civilized ' peoples of Europe.

The enslavement of captured males and females was among the Zulus entirely unknown: which fact alone is, we think, proof enough that there was among them also never any intention or consciousness of making (what we understand as) 'slaves' of their wives and children. Destitute men, of their own and alien tribes, there always were, willing and glad to offer themselves as menials (*isiKúza*) in the service of the better-off or great. Such were always kindly treated as adopted members of the family, and could always leave of their own free will at any moment. Then there were women and children captured in war or raids; but even these were never forced into wedlock or otherwise ill-treated, being simply retained until their relatives arrived with the regulation cow apiece to redeem and take them home again.

In Natal, on the contrary, deliberate enslavement of boys and girls was at one time not entirely absent. But even there it was never a spontaneous impulse of the 'savages' themselves, but was always and only a 'trade' invented and taught them by that 'civilized' hypocrite, the Whiteman. It would certainly be news to the present members of the emaTulini and Cele clans of Natal to hear that brothers and sisters of theirs have been in existence 10,000 miles away in America for the last 200 years. "We there traded [at Port Natal or modern Durban]," wrote Captain Robert Drury in 1719, "for slaves, with large brass rings or rather collars [which were the much-prized *umDaka* of the Zulus, pp. 387, 590], and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased seventy-four boys and girls. These are better slaves for working than those of Madagascar, being not only blacker, but stronger."¹⁶⁵ And the Boers of South Africa continued on with that selfsame 'trade' until within the lifetime of our own fathers! while their hearts are still, we fear, besmirched with the reflection of that selfsame frame of mind.

1. Lang, *S.O.*, 244, 248, 266, 267; Sollas, *A.H.*, 411; Haberlandt, *E.*, 105; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 674; Herodotus, VI, 65.

1a. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. II, 220.

2. Casalis, *B.*, 201.

3. Bergh, *T.P.*, 186.

4. *Journal of R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 292.

4a. Herodotus, IV, 168; Westermarck, *H.M.*, 72.

5. Stuart, *B.*, 158.

6. C., 115.
7. B., 89 sq.
8. Roscoe, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 104.
9. Bergh, *T.P.*, 56.
10. Theocritus, *Idylls*, XI.
11. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, 11, 308.
12. *M.P.P.*, 90.
13. Roscoe, *B.*, 93.
14. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 104 ; also Gobineau, *I.H.R.*, 151 ; Herodotus, I, 220 ; Darwin, *D.M.*, 586, 596, 92, 577, 578, 579, 580, 582 ; Myers, *E.P.*, 71.
15. T., 101, 116.
16. *D.S.M.*, 172.
- 16a. *P.L.*, 60.
17. *P.E.*, 73.
18. *ib.* 72.
19. *V.C.*, 687.
20. *F.F.*, 86.
21. *H.M.*, 71.
22. *ib.* 23.
23. *P.L.*, 60.
24. D1.
25. Herodotus, VI, 65.
26. H. Vacaresco, *Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1916.
27. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 284.
28. Tylor, *A.*, 403.
29. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 229.
30. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 674.
31. *ib.*
32. *ib.* 676.
33. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 384.
34. *ib.* ; Bergh, *T.P.*, 55.
35. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 229.
36. Stow, *N.R.*, 96.
37. VI, 122.
38. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 307 ; Grout, Z., 163.
39. *T.W.A.*, 165.
40. T., vol. II, 58, 564.
41. Hartland, *P.L.*, 66.
42. *J.P.S.*, 263.
43. *B.M.M.*, 198.
44. Holub, S.Y., vol. II, 314 ; Decle, S.A., 78.
45. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 35, p. 410.
46. Harrison, *L.P.*, 20.
47. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. II, p. 233.
48. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 678.
49. Bergh, *T.P.*, 16.

50. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. II, 231.
51. Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 40.
52. Herodotus, I, 135.
53. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 159, 553 ; E. Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India*, vol. III, 252, Ldn., 1885 ; Herodotus, I, 135 ; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothèque Historique*, I, c. 80 ; W. A. Becker, *Charikles*, II, 438, Leipzig, 1840 ; Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, trans. ; C. R. Markham, vol. I, 310, Ldn., 1869.
54. *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 307.
55. *T.*, vol. II, 356.
56. *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 286.
57. *B.*, 86.
58. *T.W.N.*, 132.
59. *C.N.*, vol. I, 109.
60. *ib.* vol. II, 51.
61. Declé, *S.A.*, 160.
62. Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. I, 200 ; Darwin, *D.M.*, 245 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 363, 365, 671, 676 ; Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 255 ; Stow, *N.R.*, 95, 260 ; Leonard, *L.N.*, 302 ; Rivers, *T.*, chap. XXII ; Skeat and Blagden, *P.R.*, vol. II, chap. 3 ; Werner, *B.C.A.*, 132-3, 149 ; Thomas, *N.A.*, 175 ; Monteiro, *A.*, vol. I, 264 ; Wollaston, *P.P.*, 116 ; Haberlandt, *E.*, 105 ; 112 ; Wissmann, *J.E.A.*, 277 ; MacQueen, *W.A.*, 153 ; Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 113, 333 ; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 218 ; Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 153-5 ; Dennett, *B.M.M.*, 37 ; Lang, *S.O.*, 3, 64 ; Livingstone, *T.*, 278 ; Herodotus, V, 5, 40 ; VI, 61 ; Keane, *M.P.P.*, 159, 553.
63. *D.M.*, 245.
64. Medhurst, *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, China Branch, IV, 21.
65. Ebers, *Aegypten u. die Bücher Moses*, vol. I, 310, Leipzig, 1868.
66. Lang, *S.O.*, 4.
67. Darwin, *D.M.*, 593 ; Avebury, *P.T.*, 102.
68. Oppert, *O.I.I.*, 145, 166, 189, 214, 216, 617.
69. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 450-58.
70. *De Bello Gallico*, V, 14.
71. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 105 ; also *N.*, 123.
72. Roscoe, *B.*, 10.
73. Herodotus, I, 199.
74. Bryant, *O.T.*, 376.
75. Herodotus, I, 109, 328 ; also Thomas, *N.A.*, 177 ; Lang, *S.O.*, 9, 22, 90, 124 ; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 677 ; Werner, *B.C.A.*, 257 ; Dennett, *B.M.M.*, 37 ; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. II, 129 ; Westermarck, *H.M.*, 75 sq.
76. *N.A.*, 406.
77. *V.C.*, 719.
78. Roscoe, *N.*, 123.
79. Bergh, *T.P.*, 56.
80. Stigand, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 122.
81. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. II, 209.
- 81a. *Sacred Books of the East*, XXV, 327-338—Hartland, *P.L.*, 62.

82. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 45.
83. Schulz, *N.A.*, 406.
84. I, 4719-33, see Muir's *O.S.T.*, vol. II, 327.
85. *G.G.C.*, 674.
86. *S.O.*, 78.
87. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 53.
88. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 674.
89. Sollas, *A.H.*, 246, 411.
90. Tylor, *A.*, 403.
91. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 538; also Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 283; Lang, *S.O.*, 10-35, 53-63, 212, 238; Sollas, *A.H.*, 246; Dennett, *B.M.M.*, 199, 231, 222; Marett, *A.*, 159; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. I, 203; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 186; Hewitt, *R.R.*, vol. II, 310, 312, 313.
92. *E.H.M.*, 284.
93. *A.E.A.*, 6.
94. Petric, *H.E.*, vol. II, 95.
95. *S.O.*, 39.
96. B. Z. Seligman, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 54, p. 234.
97. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 283; also Gobineau, *I.H.R.*, XXII; Hewitt, *R.R.*, vol. I, 105; Edwards, *O.L.W.*, 22, 50; Lang, *S.O.*, 16, 26; Frazer, *T.*, 59; *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 182; Herodotus, III, 31; IV, 78; V, 39; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. II, 70; *Man*, VI, 55; Haberlandt, *E.*, 105.
98. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. I, 223.
99. Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 58.
100. *G.G.C.*, 684.
101. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 296; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. I, 203.
102. Parkinson, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 316.
103. Speke, *D.S.N.*, 196.
104. *G.*, 169.
105. *D.M.*, 170-1.
106. See Myers, *D.H.*, 157-8; Breasted, *A.T.*, 308, 353; Edwards, *O.L.W.*, chap. VI, 54; MacCabe, *R.W.*, chap. II; Petric, *R.A.E.*, 131; MacDonald, *A.*, vol. I, 227, 225, 221.
107. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 140.
108. *A.E.A.*, 11, 15.
109. *De Germania.*
110. Maspero, *A.E.A.*, 226, 227.
111. Herodotus, V, 6.
112. Delaporte, *M.*, 88.
113. MacCabe, *R.W.*, 20.
114. Thomas, *N.A.*, 174.
115. *N.R.*, 253.
116. *P.E.*, 84.
117. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 285.
118. Stow, *N.R.*, 96.
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Chapter 14

Nomona Gives Birth to a Child

A year had passed. Once more young Maziyana, girded with tails and wrapt in smiles, stood at the entrance of his father's kraal deeply thinking, not now so much of love, as of its happy result. He had just received the joyful news that Nomona had responded to his embraces, and ere long would be making him a handsome present—at least he hoped so.

Nomona herself squatted peacefully inside her hut. Both she and he knew well (though they could not formulate their knowledge) that they were here on earth for one great purpose ; not so much to serve their king, nor yet to seek their private pleasure, but to propagate their species and maintain their race. Maziyana now felt he had done his duty nobly, and was about to reap the reward.

Already at the end of the second month following the Hymeneal rite, Nomona had known she was with child. The spirits of her ancestors had been good ; her father's prayers on the wedding-day had been graciously vouchsafed ; for the Zulu believes it is the ancestral spirit that creates new life in its offspring—*isiTútá si-ya-kw-Azi ukuBumba umuNtu, si-nga-Boni* (an-ancestral-spirit knows-how to-mould a-human-being without-seeing, i.e. in the dark). The approach of that miracle, however, was not now noised abroad by word of mouth, but was silently proclaimed by Nomona now concealing her breasts and abdomen beneath a pretty apron (*isiDiya*). This had been prepared in anticipation from a dressed duiker-skin.

Bound over the chest and under the arms, it hung loosely down, with fur exposed, from breast to knees, and was ornamented with a geometric pattern worked with conical brass studs (*īQósha*) down the front, and having small solid balls of brass (*iNdondo*) dangling at the bottom,¹ much as the robe of the Mosaic priest was skirted below with tiny golden bells, which he made to tinkle as he moved to and from the sanctuary, 'lest he die'. This bridal apron Nomona wore throughout the period of her pregnancy; whereafter it became the sack (*iMbeleko*) within which she later carried the babe upon her back. During all the time she wore the apron, all 'buck' meat was tabu. Transgression would bring ill-luck (miscarriage, bad delivery and the rest).

Nomona knew well the need of maintaining herself in perfect health during the period of gestation, for her infant's sake. So she procured the root of the *ūHlakahla*, the *īSinde* and other herbs, and made therefrom a decoction, known as an *isiHlambezo*. This medicine she preserved in a special lidded earthen-pot, kept at the back of the hut, and having two lines of red-ochre smeared, at right angles to each other, over the lid of the pot and so down its four opposite sides. These cross-lines and other precautions were intended to show that this vessel was 'locked' and strictly private, the fear being that if any other person looked inside, his or her reflection in the internal liquid would be liable to be imbibed by Nomona along with the medicine, and so transferred by her to her babe, bringing about in it a likeness (*ūFúza*) to that particular individual. This medicine was taken during the latter months of her pregnancy, she helping herself to a spoonful whenever mindful, the effect being to maintain mother and babe in the pink of condition, and so ensure a felicitous delivery.

Besides this regular dosing with medicine, there were several other duties of omission and commission to perform. For instance, Nomona was told, when rising from a sitting posture, to do so briskly, despite her gravid state; for thereby she would instruct the babe within the womb to do the same—especially at the moment of its birth. On the other hand, she was dissuaded from peeping out of the hut through the narrow doorway, lest the baby learn that trick also, and, at the moment of delivery, merely 'peep out' and then draw back again. If she wished to see or know anything outside, she was advised to

send a messenger. Nor should she eat anything standing or walking, because this was liable to cause difficult and prolonged delivery.

At length the ninth 'moon' of gestation came, and all the family were looking forward to the new arrival. Alas! the family manes had proven niggardly with their favours, and the *isiHlambezo* an utter failure. Fruit of the womb indeed they had bestowed; but there they had left it. The local obstetrical specialist had plied his most potent herbs (*uGóbó*, *uMayime* and the rest); but all in vain. Then, when a human means had failed, the family, as is man's wont, turned in its helplessness to its god. Round and round outside Nomona's hut marched old Jomela and the elder men of the kraal, crying aloud to the family manes, *Leti, mNgáne; si-Kúlekel' ukuBa kw-Ahlukane izi-Dumbu, Nina ba-kwa-Sibiya. Letá-ni okuHle, baKiti* (Vouchsafe, o-friend; we-beseech that the-bodies come-apart, ye of-the-Sibiya-clan. Bring-us good-fortune, ye-of-our-clan).

So pious and fervent a prayer could not remain unanswered; and soon Nomona, lying on a soft bed (*iziBi*) of *iMbubu* grass, began to travail with the sharp, tearing *imSiko* pains (bearing down). This was the signal for all the elder wives of the family to hasten to the rescue and muster in Nomona's hut, and all the men to leave. Anon the *iziNdlela* (preliminary signs) began to manifest themselves; and at the appearance of the *ūTá* (show) and the *iNgcupé* (waters), Nomona found herself firm in the grip, as in a vice, of four stalwart women, all at the same time giving her directions what to do and not to do, especially (as is frequent with Zulu brides) not to crush the infant in the agony of parturition.

A safe delivery, thanks be to the spirits, was soon effected. The navel-cord was immediately severed by one smart stroke with a sharp strip of reed-bark, a portion of the cord, two or three inches long, being left on the body of the child, there to shrivel and, in two to four days time, to fall away. The drying process was hastened by keeping the wound and cord plastered with white wood-ash taken from the hearth.

Immediately after delivery, the midwives washed the child in an infusion of *uMalali* herb, to ensure that it become a 'good baby', not too prone to crying, or fretful at mother's absence. For this purpose, a 'basin' had been scooped out

of the earth in the rear of the hut, then smeared clean and smooth with cowdung. The whole body of Nomona and the babe was next smeared with red-clay (*ĩBomvu*), while round and round her abdomen was tightly bound a rope (*umKándzi*) of plaited *umTshiki* grass. In this state Nomona was in a way tabu—no common feeding-vessels should be touched by her, she being supplied with a spoon and dish strictly her own.

Meanwhile, the placenta (*umZanyana*) with the navel-cord (*iNkaba*) attached had been buried, one foot deep, there within the hut, alongside the hut-wall near where the child was born; lest it perchance be got hold of by some *umTákati* (secret worker of evil), who might turn it to ends dangerous to the infant.

The original grass-bed of childbirth having been removed and burned, Nomona (now called an *umDlezane* or woman-lying-in) passed her days resting on a special mat (*umTúntsu*) made of thick bulrushes. In this retirement (*ukuGóya*) she continued for about five days, the babe having proved a female—had it been a male, the days would have been eight. During that time the shriveled remnant of the navel-cord having fallen off from the child and been burned, Nomona proceeded to remove her *umKándzi* band and to replace it by an *umQila* (a temporary *isiFóciya* or grass-plaited waist-belt). The hut was swept clean and freshly smeared with cowdung. Then, while a fragrant odour was rising from the hearth (whereon an *iMpepó* plant was burning) and beer had been set before the former midwives (*uTshwala bokuBeletisa*), the father and grandfather entered the hut to see the new-born babe, to congratulate its mother, and to feast.

And as Maziyana raised the infant in his hands and gave it a smacking kiss, he playfully asked it, *u-Púme-pi?* (and-where-have-you-come-from?). When later friendly neighbours flocked in to offer their congratulations, one of the first things they did, was to ask the bay's name. To which, with a chuckle, Maziyana replied, *uPúme-pi*,*—that having been his first thought on seeing it.²

With this first free access of the general public to view the bawling infant, it itself was now allowed the pleasure of its first free access to its mother's breast (*ukuNcemulisa*), it

* Pronounce, roughly, *Pu - mē' - pi*.

having been hitherto fed by having a gruel (*iNcumbe*) of finely ground sorghum (Kafircorn) or maize frequently poured into its mouth.

Nor was it the infant alone that had to endure this ordeal of abstinence. Nomona too had been subjected to even more rigorous ritua' abstentions (*ukuZila*). She had had to abstain from eating meat and from leaving her hut, until the navel-cord had fallen; and, for the next two or three months, to abstain from eating clotted-milk (*amaSi*), from entering the cattle-fold, and from shaving her head (round below the top-knot), until the elder wives of the family informed her that she could now do so.³ Thereupon she threw away her *umQila* waist-belt, donned an *isiFóciya*⁴ newly made of grass, had her head shaved and top-knot re-dressed, and pitched into the *amaSi*.

But now, abstentions became replaced by anxieties. True, she was free to move about the world; but the world she had traversed so light-heartedly before, she now found strewn with dangers everywhere. Strangers of every description, professional poisoners, malicious neighbours, medicine men and courting youths, passed in a constant stream along the paths near by her home, all of them bearing on their persons multifarious magic medicaments, harmful and wondrous, a particle of which might easily have been dropped, or still worse been intentionally placed upon the path for her to tread upon. Even the 'smell' (*iPínga*) of these poisons might easily be picked up by her as she moved along and, upon returning home, be passed on to her babe with all manner of dire consequences. Already as a girl, she had been well primed by her mother in all the divers ways of wicked men, so that she now knew quite well where lurked their knavish tricks. Her first duty was accordingly ever to proceed with a careful scrutiny of the highways and byways thereabout, and gather, as she went, every particle of suspicious rubbish (*umKóndo*). These she carried home; then kind'ing a tiny fire within her hut (but not upon the hearth), she burned them all. In the smoke of her little fire she held her babe (*ukuTúnqisela*), who by a comparatively harmless inhalation of the 'poisonous smells', would be rendered henceforth immune against them.⁵ This treatment was termed *ukuHaga*, or *ukuHabula*, *imKóndo* (to-circumvent, or inhale, the-pathway-poisons).—This Zulu *ukuTúnqisela* (babe-

smoking-process) may very well be akin to the practice among the Herero women of South-west Africa, who, after childbirth, when the navel-cord has fallen off, take the child to the 'place of the holy fire' (*okuRuo*) to present it there to their *omuKuru* (great-ancestor; equivalent to the *uNkulunkulu* of the Zulus).⁵²—Indeed, even while still in the womb, the Zulu child had not been altogether out of reach of these harmful 'pathway-poisons'. On which account, throughout the period of her gestation, the mother had habitually worn above her ankle, when travelling, a bunch of the *umKóndo* plant as a prophylactic against such underfoot evils. And even now that the child was born, any stranger entering the hut during the first month or two after delivery, was expected to nibble a small particle from certain antidotes (the *iNdawoluti*, *isiQunga* and other plants, kept hanging over the hut-doorway), and then spit the medicine out over the infant (*ukuLumula* or *Pépétá*), so that any injurious path-poison he may inadvertently have picked up on his way and brought in with him, might thereby be rendered innocuous. And not only that; but he was further expected to give substance to his verbal congratulations by making a small present (e.g. some beads) to the babe (*ukuQokelela*). Even Nomona herself, after having been out, always took the precaution to nibble at the particular *isiLumulo* (nibbling-charm) and spit it out over her baby's body prior to suckling it, and especially if she had seen a corpse!

Nor was that all. There were certain animal poisons (*iziNyamazane*) as well as vegetable, and the same people as before might, when passing by, drop them on their way, and Nomona then bring home the 'smell' with her and pass it on to her baby. The second act therefore in this smoking process was *ukuHaqa*, or *ukuHabula iziNyamazane* (to-circumvent or to-inhale the-wild-beast-poisons). So off Nomona went, or Maziyana on her behalf, to the local doctor and from him obtained an assortment of particles of every possible injurious animal magic-medicine, which, once again, she might encounter on her walks, or indeed had already encountered while the child was in the womb. By a timely inhalation of these harmful 'emanations' (*iPúnga*), sinking of the fontanel, bladder trouble and divers other ailments which might affect the child either now or in the future, would be quashed in the bud. The already mentioned *Túnqisela* (smoking) process was

therefore once more repeated, and the infant smoked in the fumes, while about its chest and ribs incisions were made and powdered medical cinders rubbed in, on the homœopathic principle that like, not only cures, but also prevents like.⁶ Finally the babe was given a drink of the mixture. Should it now grow up and enjoy sound health, it would be said that 'the wild-beast medicines had been perfectly compounded' (*za-Pélela iziNyamazane*); but should it grow up, for instance, and be 'mentally deficient', it would be said that 'there had been too much cane-rat' (*kwa-Váma ṛVóndwe*); or, should it suffer from a sinking of the fontanel, that there had been 'too little eland-fat' (*kwa-Silela isiDumuka*), with which animal-poisons the mother somewhere, somehow, had come into contact, while the child was in the womb.

But there was no known magic that would rid the child of the meconium (first mucus-like excreta). Only a clyster of *umTámbane* roots would suffice for that; and as a regular part of the proceedings, such a clyster was duly administered.

Some time later the baby got the gripes. Here magic came back into its own. A girdle was made of a string of *umTúngwa* or of *umNgqabe* berries, and strung round the loins of the child and there constantly worn, with the result that the evil was exorcised right away, and never returned, a cure and a prophylactic. At least the Zulu mothers said so; as did those also in Nigeria, where "a new-born babe starts with a health-knot tied round the wrist, neck and loins".⁷

Only some babies get the gripes; but every Zulu baby is tainted with the *isiGwéba*. This is said to be the cause of many ailments; for instance, a disposition to eczema, but most of all to 'sexual' irritation, leading in later life to inordinate lechery. The seat of the malady lurks, quite appropriately, in the 'seat' of the infant; and to get rid of it, Nomona followed the orthodox practice of *ukuGwéba*. So two or three months after birth, she took the stalk of a castor-oil or an *umSenge* leaf, thrust it into the rectum of her child and vigorously twirled it round between her two palms (as when beating an egg)—the more vigorously in her case because the patient was a girl (prostitutes, you must know, are such because, when babies, they were insufficiently *Gwéba'd* by their mothers)—until, by the continued scraping of the membrane of the bowel, blood was

copiously drawn, and the more the better. Nomona's child happily survived, as did most; but some, 'twas whispered, were cured beyond recovery!

It was about this time too that her husband came back for his first intercourse since childbirth. But before proceeding thereto, he was careful to take up his baby and 'jump over' it (*ukwEqa*) by simply passing it between his legs. This performance, it was said, would prevent the child from growing up both a slut and a sluggard (*isiNyemfu*).

The strongest wish, the proudest joy, of every Zulu woman was to bear a child. For this she loved her husband, conscious that through him alone could her desire be realized. So her greatest sorrow and misfortune was childlessness. "When one woman wishes to deride another," writes Livingstone,⁸ "she says, 'So-and-so has no children, and never will get any', and the insult is so keenly felt as to lead not infrequently to suicide."

Zulu wives, an uncommonly curious and observant sisterhood, are not aware of any particular season of the year in which their men-folk become inordinately ruttish. All seasons are declared to be alike to them. Reliable birth-statistics alone could prove whether the assertion is fact or fiction; and such statistics are non-existent. With some other Bantu peoples it is said *not* to be a fact. Thus, speaking of the Xosa Ngunis of the Cape (brother tribes of the Zulus), the Rev. H. T. Cousins states, "there are more children born in one month or season than in another, viz. August and September, which are the spring months in South Africa"; which would suggest a rutting time about January, which, of course, is at the peak of the hot season. Dr. A. Sims⁹ similarly declares that "among the Bateke [Congo] more children are born in September and October, that is, in the seasons of the early rains, than at other times." Westermarck¹⁰ cites several similar instances among other uncivilized peoples, "who are actually stated to have an annual pairing time, and other peoples whose sexual instinct undergoes most decidedly a periodical increase at a certain time of the year." Thus, "according to Mr. Johnston, the wild Indians of California, belonging to the lowest races on earth, 'have their rutting seasons as regularly as have the deer,

the elk, the antelope, or any other animal' . . . Speaking of the Watch-and-Dies in the western part of Australia, Mr. Oldfield remarks, ' Like the beasts of the field, the savage has but one time for copulation in the year, about the middle of spring, when the yams are in perfection '." A like state of affairs has been said to exist in India. An enquiry made by ourselves in regard to 235 infants born in Zululand between April, 1928, and December, 1932 (whose date of birth was given in a Baptismal Register of a certain mission-station), gave the following results :—

<i>Month of Birth</i>	<i>Number of Births</i>	<i>Month of Union</i>
January	18	Apl.-May
February	28	May-June
March	16	June-July
April	19	July-Aug.
May	24	Aug.-Sept.
June	14	Sept.-Oct.
July	22	Oct.-Nov.
August	17	Nov.-Dec.
September	20	Dec.-Jan.
October	20	Jan.-Feb.
November	19	Feb.-Mar.
December	18	Mar.-Apl.

From this it would seem that the Zulu women were not far wrong after all in declaring that there was no special rutting season among their men-folk. The excess of births in February (with conception in June) is attributable to the fact that a much larger number of Zulu marriages take place at mid-winter (English mid-summer) than at any other period, because then the crops have been already reaped, the corn threshed, and food is consequently most abundant.

Assuming, then, that the Zulu's mating-time is all the time, a man's wives may be assumed to be continuously engaged in an effort to attract his amorous favours. There is among them a well-recognized custom of *ukuDl' i Qétó* (to-enjoy a-comfortable-sit-down) ; in which, from time to time at eventide,

the several wives don their best attire and betake themselves in a body to the private hut of their common husband under the pretext of passing with him a pleasant evening, but in reality to lure him by a display of their charms to sexual favours.

Some unfortunates persistently fail in the game, and become permanent, and often embittered, rejects (*isiShinikezi*). For them love has died; and jealousy and desperation come to life. They accordingly have their recourse to the more sinister methods of medicine and magic. A state of secret warfare enters in between them and the favourites. The rejected one betakes herself to a specialist in *umPikisano* (rivalry) medicines, generally another female, from whom she procures (perhaps in exchange for a basketful of foodstuffs) an *iNtando* (love) charm. Should the specialist be a male, the goods are commonly purchased by a gift of sexual intercourse. Among the more potent of *iNtando* charms are hippopotamus (*iMvubu*) fat, the fat of the blind-snake (typhlops; Z. *iNkamba pántsi*), or of the zonurus or rock-lizard (*umKótétsheni*), or of the jumping-hare (*isaNdlulane*). These specifics are variously applied—sometimes mixed with the husband's food, sometimes rubbed into incisions made in the body of the love-sick woman, sometimes smeared upon her person. When, however, the grievance lies, not so much in one's own lack of charm, as in the abundance thereof in the rival wife, then one may try the 'perfume'-sac of the *iNyengelezi* weasel, mixed with the disgustingly smelling *uNukani* plant, the mixture to be appropriately placed in the hut of the favoured wife, whose fascination, it will soon be noticed, will fail to thrive in the new atmosphere, and her monopolization soon cease. Should all these measures prove ineffective, there are still plenty of herbal remedies available, e.g. the *iSindamvula* (indigofera). But above them all stands the celebrated and infallible python cure. In this, the patient is supplied with a dose of python fat (*iNtlatú*), which she smears about her body, thereafter betaking herself to the river pool, where, in a nude state, she waits and sees. Soon she sees, crawling up out of the pool, the magic python that is to cure her. Being herself a female, the python always happens to be a male. In a trice, she finds herself encoiled within its embraces, with sexual connection following; after which the lady returns home, and thenceforward the husband will love her so furiously,

that he will absolutely refuse any other of his wives for evermore !

All animals possess an instinctive knowledge of certain appropriate times for union and for restraint. To this our Zulu added something more. Naturally, intercourse never took place during the menstrual period (*ĩFindo ukuPótela*). Should a man be so indiscreet as to indulge at such a time, he would be in serious danger of contracting the *ĩPám̄ba* disease, a mysterious malady accompanied by a pertinacious cough, shortness of breath and other troubles. If a wife had lost a child of her own, she would refrain from intercourse for a whole year afterwards ; but if it were the child of another wife (of the same husband), a month or two of restraint would suffice. The reason for this was said to be 'lest they become repugnant to each other' (*fúna ba-Dinane*). Further, from the moment warfare was declared (*ukuHloma*), until the end of the campaign, all marital intercourse was tabu ; and this even if husband and wife were in hiding together in the forest.

The position assumed during intercourse is, among the Zulus, wife lying on her right side, husband on his left, face to face ; which may be the orthodox position among the Bantu, since it is said to exist also among the Huanas of the Congo.¹¹

It is asserted that some uncivilized peoples hold the opinion that sexual intercourse is 'sinful'. If such be the case, it seems to us they can hardly be 'uncivilized' ; for it were difficult to believe that any primitive people could regard the sexual function as anything else than essentially natural and permissible. We do not think any ordinary heathen Zulu has any idea whatever of 'sexual sin'—until the Whiteman comes along and gives them that idea ; although there may be an infringement of parental or marital 'property' rights. Such reports are probably due to a misinterpretation of the custom of tabu (*ukuZila*), or even of the common 'proprieties'—things that 'are not done'. This supposition seems evident from the reply of the Indian aboriginal of Chota Nagpore, who when asked, 'May a dog sin?' , replied, 'If a dog did not sin, how could it breed?' .¹²

As one might expect, the Zulus were not acquainted with the deeper secrets of physiology. This, however, they did know, that the male seed (*amaLotá*) was responsible for the fruit of

the womb ; but how and why it all came about, was beyond the pale of their understanding. Yet they were not without their explanation—*amaLotá* alone could never work such a miracle ; it was their god, their ancestral spirit, that did it ; somewhat as the Chinese say, ' It is the soul that shapes the body *in utero* '.¹³

If the Zulu knew not how the foetus got into the womb, he knew a good deal about the subsequent eventualities. In its earliest to him distinguishable form, he called it an *iHlule* (blood-clot) ; then, prior ' to any appearance of hair ', an *umGáwu* (tiny-pumpkin) ; later, an *umBungu* (a-roll-like-lump) ; and finally, an *iNgáne* (a-child). When called upon, his doctor is quite capable of removing such an unwelcome ' blood-clot ' or ' tiny-pumpkin ' from the womb, by means of the *uHlungu-hlungu* (*vernonia corymbosa*) and other plants.

In Zulu speech, the abdomen, the womb and the fruit of the womb are all one same word, *isiSu*. So he says, ' his wife has a belly ', meaning that ' she is with child ' ; or that ' she has already started a belly ', meaning that ' she has already conceived '. Women among themselves feel it more polite to speak in metaphors and to say that ' So-and-so has already ascended up out of the waters ' (*uSibanibani u-s'e-Kúpúkile emaNdzini*) ; by which she intends to say the reverse of what has actually happened, namely, that the ' water ' (or seed) has already ascended up into her and reached her womb ; in other words, that the union has been successful.

And yet, strange to say, the Zulu doctor claims to possess greater physiological knowledge than we ; for (he says) he can arrange the sex of offspring to order ! For instance, a woman bears nothing but boys ; or girls. Perfectly simple ; he can, as he says, ' turn her about ' (*ukuPéndula*) with ease. There happens to be a pretty little red-and-yellow lily (*gloriosa virescens*), whose forked roots resemble, some the male organ, some the female. By dosing the party with the appropriate ' organ ', he can ensure procurance of the sex desired : and even, sometimes, succeeds ! Should he fail, try the wonderful *iNyengelezi* weasel, dried whole and ground, and administered in water.

Gentlemen may prefer blondes, but certainly the Zulu, male and female, prefer boys every time. One would have

expected otherwise, seeing that a girl is saleable, a boy is not. But it is he that brings to the family all its strength, its glory and its greatness. Only he can accomplish brave deeds for the clan, and become renowned ; only he can perpetuate his father's house, which is a father's most ardent longing. How, indeed, could he face his ancestors in the nether world, the last of their line, so sadly fallen from his duty ? " Here, as almost everywhere in the south," writes Livingstone,¹⁴ " the height of good fortune is to bear sons, and a woman often leaves her husband altogether, if they have only daughters." After which it is rather surprising to be told that, among the neighbouring Sutus, " if it happens to be a boy, the rejoicings are judiciously mixed with regret ".¹⁵

Conception is recognized by the usual menstrual cessation and breast signs. A final thin and scanty menses that may follow union, they term *ukuGéza amaDolo* (to-wash-away the-knees—of the husband).

The bridal apron (*isiDiya*) is worn only by a bride, that is, only during one's first pregnancy. It is donned after union, and retained until the time of delivery. Should union have proven ineffective, the apron continues to be worn, in hopes ; and it may so be worn for a full two years ; whereafter the elder wives will order its removal, and the case be deemed hopeless. The wearing of this apron was not peculiar to the Zulus ; but was rather an aboriginal Bantu custom ; for Merolla¹⁶ wrote 200 years ago of the distant Congo Natives : " When the Women are with Child, they clothe themselves from the Loins to the Knees . . . with a sort of Rind taken off a Tree, which is like a coarse Cloth, and so neatly interwove, that it rather seems the Work of the Loom, than the Product of the Earth." The women receive " them at the hands of Wizards, who tell them, they ease the Burden of the great Belly and cause them to be easily delivered."

During the period of gestation, the female appetite becomes extraordinarily capricious. Usually an insuperable craving (*ukuTándiswa*) for meat, preferably roasted and fatty, and fresh green herbs or spinach (*iMfino*), preferably of the bitter sorts, sets in. On the other hand, a correspondingly strong dislike (*ukwAliswa*) arises for certain common food-stuffs, now found nauseating, e.g. with some, beer ; with

others, *amaSi* (sour clotted milk); with others again, bean mashes. The tendency to geophagy (earth-eating) prevalent in Northern Rhodesia, the Congo and elsewhere, is entirely unknown among the Zulus and other Nguni peoples. "It is a common practice," writes Ward,¹⁷ "for women to eat clay or sand at childbirth" among the Congo Bantu. The nearest approach among the Zulus to this habit is sometimes noticed among the infants, who eat earth, it is said, owing to the presence in them of worms.

But this *ukwAliswa* (or dislike) business is not confined to food; it extends also to persons. It is quite a common thing for a wife, about the period of conception, to be overcome by a sudden and inexplicable antipathy towards her husband, whom normally she dearly loves (*ukwAliswa iNdoda*). Some females even use the evil-smelling *uNukani* plant to keep the obnoxious man away!

It is a common belief among the Zulus, and indeed among most primitives, that the food we eat, not only builds up our bodies, but also passes its peculiar characteristics on to our minds and physique. Such an acquired resemblance the Zulus term an *uFúza* (a-taking-after). It is particularly necessary, therefore, that a wife, during pregnancy, be especially cautious as to what she eats, seeing that she is just then engaged in the very process of building up the form and character of a new being. Should she, for instance, be so unwise as to eat the flesh of a guinea-fowl, her child may turn out fitted with a narrow, flat-sided head (which is disliked); should she eat a hare, it may be disfigured with long ears; should she eat a swallow, she may bear children incapable of building even a decent nest (i.e. hut) for themselves. In this and a dozen other ways, the pregnant woman is encompassed by fears and needs for caution.

But in this she is merely like her primitive sisters elsewhere, who all find themselves in the same plight. For instance, the Carib wife dare not partake of tortoise or swine, lest the eyes of her offspring become 'piggy'; the Papuan and Hottentot will not eat the flesh of a buck, lest their children turn out to be timid. On the other hand, the Malay woman would indulge in tiger-meat, could she but get it, and so produce a fearless and courageous hunter. Sudanese women "believe they would have children like dogs, if they indulged in canine meat".¹⁸

Dreams, among primitive folk, mean contact with the spirit-world, and are consequently often pregnant with meaning. Zulu women, when pregnant, are therefore rather curious and attentive to what they dream; and their imagination, always pretty fertile, becomes then even more so. This is especially the case, as one might naturally expect, during the first and second months after union. Thus, should a wife at that time dream that she has entered into the water, or seen a field with an abundance of pumpkins, she knows that the union has been successful and that she has conceived (see remarks in preceding paragraphs about the 'tiny pumpkin' and the 'ascent out of the water'). Should she dream of a snake, green or black, or of a buffalo, that would prognosticate a 'boy'; if of a puff-adder, or that she had crossed a river-ford, a 'girl'.

Among the Bantu of Congoland, that a pregnant woman dream of water, does not, as among the Zulus, imply simply that she has conceived, but that she has conceived a *Shimbi* or incarnated water-sprite.¹⁹ By-the-way, women enceinte seem to have a special attraction to snakes, or *vice versa*. "In the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus women were visited in their dreams by a serpent—the reputed father of the child that was born".²⁰ In the Hindu *Puranas* too, one reads of Salivahana, the son, or rather, incarnation, of the great serpent. His mother conceived at the age of one year and a half, the great serpent gently gliding over her, whilst asleep in the cradle.²¹

Besides the natural female pregnancy, there was among the Zulus also a false (or magically procured) pregnancy, termed an *īQangane* or *īJoyi*. The Zulus were by nature a very hospitable people, and a refusal to partake of a person's food, was regarded as an insult and tantamount to an accusation of *ukuTákatá* (to-be-a-secret-poisoner). Such an injured party therefore, in his or her anger, would retort with the orthodox curse (which was much feared), *u-ng'-Eza kwaMi, ko-Ba ku-Za īQangane* (should you ever come again to my place, there will come along with you an *iQangane* or false pregnancy). As the threatened party was sure to come again, some day, the *īQangane* was as sure to befall her. This *iQangane* manifested itself by a swelling of the abdomen (perhaps from dropsy, uterine gas or other such cause), giving an impression of 'a

pregnancy without a child'. However, the curse was so dreaded, that the threatened individual always preferred to compound for the offence by speedily paying over to the injured party an amende before anything really happened. So was it in the 'good old days' of Native rule; but, in modern times, the *ĩQangane* curse has practically disappeared from Zulu life and custom. The only thing still left resembling it, is the so-called *ukuMit' umOya* (to-be-pregnant with-wind); which is, of course, simply the old *ĩQangane* complaint masquerading under a new and more accurate name. But while the modern *ukuMit' umOya* complaint no longer results from a curse, it is attributed to a cause equally wonderful, namely, to the presence in the bowels of the parasitic *ĩKámbi* beetle.

The Zulus reckon the normal length of gestation as nine moons, that is to say, the first moon (that in which union took place) not being counted (and hence known as *uKa-si-Balwa*, the-uncounted-one), seven complete moons would follow, and during the eighth (but before its completion) parturition would take place.

The word, *ukuZala* (to-give-birth-to), is in Zulu applied both to man and beast; but in the case of human-beings, its use is confined to the sense of 'to-generate, to-beget'. The term is therefore not properly applied to the actual delivery of the child by the mother; where the word, *ukuBeletá*, is always and only employed. A bride's first bearing is called *ukuZibula*; and her first child, the *ĩZibulo*; the last, the *ĩTumbu*.

"Bearing-down" pains are called *imSiko*; and the 'after-pains', *iziNtseka*. The 'show' is known as the *ĩBika* or *ũTá*; and the 'waters', as the *ĩNgcupé*.

It is a common delusion among Europeans that the ordinary pains of parturition are unknown to the Negro race. Quite the contrary is the fact; and the young wife especially, though yearning to behold her child, dreads the moment of its coming. Many have been the cases personally known to us, in which the agony, magnified no doubt by fear, has been such that, in her struggles, the mother has actually crushed and killed her baby. But these are exceptions. In the rule, Zulu women, always more robust and less nervy than their European

sisters, are comparatively more easily delivered, many instances having been met with in which the woman has given birth quite complacently when entirely alone and without any assistance whatsoever. Of such a hardy sample Isaacs²² wrote: "In two days after delivery, she recommences her daily avocations without apparent inconvenience . . . A woman who was pregnant travelled in company with me for twenty-five miles. We reached Natal at sunset; in the night she was delivered, and in the course of the next day I saw her with her child on her back, carrying on her head a two-gallon pot filled with water."

The position assumed when bearing (which always takes place inside the hut) is for the woman to kneel, with body bent and arms round the neck of another woman kneeling before her, who, in turn (or other women may do it for her), holds the mother tightly round the waist. Should the mother be alone, she kneels, resting upon her elbows, with hands flat on the ground. If delivery is difficult, she may rest on the left buttock with the ham flat on the floor, and the right leg slightly raised. The Sudanese method is not known to the Zulus, in which the mother kneels with her arms across a horizontal beam;²³ which practice seems to be in vogue also among the Kamba Bantu of Kenya Colony.²⁴ Still less do the Zulus follow the Rotse (Zambezi) habit of removing the mother from her hut and transplanting her out into the fields, where a sort of kennel is built for her.²⁵

To facilitate delivery several plant-medicines (*iNembe*) are employed, e.g. the *uGobó*, *ūHlunguhlungu*, *uMayime*, etc., as well as the sweetbread (*amaNyikwe*) of a cow, or the breast-meat of a crocodile. A practice, said nowadays to exist, of the husband sitting in a nude state before the bearing mother (presumably with the idea of causing sexual excitement and so easing parturition), is most decidedly *not* Zulu. The unspoilt Zulu is much too decent-minded to employ any such method. If it do really exist at all in the 'Whiteman's lands', it is without any doubt due to the sophistication brought with 'civilization'.

Babies present themselves in all manner of ways, hands first, legs first, breach first, head first, or with head covered with the caul (*ūLembu*, *iNgúbo*). Boy-babies are said to have

a habit of leaning or lying to one side in delivery. Some assert that a boy is much quieter in the womb than a girl. Among the Giryama Bantu near Mombasa, an infant that comes out feet first is promptly smothered, lest all crops become withered by drought.²⁶ The Zulus fortunately have not yet made that discovery.

Most Zulu women are delivered during the evening and early night time ; many, about or before dawn ; and but few during the day. This is, of course, in accord with normal mammalian practice. " Young monkeys," says Shelford,²⁷ are always born in the early hours of the morning before daylight, as almost, if not all, mammals are."

The placenta (*umZanyana*), with the severed navel-cord (*iNkaba*, *iNgalati*) attached, is usually buried, as already said, in the furrow running alongside the wall inside the hut, and sometimes at the back of the hut. With certain clans, however, e.g. the Ximba, the placenta and cord are buried out on the veld, preferably by a river or marshy spot. This procedure is not without some risk ; because, should some prowling beast gobble up the offal, the child would as surely die !

There is a good deal of myth and mystery attached to this placenta and navel-cord among the primitives. When a Zulu wishes to state where he was born, he will commonly say that his navel-cord lies in such-and-such a place. Elliot Smith²⁸ remarks of the Ancient Egyptians : " This material conception of the *ka* [=twin-personality or double ; *ba*=soul] as a double who is born with and closely linked to the individual, is very suggestive of the Baganda beliefs and rites connected with the placenta. At death . . . the placenta, which played an essential part in the original process [of birth], is restored to the deceased [at death]." From this, he thinks, is derived the Egyptian expression, ' he goes to his *ka* ' : you will note that the Zulu root for ' navel-cord ' is *Kaba* ; and for ' placenta ', *Za*. " In China," continues Elliot Smith, " the placenta, when placed under felicitous circumstances, is able to ensure the child a long life and to control his mental and physical welfare ".²⁹ Writing of the baGanda Bantu just mentioned, Speke³⁰ observes that the umbilical cord was preserved from birth, and at death was placed, if deceased was a male, inside

the door-frame ; if a woman, outside thereof. In Nigeria, "three different accounts were given me by the Kagoro," says Tremearne,³¹ "of what is done with the umbilicus of the newly-born child, one being that the part was burnt, the ashes mixed with grease, and rubbed on the child's head to harden it ; another, that the ashes were ground and eaten with yam ; and the third, that the cord was planted at the roots of yams to secure a good harvest next year."

The stupid practice, due to ignorance, of denying to the new-born babe its mother's colostrum, which is its natural food and medicine at this time, and the substitution therefor of a coarse cereal gruel which it could hardly digest, was and is certainly responsible for much infant suffering and subsequent ill-health ; and is no doubt the cause of another harmful practice at this same period of babyhood, of constantly plying the child with herbal enemas.

"The typical Negro," says Keith,³² "is not an old, but a relatively new type . . . Huxley believed, as did Bateson, that new races or species might come into being suddenly—by a jump. Certainly characters may, and I regard the woolly hair of the Negro as a case in point." Many common experiences made in Africa would seem to support this view. Though most Zulu babies are born with longish curly hair (not yet developed into the later small spirals), exceptional instances occur in which the hair is decidedly straight (in some infants of an ebony-black colour, in others of a dirty yellowish-black) ; though before the end of the first year the hair always assumes the full black colour and the normal Negro form of tiny coils. Some regard this straighter baby hair as atavism, due to an ancient commingling of the Negro and some Hamitic strain. But perhaps it may be a reversion to a type much older than that, namely, back to the original form of human hair, from which that of the Negro had deviated ; for you will remember that no other race than the Negro has this peculiar woolly hair.

We have never met with the 'blue-eyed' Zulu baby, mentioned by Elliot Smith as the normal Negro type. The iris, in our experience, has always been of so deep a brown (deeper even than that of adults) as to appear virtually black. At the

same time, we have certainly noticed a rich light-blue tint about the iris, but lying, as it seemed to us, above the deeper brown beneath. Where could this blue have come from? Was it from some invading 'blue-eyed' Hamites (if such there be!) of Northern Africa? Or from some still earlier African stock?

Nor is the skin of the new-born Zulu baby black. On the contrary, it is normally yellowish with a ruddy glow—'pink', as Weule³³ has it; 'yellow', as Elliot Smith.³⁴ So that Keith³⁵ may again be right when he surmises that "possibly the depth of his [the Negro's] pigmentation is also recent"; for, whatever the fairness of his skin at birth, it always darkens as the first few weeks pass by. More rarely, the reverse happens, and an infant born with the normal black skin, as it grows older, gradually lightens, the lighter patches becoming yellowish in certain places (which the Zulus call *ukuKánya*, to-become-light).

Miscarriages (*ukuPúpúma isiSu*, or *ukuBúluba*) are rather frequent among the Zulus. But their chemist-shops are well supplied with preventatives (generally called an *umSekelo*, a-propper-up); for instance, the *pyrenacantha scandens*, the *uMatúnga* (*cyrtanthus obliquus*), the *umKúhlu* (*strychnos*) and several other plants, many of them apparently possessing tonic properties. The artificial procurance of abortion was rare among the Zulus. Yet it did occur, with none so often as with the royal sweethearts—probably those of Shaka among them. The *uHlunguhlungu* (*vernonia corymbosa*) was then their usual stand-by.³⁶

Infant mortality has already been touched upon elsewhere (119). Though infant mortality no doubt always has been exceedingly heavy among the Zulus, the maternal death-rate at childbirth seems to us—there are no statistics available—to be very small. This general position is, of course, easily explained, namely, by the unusual robustness of constitution in the mother, and the uncommonly bad feeding and nursing of the infant.

We said before that, for the first few days after delivery, no male person enters the mother's hut. Had it chanced that at that moment war had been declared (*ukuHloma*), it had

been otherwise. Then could the father, resplendent in full war-kit, have cast the proprieties to the wind and, before setting out on the war-path, have intruded himself into the hut. This shameless indecency, it was thought, would have a fortifying effect against all the usual 'ill-lucks' associated with war, enabling him to escape every one of them unscathed (*uku-Téleza* or *ukuSulaza*).

Every Zulu child received from its father a 'personal' name (432), generally suggesting some physical peculiarity, or incident at birth, or commemorating some public or private event occurring at the time. Thus, a boy with particularly small eyes might be named *uNungu* (a-tiny-spot); or had a leopard just been killed near by, he might be called *uNgwékazi* (a-big-leopard). A mother who had continued menstruating during the early part of pregnancy, might call her daughter *uNongázi* (the-mother-of-blood), or had she given birth while on a journey, she might call her *uNozindlela* (the-path-mother); but had it, on the latter occasion, been a boy, then she would have called him *uNdleleni* (he-of-on-the-way). For, in the rule, both father and mother gave their child a name. But the father had the first right; so the mother held her name *in petto* until later on. The time came, however, when, after the official opening of the hut to men-folk and the general public, these latter generally started by enquiring the child's name. Father would then give them his reply, and mother hers; though some mothers were so unimaginative that they left the job solely to the father. Should the infant have received a name from each parent, one of them in course of time would usually oust the other, and itself henceforward alone prevail, that of the father in the case of boys, and that of the mother in case of girls.

The teaching of the child to take the breast was termed *ukuNcemulisa*, and the sucking of the babe *ukuNcela*. Sometimes the mother was unable to suckle her babe (through some breast ailment or other cause). In such cases, the infant was suckled artificially with cow's-milk—a little leather bag (*umNxuma*) being made, with a small orifice at the bottom through which the infant sucked, the mother meanwhile holding the bag suspended from her breast. Or the misfortune

might occur that the mother died in childbirth or soon after. On three or four such occasions we have known quite old women, even grandmothers of the infant (and themselves long beyond their menopause and ability to bear children of their own), able to excite their mammary glands to the production of milk by the simple process of constantly holding the baby to their breast and urging it to suck therefrom. In this way they have succeeded in suckling and rearing the child. Livingstone³⁷ also met with several similar cases. "I have examined," he writes, "several cases in which a grandmother had suckled a grandchild. Sina, of Kuruman [Lombengula's son] married when she was seventeen or eighteen, and had twins; Masina, her mother, after an interval of fifteen years since she suckled a child, applied one of them to her shrivelled breast, the milk flowed, and she was able to nurse the child entirely . . . Is it not possible that the story in the 'Cloud of Witnesses', of a man yielding milk when he put his child to his breast during the persecution in Scotland, may have been literally true? . . . Baron Humboldt quotes an instance where the male gave forth milk." We have ourselves met with unmarried Zulu girls who have been able to press, at any rate, the colostrum from their breasts. The famous Baca chief, Madikane, in south Natal, was celebrated in his time for his knowledge of how to obtain milk from an uncovered heifer;* indeed, all his regular supply of *amaSi* (clotted-milk) is said to have been drawn from such a beast and from none other. Unfortunately, the secret of how it was done died with him. But did it? With all our boasted scientific knowledge and our thousands of years of actual cow-milking, we have only recently been able to fathom that secret of the 'savage' chief, Madikane, living more than a hundred years ago away in south Natal! A reporter of the London *Sunday Express*, in its issue of 21st January, 1945, was informed, in an interview with the Cambridge University School of Agriculture, that "an accidental discovery while he was experimenting, led Mr. Hammond to the production of milk from cows and heifers without calves."

There are well authenticated cases in India of human infants having been reared by wolves and other jungle animals.

* Actual discoverer said to have been one, Ciya, member of same Zelemu clan, who passed on knowledge to his clan-chief (see Bryant, *O.T.*, 371).

Not many years ago, a Catholic convent there published a most interesting account of such a girl who had been 'captured' after having grown up in the forest, and was at the time being 'humanized', with small success, by the Sisters. The Zulus have no traditions of this kind; but only next door, in Portuguese East Africa, Natives assert "that lionesses frequently suckled children which they had carried off from native kraals or surprised upon the veldt . . . They were covered with hair, went on all fours, had their elbows and all prominent parts of their figures covered with callosities . . . had lost all power of speech, but howled like their foster-parents, and moreover smelt exactly like them".³⁸

Although the times differ in different individuals, the Zulu child usually learns to sit up on its buttocks about the fifth month after birth (*ukuHlala*). During the sixth month, it starts crawling on hands and knees (*ukuKása* or *ukuGáqa*), and subsequently on hands and one or both feet. About the ninth month, it assumes the erect or standing posture (*ukuMa*), and, at first with some difficulty, begins to walk (*ukuCatúla*). At this time also it commences to speak, and apparently to understand odd spoken words. Although during the preceding couple of months it may have been able to utter several distinct syllables, it now in the ninth month constantly cries out *ta ta* (with the closed or soft or weak *t*), then *ma ma*, *ba ba*, all probably mere quite meaningless sounds. But herein, without any doubt, we may find the explanation of the fact that precisely these words have come, in Bantu speech (and, indeed, almost all the world over) to signify, *tata* and *baba*, father, and *mama*, mother.

A full two years as a rule elapse before the Zulu child is weaned (*ukuLumula*), though suckling is quite frequently prolonged into the third and even into the fourth year.³⁹ Park⁴⁰ observed this latter also among the Guinea Negroes, where "three years' nursing is not uncommon." Among the American Indians it may extend until even the 5th or 7th year.⁴¹ But should a Zulu mother become pregnant again during the nursing period, the child is immediately removed from the breast, as her milk 'would then prove injurious to the suckling babe.' To facilitate the process of weaning, a piece of the

iMfingo cycad (*stangeria paradoxa*) was strung round the infant's neck, in order 'to make it forget'. Should the *iMfingo* fail and the child still 'remember', then, upon resorting to the breast, it would find it well smeared with the bitter juice of the aloe plant (*umHlaba*); which invariably proved effective.

Many Zulu mothers strangely lose their hair (*ubuTete*) about the temples and ears during the suckling period; but it grows again after weaning.

The *umKondo* practice (614) was not peculiar to the Zulus; but was rather an early Bantu superstition, since it rules also among the Nyanza peoples, whence the Zulus came. "When [in Uganda] a pregnant woman wished to pay a visit anywhere," writes Roscoe,⁴² "her husband would send with her a boy belonging to his clan, whose duty it was to beat the grass on either side of the path . . . in order to take away any evil effects which a man passing beforehand might have left behind." And as for the magic smoking process (*ukuTinqisela*, 614), even in some parts of Scotland the new-born babe "was handed across the fire in those places where the hearth was still in the centre of the room".⁴³

It is usual with many Zulu mothers to compose, quite spontaneously, a little cradle-song or lullaby (*isiHlabelelo*), both words and tune, for each of their new-born babes—a feat, we imagine, which few European mothers could emulate. This song she loves to sing to the child when lulling it to sleep or toying with it; and it is repeated again at that child's first menstruation and at its marriage (if it be a girl).

Every Zulu baby has its nurse-girl (*umZanyana*), generally an elder sister or a borrowed relative, and usually from 6 to 12 years of age. It is her business to care for the child when its mother is otherwise engaged; which is for the major part of the day. When the infant gets a fit of crying, the nurse (who always carries it on her back; for that is the Zulu cradle) gently shakes it up and down, the while she chants the orthodox ditty, *Tiindu, mNtwana! uNyoko ka-Lima-nga, u-Libele izi-Ntwala emaHlangeni abaNtu; u-Ti, wo-Z' u-Sinde* (hush, child! your mother has not yet hoed, she is busy with lice in

other peoples fields ; she says she will be coming to smear the floor with cow-dung).

The Eastern Bantu tribes seem to be predominantly 'back-carriers'—the Hereros in South-west Africa, who also carry their infants on their backs, being, of course, also of north-east African origin.⁴⁴ Merolla⁴⁵ found this method also on the Congo ; but generally speaking, about Angola the infants sit astraddle on their mothers' hips, left or right.⁴⁶ As one would expect, in the Central African regions both practices combine. Babies in Zambezia are "carried on the mother's hip, or on the small of the back bound to her person by a shawl or piece of calico".⁴⁷ The same double practice is noticed also among the Congo Pygmies.⁴⁸ On the Nile, the Nuers prefer back-riding ;⁴⁹ but among the Manja and Golo peoples of the Bahr-al-Ghazal, a sling is hung across the mother's right shoulder, in which the child rides astride on her left hip.⁵⁰ Rather strangely, Livingstone⁵¹ found something like this among the South Congo Lundas, where, "instead of a skin or cloth to carry their babies in, the women plait a belt, about four inches broad, of the inner bark of a tree, and this, hung like a soldier's belt, enables them to support the child by placing it on their side in a sitting position." The Zulu method is for the infant to sit astride on its mother's back, with legs forward on each side of her, the child sitting within and the legs supported by a leathern bag-arrangement (*iMbeleko*), the four long corners of which, gathered together, she passes under her arms and ties in a knot above her breast. She may sometimes be seen hoeing in the fields or kneeling at the grindstone with the infant bound in this position, the constant movement lulling the infant to sleep. Mostly, however, she hands it over, baby and bag, to the nurse-girl, who always remains at home. Hip-carrying also is not absolutely unknown among the Zulus ; but it is only resorted to for a short time or for some special reason.

We spoke just now (617) of the baby's father 'jumping over' it prior to resuming intercourse with his wife. This custom too takes us back to Uganda, where, as so often before, we find its simile. "If a man," says Roscoe,⁵² "had a young child that was still being nursed, then, before he set out [on a journey], his wife brought out the child's bedding, and the

husband jumped over it, and then he jumped over his wife. Should he omit these precautions, and during his journey have intercourse with any other woman, his child would die, and his wife would also fall ill." Similarly, when the Uganda king had been away to mourn for a deceased relative and had returned, his wife had to be jumped over [perhaps to clear the way for intercourse] by a special high official, and so be freed of all mystical effects.⁵³

We mentioned just now that the Zulu infant usually starts speaking by uttering the sounds, *ta ta ta*, and about the same time displays a habit of picking up small objects within reach and carrying them about or handing them over to any person near by. Should a person be presented with an object in this way, he should accept it as 'a gift from the ancestral-spirits' and take it home with him; for it is a sign of exceptional 'spiritual' favour and good-luck.—Incidentally, this baby-cry of *ta ta ta* and at the same time often grabbing up small objects near by, may suggest to us the origin of the Zulu word, *Tátá*, to-take; and also provide the first exhibition of that universal human instinct for 'possessing' and 'acquiring', as well as of 'giving'.

Tribal marks of some kind or other are common among primitive peoples all the world over. Among the Polynesians and American Indians, they take the form of tattooing; among Australians,⁵⁴ as well as many East African and Congo Bantu, the form of cicatrization;⁵⁵ while in Guinea, all Negro children, says Park,⁵⁶ receive some such marks somewhere on the body soon after birth. The Zulus knew nothing of such tribal or clan marks (*ũPáwu*); indeed, for primitives, they were singularly free from most kinds of body-mutilation. There were many clans, however, among the Nguni Natives of Natal who did affect such facial markings; for instance, the clans of the *Debe* group, the *eNtlangwini* and others; but these markings were not disagreeably conspicuous or disfiguring, consisting as a rule of very fine slits down the cheeks or forehead.

We think Darwin⁵⁷ was right, when he wrote: "There is reason to suspect, as Malthus has remarked, that the reproductive power is actually less in barbarous, than in civilized

racés . . . From the concurrent testimony of missionaries and others who have long resided with such peoples, it appears that their families are usually small, and large ones rare." Of the Nyamwezi Bantu of Tanganyika Colony, Declé⁵⁸ declares that "families are very small, males predominating; women with more than one child are the exception . . . Three children are the most I found belonging to one wife. Drugs are employed to produce sterility." All which is obviously the result of contact with Arab 'civilization'; for these Nyamwezis provided them with the very best of *safari* carriers, and these latter naturally preferred to take with them wives 'travelling light', the temporary expedient gradually crystallizing into a confirmed habit. The Kambas, over the border in Kenya Colony, were a much more normal Bantu tribe, not so subject to Arab influence; and among them, we are told,⁵⁹ the "average number of children is from four to six." Indeed, one Kamba man had succeeded in producing 17 children out of 2 wives. Park⁶⁰ attributed it to over-long nursing that, among the Guinea Negroes, the "family of each wife is seldom very numerous. Few women have more than five or six children." In that computation, we believe, Park has about struck the maximum Negro average.

Judging from long observation (we know of no actual statistics on the point), we would hazard a guess that a normally robust wife in Zululand (and there are a good number who are not so normally robust) bears on an average 4 or 5 children, of whom an average of, say, $3\frac{1}{4}$ only live to reach adult age. A few wives bear 6 or 7 children; but a wife bearing any number higher than that (though stray specimens certainly can be found) is so uncommon, that at the moment we cannot recollect ever having met one. The percentage of infant mortality (say, 35 per cent.), however, remains almost unaltered throughout. The following statement by Theal⁶¹ concerning Cape Xosa women (who are close relatives of the Zulus) may be noted. Referring to certain returns furnished by magistrates and missionaries, he says, that they embraced 393 women, wives of monogamists, and 591 women, wives of polygamists. The 393 wives of monogamists bore 2,223 children, averaging 5.65 apiece. The 591 wives of polygamists bore 3,298 children 5.58 apiece. And he concludes, "thus monogamy in this respect made hardly any appreciable difference in the birth-rate."

A Zulu woman who bears 'prolifically' (i.e. say, over 7 children) is said to *Hūlula* ('slip them off', like beads from a string)—the same word being applied also to the 'littering' of a pig. Of the husband it would be said, *u-Zale isiHlwa*, *u-Zalise okweMpuku yōBofu*, *okwēQanda leNjelwane* (he-has-begotten a-termite-swarm, begotten like-a-stench-mouse, like-a-porcupine's egg). Such terms being always used in a derogatory sense and much disliked, one may conclude that the Zulus do not admire such 'large family' breeders. Furthermore, a wife bearing children at too short intervals, that is, becoming again pregnant while the preceding child is still at the breast, is said to *Nyemfuza*, that is, to bear lifeless, indolent, good-for-nothing children. A full year at least is usually allowed to elapse after childbirth before a new impregnation; so that the children normally follow each other at intervals of approximately two years.

With primitive peoples, all that pertains to the sexual functions, involving, as it does, the preservation of the tribe, is a matter of paramount importance. Generative inability on the other side is accordingly more than deplored; it is a calamity.

Zulu men appear to be more lastingly 'virile' than European. One often finds the sexual urge still going strong even at 80 and 90 years of age. Whether the act would prove procreative, or not, is another question; and undiscoverable, seeing that young wives are, nowadays, an unattainable luxury for such old rakes. Male impotency, then, except when due to some organic derangement (much commoner since the Whiteman's coming than it used to be; from the introduction by him of venereal diseases), may be taken as rare. Among the Zulu royal house individuals have been known in past times, who were so inordinately fat, that report declared them to be 'incapable'. Anyway, though wives they had in abundance, there was never any appearance of a child. A man who from stricture or some other such cause, finds himself incapable of ejecting the seed, is said to be suffering from stiffened loins (*ūKálo oluLukini*). But whatever be the cause of the impotency, the Zulu doctors claim to have their specifics⁶² (save in the case of the Whiteman's bringings). Whether his remedies are of any use, is rather doubtful.

But if impotency is lamented in the male, sterility in the female is even more deplored, if only because a high price has been paid for her. In these present times, we find barrenness to be by no means uncommon among Zulu females, and, more than that, it seems to us to be definitely on the increase, especially among the 'semi-civilized' community. Yet here again, the Zulu pharmacopœia is rich in reputed remedies,⁶³ which, by some happy piece of luck, are sometimes claimed to be efficacious. Anyway, their remedies are probably quite as efficacious as the leek, which was the prize specific of the celebrated medieval Salernite professors for sterility.⁶⁴ In this complaint, too, the Zulu women appear to be much better off than are their Sutu sisters, who, under similar circumstances, are said to have to place their trust in the following sorry resource. For several months the barren Sutu wife carries on her back a doll-child made of wood or clay. When she feels it is long enough (in other words, when she feels herself well saturated with auto-suggestion), she throws the doll away into the swamp named *Khapong*, and awaits the coming of the real thing. Should this fail to materialize, she fishes out the doll again and repeats the procedure, until it does act : which it does, sometimes !⁶⁵

A Zulu woman who, having regular menses (*ĩFindo*), yet entirely fails to procure offspring, is termed an *ũBónya* ; but she who has neither menses nor children, an *ũDlolo* or *ĩNyumba*. The curative process employed in both cases is called *ukuGéqa* (to-scrape-out) ; which does not imply, as one might suppose, any curetting of the womb, but simply a removal of, what they call, the 'uterine inflammation' (*ukuFúndumala kwesiSu*) by means of divers plant-remedies applied either by mouth or by vagina. The process employed in the case of a woman whose children habitually die, is called *ukuMisela* (to-cause-to-stand-firm, or survive) ; and in that of a woman disposed to premature delivery, *ukuSekela* (to-prop-up or support).

The Negro babe was badly handicapped right from the start of its little life. It had to run the gauntlet of all manner of superstitions and menacing contingencies. Should it chance to be deformed, in the Congo it was killed forthwith.⁶⁶ Among the Giriyama near Mombasa, the mothers are too conscientious to kill their babes ; so, should the child be born feet foremost,

or grow its upper teeth before the lower, it is tenderly handed over to the medicine-man, who promptly takes it to the forest and leaves it there, to die of starvation or exposure or wild beasts.⁶⁷ The neighbouring Taveta mothers appear to be almost equally squeamish ; for when there famine drives a poor mother distraught, she gently lays her baby on the brink of a precipice, and goes away. When it rolls over into the abyss, she, anyway, had no hand in its destruction.⁶⁸ A similar method prevails among the Guinea Negroes, where, in the case of a mother dying, "very young children they do not attempt to keep, but throw them away in the bush alive—as all children are thrown who have not arrived in this world in the way considered orthodox, or who cut their teeth in an improper way".⁶⁹ The Zambebian Bantu bury their little 'deformities' alive ; except when too soft-hearted, in which case they strangle them. Babies prematurely born, being not worth burying alive, are simply chucked into the river.⁷⁰

From the preceding it would appear that the universal Negro law decreed simply that all abnormalities should be destroyed, leaving the method to local taste. Were our Zulus any more humane ? We fear not. Says Ludlow :⁷¹ "Any child who at birth shows symptoms of idiocy, or has any deformity, is treated in the same way as in the case of twins, being laid down in an empty hut to die." But there was a good deal more in this twin business than Ludlow states. Whenever an obvious monstrosity was born, or a child who, through some deformity, proved, after a year or two of trial, incapable of ever becoming an *umuNtu* (a normal human-being), perhaps through inability to stand or walk, a cow was first of all slaughtered for the ancestral spirits ; after which a goat was taken and tethered near some local forest, with the child comfortably laid down beside it to be devoured by any passing wild beast. The treatment of twins differed slightly from this, but only in its procedure ; though equally barbarous and cruel.

This twin business seems to have been a phenomenon that rather puzzled and frightened humanity right up from its earliest days. Right round the world from America to Japan, twins were universally regarded as something decidedly 'suspect', to say the least.⁷² Yet exceptionally they were welcomed with joy.

The Zulus were well aware that, physiologically speaking, there are two types of twins—in one of which, they say, each individual possessed a separate placenta (presumably these were the so-called 'accidental' twins, who do not generally resemble each other any more than do two ordinary brothers or sisters); while in the other, the twins are connected by a single placenta and navel-cord, the latter, however, bifurcating half-way down, one branch going off to each child (presumably the so-called 'identical' twins, who, deriving from the same cell, are nearly indistinguishable). The first to be delivered the Zulus called the *uNqangi* or *uTshana*; the second (by some said to be the strongest of the pair), they called the *uMuvá* (if a boy), the *uMváse* (if a girl). The child next following twins was called the *iMfúsi*.

Whenever twins were born, a cow or goat was at once slaughtered by the father to the ancestral spirits, the spirits being always held responsible for such occurrences: hence twins were sometimes referred to as *amaKosi* (ancestral-lords)—see remark on 'twins in Uganda', further on. Out of the skin of the sacrificial beast was made an *umNqwamba* (a sort of pair of braces, worn over the shoulders and crossed both over chest and back: the same article as is worn also by *abaNgóma* (spirit-priests or necromancers). But all this pious worship did not deter the family one whit from murdering one of the twins upon earliest possibility. The baby chosen, among the Zulus, was that which arrived last, whether boy or girl; though some clans, it is said, held the belief that the child last born had been the first conceived, and so, presumably, was that which was preserved. Were the kraal one of standing, possessing several wives, these would someday arrange to send the mother off on some errand (as to fetch firewood or water), and then during her absence quickly throttle the babe (by holding the windpipe squeezed), or else suffocate it (by thrusting a clod of earth down its throat), and immediately bury it just outside the doorway of the maternal hut (there where one treads when going out). Were it a one wife family, or had the other wives not the nerve to throttle the babe, then the latter would be gently laid down by the mother herself at the back of (*emSamo*) her hut, or preferably of an empty one, if obtainable, and there simply left to die of starvation, and later buried as before.

All this was said to be necessary, because, if both twins lived, their father would surely die.

Should the surviving twin later on sicken, it was smoked (*ukuTúnqisela*), again like the *abaNgóma*, in the fragrant incense of the *iMpepó* plant (always sacred to the gods), and bathed in *iMpepó* water over the grave of its already buried partner. The sacred braces and bracelets were continuously worn, perhaps for two or three years, until it appeared clear that the child was growing normally. But should it, at any time in future life (even when adult), get sick again, the already removed braces and bracelets were immediately re-worn, as an invocation to the spirits for protection.

At last, however, times changed, and manners with them. Even during the closing years of purely Native rule in Zululand, twin-killing had already tended to die out, and in these present times of actual British government, it has become practically extinct. The sacrificial ceremonies, however, are still religiously performed, and, for the rest, both twins are left in the lap of the gods.

Primitive peoples are always suspicious of the 'strange' and scared by the 'unnatural'. This is the only explanation we can think of to account for these weird and barbarous practices. For it is not among the Zulus alone that we encounter such. Right through the Bantu field they everywhere prevail; or rather we should say, the Bantu view is divided, some tribes regarding twins as lucky, others as distinctly unlucky. The Kamba view, in Kenya Colony, approaches nearest to that of the Zulus. With them, "twins, which are not infrequent, are supposed to bring bad luck, as it is thought the father will die before they grow up to be strong; the waKamba do not, however, kill twins".⁷³ But this last fact appears to be a recent innovation; for formerly the female twin used to be buried alive, lest ill-fortune befall the family. Nowadays, the slaughter of a couple of goats suffices to ward off the evil.⁷⁴ Similar progress is evidenced also among the neighbouring Nika Bantu—"formerly twins were destroyed; but the custom does not prevail among the present race of waNika".⁷⁵ Yet among the Chagas near by it still prevails right enough;⁷⁶ and among the Tavetas too, one of the pair is removed.⁷⁷ Among the Nyanza tribes opinions differ. Says Speke:⁷⁸ "I was told how a Myoro [umNyoro] woman, who

bore twins that died, now keeps two small pots in her house, as effigies of the children, into which she milks herself every evening . . . lest the spirits of the dead should persecute her. The twins were not buried, as ordinary people are buried, underground, but placed in an earthenware pot, such as the waNyoro use for holding *pombe*. They were taken to the jungle and placed by a tree, with the pot turned mouth downwards . . . In Nguru, one of the sister provinces of Unyanyembe, twins are ordered to be killed and thrown into water the moment they are born, lest droughts and famines or floods should oppress the land. Should anyone attempt to conceal twins, the whole family would be murdered by the chief. . . . In the province of Unyanyembe, if a twin or twins die, they are thrown into the water for the same reason as in Nguru; but as their numbers increase the size of the family, their birth is hailed with delight. Still there is a source of fear there in connection with twins . . . for when one dies, the mother ties a little gourd to her neck as a proxy, and puts into it a trifle of everything which she gives to the living child, lest the jealousy of the dead spirit should torment her." The Nilotic Kavirondo also have a strong dislike to twins; and, when a pair is born, by way of penance both parents must stay inside their hut for the space of at least one month, not daring even to answer nature's calls.⁷⁹ In Nigeria (Cross River),⁸⁰ "twins are regarded with abhorrence throughout the district. . . . It is considered that one of the children is due to her [the mother's] intercourse with a man, the other to her intercourse with some evil spirit. Her husband repudiates her, and she is driven away from the community. The twins used generally to be killed, or one destroyed and the other permitted to live." Among some tribes thereabouts, both mother and offspring were killed.⁸¹ The Asaba Ibos (in Nigeria) are equally chary of twins, and throw them away, believing that "the birth of twins is purely animal in its nature".⁸² "Twins are killed," says Mary Kingsley,⁸³ "among all the Niger delta tribes. . . . There is always a sense of there being something uncanny regarding twins in West Africa, and in those tribes where they are not killed, they are regarded as requiring great care to prevent them dying on their own account. . . . The terror with which twins are regarded in the Niger delta is exceedingly strange and real. . . . The main horror is undoubtedly of the

child, the mother being killed more as a punishment for having been so intimately mixed up in bringing the curse, danger and horror into the village. . . . I have tried to find out the reason of this widely diffused custom which is the cause of such a pitiful waste of life. . . . But I have never been able to hunt it down." Whatever fate they brought to others, twins in Biheland (Angola) were certainly themselves unlucky. They were always treated as one person—fed together, thrashed together, married together (to the same husband or wife), and left to die together. "No doctor may be called, nor any medicine administered, all mourning being deprecated. God, they say, did the deed of creating 'terrible twins', and God must kill or cure them".⁸⁴ When, with the Rotses (Upper Zambezi) "twins are born, it is related that the last arrival is sacrificed to their belief that it is unholy, and the poor little mite is thrown to the crocodiles in the Zambezi".⁸⁵ On the Lower Zambezi,⁸⁶ the twin's lot is not one whit the happier—it is "regarded with horror . . . the second child is at once put to death"; we hope in a manner more merciful than among the Nyikas of Rhodesia, where, it is said, both twins are thrust into a big pot, hot ashes piled upon them, and there left to roast, later on being cooled down by burial in water or in a swamp.⁸⁷ Chwana, Pedi and Venda Sutus, as well as the Xosa Ngunis, all alike either strangle, abandon or otherwise rid themselves of one or both of these human 'pests'. Even among the Bushmen,⁸⁸ the same old dread prevails, and one or both are killed, as portending ill-luck to the parents.

From all this horror with which twins were almost universally hailed from Nigeria and Mombasa in the north to the Bushmen in the south, pass now to Uganda, and witness the ceremonies, dances, tabus, and frantic efforts to avert the calamity of their death! So numerous and elaborate were these, that they might well have signaled the birth of royalty. Sacred certainly they were, and not unwelcome by any means; for "they were regarded as due to the direct intervention of the god, Mukasa." And was not Mukasa the very highest of the gods, as Roscoe tells us,⁸⁹—god of the lake, controlling the storms, multiplying the fish, granting safe travel; the god of plenty bestowing abundance of food, of cattle, of children? That at once explained all this sudden turn-about in twin-treatment—ill-treat the twins, and you will be ill-treating the

great god himself. Then woe betide you. Thus it came about that, when Speke⁹⁰ visited King Kamrasi, in the neighbouring kingdom of Unyoro, the latter celebrated the birth to himself of twins by maintaining a continuous drumming throughout a period of four moons. Hereros⁹¹ and Hottentots,⁹² Yawos of Nyasaland,⁹³ some of the Congo tribes⁹⁴ and the Temne Negroes away in Sierra Leone,⁹⁵ are others who hail the advent of twins with joy.⁹⁶

It is said that in Britain, 4 out of every 350 births are those of twins, and that, of these four, 1 is 'identical' and 3 'accidental'. No statistics are procurable concerning the Zulus in this regard; but we should expect to find the proportion of twins to be somewhat lower than that for Britain.

We have never heard what exactly happened, in older times of Native rule, in the case of triplets; except that they were considered a still greater disaster than twins. That they occasionally occurred, we know, because we were personally acquainted with a Zulu wife, who, after having once laid four babies at a sitting, then broke the record the following season by laying five! All died; save the hen.

1. Merolla, *V.C.*, 688.
2. Clodd, *T.T.T.*, 96.
3. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 290; Frazer, *T.*, 32.
4. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 312; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 592.
5. Shooter, *K.N.*, 34, 35; MacDonald, *A.*, vol. I, 224; Bramley, *Man*, VI, 102; Frazer, *T.*, 32.
- 5a. Viehe, *F.L.J.*, May, 1879.
6. Shooter, *K.N.*, 35; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 259, 260, 280, 372.
7. Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 304; *W.A.S.*, 147.
8. *T.*, 278.
9. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 30.
10. ib. 28.
11. Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 292.
12. Westermarck, *H.M.*, 151.
13. Old, *S.K.*, 167.
14. *T.*, 278.
15. Martin, *B.*, 94.
16. *V.C.*, 688.
17. *V.C.*, 252.
18. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. II, 163.
19. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 639.
20. *Ency. Brit.*, 'Serpent Cults'.
21. F. Welford, *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*, Brit. Mus. MSS.
22. *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 290.

23. Schweinfurth, *H.A.*, vol. I, 142.
24. Bergh, *T.P.*, 57.
25. Coillard, *T.C.A.*, 399.
26. W. Barrett, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 41, p. 22.
27. *N.B.*, 11.
28. *E.D.*, 47.
29. *ib.* 48.
30. *D.S.N.*, 394.
31. *T.H.H.*, 238.
32. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 58, p. 312-3.
33. *E.A.*, 281.
34. *H.H.*, 138.
35. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 58, p. 313.
36. Roscoe, *N.*, 123.
37. *T.*, 85.
38. Gillmore, *T.G.L.*, 202.
39. Merolla, *V.C.*, 689.
40. *T.*, 203.
41. Fric and Radin, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 388.
42. *B.*, 49.
43. Gomme, *E.F.*, 131.
44. Galton, *T.S.A.*, 116.
45. *V.C.*, 696.
46. Capello, *B.T.Y.*, vol. I, 34, 74, 198.
47. Maugham, *Z.*, 327.
48. Mecklenburg, *H.A.*, 201.
49. Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. I, 234.
50. *ib.* vol. I, 348.
51. *T.*, 311.
52. *B.*, 17.
53. *ib.* 206.
54. Frazer, *T.*, 28.
55. Frobenius, *C.M.*, 31.
56. *T.*, 207.
57. *D.M.*, 45.
58. *S.A.*, 348.
59. *ib.* 491.
60. *T.*, 203.
61. *E.S.A.*, 405.
62. Bryant, *Z.M.*, 53 sq.
63. *ib.* 55 sq.
64. Walsh, *M.M.*, 54.
65. Martin, *B.*, 93.
66. Ward, *V.C.*, 252.
67. Fitzgerald, *B.E.A.*, 202.
68. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 173.
69. Kingsley, *T.W.A.*, 324 ; *W.A.S.*, 125.
70. Maugham, *Z.*, 327 ; Torday and Joyce, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 292.
71. Ludlow, *Z.C.*, 65.

72. Lubbock, *O.C.*, 20-1.
73. Decle, *S.A.*, 491.
74. Hobley, *K.*, 61 ; Bergh, *T.P.*, 57.
75. New, *L.E.A.*, 118.
76. *ib.* 458.
77. MacQueen, *W.A.*, 173.
78. *D.S.N.*, 425.
79. Bergh, *T.P.*, 195.
80. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 38, 257 ; Kingsley, *W.A.S.*, 125.
81. Partridge, *C.R.N.*, 62.
82. Parkinson, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 317.
83. *T.W.A.*, 324.
84. Crawford, *T.B.*, 73.
85. Schulz, *N.A.*, 406.
86. Maugham, *Z.*, 327.
87. Wanger, *C.*, 182.
88. Schapera, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 26, p. 117-8.
89. Roscoe, *B.*, 64, 124, 290, 299, 358.
90. *D.S.N.*, 418.
91. Schapera, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 26, p. 117.
92. Kolben, *C.G.H.*, vol. I, 143-4.
93. Weule, *E.A.*, 283.
94. Ward, *V.C.*, 252.
95. Anwyl, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, 16, p. 113.
96. See also Werner, *B.C.A.*, 79 ; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. I, 287 ; *Man*, 21, 140 ;
Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst., 36, p. 317 ; Samuelson, *Z.*, 118.

Chapter 15

Pumepi Reaches Puberty

Pumepi grew up to be a sleek and merry girl, and in 15 years' time, physiologically speaking, she 'became of age'. Of course, her race being all too sensible and frank to make any pretence of concealing as secrets what everybody knew, the interesting event came as no mystery to her. For the last seven or eight years, from mother and elder sisters she had learned all there was to know about it. She therefore awaited its coming with well-open eyes.

First she had noticed the growth of hair about the pubes (*isiBumbu*), then a filling-out and certain shininess (*uku-Cwebezela*) about the breasts, and the appearance about them and about the legs of darkened streaks or patches (*umMnyama*—peculiar only to some); while her elders declared they noticed a growing seriousness in her demeanour and maturing of expression (*ukuVutwa ebuSweni*). Then suddenly one night the long-expected happened, and her first menses were upon her (*ukuTomba, uDwa*).

Rising early in the morning, she sat there in silence where she had slept, and spoke not a word to anyone. This strange behaviour spoke volumes to her mother, who, unrequested, proceeded at once to action. She sent out some of the girls to dig up the red roots of the *iMpindisa* shrub (*rubia cordifolia*)—had they not found that plant, they would have substituted those of the *iNdawo* rush (*cyperus esculentus*). With these she made an infusion, mixed it with a thick porridge (*umBaqanga*) of *uJiba* sorghum, and gave it to Pumepi, who, with many

wry faces, ate it; for the *iMpindisa* juice was anything but toothsome. For seven days Pumepi was fed in this way, and all the time, while in the menstrual state (*nōDwa*), she remained resting on her mat within her mother's hut. When at length she emerged from the ordeal, she appeared with her face all smeared with red-clay (*iBomvu*)—in which smearing all the other girls round about of her own age-group followed her example—and henceforth she abstained (*ukuZila*) from all *amaSi* (sour clotted milk).

After a few days, her mother reported this latter fact to Pa, who considered it his duty to liberate her forthwith both from the milk tabu and from her menstrual condition (*uku-lu-Susa ūDwa*). So he selected a goat (or maybe a yearling calf), and had it slaughtered to clear away all shackles and contamination. This beast he called the *umHlonyane* (worm-wood) or the *e-yoku-Beletisa ūTúnga* (that-for-helping-her-to-carry-the-milk-pail); but strange to say, the slaughtered beast was not to be eaten by her or any of her age-group, nor by her mother or any other of *her* age-group, but only by the younger wives of the family.

Two or three months passed by, when father once more found himself involved, by Zulu custom, in the still more important duty of 'bringing his daughter out', that is, of placing her out upon the public market (*uk-Omula*). Many fathers, however, and Pumepi's was among them, were dilatory in the performance of this duty, and so postponed the ceremony for quite a long time, even for years; by which time, of course, the debutante had already provided herself with a sweetheart long ago.

When, however, the ceremony did take place, the first step was to erect the 'stage'. So off her father sent his sons to cut the necessary sticks and, in Pumepi's mother's hut, to build, on the left-hand side, a wicker-screen (*umGónqo*) some three feet high and closed all round, save at the posterior part. Into this cage Pumepi now was ordered, there to remain, perhaps for weeks, withdrawn from public view (*ukuGóya*), till ordered out. Whenever there was need to go outside, she had to do so covered, head and body (*ukuGúbuzela*), by her kaross. To keep her company in the hut, she chose a girl-friend, whom she called her *ūPini* (haft or handle).

At this same time, her elder sisters too went out and invited all their girl friends to come and help them twist the *isiKónko* grass, and then to make therewith the several costumes (called *uMapótá*) needed for the coming celebration. This work took them many weeks, throughout which time Pumepi continued out of sight behind her screen. Now, the purpose of this long seclusion was, we think, none other than to emphasize the fact that the coming celebration was indeed 'a coming out', an entrance or debut upon a new stage in life; whence the whole ceremony had been aptly named *ukOmula* (to-start-anew).

The costumes finished, and the beer already brewed, the fattest ox was slaughtered for the morrow's feast (*ukOmulisa*). Then a troop of girls went off, singing *iziTómbiso* (menstruation-songs) as they marched, and invited Pumepi's sweetheart (now called the *umBoneli weNyoni*, the-greeter-of-the-little-bird caged in her trap), with a party of his friends, to grace the entertainment with their presence.

Only too delighted, the guests arrived that very evening, and spent the night, or most of it, with the other youths in their private hut performing *imCwayo* sitting-dances; the girls, in that of Pumepi, singing *iziTómbiso* songs to the constant booming of the menstruation drum (*iNgingú*), which deadened all other noise with its deep resonance heard in the kraals half a mile away.

When the 'bright young things' had judged sufficient noise to have been made, some of the *abaBoneli* (sweetheart's party) went home to sleep, while others remained and slept where they were. On the following morning all re-assembled. The girls attired themselves within Pumepi's hut in grass costumes and leathern kilts. Thereafter out they trooped in single file into the open courtyard, with, first, Pumepi's *ĩPini* girl, and, last, Pumepi herself. Each girl was covered from head to foot with long hanging fringes of *isiKónko* grass—one encircling the head to screen the face, one hanging round her neck, a third above the breasts, and the lowest engirdling the hips, with a couple on each arm. Thereto Pumepi (whose hair had been dressed in *umYeko* (or inverted-mop) fashion) added, in her right hand, an assegai (tipped with a maize-cob) and in her left a small *umDlela* shield. This

assegai had been borrowed yesterday from her sweetheart, but would henceforth remain her property.

Out in the courtyard, the girls formed themselves into a ring, into the centre of which two girls at a time advanced, Pumepi and her *īPini* leading, and performed an *iNgcekeza* dance, the while the other girls sang and clapped with hollowed palms (*ukuNqukuza*). Thus, couple after couple, they danced, till all the girls had had their turn. Then, having doffed their grass costumes (later to be carefully burned), but retaining their leathern kilts, their grass *umNqwamba* braces and their broad grass waist-belts (see illustrs., Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 480), the girls marched out in single file on to the open veld, where they performed a series of wedding-dances (*imGcagco*) and, when sated, sat down upon the grass and watched the *abaBoneli* youths dance an *isiGékle* and other such, the while the matrons of the family trotted joyfully about before the assembly, with faces and breasts spotted with white clay (*umCako*).

At length, all well tired out, they returned into the kraal and regaled the inner man with draughts of beer and lumps of beef—the prime or sirloin joint (*iNtsonyama*) being allotted to the youths, the breast (*isiFúba*) to the girls. With this little festivity over, Pumepi was held to have been formally released from her seclusion (*ukuPúma emGónqweni*) and to have started (*ukOmula*) on a new and higher stage of life (*ukuFika ōDongeni lwabaDala*, to-reach the-edge of-the-older-circle).

Being now publicly acclaimed a full-grown girl, festivities multiplied apace. Ever and anon a pretty *Nomzimane* dance was organized to keep the love-fires burning. Out in the courtyard of Pumepi's home there was erected a tall pole (called *uNomzimane*) having a tuft of long grass tied about its top. Around it in a circle stood the youths of the neighbourhood on one side, and the girls on the other. Out of the ranks then stepped a youth and danced before the maidens. Should there be one among these latter stricken with admiration, out too she stepped, caught him gently by the hand or by some body-ornament and drew him to the post, upon which both placed their hands, as a plighting of their troth (*ukuQoma*). Then both skipped merrily back to the ranks and gave place to

another youth, who repeated the performance; till every youth had had his chance to court a maiden's hand. Should there have been, by any sad misfortune, a youth who failed to capture any maiden's heart, he was held to have been rejected, and returned crestfallen to the rear, where he was jeered with the shout of *Hobó! wa-Dl' umTúbi kaNyoko* (Rejected one! you-drank your-mother's colostrum—and so received ill-luck). And the surrounding women too pe'ted him with ashes, crying *Nant' iHobó* (Look-at-the-rejected-one). Those, on the other hand, who had been chosen, had the privilege of entering the hut along with the girls, there listening to their customary lewd songs, and later on betaking themselves to pair with them in the bush or grass.

Here we have another remnant of ancient Bantu life still preserved for us by the Zulus. On the South African Central Plateau live the Chwana Bantu, of whom a goodly few (the so-called *baKoni*) are, partly, of the same original family as the Zulus (similarly known as *abaNgúmi*). So we are not surprised to hear from J. T. Brown¹ that, among some tribes up there about the north-west Transvaal, "poles were erected at their circumcision camps, marked with white and black or red stripes, which they call *Medimako*, and which are objects of veneration and worship." One need be no Bantu scholar to see that the Chwana *Medimako* and the Zulu *Nomzimane* (by Natal Lallas pronounced *Nontimane*) are one and the same word. No doubt the poles noted by Johnson² on the Magalakwin river (in the northern Transvaal) were this same thing. Erected within what appeared to be the cattle-fold, he found "a stout tapering pole about five metres in height. This is decorated with alternate plain, black and red bands, and has the head of what appears to be a hornless ox carved on the top. In the inner enclosure of the new kraal . . . a similar pole painted with alternate bands of black and white, and surmounted by a rag model of what appears to be the head of a hare, has been erected." He gathered that they were connected with the initiation ceremonies; but unfortunately he was not well acquainted with the local language. We have not met with any other obvious relative of the *Nomzimane* family anywhere nearer than Nikaland in Kenya Colony. There New³ tells us that the Nikas have a dance called *kiMombui*, in which both sexes join. They all stand in a circle, with one member in the

centre, who chooses a partner for "a little flirtation by themselves", after which the centre individual returns to the ranks. Again in Kavirondoland (in the Nyanza region), Bergh⁴ writes, that "apart from marriage, there are certain occasions on which, according to Kavirondo custom, the girls may make love to the boys without contracting or promising any further relation of marriage or serious attachment. . . . The fun is conducted in the following manner: The girls, prettily oiled and arrayed in their Sunday best—a new tassel and fringes—proceed to a district where one of their relations lives. Here they are met by the boys, who likewise are greased and painted picturesquely. Upon accosting one another, they shake hands. . . . Following the introduction, the girls retire a few paces and begin to sing and dance the praises and attractive features of the boys. The boys in turn retire, and sing and dance. . . . Presently both sides dance in concert, and slowly but surely they sidle up to one another. When a boy has finally decided upon a girl, he approaches her and taps her gently on the head with his club. If the girl is agreeable, the young couple retire from the crowd and make arrangements to spend the night together. The dance continues until all the boys and all the girls have mated off."

So, then, have we, after the lapse of half a century here in darkest Zululand, met once more Old England's 'May-pole' of our childhood's days, with Pumepi as its Queen? Or was, perchance, the Zulu pole that other Osirian pole out of Ancient Egypt? The festival of Osiris, you will know, was held at the 'earth-ploughing' time, when Mother Earth awoke once more to her task of 'bearing fruit'—just as Pumepi had done. And there, as here, the festival ended "with a special rite, called the erection of the *Tatu, Tat* or *Ded* pillar. This pillar appears from the monuments to have been a column with cross-bars at the top, like the yards of a mast. . . . The pillar was interpreted as the backbone of Osiris".⁵ Cross the Mediterranean now and meet another pillar in Ancient Greece.—By-the-way, one will note how this 'pillar' business always seems to have some connection with 'generating' or love, and may wonder whether by any chance it may have anything to do with what some would call 'phallic worship'?—Anyway, Artemis was to the Greeks 'the goddess of chastity, the protectress of young men and maidens'. She was also

associated with 'song and dance'.⁶ Perhaps it was not strange, then, that the Ephesian Artemis was represented by a tapering pillar surmounted by a female torso ; and that Gomme⁷ should speak of " the log that stood for Artemis in Eubœa ", and of " the stake that represented Pallas Athene ". Even this following little item out of Ancient Babylon may also be noted. Says Herodotus :⁸ " Once a year in each village the maidens of an age to marry were collected all together into one place ; while the men stood round them in a circle. Then the herald [auctioneer] called up the damsels one by one, and offered them for sale. He began with the most beautiful. When she was sold, for no small sum of money, he offered for sale the one who came next to her in beauty. All of them were sold to become wives."

Ancient Babylonia may appear rather far afield to go in search of relationships with the Nomzimane of Zululand : we do not, of course, suggest any ' source of origin '. And yet everyone will recognize the obvious relationship between the ' ash-throwing ' of the Zulu women over the rejected youths and the ' ash-throwing ' of the Jewish women over themselves in Ancient Palestine near by. " And Tamar put ashes on her head . . . and she laid her hand on her head, and went her way, crying aloud as she went " (II Sam. 13, 19). In Zululand, it was the same with the rejected girl. When one such thought to ' throw herself ' (*ukuGádla*, 539) upon a man who did not want her, or when she ' ran away ' (*ukuBaleka*, 538) and came to his kraal, the women there were wont to greet her with a shower of ashes, the meaning of which she never mistook. In Kikuyuland, again, in Kenya Colony, ashes are strewn upon the parent's head to symbolize their sorrow at the departure of their daughter to get married.⁹

Zulu mothers often used to say that girls were always more troublesome than boys, both in the womb and out of it. And now the fathers too came to make the discovery ; for there was no call for wasteful expense, dancing and jollification, when the more Spartan Zulu *boy* attained to puberty.

Pumepi had as yet no brother ; but there were uncles and other such who had their batches of boys. So about the same time as Pumepi reached the age of puberty, one of these cousins chanced to do the same. As with her, this was again called

ukuTómba, though now denoting the ' first appearance of the male seed '.

Ngunaza* was his name, and, like Pumepi, he too had long known all about it. Had he not, from his sixth year, grown up among goats and cows, and seen and heard his elder brothers in all their words and deeds? So when he noticed his testes filling out and the scrotum skin growing redder (*uku-Qalá*), he was well aware of what was about to happen.

Indeed, he had already undergone a tiny operation, invented by Zulu boys to replace the older (but now obsolete) ordeal of circumcision. One day, sitting with other herdboys on the veld, he engaged one of them to cut his penial frænum (*ukuNquma umTámbo*), which was the ligament attached to the prepuce. This operation, they thought, would facilitate the retraction of the prepuce and the protrusion of the glans; so bringing them somewhat into line with their circumcised elders, who had had the whole prepuce removed.

Ngunaza was now within his sixteenth year; and one night it took him, like Pumepi, by surprise. Knowing the formula off by heart, he accordingly rose before the dawn, stole from the hut where he was sleeping, gently lifted the wooden bars from the entrances to cattle-fold and kraal, and let the cattle out on to the veld. Such was his way of publicly announcing the event.

Perfectly nude, having left his *umuTsha* (loins-girdle) in the hut, he followed the cattle on to their pasture-ground, and there awaited developments. After sunrise, other herds and herdboys appeared upon the veld, and seeing him, they came to keep him company. Meanwhile at home his sisters were looking about for switches. Milking-hour, at mid-day, came and passed; but no cows came home. Then the girls, armed with their switches, were mustered and despatched to bring both cows and truant back. A brisk battle, in which sticks were liberally used all round, naturally ensued out on the veld between the rival sexes; but soon the bigger girls got boys and cows together on the run and drove them in one big scamper all back home.

Arrived at the kraal, the boys and the cows were driven together into the cattle-fold, at the upper end of which Ngunaza,

* Pronounce *Ngoo-nāh'-zāh*.

still in the nude, was made to sit in silence. There his father was already busy boiling in a potsherd, along with pieces of meat-muscle, divers *amaKúbaló* (medicinal roots and bark), of the *um Qalotí* (*strychnos henningsii*), the *ĩ Qwaningi* (*capparis corymbifera*) and other plants, which he had obtained from the local doctor. Of this decoction Ngunaza was made to *Ncinda* (insert the finger-tips and then suck them). Thereafter his mother served him with a bowl of thick *uJiba* (kind of sorghum) porridge (*umBáqanga*), and his father gave him to drink of water into which a red-hot axe-head had been thrust. This treatment was continued for the next few days, during which Ngunaza received strict injunctions to have no commerce whatever with the girls, not even to laugh at them—lest his teeth become most disagreeably discoloured!

The party of boys were now marched from the cattle-fold into one of the young-men's *amaLawu* (private-huts), where youths from the neighbouring kraals had already assembled. These, and the elder girls, having securely penned the boys within the hut, now found it great fun to torment them by making each hold up his hands, with the fingers screwn together in a point (*iNgcungwane*), and then striking the finger-tips violently with their switches (*uku Qupa* or *Qalá*), saying, as they did so, *Kómb' eKáya koNyoko* (point-to the-home-kraal of-your-mother). Naturally, the smaller and less hardy of the boys were soon howling in tears. The operation, presumably, was intended to 'do them good', to 'make men of them'.¹⁰ At the end of it all, Ngunaza was free to laugh at the girls and talk with them as much as he would (see 490).¹¹

As we have already indicated, the only term the Zulu language possesses corresponding to our 'puberty' is *uku-Tómba*, which signifies simply 'the passage of the first sexual discharge', in both sexes. With them, this physiological phenomenon occurs variously in different individuals—in girls, anywhere between the ages of 13 and 15½; in boys, between those of 14½ and 19, according to our own observations in Zululand. Laidler¹² gives the figures for Cape *urbanized* Xosas as 12 to 14 years, for both sexes; but for *kraal* Natives (such as all ours were), much later, viz. from 16 to 18 years of age. We cannot make all this quite fit in with that which we so often read about early marriages among other Bantu

peoples. For instance, says Gobineau:¹³ "According to Krapf . . . the waNikas marry at twelve, boys and girls alike. . . . In Paraguay the Jesuits introduced the custom . . . of marrying the boys at thirteen and the girls at ten. Widows of eleven and twelve are to be seen in this country. . . . In South Brazil, the women marry at ten or eleven. Menstruation both appears and ceases at an early age. . . . In the [Chinese] novel of *Yo-kiao-Li*, the Chinese heroine is sixteen years old, and her father is in despair that at such an age she is not yet married." Certainly, older Zulu Natives do assert that a distinct tendency is noticeable in modern children of both sexes to mature earlier than they did in former times. Considering the powerful stimuli of increased opportunities for sexual excitement and intercourse offered under modern conditions of 'civilization' by the universal collapse of the older home and tribal discipline (especially noticeable in towns and mission settlements), we think that the preceding statement may be well founded.

Speaking of the Nigerian Negroes, the Duke of Mecklenburg¹⁴ observes that "the Negro child develops physically much faster than the European. A Negro girl of ten often would pass with us for at least eighteen." That may be a slightly exaggerated statement. Personally, we should prefer to say that a Zulu boy or girl may very often, or perhaps generally, appear to be two or three years older than is actually the case. Gobineau¹⁵ has remarked of the Swiss, that, in the case of men, "the sexual development is so slow, that it is not always complete at twenty." And he concludes, in agreement with Prichard, that "the difference of climate occasions very little, if any, important diversity as to the periods of life and the physical changes to which the human constitution is subject."

Every Zulu girl was entitled by their customary law to receive from her father such an *ukOmula* celebration as that which we have described above. Although sometimes put off for years, it was universally agreed that it must be held at some time prior to marriage. The result of this was perhaps the cause, with the majority of fathers, of postponing the ceremony until the last moment, namely, to the time of their daughter's

ukuKéhla (to-assume-the-coiffure-of-the-topknot) just before their wedding.

It may have been noted how entirely free from any mystification (phallic worship and other such) were the Zulu ideas about sex. Sexual phenomena and relationships were with them purely natural. Indeed, most of this so-called 'phallic worship' (not, of course, the whole of it) of which we read in accounts of primitive peoples, ancient as well as modern, we strongly suspect to be nothing more than a fiction of modern European imagination, and we are inclined to agree with Rivers¹⁶ when he says that "during the last century there was an influential school which scented sex throughout the whole texture of early culture, all kinds of rite and custom being traced to phallic origin."

Of stupid superstitions, of course, the Zulus had their large share, as, for instance, when it was forbidden a menstruating female to pass through an *iNdlubu* (voandzeia) field, lest the nuts go rotten, or to enter the cattle-fold, lest the cattle die. At the same time it is remarkable how very 'civilized' they were gradually becoming; for instance, in inventing a species of vaginal tampon of soft leaves or grass, which they termed an *isiVátó*, as well as a kind of sanitary towel (a contraption of *iNcema* grass passed between the legs), which they called an *umTábáne*.

We have already remarked, when dealing with childbirth, that the common idea among Europeans that Native females experience no pain at delivery, is entirely wrong. Indeed, we are convinced by long experience of Native boarding-schools, that a much larger percentage of Zulu girls are afflicted with painful menstruation (*isiLumo*) than is the case with Europeans.

Many of the details in the puberty ceremonies described above, find their counterpart also in other parts of Bantuland. A semblance of the *umGónqo* hut-pen made for the menstruating girl and of her *iPini* companion, Merolla¹⁷ noted 200 years ago on the Congo. "The Maids have a Custom," he says, "that in what place soever their first Courses have come upon them, they must continue, though without doors, till one of

their kindred comes to carry them into the House ; then they have two Maids and a separate Apartment assigned them, where they must keep locked up for two or three Months together, and observe certain superstitious Ceremonies, such as not to speak to any Man, to wash so many times a day, to anoint themselves with Taculla, which is the Dust of a red Wood tempered with Water, and the like. If they should not do this, they are of opinion that they should never be fit for Procreation."

Europeans who understand what is said, are sometimes shocked at (as we call them) obscenities contained in practically all the Zulu puberty songs (*iziTómbiso*), and they are surprised that otherwise quite modest and moral girls should take part in them without any sense whatever of shame or guilt. This only shows us, and with especial clearness, how radically different sometimes are the ideas, particularly in the sphere of morals, of primitive man from our own. Although the Zulus hold perfectly sound views in regard to most aspects of decency and delicacy, it is plain that, in the realm of pure sexuality, moral principles have with them absolutely no place. To them all such matters are as natural and lawful as eating and drinking, and the only wrong-doing there possible would be personal excess or encroachment on the rights or property of others. The first would be accounted a mere peccadillo ; the second, tantamount with them to ' theft ', was always a more serious transgression. " It is difficult for moderns," writes Waterman,¹⁸ " to understand the seeming indecency of primitive and classical spirituality. But, after all, if one can enter, so to speak, the minds of the early peoples and can view the world through their naive and untrained eyes, the matter will be fairly simple." For the Ancient Egyptian girls were, in this respect, very like their modern Zulu sisters. " The historian, Herodotus, has given us an account of one of the feasts of Isis [the female reproductive deity of Egypt]. The people of a particular town . . . jumped into boats. When they approached another town, they moved to the bank, where the visiting girls shouted insults at the women on the shore. The offending hostesses then proceeded to dance, while the female visitors lifted their garments and made indecent displays of their persons."¹⁹

The boy-beating ordeal, still retained in the Zulu puberty ceremonies, was in earlier times probably much more drastic ; that is, if it at all resembled the procedure still in vogue among the neighbouring Chwana Bantu ; which very likely it did. Of the latter, Livingstone¹⁹ writes: " I was once a spectator of the second part of the [circumcision] ceremony. Just at dawn a row of boys, nearly fourteen years of age, stood naked in the *kolla*. . . . The men, equally naked, were ranged opposite to them, and were armed with long wands, of a tough, supple bush. . . . They started into a dance named ' *koha* ', in the course of which they put questions to the boys, as ' Will you guard the chief well ? ' ' Will you herd the cattle well ? ' As the lads gave an affirmative response, the men rush forward, and each aims a full blow at his *vis-a-vis*. The boy shields his head with the sandals [on his hands], and causes the supple wand to descend upon his back. Every stroke makes the blood squirt out from a wound a foot or eighteen inches long. By the end of the dance the whole back is seamed with wheals, of which the scars remain through life." This same boy-beating ordeal ruled also in far away Nigeria ; so that it too must have been a pretty ancient custom. " The next ceremony [after that of circumcision] ", writes Tremearne,²⁰ " is that of initiation. When youths are to be initiated, at about the age of ten, they are assembled . . . smeared all over with grease after having been shaven clean. The grown men present . . . then beat the youths with switches until they are tired, this being, I suppose, a test of endurance."

The drum (mostly called a *Ngoma* or such-like in Bantu speech) is, of course, a practically universal Bantu ' musical ' instrument. Yet, among the Zulus, the large signal-drum of the more northern tribes was quite unknown. The only drum they knew was the small menstruation drum, called an *iNgú-ngú*, and resembling somewhat the contrivance of the Bushmen, a " wretched tam-tam, made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened, after having been stript of its hair ".²¹ The Zulu instrument, in older times, used to be fashioned out of a hollowed section, 15 inches high and 10 broad, of the soft-wooded *umSenge* (cabbage-tree)—in more recent times replaced by an earthen pot (*iMbiza*)—over the broad mouth of

which a thin goat-skin, well scraped on both sides, was tightly stretched and bound down the sides. Vertically erect upon the centre of the taut well-wetted skin a reed was held, a foot or more in length. Down this reed the tightly grasping wetted hand was slid, left following right in quick succession. The constantly varied pressure caused vibrations in the skin, and so produced a continuous deep boom within the drum.

The Rotses on the Chobe and Zambezi rivers used a somewhat similar sort of instrument. But there, "the skin of the drum is pierced, and a short stick inserted into the opening, with another stick fixed transversely at its end, the whole instrument being a cylinder of about a foot to a foot and a half long. Their sound, which cannot be compared to anything much better than the creaking of a new boot, is made by rubbing the stick with a piece of wet baobab bast twisted round the hand of the performer".²² Balfour²³ surmises that such friction drums may have been an African invention, the perspiring hands when working the African drum-like bellows, having been found to cause the covering membrane to emit sounds.

1. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 51, p. 420.
2. *P.A.*, 93.
3. *L.E.A.*, 116.
4. *T.P.*, 190.
5. Frazer, *M.A.*, vol. II, 141.
6. *Ency. Brit.*, art. 'Artemis'.
7. *E.F.*, 19.
8. I, 196.
9. Bergh, *T.P.*, 186.
10. MacDonald, *A.*, vol. I, 131.
11. See Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 307; Frobenius, *C.M.*, 41; Frazer, *T.*, 38; Merolla, *V.C.*, 689; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 666, 667, 714; Dennett, *B.M.M.*, 69; Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 204; Wallace, *T.A.*, 345; Rowley, *R.A.*, 186; Rivers, *P.E.*, 74.
12. *S. Afr. Jour. of Science*, 1931, p. 421.
13. Gobineau, *I.H.R.*, 125 fn.
14. *C.N.*, vol. I, 31.
15. Gobineau, *I.H.R.*, 123-5.
16. *D.*, 21.
17. *V.C.*, 689.

18. S.S., 64.
 19. ib. 59.
 19a. Livingstone, T., 98.
 20. T.H.H., 204.
 21. Arbousset, N.E.T., 246.
 22. H. Balfour, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 37, p. 73.
 23. ib. 81.

Chapter 16

Mysteries and Myths

It was the spring-time of the year (soon after Pumepi's 'coming of age'), when Nature as usual awoke from her winter sleep, and, bustling about with her renewed activity, showered upon the earth all her blessings and all her curses. The revivifying rains of September, so grateful to the thirsty earth—and the no less thirsty mosquitoes—had already brought along in their wake both the fresh green grass and the pestilent fever-fiend. This latter was now, in December, stalking over hills and plains, strewing, as he passed, the germs of illness and death everywhere. Mothers and fathers were sick, and their infants were dying. Something must be done about it. So they called on the girls of the land to get out their hoar-old panacea for all such epidemics, the *umShopi* mysteries, hoping to find therein a needed palliative.

Soon after nightfall, the distant singing of young female voices came wafting on the breeze. Hurriedly the mothers got out their babes and smaller children up to four, and sat or laid them in the courtyard of their kraals upon the ground. Ere long a file of dusky maidens, all entirely nude save for a belt of plaited *umTshiki* grass around the waist, entered the gateway of each successive kraal, singing, as they did so, *e! yebuya! Gwababa, hu! wa-Nyonyoba. Yek' uManyonyoba njeng-ēSela leNtlunu*, the while they rhythmically struck together, like castanets, stones held in their hands. Then up jumped Pumepi and her sisters and joined in the procession. Up the kraal they marched, each girl skipping, as she passed, over the head

or body of the prone or seated babes. Round by the top of the circular cattle-fold they went, down the other side, and so out again into the night. Thus they proceeded from kraal to kraal, gathering numbers as they went. Having completed their circuit of the kraals, they wended their way down to the local stream, and there they slept—weather permitting; otherwise in the hut of some old woman thereabout.

Down at the river in the early morn, they gathered bundles of long *umXópó* grass and, tying the ends together, fashioned for themselves pretty breezy costumes. One of the bundles, bound together at the top end, served as a cap covering head and face; another formed a girdle for encircling the neck; another, a girdle for binding over the breasts; and a last for engirdling the waist, with shorter fringes on arms and legs (see illust., Bryant's *O.T.*, 410). In this way one grass-fringe overlapped the other, so that the whole body was completely hidden beneath a costume of bright and glossy green. In this cool attire they danced and sang a while their peculiar *uku-Bína* (lewd) songs; till, later in the day, in a body or in separate parties, they made another round of all the kraals. Tying these bunches of *umXópó* grass on the leg of every female child (to be afterwards unbound and taken with them), they danced and sang, *NgomShopí wawoDade, ngomShopí wawoDade, si-Ya le*; to which a second choir replied, *Eya! e-ye-e! he-ye! si-Ya le*; and, finally, rested a while before leaving—but only in the huts of very old women. Should any male chance to meet them on their way, knowing they were tabu, he would immediately disappear out of their sight. So on they went, and all the livelong day they fasted, till at eventide they repaired once more to their previous rendezvous by the river, whither old women took them food on potsherds (usually those used as ash-pans); for, as said, it was imperative that no male person or young married woman should approach their sanctuary or pry into the secrets of their virginal mysteries.

There in the wood they slept once more (or in the huts of old women); and, rising while it was still dark, they threw away their grass costumes in some secluded spot (or maybe burned them). Then in the waters of the stream they bathed to 'wash away' the *umShopí*, took a mouthful of the water, and, standing there, squirted it out in all directions, thereby exorcising the fever-demon from the land to the cry of *Púma*,

mTákati (Out-with-you, you-villain)! Still in the nude, they now returned to the several kraals whence they had come, small children meeting them on the path and bringing them their *ubEndle* waist-girdles.¹

As might have been expected, this pious effort of the *umShopi* girls made small impression on the fever-fiend, and his legacy of *umKúhlane* (e.g. malaria, measles and such-like epidemics) went on ahead unheeding. Obviously more potent measures were called for to dislodge him. So now the irate mothers mustered themselves in force and sallied forth to offer battle to the common foe with more effective weapons. Nomona now replaced Pumepi—she was not called Nomona now, of course, save in the family circle; in public society she was referred to as *o-ka-Sondaba* (she-of-Sondaba, her father), as was the wont with married females.

So, like the rest, she whipped up a babe, slung it on her back, and off she went to join the troop of matrons already under way. An ode of defiance was struck up and lustily sung (*ukuHongoza*), as they valiantly strode off to the battle arena. The battle arena proved to be a flat stretch of sand skirting the local river. Arrived on the field, each mother vigorously dug a hole in the sand, planted therein her babe and buried it up to the neck, so that only the head appeared above the surface (*ukuLahlwa kweziNgáne*, the-burial of-the-babes). Desperate in her determination to shame the enemy to flight, she deliberately disrobed before him and, naked, ran frantically about the strand, loudly wailing, *Maye! ngomNtanami, maye! ngomNtanami* (Alas! for-my-child, alas! for-my-child). Shocked at such obscenity and unnerved by such a clamour of howling babes and shrieking women, the affrighted fever-demon put forthwith his tail between his legs and cleared—at least we presume so, because, when already hoarse, the women ceased their antics, calmly re-donned their leathern kilts, dug out their babes, and walked cheerfully back home.²

Good and evil in life march arm in arm; and they paid their visitation to the Zulu land usually about the same time each year. So from the malignant fever-demon, we pass now to the benigner goddess, *uNomkubulwana*, she who brought

them happiness and plenty ; while he brought only suffering and death.

It was therefore still in the selfsame month of December that the Zulu girls and their mothers, having seen the futility of their efforts to rid themselves of disease, now turned their attention to the maintenance of life. They would therefore all go forth again ; but now to invoke the blessing of Nomkubulwana, alias the *iNkosazana ya-s-eZulwini* (the-Sky Princess) upon the fruits of their fields.

So, by general arrangement among themselves, the girls turned out to beg from kraal to kraal gifts of corn, as an offering to the Corn Mother. Upon entering each kraal, the girl was naturally accosted by the inmates with the usual salutation ; but she, instead of acknowledging their greeting, merely stood there pouting her lips (*ukuPukula umLomo*). By this grimace the women knew at once her errand, and responded to her silent request with a small basketful of grain. A sufficiency of grain having been collected, the girls set to at home to grind the grain and brew the ceremonial millet-beer.

A few days more, and the beer was brewed and ready. On the appointed morn, each girl got up, donned her brother's skin-girdle (*umuTsha*) and drove the family cattle out on to the veld, the herdboys on this occasion remaining strictly confined to home. There, with her companions from the neighbouring kraals, she herded the cows (*ukwAlusa iziNkomo*) till milking time (see illust., Bryant's *O.T.*, p. 410).

While the girls were thus away on the grazing grounds, their mothers shouldered their hoes, took each a handful of every kind of field-seed, together with a small gourd of beer, and wended their way to a common rendezvous far out on the veld. There they all set to, hoed up and sowed ' a garden for the Princess ' (*ukuLimela iNkosazana*)—only a small patch a few feet square—and finally poured out the beer (here called, not *uTshwala*, but *uNomdede*) upon the earth as a libation ; or maybe they merely set down and left the beer-gourds on the field.—But *they* did not know that their sisters in distant Masabaland (Uganda), with whom the same old myth of Corn Mother and Sky Princess also still existed (though in an even mistier form), were doing just the same and pouring beer upon the earth, before they cultivated their fields, to secure the

favour of (what they termed) the 'Earth Spirit', and, when the crop was ripe, making other offerings to 'a special deity' (unnamed).³

Towards midday, our herding girls brought home the cattle from the veld; but no sooner had the cows been milked, than back they went with them again to graze, the reason for the hurry being that they were not allowed that day to eat at home. But they circumvented the tabu by taking back with them calabashes of the Nomdede beer and dishes of more substantial fare; upon which, on a selected spot, the assembled girls ate, drank and made merry. But here again no male, old or young, dared approach the girls while thus out on the veld. As the sun was setting, the girls brought the cattle home, doffed their male attire and resumed their own *ubEndle* girdles.

Another stage in the drama of vegetable life had now been reached, and another act in the play.

The seed had sprouted, and the young green grain-plants were already two feet high, awaiting weeding. Would they really reach maturity and supply the food mankind needed for its sustenance? Seemingly, if the Persian Avesta was to be believed, the 'demons', far from having gone back home, were now more mischievous than ever.

When the corn grows, then the demons hiss;
 When the shoots sprout, then the demons cough;
 When the stalks rise, then the demons weep;
 When the thick ears come, then the demons fly.⁴

So to their Michael the pious Zulus turned to drive the demons off.

Once more the girls assembled at an appointed spot, somewhere in the corn-fields nearest to their homes. Each girl took with her a little powdered red-clay (*īBomvu*) in a fragment of gourd, and a sprig of the *uLeti* bush in her hand. Entering one field after another, the crowd of girls dispersed themselves about, gently striking the young plants with the *uLeti* sprig, as they went, and sprinkling some of the red powder over their leaves, at the same time crying out for corn (*ukuKálela ama-Bele*, the-crying-for-the-Kafir-corn), saying, *Yeti amaBele! si-yaku-Dla-ni? Maye!* (Grant-us corn! What-shall-we-eat?)

Oh dear !). Sometimes, too, small gourds of ceremonial Nomdede beer were placed here and there about the fields ' for the Princess '.

A couple of months later, that selfsame corn was already in ear. Their prayer indeed had been granted, but only partially; for scattered about the fields were many white-leaved, withering plants, blighted by the stalk-grub (*isiHlava*). So out turned the girls again, accompanied now by their more or less grateful mothers, to prevent, by Nomkubulwana's aid, all further havoc. Just as before, they passed through all the fields, crying, *Maye ! ngamaBele eTú* (Oh ! for-our corn). Here and there, as they passed, they rooted out a grub-eaten plant, and plucked an ear of corn ' for the Princess ' (and an odd maize-cob for themselves) Having completed their circuit, at those fields furthest from their homes, off they went, girls and women together, still further on to a place far away from any field or habitation. There they religiously buried the ears of corn in the earth ' for the Princess ', cast the grub-eaten plants into the flowing torrent of the river (or, if no river, threw them away in some far and solitary spot), lit a great fire and roasted the maize-cobs for themselves. While they were roasting, they bathed themselves in the river, and sang and danced their *iziBino* (lewd) songs. When the cobs were ready, they sat them all down together and ate their dinner, afterwards wending their way back home.

Having nothing more to beg or hope for from the Princess, Nomkubulwana vanished from the stage and her celebrations closed for that year.⁵ But who and what was this *iNkosazana ya-s-eZulwini*, this Sky Princess, Nomkubulwana ?

Tradition has left us her description. She it was who first gave man the corn, and taught him how to brew it ; Nomkubulwana, ' who moveth with the mist [? rain] ; on one side human-being, on one side a wood, on one side a river, on one side overgrown with grass ' (*u-Hamba ngeNkungu ; nga-Ntlanye u-ngumuNtu ; nga-Ntlanye u-l-iHlali ; nga-Ntlanye u-ngumFula ; nga-Ntlanye u-Mile uTshani, u-y-isiKótá*). Should her rites have been neglected, then verily would Nomkubulwana be offended, and in revenge would cause all corn to die of blight (*isiWumba*). From time to time she even herself appeared, ' mostly to women-folk, while hoeing in their fields, and dressed in white ', her purpose being to give them some new law or

foretell to them something that will happen.—Even within this writer's time, her apparition has been more than once reported. On one of these occasions she forbade the Zulu women to tend their grain-fields on a Saturday. Then another year she came, and forbade them to work on Monday. Hence it came about that in that district the more pious of the women confined their work on Saturdays and Mondays solely to sweet-potatoes and such-like (apparently outside her jurisdiction), and cultivated their cereals on (Whiteman's) Sunday—Nomkubulwana's 'Sundays' now becoming (our) Saturday and Monday! Should there be a woman so impious as to disregard her injunction, that woman the Sky Princess would 'transport away with her to where she dwells; afterwards, when more submissive, returning her to earth to preach her precepts to mankind'. And where she dwells is 'up above, because she travels on the mist'.⁶

As for the Sky Princess's Zulu name, 'Nomkubulwana', we can only suppose that it is an inversion of (what may originally have been) the name of the ceremonies themselves. You will remember we started by saying that the first item in her drama was that the girls entered the kraals, begging grain for the Princess by standing there with 'pouted lips'; and to 'pout the lips' is in Zulu *ukuPúkula*. If from that fact a general name for the proceedings had been coined, it would possibly have taken the form of *Nompukulwana* (the Little-Miss-Pouted-Lips); which, inverted in course of time, might have become *Nomkubulwana*.

Now, it seems to us, these simple Zulu customs are mightily intriguing, and might supply both ethnologist and historian with much food for thought and study.

To everyone at all familiar with the Bantu mind, its natural workings and essential character, it will be clear that such a notion as a 'sky princess' can be no spontaneous Bantu creation. The very idea is so utterly foreign, aye! practically impossible, to their wholly essentially material modes of thought. This is the only instance in all Zulu folk-lore of any living-being 'up above'. They have never so much as dreamed of 'gods' and 'goddesses'. Their *only* 'spirit-world' (where all their ancestors dwell) is 'down-below' (*Pántsi*), and 'up-above' they know of only physical forces. The idea of 'heavenly'

gods and goddesses is, so far as Africa is concerned, essentially Caucasian, and impels us automatically to gravitate towards the old North African 'Mediterranean Race', towards Egypt and Crete, to Greece and Rome; or even to a time long before even that Race had entered northern Africa. Say not, that is too far-fetched. Wait, and face some facts; and then explain them.

The gods and goddesses of the ancient Caucasian world were nothing if not very 'human' beings, and most of them notoriously immoral ones at that. Few of them could have passed even as respectable heathens. Among the pet sports of these gods was that of marrying their sisters and stealing the wives of others. The boss of this celestial hierarchy of libertines was one named Zeus (Latin, Jupiter), 'lord-of-the-Sky'; and he too was unscrupulous enough to marry his sister, Demeter (Lat. Ceres) and, from their union, to beget a daughter, Persephone (Lat. Proserpine). One day, this "Proserpine was gathering flowers, when the earth gaped, and Pluto, lord of the Dead, issuing from the abyss, carried her off in his golden car to be his bride in the gloomy subterranean world. Her sorrowing mother [Demeter, the Grain Mother] sought her over land and sea, and learning from the Sun her daughter's fate, she suffered not the seed to grow, but kept it hidden in the ground, so that the whole race of men would have died of hunger, if Zeus had not sent and fetched Proserpine from the nether world. Finally it was agreed that Proserpine should spend a third of each year with Pluto underground, but should come forth in spring to dwell with her mother and the gods in the upper world. Her annual death and resurrection, that is, her annual descent into the underworld and her ascension from it, appear to have been represented in her rites".⁷

Now, it came about, while the heart-broken mother, Demeter, was roaming the world seeking her vanished daughter, Persephone (or Proserpine), that she found herself stranded in the neighbourhood of a certain town, Eleusis, where the local potentate, Kelaos, and his queen, Metanira, most hospitably received her. Yet, angry still with gods and men at the loss of her child, she caused the earth to be sterile for one whole year; and this it was that brought all creation, gods and men, to their knees, roused Zeus to action, and procured the deliverance up by Pluto of the stolen goods. But in gratitude to the kindly

people of Eleusis, Demeter not only undertook to educate Kelaos' child, Demophon, but also to instruct his people in the celestial secrets of the barley-corn, how to grow it, and, better still, how to brew therefrom the cheering beer. More than that, she initiated them "into the sacred rites, most venerable, into which no man is allowed to make enquiries or divulge; a solemn warning from the gods seals our mouths".⁸ "If any person" says Wright,⁹ "divulged any part of them, he was regarded as having offended against the divine law, and by the act he rendered himself liable to divine vengeance. Similarly, drastic punishment was meted out to any person not initiated into the Mysteries, who chanced to be present at their celebration, even through ignorance or genuine error."

Turn now to these Grecian 'Mysteries', and compare them with the Zulu, and note the many strong resemblances. At this great distance of time, one could hardly expect otherwise than many disparities between the two versions, a dimming and distortion of the underlying ideas, a disarrangement of the details and so forth. Notwithstanding, a common fundamental likeness of purpose and performance stands clearly out to those with eyes to see and understand.

The Grecian Mysteries were divided into two different celebrations held at different times and with different purposes. The Greater Mysteries represented the child, Persephone's, 'descent into the nether regions'; the Lesser Mysteries represented her 'return to earth'. "Every year at the time of harvest, Persephone was supposed to be carried from the world above to the dark dominions of the invisible King of Shadows, and to return every spring in youthful beauty to the arms of her mother. It was thus that the ancient Greeks described the disappearance and return of vegetable life in the alternation of the seasons".¹⁰

As salient features in the Grecian rites, stand out a procession in which was carried Demeter's basket of seeds and corn; there were processions of the initiates dancing and singing; there was the carrying about of winnowing fans; there was the casting away of clothing, and a mimicking of the maid, Iambe's little fun, when she threw aside her garments and revealed her nakedness to the grieving mother, hoping thereby to make her laugh (in which she succeeded); there were carried two jugs of wine to be poured upon the ground as a

libation, the one ' to the sky ' in supplication for rain, the other ' to the earth ' to entreat fertility ; there was fasting until nightfall ; there was a purificatory washing in the sea or lake to make them all ' new creatures ' ; there was the veil of secrecy thrown over all ; and finally, there was the symbolized carrying away and bringing back home of the female. No wonder these Greek rites were called the ' mysteries ' ; no wonder modern exegetists can throw no further light upon them than that they were " the remains of worship which preceded the rise of Hellenic mythology."

The Zulu mysteries, like the Greek, were divided into two celebrations, each symbolizing a different aspect of earthly life. The earliest to be performed were a play suggesting, in its first act, a defence against the plunderer ; in the second, a lamentation over the loss. First of all, the daughters of the tribe went forth in the night to meet and drive away the fever-fiend, ' the angel of darkness and death ' (which, to them, was the periodically recurrent *umKúhlane* or disease-epidemic), come to rob them of their children, their ' Persephones ' (see *umShopi*, 662) ; later, their mothers went forth to bewail the children, their ' Persephones ', already carried away and ' buried beneath the earth ' (see *ukuLahlwa kweziNgáne*, 664). Both these rites were performed in an atmosphere of simulated gloom and in a spirit of mourning. Their most important features were the discarding of clothing, the anxious wandering through the land, the precautions to safeguard the children from the threatening plunderer, the fasting until nightfall, the retirement from home into the wilderness, the crying of the buried child and the wailing of its mother. And through it all, the Iambe maidens did their best by revealing their bodies and by sensual song to temper the sadness and to make the sorrowing Demeter laugh ; and over it all a veil of secrecy was drawn, behind which no ' uninitiated male ' might peep.

The second and last of the Zulu Mysteries was just the reverse. It symbolized the return to life, and was filled with inspiration to hope and joy. It celebrated the ' coming back ' with the mist (or rain) of the good and gracious ' Sky Princess ', Nomkubulwana, who would bring them abundance of cereal food and drink, and direct them with new laws of behaviour. Here we note the roaming about the strange kraals begging for gifts of grain ; the procession of women bearing seeds to be

planted ' for the Sky Princess ' , and of girls bearing corn to be buried for her ' far away in the wilderness ' ; the pouring out ' upon the earth ' of libatory beer ' for the Sky Princess ' ; the carrying through the corn-fields of *uLeti* branches (' winnowing fans ') ; the purificatory bathing in the stream to make them ' clean ' , if not exactly ' new ' , creatures. Can all this have been nothing more than coincidence ?

Demeter, among the Greeks, had a twofold worship, a twofold character. In the Eleusinian Mysteries (considered above) she was commemorated as the presiding deity of the fields, of vegetative nature. But she had other Mysteries too, the Thesmophorian, in which she was commemorated as the goddess of law and order. Was it mere coincidence that in the Zulu ' Sky Princess ' precisely the same two characters (qualities quite incongruous to an unthinking people like the Bantu) should have been combined ; that they should have looked to her both for the prospering of their fields, and at the same time have expected her to appear among them periodically to lay down the law (*ukuNika imTétó*) ? You will remember how the Zulu woman who disobeyed that law was liable to be ' carried away to there where the Sky Princess does dwell ' , and later on to be ' brought back ' when better trained. Who but ' Demeter ' could have conceived such a penalty, she who herself had had a daughter thus ' carried away to another world ' and later on ' returned to her ' ? Can such identical ideas have been conceived and combined spontaneously by both Greek and Zulu ?

Was, then, Nomkubulwana, the Sky Princess, perchance Demeter, the *Terra Mater*, the last traces of whose worship among ourselves " may be the leaving of the last handful of corn-ears standing in the field or carrying it in triumph in the harvest home " ¹¹—those corn-ears which the Zulu women left, not in the field, but took and buried in the wilderness ' for the Sky Princess ' ?

Or was she not rather her daughter, Persephone ? Certainly she possessed the features of the daughter as strongly as those of her mother. " In the Greek myth," says Frazer, ¹² " the mother as well as the daughter is the goddess of corn." The which explains the common likeness. Even in Greece, the two at last had become confused, and fused in one. Was that one our ' Sky Princess ' ? For as Proclus ¹³ says : " According

to the rumours of the theologians who delivered to us the most holy Eleusinian Mysteries, Persephone abides on high, in those dwellings of her mother, which she prepared for her in inaccessible places, exempt from the sensible world": in short, she was, as the Zulus call her, the 'Princess of-the-Sky' (*iNkosazana ya-s-eZulwini*). "The eggs and cakes," writes Waterman,¹⁴ "that figured so prominently in the different spring devotions and ritual of the earth, were generally connected with the worship of that female divinity who, in whatever place she was worshipped and under whatever name, bore the title of 'Queen of Heaven'. That honour was held among the ancient Saxons and Teutons by the well-known goddess, Eastre."

But how came it about that 'Eastre' should find her way to Zululand? Surely, there was never any point of contact between Germany and Greece and Bantuland? Or were by any chance Eastre and Persephone both Africans?

So far as the Greeks were concerned; the Aegean is said to have been the home of the worship of the "great earth spirit, the Earth Mother, or the Great Mother, who made the earth bring forth her grain and fruit as the food of man".¹⁵ "The mystic cults [of Greece] are Pelasgic or pre-Hellenic, the conquered populations desiring to shroud their religious ceremonies from the profane eyes of the invaders".¹⁶ But the Pelasgians, both geographers and anthropologists tell us,¹⁷ came out of Africa. Was, then, Herodotus,¹⁸ the earliest historian, perchance correct when he "ascribed the Eleusinian Mysteries to Egyptian influences"?

Let us pass on, then, to Egypt. "Osiris was the son of the earth-god, Qeb. Reigning as king on earth, he reclaimed the Egyptians from savagery, gave them laws, and taught them to worship the gods . . . Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, discovered wheat and barley growing wild, and Osiris introduced the cultivation of these grains amongst his people, who forthwith abandoned cannibalism and took kindly to a corn-diet"¹⁹ —Osiris and Isis who, passing over to Greece, became there Demeter and Persephone, the goddesses of fields and laws, before whose time man neither cultivated corn nor tilled the ground, but roamed the mountains and woods in search of wild fruits.²⁰ "In a chamber dedicated to Osiris in the temple of Isis at Philæ . . . we see the dead body of Osiris with stalks of corn springing from it, while a priest waters the stalks from

a pitcher".²¹ This "Osiris, the corn-spirit, was annually represented at harvest by a stranger, whose red hair made him a suitable representation of the ripe corn. This man was slain on the harvest field . . . burned, and the ashes scattered by winnowing-fans over the fields".²¹ Now perhaps you will be able to tell us why it was that the Zulu girls, near harvest time, took red powder to the corn-fields and scattered it on the plants, and gently struck them with the *uLeti* branches they bore (666). Was it once more but coincidence? The Romans too "sacrificed red-haired puppies in spring, believing that the crops would thus grow ripe and ruddy".²³ Was that the reason why the Zulu girls 'sacrificed red clay' powder in place of red puppies?

"At the beginning of the festival [of Osiris] there was a ceremony of ploughing and sowing . . . Into the 'garden' of the god, which seems to have been a large pot, were put sand and barley, then fresh living water from the inundation of the Nile was poured out of a golden vase over the 'garden' and the barley was allowed to grow".²⁴ Think you, herein may lie the explanation why, at the opening of the sowing season, the Zulu women went out and hoed a 'garden', two or three feet square, planted therein seeds 'for the Sky Princess', and then poured out thereon the Nomdede beer they had brought with them in gourds (665)? If not, what was the explanation? Mere coincidence?

In course of time, Osiris travelled on to Syria and Asia Minor, and masqueraded there as Adonis and Dionysos; for in Syria the 'vegetation god' was Adonis.²⁵ And there were 'gardens' of Adonis as well in Palestine and in Babylonia. "For the 'gardens' of Adonis, women took baskets or pots filled with earth, and in them, as children sow cress now-a-days, they planted wheat, fennel, lettuce and various kinds of flowers, which they watered and tended for eight days. At the end of the eight days, they were carried out with the images of the dead Adonis and thrown with them into the sea or into springs".²⁶ 'Gardens' of Adonis are even still to be met with in the Madras Presidency of India. At the marriage of a Brahmin, "seeds of five or nine sorts are mixed and sown in earthen pots, which are made specially for the purpose, and are filled with earth. Bride and bridegroom water the seeds both morning and evening for four days, and on the fifth day the seedlings

are thrown, like the real gardens of Adonis, into a tank or river".²⁷ In the 'garden' of the Sky Princess the Zulu women planted, like those Brahmins, not one sort only, but 'every kind of seed'; and although they never removed their seedlings they did remove other plants from their fields, and took and cast them 'into a flowing river far away (667)'. Another coincidence?

As Persephone was the daughter of the great god, Zeus, by his wife, Demeter, so was Dionysos the son of Zeus by his wife, Semele: and the two, or three, seem to have got considerably mixed up—unless this 'vegetation' godhead was a family monopoly; for Dionysos too was "in his origin a corn-god, and later a vine-god",²⁸ and, as part of his cult in the eastern Mediterranean, "the women worshippers . . . attended the rites nude, crowned with garlands and daubed with dirt".²⁹ "The Lydians certainly celebrated the advent of Dionysus in spring; the god was supposed to bring the season with him".³⁰ The strong family likeness between Dionysos and Osiris, Petrie³¹ long ago observed; and to him the explanation was clear—"Dionysos was reared in Libya" (which is, Northern Africa). Later on, or earlier, or at the same time (none knoweth) the god migrated to Rome, and there disguised himself as Bacchus, and the Dionysian revels of Asia became there transformed into Bacchanalian orgies.

So it looks as though Osiris in Egypt, Adonis in Syria, Dionysos in Asia Minor, Demeter in Greece, Ceres in Rome, and Nomkubulwana in Zululand, were, if not actually the same individual in various disguises, at any rate children of the same parent. When the Ancient Egyptian branch of the great Caucasian 'Mediterranean Race' first came and made its home along the Nile (where previously a Negro people had lived), the common myth came with it, and finally blossomed into the god, Osiris. This god, amongst divers other attributes and offices, became "the god of vegetation, the corn-god".³² He "was the first to teach men the use of corn, and he also introduced the cultivation of the vine".³³ In due time, from barley beer was brewed, and wine pressed from the vine. Then, when the Pelasgian section of that selfsame Mediterranean Race left North Africa for the better vine-lands of the Aegean, and the Ligurian section crossed over into Italy, the old North African myth went with them. And, in those new lands, the

old myth gained new life and bloomed luxuriantly with much flowery imagery ; and eventually the single corn-and-vine god of the African motherland became cloven in twain, into the corn-goddess, Demeter or Ceres, and the vine-god, Dionysos or Bacchus.

But if, from the o'ld Mediteranean Race of North Africa, emigrants streamed forth to people Italy and Greece, were it not rather astonishing if never a body, small perhaps but effective, turned south to seek its fortune there, importing into those regions also something of its blood and its customs ? Whether or not the proto-Bantu may, in some small measure, have come into contact with such Caucasian influences, we cannot say ; but certainly the Zulu Nomkubulwana, the Corn-and-Sky-Princess, bears strong Caucasian features, and we see no reason why she too might not be as genuine a child of the Mediterranean ' Earth-Mother ' and ' Corn-rites ', as were Demeter in Greece and Ceres in Rome ; to say nothing of our own ' harvest-festivals ' in modern England.³⁴ Neither northern Negroes nor southern Bantu (all alike essentially ' of the earth, earthly ') ever, of themselves, conceived any notion of ' heavenly gods ' and ' goddesses ' ; but if you glance back at the description the Zulus give of their ' Sky Princess ', ' on one side a human-being, on one side a wood, on one side a river, on one side overgrown with grass ', you must confess that that answers perfectly to a description of an ' *Earth-Mother* '.

Had this strange myth been confined to Zululand, the puzzle had been much more difficult to unravel. Happily it is not so. Though found in Zululand in better ' preservation ' than anywhere else in Bantuland, we find it spread, faintly indeed, but recognizably, throughout the Bantu field.

Not far away from the Zulus, on the South African Central Plateau, dwell the Chwanas. Of them writes Moffat :³⁵ " I remember the wife of a poor man, who returned from the hills with a bundle of firewood, bringing wondrous tidings that she had seen Morimo. This moment was eagerly seized by that arch-official [the local rain-maker], and turned to account. He was an adept in the study of human nature . . . He delivered his mandate, and thousands of women from the towns and villages followed the oracle to the side of a neighbouring hill, where all began to work ; and though many had empty stomachs, an extensive garden was cleared and cultivated for

Morimo." Moffat was one of the very earliest and greatest of South African missionaries ; and yet he proved himself here a good deal less well acquainted with Bantu lore than did that supposedly crafty and ignorant ' arch-official ', who at once recognized in the report an apparition of ' Nomkubulwana, the Sky Princess ' [whom Moffat, ignorant of Native traditions, dubs *Morimo*, or God], and the necessity of performing forthwith the duty of ' cultivating a garden ' for her.

Further northward, over the Zambezi, lies Nyasaland. Among the Yawos there, missionaries have discovered one, Chitowe, a being strange enough to them to justify the label (as previously with Moffat) of a ' deity '. This so-called ' god ' is, says MacDonald,³⁶ " associated with famine ". " He [the male sex is merely assumed] is often represented as having one leg, one arm, one side of the nose, and so on—the other half of the body being supplied by beeswax. He is invoked by the women on the day of initiating their fields [Yawo, *ku-Mbala* ; comp. Zulu, *ukw-Ala*, to-start-a-field]. The women of the village form a great procession when the new crop has begun to grow. They chant a hymn to Chitowe, imploring him on behalf of their crops [comp. Zulu, *uku-Kálela amaBele*, 666] . . . Chitowe may become a child or a young woman [this to be noted !]. In this disguise, he visits villages and tells whether the coming year will bring food or famine [comp. periodical appearances of the Zulu Nomkubulwana ' to deliver laws and news', 667] . . . Chitowe is a child or subject of *Mtanga*"—and *Mtanga*, apparently, is the Supreme Ancestral-spirit (=the ' *uNkulunkulu* ' of the Zulus ; the ' *Zeus* ' of the Greeks).

Still further north, in Kenya Colony, dwell the Kamba Bantu, and, writes Hopley,³⁷ " there is a legend [in Kambaland] of an unnatural being which was formerly seen ; one side of this creature was the body of a beautiful woman, and the other side was the body of a handsome man."

Pass now to the other side of Africa, to the Mpongwe Bantu in the Cameroons, and meet there Miss Mary Kingsley,³⁸ than whom none knew them better. " Here," she says, " you find the earth-goddess, Nzambi . . . She is the great mother, but she is not absolute in power . . . Nzambi is the nearest approach to a beneficent deity I have come across . . . It is the belief of this people that the fetishes not unfrequently

render themselves visible to mortals . . . come forth at night in human form . . . and so proceed through the town dressed in white to chase away evil spirits . . . In Fjort legends she is spoken of as the mother of a beautiful daughter, and you get accounts of her . . . as giving mankind all laws, ordinances, arts, games, and musical instruments . . . But great as Nzambi is . . . she is but the giver, the teacher, the taker away of things; she is not the Creator. The Creator is the great male god, Nzambi Mpungu"—just as, with the Zulus, Nomkubulwana too was but an *iNkosazana* (which signifies simply a 'daughter-of-a-king', a 'princess', not a 'queen') presiding over and giving directions about the agricultural side of life; whereas the Zulu's 'Maker of man and the world' was *uNkulunkulu*, the Great-great-Ancessor, the First of Men. Not far away lies Negro Yorubaland, and one day there Tremearne³⁹ came across "a wooden figure of a girl kneeling down with a calabash on her head. This, my informant told me, was the goddess of hunting, though I do not quite see why she should be carrying grain . . . for the Hausawa or Hausas have a similar goddess called 'Corn-mother'."

But although Ancient Egypt may have been the source of *distribution* of all these myths throughout Africa and the Mediterranean, we do not believe she was by any means their source of *origin*. Ancient Sumer was as old as Ancient Egypt; and the great Sumerian god, Enlil, had, no less than the Egyptian god, Osiris, the titles of 'Bestower of Planting', 'Founder of Sowing', 'Creator of Grain and Plants'.⁴⁰ "The ancient Akkadians had similarly recourse to their chief gods, Ea, the lord of Heaven, and Davkina, the lady of the Earth, in order to obtain from them protection".⁴¹ Allen⁴² and others have told us much about the Potraj ceremonies, in honour of the deity of cultivation, among the aborigines of Southern India, in which "women walked naked to the temple, clad in boughs of trees alone"; and we have already noted the 'gardens of Adonis' among the Brahmins of Madras. It therefore looks as though the 'source of origin' must be sought for much further away than Ancient Egypt, even further away perhaps than the Mediterranean race itself, either down at the very birthplace of Caucasian man, or, alternatively, in an even still remoter past, when mankind had not yet specialized into Black men and White.⁴³

How little do we appreciate our privilege of living here in Africa, back in a world of perhaps 10,000 years ago, amidst a childlike people just emerged out of the Neolithic state, and still preserving so much of its simple life ; a world older of its kind than either Babylon or Egypt ; a people quite as interesting in their way as those of Troy or Rome, because still younger and more natural ; where the earliest of gods, the manes of their ancestors, are worshipped still, the oracles still consulted, the ' mysteries ' still played. How applicable here are not Lord Bryce's words :⁴⁴ " It was a youthful world, and human nature appeared in its simplest guise. Nature was all alive to it. It looked out on everything around it with a fresh curiosity of wide-open, youthful eyes. As the Egyptian priest said to Solon, with a deeper wisdom than perhaps he knew, the Greeks were children. Like children, they saw things together, which moderns have learned to distinguish and to keep apart. Their speculations on ethics and politics were blent with guesses at the phenomena of external nature, religion was blent with mythology, poetry with history, gods with men. It is good for us . . . to see things again in their simplicity, as the men of Athens saw them in the clear light of a Mediterranean dawn. The dawn is the loveliest moment of the day, and there are truths best seen in the innocent freshness of the morning." Alas ! even as we gaze, that lovely dawn is visibly melting away before the disenchanting glare of modern sophistication.

A beautiful landscape, a work of art, an heroic deed can be seen and appreciated aright only when beheld in proper focus, and with thinking, understanding eyes. It is this that lends to the days of childhood, to the stories of the ancient world, their peculiar fascination. It is the reverse of this, its over-close proximity here around us, that robs the African Native life of its real inherent charm ; for all that raw material of life and history, out of which Grecian poetry was born, lies actually here around us. Be not deluded. The poets only saw ; the poetry itself was already there before them, in the people and the woods. The realities of beauty and romance filled all the living earth in all the ages, in the hovel as in the palace, in savagedom (so called) as in civilization ; but only the poets were endowed with the power to see and to interpret the vision. The dreamers of Ancient Greece and Rome may have created the nymphs and the fauns ; but they created them out of real

flesh and blood, the maidens and the youths, the women and the men, of a world still more ancient than themselves, a world no less human, no less unprepossessing, no less squalid, than that which even today still lives and loves in the picturesque old villages and groves around the Mediterranean and the Levant. So, then, we must not conclude that the bedraggled grass-hut, the garbaged kraal, the uncouth boys and girls of Africa are on that account any the less capable of decorating their drab lives, unwittingly and in a cruder fashion, with that same imagery and emotion which became, and still becomes, 'poetry' only to the poet. But one must know how and where to seek, and have eyes wherewith to see. Some have already learned the secret of that quest, and have been rewarded with the lovely vision of the beauty, the poetry and romance, that really lie hidden away in untouched nature, in primitive human life. But such are few. For the rest, the old-world pastoral idylls pictured here must suffice to give some faint glimpse of the Arcadian joys, the poetry living still, the more charming side, too often left unseen, untold, of African rural life. All these customs have flourished well within our own experience. Then, at last, the Whiteman came. And now, a thousand pities! they are all extinct; sweet memories only, of another Age of Poetry that is gone.

1. Mackenzie, *M.H.R.*, 298; Ward, *V.C.*, 244; Johnston, *R.C.*; Decle, *S.A.*, 160; Gomme, *E.F.*, 24, 27, 28, 29, 38; Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. I, 326-9; Lang, *C.M.*, vol. II, 231-4; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 49, 50; Allen, *E.I.G.*, 110, 112, 126-7; Roscoe, *B.*, 17, 18, 206; Seligman, *M.*, 149, 264, 265, 299; Moodie, *T.Y.*, vol. II, 277; *Man*, XXI, 148; Shooter, *K.N.*, 34; Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 668; Mecklenburg, *C.N.*, vol. II, 132; Landor, *A.W.A.*, vol. II, 161-2.
2. Tremearne, *T.H.H.*, 173; Waterman, *S.S.*, 56; Tylor, *E.H.M.*, 49, 50; Gomme, *E.F.*, 24; Allen, *E.I.G.*, 126-7.
3. Roscoe, *G.*
4. Tylor, *A.*, 382.
5. Stuart, *T.*, 74; Samuelson, *Z.*, 164; Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. II, 170, 171, 173, 191, 217, 223, 245; Wanger, *C.*, 38.
6. Callaway, *R.S.*, 253; Gillmore, *T.G.L.*, 185; Cameron, *A.A.*, vol. I, 330; vol. II, 159; Hewitt, *R.R.*, vol. I, 217, 230, 233.
7. Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. II, 169.
8. Wright, *E.M.*, 29-31.
9. *ib.*
10. *ib.*
11. Tylor, *A.*, 360.

12. *G.B.*, vol. II, 168.
13. Wright, *E.M.*, 101.
14. *S.S.*, 67.
15. Breasted, *A.T.*, 277.
16. *Ency. Brit.*, art. 'Mysteries'.
17. Keane, *M.P.P.*, 458, 462, 528, 529 ; Newbiggin, *M.G.*
18. Wright, *E.M.*, 29-31.
19. Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. II, 137.
20. Wright, *E.M.*, 29-31.
21. Frazer, *G.B.*, 'Attis, Adonis, Osiris', 261.
22. Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. II, 255.
23. ib.
24. Harrison, *A.A.R.*, 16.
25. Petrie, *H.E.*, vol. II, 212.
26. Harrison, *A.A.R.*, 55.
27. ib. 56.
28. Allen, *E.I.G.*, 111.
29. ib. 112.
30. Frazer, *G.B.*, vol. II, 164.
31. Petrie, *R.A.E.*, 78.
32. Petrie, *R.A.E.*, 78.
33. Allen, *E.I.G.*, XIV, 113.
34. Jevons, *C.R.*, 24.
35. *M.L.*, 69.
36. *A.*, vol. I, 71.
37. *K.*, 87.
38. *W.A.S.*, 130, 134, 145, 404 ; Dennett, *B.M.M.*, 167.
39. *T.H.H.*, 34.
40. King, *L.B.E.*, 129 fn.
41. Oppert, *O.I.I.*, 554.
42. *E.I.G.*, 110, etc.
43. Gomme, *E.F.*, 29.
44. *Fortnightly Review*, Apl., 1917.

Chapter 17

Sports and Pastimes

While the Zulu women-folk relieved the drab drudgery of life by the tamer sport of acting Pastoral Mystery Plays, their fathers and brothers found equally congenial recreation in the more exciting realities of the chase.

In the times of which we write, ' Before the Whiteman came ', Zululand was a hunters' paradise, a game-park unexcelled in Africa. Big game and small game, elephants and buffalos, hippos and rhinos, lion and leopard, zebra and eland, bush-buck, kudu and hartebeest, and a dozen other sorts and sizes of the antelope, ranged freely over the land, all of them public property, with the ' seasons ' always open. Perpetual sport was there for commoner and king to revel in ; and thrilling too, when all had to be tackled at close quarters with naught but a spear.

Any man was free to go a-hunting (*ukuZingela*) on his own account, and any *umNumzana* (district headman) was free to call a public hunt (*iNqina*) whenever he would. Among such a well-ordered and well-disciplined people as were the Zulus, a public hunt was by no means the mere disorderly dispersal of a chasing, slaughtering rabble of savages, as one might suppose. It was a systematically and scientifically arranged ' battle ' with the beasts, with its central ' chest ' (*isiFuba*) and its two encircling wings or ' horns ' (*uPondo*) like an army on the field.

The caller (*umTonga*) of the hunt first of all sent out messengers to announce the fact in all his district. Such a

messenger would enter a kraal, go straight into its cattle-fold, and there cry loudly *Mē!* (imitating a buck), *iNqina kusasa* ; *i-yaku-Hlangana ekuTinitini* (*Me!* a-hunt will-be-tomorrow ; it-will-meet at-such-and-such-a-place). He was not permitted to speak with any inmate of the kraal, because, should he do so, he would thereby pass on to that other person his own possible good-luck (*iziNyamazane zaKé*). On that night, all men intending to take part in the hunt slept on one side of the body only, never turning over to the other. Had they done so, there would be more than a probability that the game on the morrow would become similarly restless, and roam about, instead of remaining quietly at their ease.

In the morning, having breakfasted well on *isiShwala* (which was the hunter's favourite meal before setting out, and consisted of thick, coarse grain porridge, eaten when already cold and crumbly), the young men entered the cattle-fold (*isi-Baya*), and dutifully (if not devotionally) prayed to their ancestors for protection and good-luck at the chase, crying *Yeshe!* *Nyamazane* ; *si-yi-Hlabe, si-yi-Bambe. Si-Külukel' uGúdukazi olu-nga-se-namaZinyo* (Hail! for-a-buck. May-we-stab-it, may-we-catch-it. We-beg-for an-old-woman-of-a-buck with-no-longer-any-teeth—apparently meaning, one not likely to cause much trouble). Then they danced wildly (*ukuGúbá*) before the spirits, and off they went to the rendezvous, each carrying a small bundle of assorted assegais (for hurling or stabbing at close quarters), a hunting-shield (*iHubelo*) and a knob-kerry (*isiKwémbe*, a short, rough-cut stick with an unusually large knob at the end) for throwing or dealing a heavy blow. Should their eyes alight upon an *iNtendele* (red-winged partridge) or an *iNkonjane* (swallow) upon the way, their luck was assured for the day ; but should it be an *iFúkwe* (lark-heeled cuckoo) or, still worse, an *uCákide* (species of weasel), they might just as well have remained at-home—unless they should have the good fortune to kill the evil thing ; in which case their luck would be restored.

At the meeting-place, the men from each different ward (*isiFúnda*) stood together in separate parties (*iViyo*), the home-party (that of the *umTónge* or master-of-the-hunt) being in the middle. All the parties having arrived, the master (if he wished) selected from among his own party one who was known

to be exceptionally lucky and expert at the chase, to act as *umPáki* (disposer or director).

The proceedings were then started off by the home-party striking up a dance (*ukuGúbá*) on the spot to the tune of its own particular hunting-song (*isiGúbó* or *isa Qu*, of which each separate party had one or more, e.g. *Si-Pinde sa-yi-Hlab' iNyamazane*; *sa-yi-Hlaba, si-nga-Sho*; *sa-yi-Hlaba oPóndweni, e-eshe!* (Once-more we-stabbed the-buck; we-stabbed-it, not-expecting-to; we-stabbed-it on-its-horn; hurrah!). Each of the other parties then followed suit, to its own tune.

All having danced, the director (*umPáki*) of the hunt rose up and gave the several parties directions as to where to go and what to do (*ukuPáka*). Thereafter the whole hunt formed up in a great semicircle. In its centre, the *umPáki* knelt down and plucked a bunch of grass with each hand, and put a third bunch in his mouth. Then, stooping low down over his knees, with his grass-tufted mouth near the earth (imitating a grazing animal), and at the same time rubbing up and down his thighs the grass held in each hand (imitating the 'swishing' movement of the animal through the grass), he cried several times *Mē!* (imitating the cry of the buck), *Mē!* (to which the hunters every time responded with a shout of *Ji!*, French *j*); *Naz' iziNyamazane, Band' eliKulu. Konje ni-yaku-zi-Yeka?* (*Mē!* here-are your-bucks, you-great assembly. Will-you-let-them-go then?). Then, throwing one bunch of grass towards the party forming the right wing, he cried *A-yi-Suke iNyamakazi!* (Let the-*iNyamakazi* be-off); and the other bunch towards the left wing, he cried *A-bu-Suke ubuHle!* (Let the-*ubuHle* be-off). These names, *iNyamakazi* and *ubuHle*, were really the names of the kraals of the respective local-headman; after which kraal-names the parties themselves were now called. So, one after the other, the two wings or horns rushed off in a body to take up their appointed stations, each shouting as it went, its own particular hunting-cry (*isaGá, isiHo*), e.g. *Tubu, tubu, tubu!* or *Kéhli, kéhli, kéhli!* Finally, the chest (home or centre-party) also moved off.

In order to prevent subsequent dispute, immediately a man's assegai struck a beast, he announced the fact by shouting out *Mámo!* (accent on first syllable) *iNyamakazi* (Hurrah! for-the-*iNyamakazi*—giving the name of the party to which he belonged); whereupon the other members of his party

responded with a general shout of e.g. *Wubuka!* (each party, again, having its own cry or *isaGá*). If the first stab was not fatal, and a member of another party landed a second spear (or his dog secured an effective hold on the animal), he too announced the fact by shouting his own party's *isaGá*, as before. If still unkilld, and a third party dealt it a finishing stroke, he likewise shouted out his *isaGá*. In such cases, the first striker was entitled to the remainder of the beast, after the second striker had received one hind-leg, and the third a fore-leg (*ukuHlomula*).

When the hunt was over, the huntsmen re-assembled at their starting-place. There the leaders of the several parties sat down, while each party in turn marched past them, bearing its own kill, and singing its own hunting-song, the while it constantly clattered its weapons. Then wheeling about, it returned, laid its buck on the grass before the seated leaders, and marched away to the rear. When the whole bag lay arrayed before the leaders, up rose the master-of-the-hunt (*umTóngá*) and, tapping a buck with his stick, called on its claimant to appear. If nobody contended his claim, off he went with his buck. Any disputes or *Hlomula* claims were there and then decided by him; but should he be unable to decide between the several disputants, then the animal became his own perquisite. All the bag thus satisfactorily disposed of, the meet broke up and the parties returned to their homes.

In the evening or on the morrow the venison was cooked and enjoyed in the homes. After 'meat' came the 'grace', in which each partaker thankfully patted the three hearth-stones (*amaSeko*) on the hearth, and prayed to his ancestral spirits with the words, *OkuHle kaKúlu okwa-Ngomuso!* (May-the-good-luck be-next-time even-better!).¹

As a rule, these hunts were for the tamer edible game (antelope and the like). But sometimes they were for wilder game (buffaloes, lions, leopards, elephants and the like) of a much more dangerous kind. Precautionary measures were on such occasions deemed advisable; the which medical magic amply provided. Before the meet set out for the hunt, the whole body of hunters formed themselves into a circle, round which the medicine-man passed, both in front and behind, sprinkling each man with an asperge on body and legs with

his own special prophylactic. A fire having then been kindled in the centre of the circle, and the medicine-man having sprinkled thereon his own patent mixture, each huntsman passed thereby and, as he did so, thrust the point of his spear into the smoke 'for luck'.

There were 'royal' game with the Zulus as with us. Elephants' tusks, and the skins of leopards, lions, Cape ratels (*iNtsele*) and the South African weasel (*iNyengelezi*), for instance, were all 'crown' property; but the chief always rewarded (*ukuXoshisa*) the hunter with a cow or other present for his pains.

Elephants were frequently hunted with what was called an *iMpingo*. This was a tiny iron blade, no larger than one's thumb-nail, which, smeared with poison (probably learned from the Bushmen), was loosely inserted into a haft; which latter, after striking, soon fell away, leaving the blade embedded in the flesh. Such a poisoned blade, it was said, sufficed to kill an elephant within about six hours. The Bushmen used a similar weapon; but, since the Hamitic Galas in north-east Africa did the same, it were impossible to say exactly where the Zulus may have learned the trick.

The Cape ratel was feared quite unproportionately to its small size. It had a habit of rushing in such an awkward manner at a man's feet, that it easily toppled him over; whereupon it seized hold of his genitals, and very frequently damaged him so badly that he died.

The placidity of the hippopotamus, on the contrary, was as great as was its size. And, if we believe all we hear, it was as hugely intelligent; for, when a man stood on the river-bank and shouted to it, *Ake si-Bone iziTsha zaKó, Ndindikuwela* (Please let-us-see your baskets, Ndindikuwela—nickname for a hippo), it invariably obliged, opened its cavernous mouth, and revealed the 'baskets' all nicely arranged inside!

The reed-buck (*iNtlangu*) too was not without its eccentricities. When wounded, it always insisted on dying alongside the nearest water, even though only a tiny pool. Should it, however, fail to get there, and so die on the open veld, then the local medicine-man, if he dug down below the spot, would assuredly unearth some most valuable medicine. Presumably on account of these strange habits, the carcass of a reed-buck

was never to be taken into a kraal before the women-folk therein had been first called out to meet it, saying as they came, *Ni-nge-Zi naYe ēKáya* (Don't bring him here into the kraal). To which the hunters would reply, *Si-Za naYe* (We shall bring him). And they did ; and cooked and ate him. But not so the women ; lest they bear children with blue eyes.

There must have been something uncanny also about the otter (*umTini*) ; because, if a man brought one into a kraal without first staying outside and there sprinkling himself with ashes, he would surely become transformed into an imbecile or idiot, and all future chances of ever obtaining a sweetheart or a wife become automatically nil.

Kings and commoners found the hunt at times a most convenient opportunity for ridding themselves of disagreeable persons. Indeed, chiefs frequently organized them expressly for that purpose ; when they were termed *iNqina-mbumbulu* (a-treacherous-hunt) or *iNqina yōZungu* (a-conspiracy-hunt), the only game intended to be killed on such occasions being those doomed individuals.

Baboons too are said to organize hunts after their own peculiar 'game' (including the red-necked partridge or *iNkwali*, scorpions or *uFézela*, and other such). Indeed, the scorpion is regarded by them as such a toothsome morsel, that, should an old baboon detect a young baboon swallowing one, he will immediately seize it by the legs and, head downwards, give it such a shaking, that it will soon disgorge the delicacy, which the old baboon then picks up and swallows himself.

Every Zulu man was an occasional hunter ; but there were also certain Professionals (*īPisi*). These became very expert at the business ; so much so that European hunters have often declared them to be quite the equals of the Bushmen as animal trackers. Besides indulging in the chase, these men did a good deal of trapping, for which they employed many devices, of which the following were the commonest :—

IGébe, a deep, straight-walled pit, sometimes large enough to receive an elephant, dug in any likely spot (as on forest tracks, or by drinking-places), cunningly screened by a slight layer of branches and earth, into which a passing animal would fall and be unable to extricate itself.

IVéku, such an *iGébe* (above) when furnished on the bottom with several sharp-pointed stakes (*ūVéku*) planted erect, upon which the animal fell and became impaled.

isEngqelo, a long fence, sometimes a quarter of a mile in length, in which apertures were left here and there, each with an *iGébe* or an *iVéku* in the passage-way. A number of drivers then scoured the country round about and drove all the animals therein towards the fence, where, in endeavouring to pass through the apertures, they fell into the pits.

umWowane, a large cavern-like trap, built with a lean-to roof, consisting of a number of heavy logs overlaid with a heap of large stones, and having its one open end resting upon a feebly fixed cross-beam, to which was bound a rope holding the bait (perhaps a goat). In dragging away the bait, the whole superstructure was brought down crushingly upon the thief, thus crippling and capturing it.

isiBátá, a spring-snare, laid for buck along forest tracks, a strong rope being attached to a supple branch above and having a large noose lying near to or upon the ground. In passing, the animal released the slightly fixed rope, got its neck caught in the noose, and found itself dangling in the air.

umGódlo, a long tapering wicker-cage, into which cane-rats (*iVóndwe*) and such-like could creep after the bait; but, owing to sharp-pointed sticks pointing inwards at its mouth, were unable to back out again.

INdlwane, a boy's trap for catching larger birds and small animals. It consisted of a circle, six inches in diameter, built of tiny sticks, two inches long, stuck upright in the ground. Around the top outside of this circle of sticks a noose was encircled, attached to a long string tied to a supple tree-branch overhanging up above. The bird, when putting its head into the circle to take the bait, released the noose, which caught the bird round the neck and strung it up aloft.

isiFé, the commonest kind of boy's bird-trap, simple enough in construction, but not so easy to explain in words. It was constructed with a large flat stone, a foot square or less, resting in a slanting position upon an upright stick (*iNtsika*), likewise in a slanting position. The bottom of the heavy stone rested upon a long thin stick (*umBeka*) lying flat upon the

ground, at right angles to the stone, and passing alongside the upright *iNtsika*, also at right angles to it. Between the *iNtsika* (at its top end) and the super-resting stone, another thin stick (*iNgcipó*) was inserted and there held firmly in position by the weight of the stone. At the further extremity of this *iNgcipó* stick, was attached a string. At the lower end of the string (which was perhaps some 10 inches long) was tied a small stick about 3 inches long. The string now being pulled down, and bending down the *iNgcipó* stick with it, it was passed round the lower end of the upright *iNtsika*, and by means of the tiny stick at the bottom, was held taut—the tiny stick being placed diagonally, and so firmly held, by having one of its ends caught by the upright *iNtsika* and the other end caught by the horizontally lying *umBeka* stick. When the bird, eating the bait beneath the stone, touched or moved the latter (the flat-lying *umBeka* stick), the tiny stick holding taut the string became released, the *iNgcipó* stick (up above) recoiled and brought about the collapse of the whole contraption, stone included, with the astonished bird beneath it. Boys also used bird-lime (*isiNeve*).

Many of the Zulu hunting customs mentioned above were not peculiar to them, but were common Bantu, even Negro, practices.

Among the Nyamwezis of Tanganyika Colony, as among the Zulus, "when a hunter starts for the chase, he prays to the *Musimo* [ancestral spirit] to give him good luck . . . will even erect a little hut made of straw to the *Musimo* on the road itself . . . if he kills any big game, he places before the hut of his *Musimo* the head of the beast he has killed, and inside a little of the flesh".²

The Cape Xosas being so nearly related to the Zulus, we are not surprised to find the animal-mimicking farce, prior to the hunt (p. 684), acted also there. One of the hunters, says Lichtenstein,³ "takes a handful of grass into his mouth, and crawls about upon all fours to represent some form of game. The rest advance as if they would run him through with their spears, raising the hunting cry, till at length he falls upon the ground as if dead." A somewhat similar pantomime is performed also among the Negroes of Equatorial Africa. There, before setting out to hunt the gorilla, they play 'a gorilla

hunt', in which the man who plays the gorilla pretends to be killed.⁴

The 'V'-shaped pits so common in Zambezia,⁵ and Central⁶ and East Africa,⁷ we have not heard of among the Zulus.

But the Zulu branch-covered pits with stakes standing upright at the bottom (*iVéku*), are universal throughout Bantuland,⁸ as well as in the Sudan.⁹ The Kikuyus¹⁰ of Kenya Colony use them as a defence against human invasion, as do also the South American Indians.¹¹ In the Victoria Falls region, writes Baines,¹² "game pits to be worth anything must be carefully concealed; and it is no wonder that my friend fell into one of them. The matter of thankfulness and congratulation is that he alighted on his feet between two of the four sharpened stakes at the bottom, and escaped with merely a bruised neck from the gun he was carrying."

Apart from bird-trapping, actual bird-hunting with dogs and knobbed throwing sticks (*isaGila*) was a common sport with the Zulu herdboys. As a consequence, they enjoyed many a surreptitious meal of roast bird out on the veld. We say 'surreptitious' because the proceeds of their chase belonged, by right immemorial, to their fathers; to whom all 'good boys' always religiously conveyed their catch, sometimes four or five birds at a time, laid before their father in an *iMbenge* basket. And he, as a sufficient reward, threw them the heads!

Bird-nesting, on the other hand, was quite 'unfashionable' with the Zulu boys. In a whole lifetime spent among them, we cannot recollect ever seeing a boy climbing a tree for this purpose. The reason of this was clear, namely, that eggs of all kinds were to all Zulus gastronomically repulsive. Some varieties of birds built their nests quite close at hand in the reeds of marshy spots or along river-banks; but even then the boys paid no attention to the nests—they confining it solely to their builders. So down they would go after sunset, when the birds were in their nests, and, gently hissing *kisi, kisi, kisi*, as they went, rouse them out. Unaccustomed to night travelling, the birds were listless on the wing and never flew far; so they were easily knocked down by other boys standing in readiness outside.

For a change, a little assegai-practice was occasionally indulged in. For this purpose, thin sharp-pointed sticks

(*ūKánde*) supplied the assegais, and the large spherical root (the size of a small melon) of the ground-euphorbia (*iNtsema*) served as target. The boys arranged themselves down a hill-slope, at good distances apart, some on one side, some on the other, while one of their number up at the top bowled (*ukwEla*) the heavy ball down the slope in between the two rows of boys. Each boy then endeavoured to strike the target with a hurled *ūKánde*, as it rolled rapidly along before him. In some parts of the Congo too, a piece of plantain-root is rolled in like manner down a hill and similarly assegaied.¹³

A somewhat similar game was for the boys to spread out upon the ground a number of large berries (*iMboma*) of the dwarf-aloe plant (*īCena*). The fun consisted in making a small pointed stick (three or four inches long), held firmly, in a certain manner, between the little finger, the third finger and the thumb, so spring or recoil out of the hand (*ukuKwéngca*), that it strike and pierce one of the berries on the ground. Any berry so struck became the 'cow' of him who hit it.

As most people already know, the Zulus used to be an essentially 'fighting race', and nothing was more enjoyed by the boys than sham-fighting (*ukuQakulisana*) with the quarter-staves. Every boy, like every man, when away from the home kraal, always carried with him a couple of strong sticks; and, fist or hand-fighting being utterly unknown to the Zulus, their fights were always with these sticks. One stick, held about the middle in his left hand, was used for parrying; the other, held near its end in the right, was for striking. This exercise in a way resembled our own fencing, and the boys became great adepts both at parrying and at striking, the aim being practically always for the head.

The Zulu child knew nothing of 'mud-pies'; but, as became a pastoral folk, the small boys were very fond of making 'mud-balls', and enjoyed a 'bull-fight' as much as any Spaniard. His clay bulls, generally about four inches long, could hardly be classed under the category of Art; nevertheless, they were quite well formed, save that, rather strangely, they never had any legs beyond four short hoofless stumps, upon which they stood. Each boy, to the accompaniment of much bull-like roaring, brought his bull (held in his hand) head-on against that of his adversary, and by a deft twist endeavoured to break off the horns of the other.

Small boys and girls were equally fond of climbing trees after edible fruits and berries (but never, as already said, after bird-nests). If their toes were not exactly prehensile, they were nevertheless used to very good purpose for poking into crevices in tree-trunks and twisting round small tree-branches.

A continuously warm climate naturally enticed to frequent cooling bathes in the local stream. So, in the hotter summer days at midday, herdboys and home-girls alike betook themselves to the nearest pool, and there, all in together, enjoyed a general frolic, splashing one another, diving, somersaulting and swimming in the water. Their swimming method was the common dog's-paddle with a concurrent up and down splashing with the feet, which never took them very far or very quickly. They also swam on their backs, pushing themselves along with their feet.

The smaller girls and children left behind at home also had their many pastimes to while away their time. But the Zulus were never an inventive race, and their home pastimes were simplicity itself. They were entirely ignorant of the 'back-gammon' and other ingenious games played with 'pieces' (stones, etc.) by the Bantu peoples further north.

The little girls, as became prospective mothers, were as fond of manufacturing clay puppets as were their brothers, but, instead of bulls, they moulded with their clay tiny human dolls, four or five inches long, and, again, without any legs, save a couple of feetless stumps. These they dressed up in bits of rag, talked to, nursed and put to sleep, like real babies.

Out of doors, stone-tossing (*ukuKóbola*) was played with a number of small stones placed on the ground before one. One of these was tossed up into the air and caught again in the same hand, now containing a second stone, which had been smartly picked up, while the other was in the air. The caught stone was then returned to the ground, and that left in the hand tossed up, a second being quickly grabbed up from the ground, as before. And so on, until all the stones had been tossed and caught in this way. A variation (called *uNdelitshe*) was when five stones were held in the hand, and one of them was tossed up and caught again in the hand containing the four. A game similar to these existed also among the Kamba Bantu in Kenya Colony, where "one stone . . . is taken into the hand and thrown up into the air while another is picked up, and the one

in the air caught in the same hand as the one picked up from the ground. This 's done till one is dropped ".¹⁴

Standing on the head (*uNgqimpótwe*) was as common with girls as with boys.

The *uKelekelekobó* game was played by a row of children hopping along on one leg, to the cry of *Kelekelekobó, nga-Hlatshwa ngameVá* (Kelekelekobo, I-have-been-pierced by-a-thorn).

This would at times be varied by the *uNobáqa* game. In this, a number of children, with arms bent up firmly against their sides, raced each other by a process of throwing oneself forward and at the same time forcibly kicking the buttocks with the heels at every step, crying as they progressed, *Nobáqa kaMama, Nobáqa ; iMbewu kaMama i-Pálele ; i-Pálele kulleyo-Ntaba* (Nobaqa of-my-mother, Nobaqa ; the-seeds of-my-mother have-got-spilt ; have-got-spilt on-that-hill).

They had no swings, as we know them ; and yet they practised some rather strenuous swinging (*umJikeni*). In this, they caught ho'd of an overhanging tree-branch (or sometimes a strong rope) with both hands, and then, without letting go, threw their bodies first forwards, then backwards, with all their weight and strength, until exhausted—when they would allow themselves to be flung off to some distance away, coming down to the ground with a heavy, and sometimes hurtful, sprawl. As they swung, they cried, *E! mJikeni, a-yikw-Apuka* (See, Mjikeni ; it-won't-break).

Or, again, they might take hold of the lintel-beam or horizontal bar (*iPásolo*) above the broad entrance to the cattle-fold, and, raising their legs frontwise, pass them between their arms and so down on the other side (*ukwEhla kweGúndane*, the-coming-down of-the-rat).

Their game of 'touch' consisted in one of the children patting another on the body, saying *Nank'amaHu* (There-is some-amaHu), and thereafter immediately sitting down on the ground. The second child now had to remain there standing, till the sitting child took her by surprise, by suddenly getting up and running away, before the other (the patted child) could return the pat, and so rid herself of the *amaHu*.

Naturally, it happened now and then that the 'pat' was rather too rough for a sensitive little body ; when the patted child might pass from smiles to tears, while the other tried to

soothe her by saying, *Zangqozi! be-si-Ti si-ya-Dlala; kanti Wena u-ya-Kála* (Zangqozi, we-thought we-were-playing; and there you go and cry).

The little children dearly loved to patter splashingly about in the open yard in their naked bodies during a heavy shower of rain, singing, *Cabá! cabá! amaTóntsi a-ya-Muka* (Patter! patter! the-rain-drops are-going-away), or *Cabálele kwesama-Tóle; cabálele kweseziNkomo* (Patter in-the-calves-fold; patter in-that-of-the-cows).

On the other hand, when the weather was dry, the children found great fun in sliding down (*iNtshелеlezane*) steep sandy banks on their naked buttocks, or in sliding head first down steep banks into the local stream or pool.

Although the above children's games were, as said, in themselves very simple conceptions, thoughtful attention will reveal what a fine little course of gymnastics they really provided—how the *umJikeni* stretched out all the muscles of the body; how the *iPásolo* suppld both back and limbs; how the *uNobáqa* and *uKelekelekobó* strained and strengthened other joints and muscles.

The *iNgqatú* (skipping-rope), now sometimes met with, is plainly a modern introduction by Europeans.

Indoors too the Zulu children were not without their pastimes, usually accompanied by some pleasant ditty.

They knew nothing whatever about 'cats-cradle' (geometrical figures constructed with string on the fingers). This game is, on the very face of it, essentially non-Bantu; and wherever it occurs in Bantuland, it may be taken for granted that it is of foreign importation. Prof. A. C. Haddon¹⁵ "took the opportunity of a visit to South Africa of the British Association . . . in 1905 to see how far this amusement was known to the natives. Not a single white person to whom I mentioned the subject had seen or heard of the game amongst the natives, and although I tried numerous natives of the British Colonies south of Rhodesia, I could not find one who could do anything with a piece of string." And yet Dudley Kidd and Miss E. M. Swan have cited instances of cats-cradle (called, they say, *uZamanyeka*, or *isiFúba* (?) *seNcala*) as serious evidence of the knowledge of the game amongst the Nguni Bantu of Zululand and Natal. Of course, anyone could cite instances galore of Natives who could do much more even than cats-cradle—who

could, for instance, read a book, play the organ, or paint a picture (all which experiences we personally have made). But such evidence would be of no value whatever to the ethnologist as proof of the existence of organs and books amongst the Natives prior to the advent among them of the Whiteman or other foreigners. The Papuans, by-the-way, are reported to be nowadays "extraordinarily proficient" at cats-cradle, contriving "some wonderfully intricate figures".¹⁶

Similar remarks may be made also concerning the 'bull-roarer', despite the fact that, like cats-cradle, it is now sometimes met with among Europeanized school-children (who call the 'bull-roarer' an *uVú*, from its buzzing noise).¹⁷

Among the young Zulu girls' indoor amusements are some quite pleasant musical turns. In one, a row or rows of maize-grains are set out on the hut-floor, each grain supposedly representing a bird. The assembled children then form a chorus and sing out, *Búla, mSentse* (Divine, thou-clever-one); whereupon one of them, pointing to the first of the grains, sings out in a pretty little air, *E! e! e-s-emaTóleni, uMbalane, iJaha eliKúlu* (Very-well-then! the-one-among-the-calves, the-Golden-rumped-Canary, a-very-handsome-fellow). The refrain being continuously repeated by the chorus, the game consists in the child (who is giving the answers or names of the various birds) being able, at each round, to point to a fresh grain and to think of another bird, until all the grains are finished, a new bird being sung out each time.

In another game, there are three various figures or patterns drawn with spittle in a long row on the earthen floor of the hut—(1) two parallel lines, placed crosswise or at right-angles to the row (and corresponding to the reply, *umLomo wesiBámu*); (2) two dots, one following the other in the row, not one above the other (corresponding with the reply, *Ntsikintsiki*); (3) a large circle, containing a cross (corresponding with the reply, *Vúlá, Nkwenkwezi*). These three compound figures are repeated twice or thrice in one long continuous row, care being taken, in the second and third repetition, slightly to alter the order of succession. Now one of the girls, pointing to the first figure in the row (which, on this occasion, happens to be the 'parallel lines'), sings out to another girl, *Ngi-Buza* (I-ask-you). The second girl, after having first made a general survey

of the order of the several figures, then carefully covers her eyes with her hand, and replies, in another little song, *Ngi-Buz' umLomo wesiBámu, yeyeni!* (I-ask-about the-mouth of-a-gun, there-you-are!). The first girl, now pointing to the second figure in the row, sings out as before, *Ngi-Buza*; and the second sings in reply, *Ntsikintsiki, si-y-Azi sOnke, yeyeni!* (A-bunch-of-things, we all know it, there-you-are!). The first girl, pointing to the third figure, sings once more, *Ngi-Buza*; and the other sings back, *Vúta, Nkwenkwezi ezi-Pám' cíwAndle; si-Ye sa-m-Bamb' eNdayimane, yeyeni!* (Flame-up, twinkling-things that-rise-up out-of-the-sea; we-went and-caught-him on-the-Diamond-Fields, there-you-are!). The succeeding figures in the series being now differently arranged, should the second girl, through forgetfulness of their order, give a reply that does not fit the figure pointed to by the first girl, she loses the game; and another has a try. From the wording of the replies in this pastime, it is plain that it is quite modern, and could not have been invented prior to the year 1870.

The following game seems to be a variation of the preceding, and has the look of being much older, as well as being much more tuneful, taking the form of a very pretty glee. Here again a series of three dots, capped at the end by a single cross-line (corresponding with the final *Se-ngi-ya-Gwábula*) is drawn with spittle on the hut-floor, and running, as it were, vertically to the pointing girl. One of the girls now sits before the upright line of dots with closed eyes, and, pointing to the nearest of the dots, sings, *Tátá Loku bo* (Take this-one, I-say); to which the other assembled girls sing back, *iNyonimatana, ingani ba-Lele* (iNyonimatana, but they-are-sleeping). The first girl continues, at the succeeding dots, *Awu-ye-he-he! Awu-ye-he-he!* and the choir, *Ajiji! Ajiji!* (French j). Then, coming to the final line, the first girl repeats *Tátá Loku bo*, and the choir replies, *Se-ngi-ya-Gwábula* (Now-I-am-turning-back); after which they begin all again.

Another pretty little round performed by two choirs, one following the other, runs: 1st choir, *amaPikankan' eNkosi* (the-contesting-beauties of-the-king); 2nd choir, *Eshe-e! eshe-e!*; 1st choir, *zi-Mnyama zOnke zeNkosi* (they-are-dark all-of-them of-the-king); 2nd choir, *Eshe-e! eshe-e!*; 1st choir, *zi-Mnyama eHlandzeni* (they-are-black in-the-bush-veld); 2nd choir, *Eshe-e! eshe-e!*—and so on, over and over again.

Of course, no mere description in words can give any adequate idea of these little musical compositions; that can only be done by actual seeing and hearing. But they are quite agreeable to listen to. Further, their music is so 'irregular' and different from anything we know of, that it were practically impossible to write it on paper—there being no 'bars' and other such things as our notation demands. Though some Europeans have attempted it, the result is altogether different from the actuality; so much so that the Natives themselves cannot recognize it.

Finally, Zulu children often play at 'counting their fingers', for each of which they have a name; thus, beginning with the little finger of the left hand, 1. *uCikicane lo* (this-one is-Cikicane); 2. *o-wawoCiki lo*; 3. *o-wawoZigwé lo*; 4. *uZigwé-magwégwé lo*; 5. *uGwégwé oNqumu lo*; 6. *uMuwane lo*; 7. *o-wawoNtamo-uSomagidi lo*; 8. *uGidamasi lo*; 9. *o-wakwa-Maqatulela lo*; 10. *uSozidinjane lo*. The names, however, vary somewhat in different localities.¹⁸

1. Isaacs, *T.E.A.*, vol. II, 316.
2. Declé, *S.A.*, 346.
3. *T.*, vol. I, 269.
4. Reade, *S.A.*, 194.
5. Maugham, *Z.*, 350.
6. Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 66.
7. Stigand, *L.Z.*, 257, 275.
8. Moubray, *S.C.A.*, 66; Kassner, *R.E.*, 95; Stigand, *L.Z.*, 257.
9. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 370.
10. Peters, *N.L.*, 217.
11. Tylor, *A.*, 224.
12. *E.*, 509.
13. Johnston, *G.G.C.*, 710.
14. Hobley, *K.*, 56.
15. *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 36, p. 142, 148.
16. Wollaston, *P.P.*, 147.
17. Marett, *A.*, 125; Theal, *E.S.A.*, 297; Tylor, *A.*, 306.
18. Stuart, *V*, 30.

Chapter 18

Old Jomela ' Goes Home ' at Last to the Nether World

All things come to an end, a lifetime, as a book. Through such a Zulu lifetime we now have passed in the pleasant company of the Jomela family ; and in this final chapter we lay our friend at last to rest. To him life had been mere physical existence, and out of it he had extracted his fair share of joy, as well as sorrow. What little you have here seen of Zulu life has been, like life itself, but a glimpse of the passing scene, one dance across the stage, then into the wings to be lost behind the veil.

Thus, while his sons, buoyant with the vigour and hope of an incipient journey, were away enjoying the thrills and hazards of the chase, and their children were singing, merry as sky-larks, in the sunshine without, old Jomela himself, in the gloom of his hut, weary and worn, was labouring painfully along his last lap to the ferry-boat that would bear him to Hades.

He, too, had had his day ; but now the twilight, the night, had come. In younger days, when grievous illness had befallen him, doctors had cured and oracles been consulted. Save those seasonal or local fevers (*umKühlane*) and a few other bodily ailments whose cause was obvious, to the Zulu all disease was deemed solely due to malevolent spirits or to malicious man. With them none died young ; that were unnatural and inconsistent. For is not man born to live ? And is not youth, and health, and vigour liberally supplied him to enjoy that life ? So all that die young, or in their prime, depart life ' prematurely ', destroyed by spirit or by man. And when doctors

failed, the pythoness (*isaNgóma*), inspired by her possessing spirit (*ĩDlozi*), was always there to disclose both hidden cause and fitting remedy. Sometimes she would tell them it was but an *umKúhlane* of nature's working, and name the physic needed; at others, that it was the family manes, wrathful at some lack of duty, whom the pious slaughter of a bullock would appease; but oftenest of all, that it was some wicked neighbour (*umTákati*), who, by poison or magic, had wrought the evil, and whom she would now reveal by name and, if he wished, would go and actually produce to the world his hidden poisons.

Not so was it today. With the hoary aged, one needed to consult neither oracle nor doctor. These were they, and these alone, who passed from life 'by nature's way'. Of these it was never said, 'they die' (*ba-ya-Fá*), but simply that 'they-go-back-home' (*ba-ya-Góduka*). Their end was awaited by themselves and by their friends with equanimity and content, even with the happy anticipation of re-joining old relatives and friends who had gone before. Yet, whatever was the age or form of going, for young and old the burial-service was the same.

One evening, when all the family was reunited in the home from work or sport, the old man knew that he was leaving them, and expressed a wish to say Goodbye (*ukuVálelisa*) in accord with Zulu custom. Accordingly, in the hut where he lay stretched upon his mat, mothers and children, sons and daughters, gathered. When all was hushed, in a feeble voice he said, *A-no-ngi-Bonisela nang' umNtanami o-yaku-ngi-Pátél' umuZi waMi, ngi-nga-se-Kó, uMaziyana. A-no-Lalela kuYena, ni-Hlalisane ngobuHle* (You-shall-look-after this my-child for-me, who-will-rule-for-me my family, when-I-am-no-longer-here, uMaziyana. You-must-hearken to-him, and-live in-piece together). These were received by all as very sacred words to be religiously obeyed—if for no other reason than that they knew full well what drastic consequences from the spirit-world would follow their transgression.

No sooner had Jomela ceased to breathe, and his 'shade' (*isiTúndzi*), personality or soul, departed (*ukuPúma* or *Muka*), than one of his elder sons took down from the hut-roof a stalk of

ūQunga grass and hastened away to inform the clan-chief of his demise. Arrived at the royal kraal, he needed not to speak, but simply handed the grass-stalk to the resident headman (*iNduna*), who conveyed it to the chief, who received it as 'a silent announcement' of the sad event.

Meanwhile, back at home, the corpse was being prepared for burial. While still supple, the wives (assisted by some friendly men, or by the brothers of the deceased, but not by his sons, who remained quietly away in their own hut) gently raised and doubled up their husband's withered frame, in such a way that the bent-up knees and bent-back arms, uncrossed, stood right and left of the chin; then, with stout cords of the *umTwázi* climber, they bound the body round to stiffen; and finally, wrapping all within the dead-man's goat-skin blanket, they rested the body, seated on its haunches, against the hinder pillar of the central fireplace.

With bodies entirely nude, save for their prepuce-covers and a single *umūZi* rush around their waists, the principal heir (*iNkosana*) and the left-side heir (*īKóhlo*) emerged together from their hut, the former bearing in his right hand his father's personal (war or hunting) spear, the latter empty-handed. The elder men having pointed out the proper position for a kraal-head's grave (*viz.* at the top of the cattle-fold, outside the fence and slightly to the left), the *iNkosana* stabbed the spot with the spear, and stood thereby while friendly neighbouring men (but not the family sons) dug the grave with hoes. After a while the *īKóhlo* son returned to his hut, but the *iNkosana*, still holding the assegai upright in both hands with its blade upon the ground, continued standing there, until the grave was finished. Thereupon he too withdrew. Betaking himself to his hut, he there took up his father's war-shield, and, joined once more by the *īKóhlo* (or left-side heir), both together proceeded, still in a state of nudity, to take up their positions at the entrance to the central cattle-fold (which was also the family ancestral temple). While the cattle still bellowed loudly within the fold (for they had purposely been kept at home that day), the *iNkosana*, bearing his father's personal (war or hunting) spear, held horizontally in his right hand, and his war-shield in his left, stood by the side-post on the right (looking up the kraal) of the entrance-way, and the *īKóhlo*, empty-handed, by the side-post on the left. Not being

permitted to sit, when tired, they leaned against the posts, the *iNkosana* resting upon the spear with its shaft upon the ground. This was intended to indicate to the family members the formal assumption by the two heirs of their new status as heads, respectively, of the right and left branches of the family.

The grave now ready, the wives took up the bound corpse and carried it to the hut-doorway, where it was received by men (already standing outside) and conveyed by them to the grave. By the side of the grave the corpse was set down upon a mat, the skin-blanket was removed, the cords unstrung (for the body was by this time stiff), and his principal wife cut off the old man's head-ring and washed his head with the *umSuzwane* plant.

The grave itself was a round pit, three or four feet deep, in the wall of which a niche or alcove had been excavated, sufficiently large to receive the body. Into this grave the principal wife now descended, and received from the men above her husband's corpse, which she carefully placed within the niche, seated upon a mat of hide or rushes, and facing towards the *isiBaya* or cattle-fold.

The remainder of the ceremony was thenceforward continued by the men, the wives (but not the sons and daughters) of the deceased meanwhile kneeling in a bowed or squatting posture near the grave in silent grief. Some of the men brought along a number of stones from the river or elsewhere, each stone being carried in the palm of the hand and resting upon a small pad (*iNkatá*) of grass. These stones, you see, were an integral part of the burial procedure, and the grass-pad between them and the bearer's hand was intended to 'insulate' him technically, from actual participation in that burial and consequent contamination, and so save him from the necessity later on of going through the purificatory rites. Upon reaching the graveside, each man gently threw upon the ground both stone and pad, and went away. One of the actual burial-party, already descended into the grave, then reverently took the stones and therewith propped up the squatting corpse, lest it topple over, by slipping them beneath the thighs and buttocks or as otherwise needed. Between his knees was deposited the dead man's head-ring; into his folded hand was thrust one grain of every kind of cereal and a pumpkin pip; within his reach was placed his snuff-box filled with fresh-ground snuff,

and round beside his body were piled his various mats, blankets, body-wear and eating-vesse s (but not his private beer-pot, which was carefully preserved for future sacrificial purposes).

But what they were till more careful not to let enter, by any mischance, the old man's grave, were his personal assegais. That would have been a calamity indeed ; for then, when wrathful down there in spirit-land with his family left behind on earth (as spirits were all too frequently apt to be), he would have found in those weapons a ready means r'ight there at hand for maliciously 'stabbing' the offending member of his family (causing in him the so-ca led *amaNxeba* comp'aint—in reality simply muscular rheumatism), or even of affecting their cattle (causing in them certain fatal internal lesions, which became visible only after the animal had been skinned) ! As a very necessary precaution, therefore, all assegais had been removed from the dead man's hut immediately after death, the shafts broken and hidden away amidst the reeds, and the blades handed over to the *iNkosana*, who had them re-handled for his own use. But the sacrificial *iNgcula* spear (which was a family heirloom, used only for ancestral sacrifices) the *iNkosana* piously preserved at the back (*emSamo*) of his own hut.

The burial-pit was finally filled up with earth, a large flat stone having been laid beforehand upon the corpse's head (a precaution apparently against grubbing beasts); and the earth then raised into a small circular mound above the spot. Round the mound (but not upon it) they planted cuttings of the prickly-pear (*isiHlehle*) or of the dwarf-euphorbia (*isiHlontwana*), or fresh posts of the *umuNde* or the *umSintsi* trees, or indeed of any plant that would easily take root and quickly grow, and finally they heaped over all a pile of thorny branches. But while they had been filling in the soil, every member of the family had drawn near, taken up a small piece of earth (*iGáde*), spat upon it 'for luck', and cast it into the grave to ensure the good graces of the deceased when he shall have entered Paradise. Further, all absent members of the family did the same, even though their coming may have not been until long afterwards.

The act next following in this sad drama was at once its prettiest and most pathetic. It almost seems intended to recall or the last time sweet memories of long-past love and wedding-

days. Immediately after the interment, the wives went in and dressed in their finest outfit (*ukuVúnula*). Throughout the actual burial, the kraal had been kept in a state of constant uproar by the ceaseless bellowing of cows and calves (purposely detained within the fold, instead of going out to graze), all wondering together what could be wrong. Then in the midst of their deep roaring, there suddenly burst forth the shriller voices of women singing. Their song was the signal to the two family heirs, still standing at their posts, to return to their huts and so to allow the cattle out. The principal wife had dressed herself from neck to knee in her husband's gala-costume (*umQubula*), planted his best feather-plume upon her head, and in her left hand taken his great war-shield and in her right his dancing-stick (*isiCópó*). The other wives had followed her examp'le, bedecking themselves with other of his best skin-girdles, his arm and leg fringes and feather ornaments, and carrying in their hands dancing sticks and shields. One by one they now emerged from the hut, and in single file marched down the kraal and passed out through the gateway. There they struck up their husband's old clan-anthem (*ǐHubo*), or maybe his favourite *ǐKétó* song (*isiHongozo*) that had been sung at their wedding-dances. With them, in this touching chant, all the family, youths and girls, took part. But whereas, on other occasions, tears might have streamed down their faces, today, for the old man, not 'dead', but 'gone home', tears were restrained, as out of place. Once upon a time, in years long gone, those selfsame wives had passed in through that selfsame gateway chanting the dear old anthems of their own paternal clans; today, they went out from it, chanting his.

At the end of the chant, all the costumes and ornaments of the deceased, which the wives had been wearing, and all other similar goods, were collected together in a heap within his hut, later on to be burned along with the hut-pillar against which he had rested.

Throughout all that burial-day every wife had fasted, and so she went to bed. On that first night the wives all slept together in his hut upon the bare ground, the principal wife taking her place, as it were, alongside him on the right-hand side of the hut. All other members of the family, men and girls, were not so bound to fasting, but had to confine themselves to sloppy foods, such as beer and *umuNyusa*—the which

procedure was termed *ukuPuzisw' amaNdzi* (to be given water to drink).

On the second day after the death (that is, the day following the burial), the public *isiLilo* (or wailing) was normally held; but in old Jomela's case (of joyfully 'going home') this wailing was altogether omitted. But when the *isiLilo* was held (as in the case of younger kraal-heads), it was held, not within the kraal, but outside the gateway. So, up before the dawn, the wives proceeded in a body to the river, there to wash the whole body and face, but not the head. With top-knots dishevelled and leathern kilts turned inside out, they thereafter returned to the kraal, where, on the grass outside, they found many of the neighbouring women already assembled; for at such a wailing ceremony every married woman in all the kraals around was in duty bound to put in an appearance. But here—unlike the celebration of old Jomela's 'going home', where the women bedecked themselves and sang with joy—the women no longer sang, but, with hands behind their heads (*ukuTwál' izaNdla eKánda*), smacking their breasts, wringing their hands, or even throwing themselves upon the ground, all the multitude of women (for in this the men and girls took no part) shrieked out their complaints together, or howled their wails (*ukuLila*) until exhausted. Party by party, the women streamed in, and no sooner had they reached the gateway of the dead man's kraal, than they immediately appeared smitten with uncontrollable grief, roaming here and there, crying aloud and copiously weeping, and performing, most realistically, all the antics of women frantic with sorrow. This communal wailing continued throughout the day, as more and more women arrived. Finally, each party, when it considered its duty had been sufficiently performed, betook itself to the river, there to sprinkle the whole body with water; whereafter it wended its way complacently home.

On this same day, while outside of the kraal the public were wailing, inside, in the cattle-fold, an ox was being slaughtered 'to-wash the-hands' (*e-yoku-Hlamb' izaNdla*) of those who had taken part in the actual burial, and who till now had had to remain in the kraal. From the beast the *umSwani* (grass in the first stomach) was removed, and with it each one of them 'washed' his hands. This was done for the purpose of 'washing off the dead man' (*uku-m-Hlamba*), as also 'to wash

away all evil consequences' (*ukuSus' umMnyama womuNtu o-I'ile-yo*), otherwise apt to follow the handling of a corpse.

The third day after the death (the second after the burial) was *amaKúbalo*-day, for taking certain medicines (*amaKúbalo*—probably really of a 'tonic' nature) supposed to possess the property of 'driving away the trepidation' or superstitious alarm (*ukuSus' ūVálo*) and to 'brace up' (*ukuQinisa*) the system (*umZimba*) generally.

The first item on this day's programme was that of hair-dressing. The elder men of the family had themselves cleanly shaven below and inside of their headrings. The younger ringless men cut their hair down close, the wives cut short their topknots, and all the girls and other children had their heads clean shaven.

But the main performance was the slaughter of a couple of bullocks, one for the *amaKúbalo* ceremony of the wives (*e-yawoNina*), the other for that of the children (*e-yabaNtwana*). Of these two beasts, the gall-bladders (*iNyongo*) were thrown to the dogs, but the rest of the animals was eaten.

From each of the internal organs (bowels, stomachs, etc.) of the ox slaughtered for the wives, a small piece was snipped off and cast into a small cooking-pot. Along with this meat were mixed certain very bitter (probably tonic) herbs; and after all had been cooked together and become a thick mass, each wife took out a handful from the pot and did her best, with many wry grimaces, to gulp it down. After sundown (time essential), there followed the taking of the *amaKúbalo* themselves. These consisted of roots and barks (perhaps tonic again) of the *umGúgúdo*, *īQwaniŋgi*, *isiQalaba*, *iNtolwane* and other plants and trees. Having been ground to powder, an infusion was made in a potsherd (*ūDengezi*), and into it was squeezed the liquid from the *umSwani* (grass from stomach) taken from the slaughtered ox. Into this hot mixture the wives thrust their finger-tips and licked the medicine off (*ukuNcinda*).

In all this the children of the family took no part, that is, the sons and daughters and smaller fry. They had an *amaKúbalo* ox slaughtered for themselves alone. But here the term was not *amaKúbalo*, but *īDoyi*—a term not applicable to the *amaKúbalo* of the wives, and apparently having some underlying meaning of 'legacy or bequest', since it was equally applied

to odd heads of cattle left by the father to the several minor huts (*ukuDl' iDoyi li-kaYise*) as distinct from the main family-inheritances (which were termed *iFá*, never *iDoyi*) of the superior houses of the *iNkosana* and *iKóhlo*. First of all, then, all these younger members of the family removed the single *umūZi* rush each had been wearing 'for mourning' round the waist since their father's demise, and handed them over to the keeping of their several mothers, who later on would hide them away in some neighbouring bush or reed-bed. Thereafter each family kindled a fire outside its hut in the open and cooked thereon its share of the slaughtered beast. Lastly, after sundown, the powdered *iDoyi* medicines were infused in a potsherd down by the kraal-entrance, sweet milk mixed in, and each son and daughter, after having inserted the finger-tips in the mixture, licked them (*ukuNcinda*) of the medicine, males first, then the girls, and finally the children. By this procedure, besides having their bodies and souls properly 'braced up', they were also released from their *amaSi*-eating tabu.

The kraal-head gone, and his sons and daughters all away in their own special private huts (*iLawu*), the principal wife was now left sole occupant of the great hut. But she was not deserted in her loneliness. Since burial-day, her sister-wives had abandoned their own huts and come to mourn in hers, sitting there with her throughout the day and sleeping there at night. This they would continue to do until they had partaken of the final 'white medicines' three days hence. Meanwhile they passed away their time busy on many odd jobs. First of all, immediately after the burial, they had set to and manufactured of plaited *umūZi* rushes rough temporary mourning-bands (*isiNqwazi*) to be worn by themselves round head and waist. Having now partaken of the *amaKúbaló* medicines, these temporary bands were cast aside and replaced by others more permanent. These too they had meanwhile manufactured out of the bark-fibre of the *umNgámandzi* mimosa tree. Twelve months hence, they would be again released from them by the slaughter of an ox; but, once more, only to be bound by stronger bands, now consisting of hide (*ūQótó*), which they would likewise wear for another year; at the end of which time the slaughter of a final ox would set them entirely free, not only from all further mourning, but also, if they wished, from all the bonds of widowhood or single life.

During these three days' sojourn in the death-chamber, the younger wives busied themselves too in effecting therein a general clean-up. The old earthen-floor was broken up and a new floor put down—the floors of all other huts were merely freshly smeared with cow-dung. The pillar against which the corpse had rested, the grass-binding (*ĩKótámo*) round the doorway (against which the corpse may have rubbed when passing out) old mats and clothing of the deceased, were all removed and burned. The old leathern kilts the wives had been wearing were passed on to needy old women (*isaLukazi*), and new ones donned. So, when the fourth day came, all was found once more spick-and-span in the principal or great hut, and the kraal in general cleanly and in order.

All this was largely in preparation for what was now about to take place, namely, the general visit on the following day the day of condolence (the fourth day after the death and third after the burial), by family relatives, neighbours and friends, coming to express their sympathy (*ukuKúza*) with the bereaved.

But prior to their coming, there were manifold other duties to be performed. At as early an hour as possible, the several wives went out to their fields and sprinkled them all over with *iNtolwane* water, which sprinkling, it was supposed, would have the effect of exorcising the *umMnyama* (occult evil or 'bad luck') thought to have descended upon them by the death of their owner.

While the mothers were thus engaged, their children (both sons and daughters) were busy at home on a duty of their own. The *amaKúbalo* medicines (otherwise *ĩDoyi*) which they had taken yesterday having presumably fulfilled their purpose, they had now to be disgorged; so into the cattle-fold they all repaired, and there, with heavy draughts of medicated water, vomited them all out again. From this performance their mothers were exempt—though, after sundown, they had to join their children in a general medical finger-dipping and licking (*ukuNcinda*), down at the kraal-entrance, of the final 'white medicines', which would complete the whole process (*ukuPótúla*) and restore the system after the more drastic working of the 'black medicines' (or *amaKúbalo*).

Throughout the day, the multitude of family 'sympathizers' (*isiKuzi*) had been coming and going, women and

men. They did not, as a rule, enter within the kraal, but sat down outside of the gateway, where the elder sons of the family came out to sit with them. But later, such as wished might enter the kraal and, standing outside of the great hut, where all the wives were assembled, express to them their sympathy.

Even in old Jomela's case of joyfully 'going home' (not of 'dying') the public came as usual, not now, however, to offer condolence, but congratulation or 'thankfulness' (*uku-Bonga*) at his final release from all further earthly tribulation.

After having duly partaken of the 'white medicines' in the evening, the younger wives returned, no longer to the great hut, but each to her own, where she donned her new *umNgámandzi* bands, and so resumed, more or less, her normal life.

And yet not entirely so; for now she found herself bound by many new tabus. All wives had henceforth to refrain (*ukuZila*) from eating the entrails (the women's titbit) of any slaughtered beast, or the flesh of one less than three years old; they must not sit upon a mat of hide; they must not enter the cattle-fold—all this until it might please their present guardians (who were their eldest sons) to release them; which often they did not do before the lapse of years. Nor might they perform any field-work (though their daughters were not so bound), until the expiry of about a month. Further, a wife or daughter might not attend a wedding-dance, nor a son a hunt, nor either a son or a daughter have any sexual intercourse with lover or sweetheart, until the *ĩHlambo* ceremony had been first performed.

A week having now elapsed since old Jomela died, it was deemed opportune to slaughter for him an ox (*e-yoku-m-Pélekezela*) to accompany him as viaticum (*umNcamo waKé*) on his way. This beast was a privilege confined solely to such old men and women as had 'gone home' (*ukuGóduka*); and it might be slaughtered even before their actual death (provided it seemed imminent), or at any other time within the earlier months after burial.

Among the higher ranks of society, a full six months was generally allowed to elapse after the demise before the *ĩHlambo* ceremony; among commoner folk three or four weeks were deemed sufficient. Like all other chattels-real and chattels-

personal of a deceased kraal-head, the family assegais did not escape the all-pervading *umMnyama* (darkness) that had descended upon the establishment. With such 'bad-luck' overshadowing them, as offensive and defensive weapons they were as good as useless; so they too had to be doctored, and that doctoring was termed their 'washing' (*ĩHlambo*).

The prescribed period having at length expired, the 'washing' took place. Another ox was slaughtered, beer was brewed in abundance, and, since all men in the neighbourhood were expected to take part in the ceremony, a great public hunt (with its hoped for increase in the meat supply) was organized. All which, as said, was for the purpose of 'washing the spears' (*ukuHlamb' imKónto*); and incidentally it marked the end of mourning-time and a release from most of the tabus.

The family wives, of course, did not partake in the *ĩHlambo* hunt, but substituted for it a little ceremony more suited to their particular status; which, however, they celebrated by themselves only a week or so after the burial, namely, all being assembled, together with other wives from the neighbourhood, off they trooped and hoed up a tiny field 'for the deceased', simply turning up the soil, planting nothing in it, and then going back home. Furthermore, at the time of the men's *ĩHlambo* hunt, and washing of their spears, the family wives felt that they too deserved a 'washing'; and so they instituted a little meat and beer feast entirely their own, and called it the 'washing of the widows' (*ukuHlamb' abaFélwakazi*).

A full twelve months had now elapsed since Jomela had 'gone home', and one might have thought him already forgotten. Not by any means. Nor did it appear that he had even yet arrived there. All this time, they said, he had been but wandering about the veld. So, to entice him back to his kraal, they slaughtered an ox (*e-yoku-m-Buyisel' eKáya*), and an extra steer to serve him as 'headrest' (*isiCamelo*). On this day of a spirit's return from the veld to his family, perfect quiet was obligatory in the kraal, because any noise might easily drive the spirit off again.

All members of a family, save small children, were thus, after death, 'brought back home'; but only the kraal-head got a 'headrest'. And if the latter possessed several kraals (as many great men had), he was 'brought back' to each of them.

And so the ghost of old Jomela was laid at last, and his bones were left uncared for to crumble to dust in their alcove in the grave.

Stop, stop, my wheel! Too soon, too soon,
 The noon will be the afternoon,
 Too soon today be yesterday.
 Behind us in our path we cast
 The broken potsherds of the past,
 And all are ground to dust at last
 And trodden into clay.

Longfellow, *Keramos*.

The preceding burial customs were those in vogue among the so-called Ntungwa Ngunis of Zululand, who included, along with the Zulu clan, also the Qwabe, the Biyela, the ema-Mbaténi, the Kúmaló and other clans. Certain differences of detail were naturally existent among other tribal groups (even in Zululand), e.g. the Mtétwá and eMbo groups, as well as among the Lalas of Natal. Further, in the smaller and less wealthy families, the procedure would always be found considerably simplified.

After having spent half a century wandering about the coastal jungles, the bush-veld and the woods of Zululand and Natal, all of them swarming with monkeys and other animals and birds, we do not recollect ever having come across an animal corpse (save such as had obviously been wounded or killed by trap or gun). Native informants have everywhere told us of their own similar experience, although they had been born in and roamed about these places all their lives. What, then, had become of the dying animals?

What Adam did with Eve when dead, or Eve with Adam, the records fail to tell us. Migeod¹ has suggested the answer, that earliest man adopted the practice of 'burial' as an instinct from his simian ancestors. "Judging from inquiries as to what these species of primates do in Africa, it seems that if a monkey dies, the rest of the troop simply leaves the corpse [which seems to us very doubtful] and abandons the place . . . If, however, an ape, such as a chimpanzee, dies, the writer has been informed,

in confirmation of what other inquirers have gleaned, but has not seen himself, that the dead ape is dropped into a hole in the ground, if one can be found ; but, in any case, a great heap of sticks and branches is piled up, and he is left so under a kind of tumulus."

A Zulu family-head, if stricken with mortal illness when on a journey, was always brought home to die, carried upon a rough stretcher of wicker-work (*ūHlaka*) ; and if so stricken at home, he was always carried to his principal hut. If already dead, he was still brought home, wrapped within a long reed-mat (*ūHlaka*), laid within his hut and given the usual burial. Should, however, transportation prove impracticable, his face in burial was always turned towards home ; which was the general rule also when burying the inferior members of the family around or about the kraal.

The Zulu idea that the extremely aged ' go home ' instead of ' dying ', and that the event is one for joy rather than for sorrow, must be very ancient, and plainly came down with them from northern Bantuland ; for it exists also among the Negroes of the Sudan. In Bornu, the traveller Barth,² was once attracted by the sounds of music and dancing, and was informed that it was in celebration of the death of an old man ; for in that land, " if a person in old age dies, his death is deemed a cause of satisfaction and mirth, while that of a young man is lamented with tears."

The Zulus had no more certain knowledge than we of the ' afterlife '. They agreed with us, however, that the personality survived the ordeal of death, and that, apparently, indefinitely ; but they differed from us in that, while we sent our souls ' up to heaven ', theirs went down ' into the earth ' (*Pántsi ; kwabomHlaba*), and there continued the same kind of existence, spiritually, as they had led on the physical plane upon the surface.

We cannot say, however, that their belief was either clear or comprehensible ; for, while their disembodied spirits ' went below ', they at the same time remained ' up above ', roaming the veld in the form of a specific kind of snake. These snakes, moreover, were often killed (by such as did not know them).

What then happened, nobody could say. Nor why they became a snake. Among the Hereros of South-west Africa, they become, not snakes, but ' a cat-like animal ' .³

The Zulus knew nothing whatever about coffins ; but the Nyamnyams of Equatorial Africa had some " made from a hollow tree " ⁴ and also the Congo Lubas, where they consisted of " a wicker basket " .⁵ As became a pastoral people, the Zulus regarded it as a stately interment to be buried in a sheep-skin, goat-skin or cow-hide cloak—such as, among the Ancient Egyptians would have been considered a disgrace. When the prince, Sanehat, had already grown old in his voluntary exile into Syria, the reigning pharaoh, Usertesens I, wrote entreating him to return, and appealed to his pride with the assurance that then anyway " thou shalt not be laid in a sheepskin when thou art buried,"⁶ as presumably was the custom then in pastoral Syria. Indeed, this skin-cloak seems to have been the normal Bantu ' coffin ' . In Portuguese East Africa, Owen⁷ noted that the body of the dead Quiteve king, just like that of the Zulu king, Mpande, was wrapped in a black bull's hide. Among the Hereros of South-west Africa, the skin-cloak was even more than a coffin. " When almost dead," wrote Viehe,⁸ the sick man was wrapped head and all in a skin, and tied therein with skin straps ; and so the cloak became, first, his smothering cloth, and then his shroud.

Barley and split wheat (the principal grain-foods cultivated by early man in those parts) were frequently found placed in vases surrounding Ancient Egyptian corpses.⁹ Such pots of grain for the sustenance of the dead were found in the 2nd Dynasty tombs at Abydos.¹⁰ Very stupid of them, you may think. Yet even twentieth century Christians (when of the pious and practising kind) do exactly the same, eating, not only materially, but also ' spiritually ' . Which was just what the Egyptians' spirits did ; so that in course of time the mere effigy or representation of the foodstuff was deemed sufficient for the purpose, and so came to supplant the ' real ' thing. Perhaps a similar idea was dimly visioned by the Zulu mind when he too planted grain-seeds in the dead man's hand. Certainly it must have been pretty obvious to him that the

meat and beer which he placed at the back of the dead man's hut for the refreshment of his spirit, remained invariably untouched, and could hardly have been partaken of by it in any 'material' sense. When asked to explain this custom of placing food for his dead, the Zulu could only say that it was 'in order that he might not go unprovided with food'. Anyway, eating, if only 'spiritually', of meat and beer was better than eating 'actually' of 'dust and mud', as the Babylonian spirits were compelled to do!¹¹ Sometimes the Zulus turned their custom to a much more practical purpose. For instance, a man who had been prone to 'jawing' during life was effectively cured of his weakness in death by having his *umuTsha* (loin covering) stuffed into his mouth; while a woman who had been similarly gifted 'with a tongue' had her leathern kilt (*isiDwaba*) administered in the same manner. The Zulus, being unpossessed of coin, sent off their dead, not (as with the Irish¹² and the Greeks) with money in their hands 'to pay the fare', but with something equally effective in their mouths.

One could hardly believe that there are certain customs still ruling amongst our Zulus, which are as old as *Homo sapiens* himself. And yet that little niche scooped out from the side of the Zulu's grave seems to be one such. Where else could the Australian aborigine have got that same idea of burying his dead in "a gallery excavated from the bottom of a shaft",¹³ unless, like the Zulu, straight from prehistoric man? Diagrams of Bronze Age tombs¹⁴ are identical in construction with those of modern Zululand. Among the Africans, this alcove is still so widely prevalent as to convince us that it must have been a common usage with the Negro race throughout the whole of its lifetime. Not only is it found among the Zulus in the extreme south-east of the continent, but also among the Hereros of the extreme south-west¹⁵ and the Ilas and Lubas¹⁶ of the centre. The Jola Negroes of Gambia, on the extreme north-west, make a grave, out of which is scooped at the side a small cavern for receiving the head of the corpse.¹⁷ The Ibo Negroes of Nigeria dig a wide-mouthed pit, from the bottom of which an underground passage, sometimes thirty feet long, leads into a square chamber with no outlet. In this latter the dead body is laid, and stones are set over the pit mouth.¹⁸ All which is reminiscent at once both of Ancient Egypt and Australia (above). Among

the Bongo Negroes of the Sudan, " a shaft is sunk perpendicularly for about four feet, and then a niche is hollowed in the side",¹⁹ in which is stowed the skin sack containing the corpse ; which is exactly what the Zulu does. And to this Schweinfurth adds the significant remark ; " This kind of interment is also prescribed in the law of Islam." Ludlow,²⁰ travelling in Zululand about 1880, speaks of having met with a grave at the oNgoye Hills (between the Mhlatuze and Mlalazi rivers), " not straight down, but slanting ", which must have been a modern variation of the older niche.

You will have noted just above how the Nigerian Negroes set stones over the mouth of their grave-pits ; and you will remember that our Zulu also, not only surrounded his corpse with stones and placed a large flat stone above its head,²¹ but also raised over the filled-in grave a small round mound, planted living trees around it, and finally raised over all a dome-like pile of thorny bushes, usually overgrown with creepers. Might it not be possible that from some such lowly beginnings have been derived those statelier trimmings which decorate our own funereal rites—the loose stones surrounding the corpse at length uniting in a carved sarcophagus to contain it ; the large stone laid flat upon the head below the ground being brought above the surface and there set up as an upright ' headstone ' ; the small round mound developing into tumulus, pyramid or cairn ; the planted euphorbia or prickly-pear becoming a cypress or a yew ; the dome-like pile of living green surmounting all becoming transformed into a temple or mausoleum ?²² The planting of live tree-stumps around the Zulu grave-mound—the East African Yawos, too, plant Kamuna trees beside their graves²³—seems, at these present times, to have nothing but a practical purpose, of marking and enclosing the spot. But it may have had a very different origin ; for among the Zulu relatives, the Hereros of South-west Africa, everybody (save the paterfamilias alone) is buried ' near a tree '. Indeed, this may very well be but another of those primeval practices as old as man himself ; for even among the Chinese, " the immemorial custom of planting trees on graves . . . is supposed by De Groot (*Religious System of China*) to be due to ' the desire to strengthen the soul of the buried person, thus to save his body from corruption ' ".²⁴

The Palæolithic Europeans of 30,000 years ago, as well as their Neolithic successors, employed red-ochre everywhere in the burial of their dead, and probably used it too as a body-decoration while still living. The Zulus make abundant use of it also, during life, but, like all other Bantu, we believe, have already dropped it entirely out of their funereal rites. The South African Bushmen, on the contrary, still retain the pre-historic custom of using red-ochre in their burial ceremonies.²⁵

We have already said that every respectable Zulu was buried at home. The family-head alone had the privilege (as also with the Hereros)²⁶ of burial alongside the top of the cattle-fold. Zulu sons and daughters and children, as born members of the family and clan, were also buried within the kraal, at the back or sides of their respective family-huts; but their mothers, even the principal wife (as of foreign origin and members of their present family and clan only by adoption) were always buried outside the kraal, behind their respective huts.

Anybody dying of consumption or similar chronic chest disease, even though himself the kraal-head, was never buried at home, but was conveyed away and buried near some distant stream, so that his chest-complaint might 'go off with the water' (*isiFúba saKé si-Muke namaNdzi*). This was done 'lest other members of the family take after him' (*Fúna ku-Ngéne ūFúza eKáya*): which is plain evidence that the Zulus were already aware of the 'infectiousness' of these diseases.

An adopted servant or menial (*isiKúza*) of any kraal was buried, without further formality, anywhere out on the veld, and the hut he had occupied was thrown away outside of the kraal and burned.

But a person dying of famine, even though a kraal-head and in his own home, was not even buried at all. The corpse was either taken out and laid alongside a tree in some wood—you will remember that all Hereros (see above) were buried 'alongside trees'—or else was thrust, feet foremost, into an ant-bear hole; and while the hole was being filled in, was sent off with the consoling farewell, *Hamba kaHle, si-ya-ku-Landela* (Goodbye, we-are-following-you)!

In the great martial days of Shaka and Dingane, when hundreds, even thousands, of men, all strangers to one another

and all members of different clans, were collected together in huge military kraals, it constantly happened that one or other of the warriors died. Such a one, if without relatives or friends near-by, was simply laid hold of by arm or leg and dragged away into some distant bush, there to be 'buried' by leopards or hyænas.

All these diversities of Zulu burial are closely paralleled by the burial customs of the Nika Bantu in Kenya Colony, where, we read,²⁷ all "elders" are buried in "the *Kaya* or capital", but others, outside of it; while "criminals and friendless people" are simply thrown away in the woods.

Among the Mtetwa group of clans (on the coast of older Zululand), it is said that all wives, instead of being buried (as with the Zulus) just outside the kraal-fence, were buried down close by a river, the grave being dug and the corpse buried after dark, no signs of the grave being left, so that nobody might know the exact position.

A woman dying in childbirth had the abdomen slit open prior to burial, 'so that the wind might escape' (*ukuba ku-Púme umOya*).

Should a mother die after delivery of the infant, the latter (unless a grandmother was there to suckle it) was taken and placed in a wood or under a bush, and there left to perish.

But should a small child die, and the mother live, then the latter gathered together all the other children of the family and made them 'wash' their hands with ashes or with *iNtolwane* water (*ukuHlambisa*) to drive away the *umMnyama* (ill-luċk) also from them.

A sky-doctor (rain or lightning specialist) had the unique honour of being interred with his right index-finger poking out above the surface of the ground.

About 1880, Ludlow²⁸ travelled through the ōNgóye district of Zululand (where, a decade or so afterwards, this writer himself resided for several years) and came across the following strange burial. The corpse having been bent and trussed, according to the normal Zulu rite, "the young men of the kraal now took the body up and placed it in the grave, leaving the head sticking out in the most comical manner."

Strange to say, the traveller, Harris,²⁹ has a similar statement. He once visited the Zulu fugitive conqueror, Mzilikazi, in the Western Transvaal, some years after he had subjugated the Chwana peoples there, and of whom his subjects were at that time largely composed. Whether that is the explanation or not of what follows, we know not; but he says: "In the Zooloo tribe, however, from which Moselekatse had sprung, some respect is shown to the memory of royalty and persons of distinction; the defunct dignitary being interred with his head above the ground within the hut where he has expired." This Mzilikazi belonged to the Kumalo clan, nearly related to the Zulus, all alike being Ntungwa Ngunis; and yet no tradition, so far as we know, has ever been heard of by Natives now (say, in 1883) seventy or eighty years old of such a mode of burial in either the Kumalo or the Zulu or any other clan in Zululand. The above statements are particularly remarkable because precisely this method of interment happens to be that in common usage among the Kavirondo tribe of the eastern Victoria Nyanza—those same Kavirondos among whom, in our first chapter herein, we sought for traces of Zulu 'origins'.³⁰ Something like it, too, is found among the Taveta Bantu, in the same Kenya Colony. There, the corpse having been normally buried in a grave, the latter is later re-opened after putrefaction has ceased, and "the head is taken out and put in a nice quiet corner, and covered with a jar shaped like a hat".³¹

There are two principal methods of arranging the human body in burial, namely, the contracted and the extended. Both come down to us from palæolithic man; but the contracted posture—that practised by our Zulus—may have been the oldest, seeing that it was the method common to both the Neanderthal and the pre-Chellean race (of Modern man). The diagram given by Keith of the reconstructed buried skeleton of the Ipswich man—supposed to have belonged to the pre-Chellean race, and therefore from 100,000 to 200,000 years old³²—shows the identical posture still adopted by the modern Zulus.³³ The contracted burial was the fashion also with the succeeding Neolithic folk.³⁴ It was the practice too with the pre-dynastic Egyptians (4000 B.C.),³⁵ extended burial first appearing among them about the IV Dynasty;³⁶ among the people of Central Europe prior to 1000 B.C.;³⁷ among the

Ancient Britons;³⁸ among the pre-historic North Africans, of whom Herodotus³⁹ says: "the Nasamonians bury them [their dead] sitting, and are right careful, when the sick man is at the point of giving up the ghost, to make him sit and not to let him die lying down"; among the South African Strandloopers of the shell-mounds, as well as among their kindred, the Bushmen;⁴⁰ among modern Australians;⁴¹ among the earlier Melanesian and Polynesian races;⁴² among the Sudan and Gold Coast Negroes;⁴³ and among most Bantu tribes⁴⁴—though a good number of these latter now use the extended burial.⁴⁵

Among some of these peoples the contracted corpse was deposited, as with the Zulus, sitting erect; with others, as with the Hereros,⁴⁶ lying on its side—as was the case also with pre-Chellcan man,⁴⁷ the pre-dynastic Egyptians,⁴⁸ and certain Negroes of the Sudan.⁴⁹ Among othersome, the contracted corpse was laid upon its back; which was the case with the Neanderthalers (La Chapelle) and some of the Magdalenians (Cheddar).⁵⁰

The baTeke Bantu of the Congo, as well as the Makondes of East Africa, are said to have the curious habit of standing their corpses upright in the grave.⁵¹

Some persons have suggested that the ancient habit of contracted burial may have been born of the beautiful thought of replacing man in the bowels of Mother Earth as he had been first found resting in his mother's womb. This seems to assume more poetry in Palæolithic man than one can credit. A more plausible explanation would be, that it was simply a space and labour-saving device.

Wherever a Zulu was buried, his face was always turned homewards (*a-Békisw' eKáya*).⁵² Wives buried outside the kraal, and sons and daughters within it, all had their faces turned towards their own family-huts. The paterfamilias or family-head was the only exception; for his face was turned, not towards his principal hut, but always towards the cattle-fold (*isiBaya*), the family ancestral temple. The Hereros of South-west Africa, it is said, turn the faces of their dead northwards,⁵³ and some at least of the Natal Lala clans turned theirs towards the rising sun. Other Bantu tribes turn theirs westwards. One can only surmise that all this diversity of orientation

may have been due to differences of migration or descent, each tribe believing that its 'motherland' was in this or that direction.

You will recollect how the Zulu family-heir (after his father's death) was required to stand by the grave, bearing his father's spear, while the grave was being dug, and later to stand again on the right-hand side of the entrance to the cattle-fold, bearing both the spear and the shield of his father, so that the clan-public might thus be made aware of his installation. This again was an aboriginal Bantu custom, which had come down with the Zulus from the Nyanza region. Among the Gandas there, "the eldest son came and stood on the right-hand side of the body". Further, he was given "the shield and spear of his father, and was so presented to the members of the clan by the clan's head".⁵⁴

As a rare exception, a Zulu kraal-owner was buried, not outside by the cattle-fold, but in a grave dug inside his hut, which latter was then pulled down over him, in order to conceal the grave and to protect the body from wild beasts. This occurred only under certain abnormal circumstances, as, for instance, when, in epidemics, neighbours were not procurable to bury him properly, or when, with his death, the adult male family came to an end, or when the deceased man was a widower, having only small children, who would now have to be removed elsewhere, or when he left a childless widow, who would now be unable to continue on the spot alone.

But there were some Bantu tribes where this type of hut-burial was, not the exception, but the rule; or, even more than that, was indicative of royalty. It was noted in Natal prior to 1715;⁵⁵ and it appears to have been customary in adjacent Pondoland, as well as in distant Kavirondoland on the Victoria Nyanza.⁵⁸ Among the Ganda Bantu, it is still the form of burial specially reserved for kings, who, carefully stowed away in their hut, have the building then pulled down upon them⁵⁹—though we personally noticed that, with the last Uganda king, his hut was left intact, with himself buried inside it. Commoners however, have, in Uganda, to be content with a burial in the open. The same procedure, of hut-burial and hut pulling-down, obtains again amongst the Jolof Negroes of the Gambia

region.⁵⁸ The Kikuyus, too, of Kenya Colony, reserve hut-burial for kings, mere commoners being unceremoniously laid beneath the most convenient bush to be devoured by hyænas.⁵⁹ The South African Sutus, while burying their dead like the Zulus in the open, thereafter proceed to pull down the empty hut all the same.⁶⁰ Contrariwise, the Yorubas of Nigeria, always burying their dead indoors, carefully preserve the hut to serve now as a kind of temple.⁶¹ Away, too, in distant Oceania, some Melanesian tribes also practise indoor burial.⁶²

In the north of Zululand dwelt the Ndwandwe clan (of Embo or Dlamini Ngunis). These had the custom, like their relatives, the Ngwane clan of Swaziland, of burying their kings in woods, which then became sacred to their spirits.⁶³ The Zulus proper had no such custom; but both the Ilas of Northern Rhodesia⁶⁴ and the Kikuyus of Kenya Colony⁶⁵ follow the same practice of depositing their royalties in sacred groves. Among the Ndawus of Portuguese East Africa⁶⁶ and the Congo Lubas,⁶⁷ one needed not to be a royalty, because there even commoners were buried in the woods.

The 'savages' of medieval Wales compared quite favourably, it would seem, with those of Africa. There, we are told, sons pulled their sick fathers out of bed and killed them, to save them the disgrace of their dying in their beds.⁶⁸ The Africans mostly reserved their barbarisms until after their friends had died. Even the Zulus, we have already seen, were not above throwing their dead to the beasts under exceptional circumstances.

Students of Zulu customs must beware of the common, but erroneous, view that the older the writer, the more reliable his statements. In many cases that view is justifiable, but one has to learn to distinguish; for as often as it is, it is not. Isaacs, for instance, was both one of the earliest and the most literate of the English pioneers among the Zulus, and he has blessed us with the only published record, based on personal experience, of Shaka and his times (save a few pages by Fynn). Of course, he knew practically nothing of the Zulu language (as is obvious from his writings), and consequently largely drew his own conclusions. Listen to his account of Zulu burial customs,⁶⁹ which most of his readers will probably accept as gospel truth. "It

is one of the Zoola customs, handed down from their forefathers, for every mother to throw her dead child away, also for every wife to do the same with her dead husband, and for every relation to perform the like office to the next akin. This is done, not by digging a grave and interring them, but by dragging the corpse on the ground to the nearest thicket, where it is left to be devoured by wolves and hyaenas." Wood,⁷⁰ another of those early pioneers, makes a similar statement of the times of Dingane; Harris⁷¹ does the same of the Matabele, and Shaw⁷² of the Xosas of the Cape. Now, all these early writers chanced to be in south-east Africa at a time when the whole country was in the throes of a universal upheaval, mainly due to Shaka's conquests, when almost every clan was dispersed, its members roaming the country, foodless vagabonds with no other home than the forests, wherein (as Isaacs and company apparently thought) to fulfil their normal life and customs. Isaacs, for instance, was quite unaware that the Zulu verb, *ukuLahla*, has two meanings, namely, 'to-throw-away' and 'to-bury-in-a-grave'. Of these two meanings he had got hold only of one, viz. the meaning of 'to-throw-away'; and this being the only expression the Zulus have and always use for 'to-bury' a person, he, erroneously, always interpreted the word in the sense of 'to-throw-away'. Only twenty years after Isaacs, the missionary Shooter,⁷³ was already aware of this error of Isaacs, and was denying his statements, writing, "I have been assured that this is not true of the Zulu country, where only dependants and those executed by the king's orders are thus treated"; while of the Xosas of the Cape, Thompson,⁷⁴ writing (1827) about the same time as Isaacs, says, "The Caffres, in former times, buried their dead, but at the present time (as we just said, of universal disruption of clan and family and social life) only the chiefs and persons of consequence are interred," and Kay,⁷⁵ writing soon after, continues: "It is said that they [the Xosas of the Cape] buried their dead in former times", and "as the practice even now partially obtains among them, there is perhaps no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement."

And yet in some Bantu tribes, this habit of simply throwing away their dead was actually the normal practice. It almost seems to be the rule up Kenya way, where the Kamba peasants and women are said to be simply dragged out into the bush,⁷⁶

and the Kikuyus and Masais even abandon their sick in the grass or bush to be killed off by hyænas.⁷⁷

Corpse-drying was known to the Zulus, but it was strictly confined to their kings. Exactly as with the Zulus, the aWemba royal corpses were first left to dry in the hut and only then buried, wrapped in a bull's hide.⁷⁸ Still nearer, on the Zambezi, the Rotses⁷⁹ dried their dead chiefs by laying them upon a bier suspended from the roof of their hut and constantly turning them, until they resembled a mummy—a process identical with that in vogue among the Polynesian Tahitians.⁸¹ On the opposite side of the continent, in Angola, after being first well baked in a hole within the hut and beneath a blazing fire, the royal bodies were then exhumed and well smoked above it.⁸¹ Kings of Uganda were dried somewhat like those of the Rotses, while lying on a board placed above a fire.⁸² The Nigerian Negroes, also, first smoked their royal corpses for a month before burying them.⁸³

Corpse-burning, however, was an entirely different thing. It has been attributed to the Zulus, but erroneously, and was absolutely unknown among them. Thus the missionary, Arbousset,⁸⁴ says: "The Zoolas of the Mosiniate [Mzinyati or Buffalo river] expose the dead bodies of their chiefs upon the branches of trees, then burning them and throwing the ashes into the river." In reality, these people belonged to the ema-Béleni, emaPépéténi and other 'foreign' clans.⁸⁵ They were not what we call 'Zulus', though they belonged to the same 'Nguni' Bantu group as they; but in their different migrations they had come under vastly different influences. The only instance we have ever heard (or rather read) of, of a real 'Zulu' chief having been burned, was that of the Qwabe chief, Kuzwayo.⁸⁶ But there (if the report be true) an explanation is possible; for the people of this chief were located on both sides of the lower Tukela valley, and therefore in near contact with the just-mentioned tribes also located there, and from whom (through a principal wife taken from them) the practice may have been introduced. Where these Natal clans themselves picked up the custom, cannot now be known. They had separated themselves from the Ntungwa (or 'Zulu') Ngunis in earlier times and had since wandered extensively among the

alien East African Bantu tribes. The nearest *Bantu* tribe we know of having this corpse-burning custom, was that of the Kondes, dwelling at the north end of Nyasa Lake, who "burn their corpses three days after death . . . and the ashes are collected into small jars and preserved by the family"⁸⁷—a habit reminiscent of the cinerary urns of Ancient Etruria and elsewhere. These Bantu 'body-burnings' remind us also of the funeral rites of India, where, while the aboriginal Dravidians buried their dead in the earth, the later Aryan invaders introduced cremation on a funeral pile; which was the wont also of their relatives in Italy and Greece.⁸⁸

Tree-burial, without any fire-treatment, is said to have been the practice among the Gogo Bantu of Tanganyika Colony, the bones being there later collected and buried.⁸⁹ Tree-burial is existent also in the East, where the Andaman, Semang (Malay Peninsula) and Mafulu (New Guinea) Negritos all hold that burial up a tree is more respectable than burial in the ground.⁹⁰

Ethnologists all over the world tell us innumerable interesting facts about how the primitives deal with their dead; but never a one, so far as we can remember, has ever touched upon the very important matter of premature burial. And yet this tragedy is, we are convinced, of frequent occurrence among them. We may cite a few of our own personal experiences. While managing a Native boarding-school, a boy one evening was reported suddenly 'dead'. There were no doctors in that remote part; so we did what we could to assure ourselves that he really had 'given up the ghost'. The body, when we came to it, was perfectly rigid. We knew that this was a symptom of catalepsy. But, if catalepsy, what puzzled us, was that we could detect absolutely no sign whatever of life. The body seemed cold; we placed our ear to the chest, but there was no audible flutter or flicker of the heart; we laid a mirror over the mouth, but no moisture of breath appeared; but we did *not* burn a blister on the skin, not then knowing the trick. A coffin was accordingly knocked together and was completed before morning. Meanwhile, we had the 'corpse' laid down on the floor of a room, and decided there ourselves to 'watch' by the body all night. So we sat at a table and read, with our back to the body.

At about one o'clock, we thought we heard a movement behind us ; but on turning to look, no sign thereof appeared. We continued reading. Then, half-an-hour later, a movement was beyond doubt, and looking round, we found the 'corpse' sitting up ! We enquired of it, what was wrong, and found it wanted to urinate. This completed, it laid itself down again and started a full-breathing sleep, which it continued until morning, when it woke up, and calmly walked out—to school, as usual ! Twenty years later, and again in charge of a mission with both a boys' and a girls' boarding-school : one evening, as before, a girl was reported as having been bitten by what she thought was a spider. An hour later, she too was reported 'dead', with body rigid as before. On this occasion, we tried pricking the body with a needle and touching the eye-ball with a finger, but without a budge. No indications of life being apparent, she was given up as 'gone' ; but after midnight, the corpse once more sat up, for precisely the same purpose as previously. She too was quite fit and smiling in the morning, and lived to become a married woman. The third instance was when an aged man and old friend of ours, long ailing, was one morning announced to us by messenger as 'dead'. In the afternoon, we went to the kraal to sympathize with the family ; but what we saw was our old friend himself squatting at the head of his already dug grave, and grinning at us as we marched up the kraal, obviously enjoying the fun ! It appeared that, as he was being lowered into the grave, he (as they explained) 'came to life again', much to the consternation of his family. "On two occasions," writes Livingstone,⁹¹ "while I was living among the Bechuana, the buried men returned home to their affrighted relatives. They had recovered in their graves from prolonged swoons." Only a few months ago, the Durban *Mercury* of 23rd May, 1932, reported from the Umlaas Road that a Native farm-servant had been posted by messenger as dead. A few hours later, his wife "returned breathless and agape with astonishment. Her 'dead' spouse had returned to life !"

A Zulu wailing (*isiLilo*) is almost as comical a farce as the proverbial Irish wake. As we have already said, all women in the neighbourhood are, as a matter of politeness, expected to attend. Some, no doubt, go genuinely grieved, but others, with scarcely more than a nodding acquaintance with the deceased,

naturally find it difficult to press out tears to order. What they do in such a plight, is what they did in 1680 on the Congo. "If," says Merolla,⁹² "it so happens that any amongst them be not able to weep naturally, they have recourse to art by holding Indian Pepper to their noses, which causes the tears to flow plentifully, which, without wiping, they suffer to trickle down their cheeks as fast as they please." Zulu women in the same predicament are no less 'artful', and find snuff, administered ocularly, an effective substitute for pepper. When Isaacs once found himself at such a royal wake, and being unaware of Shaka's weakness for unceremoniously ordering off to execution anyone attending such a ceremony and daring not to weep, "several of the native warriors asked us, if we were not afraid of death, and offered us some snuff, which they were forcing up their nostrils in prodigious quantities".⁹³

So the Zulu women wend their way dutifully to the funeral, perfectly oblivious and unconcerned about their mournful purpose, till, suddenly arrived at the gate of the kraal, they recollect their errand, take counsel together as to who shall start first, stealthily apply a dose of snuff to their eyes, and approach the gathering as demurely as nuns. No sooner there, than they appear overcome with sorrow, shed copious tears and utter yells of frenzied lamentation over their departed neighbour. When more or less tired out, after having first purified themselves in the waters of the local stream, they march back home, laughing and chattering, as though nothing had happened. Kay,⁹⁴ in early Kaffrarian days, hearing one night loud wails of lamentation, went forth to investigate, and, peeping over the kraal-hedge, beheld a mournful group of females bewailing the loss of some dear dead friend; who, when they espied the face peering at them over the fence, became for a moment perfectly silent, and then broke into a great outburst of laughter. Immediately the face had been withdrawn, they continued, perfectly undisturbed, with their weeping and wailing.

This wailing custom is so universal throughout the world, that it were futile to seek its origin in any particular place or race. Most likely it is another of those legacies left us by prehistoric man. From the Indians of South America⁹⁵ to the Melanesians of New Guinea,⁹⁶ it extends. Among Hebrews⁹⁷

and Spartans,⁹⁸ Nigerians⁹⁹ and Masai,¹⁰⁰ in Uganda¹⁰¹ and Zambezia,¹⁰² we find it everywhere.

But among the Zulus, there are some exceptions to the rule. Old men and women 'going home', family menials, those dying of famine or consumption, those buried away from home, criminals privately impaled (*Jojiwe*) or executed by the king, all these were never wailed for.

One hardly expected to find any social links between the Zulus and the Ancient Romans. You will know, perchance, the Latin word, *Ululare* (to cry *ul-ul-ul*, or to wail with loud cries); but you may not know where it came from, nor how closely related it is in origin and meaning with the Zulu word, *Lila* (to cry *li-li-li* in sorrow, to-wail) and the word, *Lilizela* (to cry *li-li-li* in joy, to-exult)—in both which senses the cry is used by the Zulus. The Latins somehow came to lose one half of the word's original signification, that of expressing 'joy', retaining only that expressive of 'sorrow'. Luckily, modern Egypt supplies the missing link; for there, even still, the Fellahin (peasants), nearest living descendants of the Ancient Egyptians, when accompanying a bride to her wedding, follow her uttering the shrill and joyful cry of *ul-ul-ul-ul*; and they use precisely the same cry again to express their sorrow at her funeral. Now, it is on exactly these same two occasions that the Zulu women use their shrill cry of *li-li-li-li*, at wedding and death—on the former occasion calling it 'to *Lilizela*' and on the second 'to *Lila*'.

We can hardly suppose that this 'joy-and-sorrow' cry of the modern Fellahin was any invention of theirs, but rather that they inherited it from their Ancient Egyptian ancestors. It was probably employed by the Ancient Egyptian women, when, as Maspero¹⁰⁴ says, "the family hire mourners, whose trade it is to cry aloud, to tear their hair, to sing their lamentations, and conscientiously to portray the utmost despair"; while in Ancient Assyria, he says, the same women "rend their garments, scratch their cheeks and breasts, cover the head with dust and ashes, and utter loud howls of sorrow." Such wailing was in common use in Egypt already in 2778 B.C., and no doubt long before.¹⁰⁵ From the same original source the Hebrews too derived their custom. "Call for the mourning women," writes Jeremiah (IX. 17-21), "let them make haste

and take up a wailing for us ; for death is come up into our windows."

So was it perhaps that, from the ancient Mediterranean Race of North Africa (whence the Ligurians crossed over to ' *ululare* ' in Italy), the cry, *li-li-li*, of sorrow and joy, spread also southwards into Negroland. Midway down Africa are the Nyanja Bantu of Nyasaland, and there the women's shrill cry of delight becomes (as also with the Kikuyus of Kenya Colony)¹⁰⁶ *lu-lu-lu* (termed, in Nyanja speech, *kuLuluta* ; and comparable with the *ul-ul-ul* of the Fellahin Egyptians). Thus we find the whole African and Mediterranean world joined up in one same cry of grief and joy, from Zululand to Italy, from Mesopotamia to the Sahara. For in the latter desert, the Arabs term their women's shrill wedding cry *Tehlil* ; and the Hamitic Temashight, *Tirlelak*.¹⁰⁷ Landor¹⁰⁸ tells us that, when the steamer arrived on the Shari (Lake Chad), the women showed great delight, " tapping their lips rapidly with the open hand, giving a tremolo to their shrill ululations of welcome, which were identical with those employed in the British Sudan." Pass thence into Ancient Assyria. On one of the wall-reliefs in this latter land, " one of the female singers is holding her hand to her throat, in the same manner as the women in Syria, Arabia and Persia are in the habit of doing at the present day, when producing, on festive occasions, those peculiarly shrill sounds of rejoicing which have been repeatedly noticed by Oriental travellers. Dr. Clarke says, " They are caused by trilling the tongue against the roof of the mouth, without the utterance of any distinct words. Yet this singular mode of expressing joy is all that constitutes the *Alleluia* of the ancients. When Lord Hutchinson first entered into Cairo . . . he was met by a number of women who greeted him with *Alleluia*. . . . It seems to be a constant repetition of the same syllable *al*, uttered with the utmost rapidity ".¹⁰⁹

It seems at first sight strange that onesame sound, *lu-lu-lu*, or *li-li-li*, or *ul-ul-ul*, or *al-al-al*, should have been adopted by mankind to express two such contrary emotions as sorrow and joy. Yet have we not ourselves heard of ' tears of joy ' ? Wollaston¹¹⁰ relates how he was welcomed by the Papuans— " Many of the people, both men and women, on this and other occasions of great excitement, were so overcome with emotion that they actually shed tears of rapture." In which regard, " a

note in the *Geographical Journal*, 38. p. 211, points out the interesting fact that this custom of shedding tears in welcome was observed by some of the early travellers in many places on the American continent, both North and South. It has also been noticed among the Andamanese and other Negroid inhabitants of South-Eastern Asia and Australia." We may note also the 'mournful sigh' of Bantu women, expressing how their hearts are touched, at the sight, for instance, of some unusual exhibition of kindness or love. So near in human nature is joy, even laughter, to tears.¹¹¹

The wailing of Zulu women for their dead, we just said, often became a ridiculous farce. But there were times in the Zulu social system when the tears of the women were shed over the death of themselves; and then it became an all too real tragedy. We have already related how, at the death of the Zulu king, Mpande, certain of his queens (as well as of his men-servants) were ordered off to accompany their lord into Hades. There was never any wailing then, for them; but, no doubt, plenty of tears. On such occasions, the poor women, and men, marched off quite submissively to their fate of strangulation, led like lambs to the slaughter, and they opened not their mouths.

Human sacrifices of this kind were, with the Zulus, the prerogative of kings. Such custom itself was perhaps older than the Zulus themselves; another of those barbarisms which they, and the Negroes in general, inherited from prehistoric times, and which have persisted ever since. In the ancient world too the practice seems to have been confined mainly to kings. It was already in vogue in Egypt in the days of the very earliest of the pharaohs, Mena. A successor of his, pharaoh Zer-Ta (4715 B.C.), was buried surrounded by no less than 338 of his household; but his follower on the throne was content with a mere 174 of his domestics and officials.¹¹² Herodotus¹¹³ says that the ancient Thracians, "the most powerful people in the world, except, of course, the Indians," had, like the latter, a form of *Suttee*, in which, upon a man's death, his wives contended among themselves for the privilege of accompanying him. The honoured one, amidst the regrets and congratulations of the envious unelect, was slain and buried with her husband. Zulu wives were never so infatuated with their husbands or

with death, as all that ; but their Peruvian sisters in South America were, and often hanged themselves in order to ensure their going with their spouses into their eternal houses, and having a number of attendants buried with them.¹¹⁴

We said that the queens and attendants who accompanied the Zulu king, Mpande, were executed by being strangled. Whence came that strange idea ? Herodotus¹¹⁵ at any rate shows us its great antiquity ; for among the Scythians, by the dead king was laid the body of a concubine, ' killed by strangling ', as well as those of several servants.

This practice of dead kings taking their servants with them was common throughout Bantuland. Livingstone¹¹⁶ mentions it among the Lundas and Rotsees in upper Zambezia ; while among the Bisas, the head-wife's body was split in twain and the bones of her spouse were enshrined within it.¹¹⁷

We mentioned, a few pages back, the curious habit among certain Bantu tribes of burying their dead in an upright position. In ancient Japan (prior to 700 A.D.), the personal attendants who accompanied their deceased emperor were also buried standing upright in his mausoleum.¹¹⁸ But these unfortunates were buried alive. We do not hear of any burying alive among the Zulus ; but it is not unknown among other Bantu peoples. Merolla¹¹⁹ mentions it in 1682 on the Congo ; and when Speke¹²⁰ was travelling in the Victoria Nyanza region in the middle of last century, and Dagara, the Karagwe king, died, his already dried corpse was sewn within a cow's-hide and placed upon a hill. Over it a hut was built, and therein five dainty damsels, plus fifty cows, were driven and all barred up inside together, and " standing upright ".

The corpse of the Zulu king, Mpande, was laid in the grave upon a soft bed, consisting of the dead body of his valet, considerably strangled beforehand. King Kamrasi, however, of Nyoroland (Uganda), on the contrary, when dead, was provided with a soft (though, we suspect, hardly restful) couch of ' living ' women selected from his harem.¹²¹

It is the custom still with many peoples in Europe to remove the hat when passing a funeral, ' out of respect for the dead '. Is that habit, perchance, but a survival of the more hoary habit of ' shaving the head ' for the same reason among so

many ancient and primitive peoples (who possessed no hats), and the original meaning of which has long ago become lost? The Zulus, you remember, like all the rest, shave or cut their hair after a burial; but they cannot tell us why they do it, beyond that 'their fathers did it before them'. The Zulu women do not shave, but they 'cut down' their hair, i.e. top-knots; and the Herero women in South-west Africa, having no topknots, "cut off some hair on each side of the head".¹²² Similar shaving or hair-cutting habits prevail also among the Gandas and Kambas, the Nyasas and Yawos of Eastern Africa,¹²³ among the Zandes of southern Sudan¹²⁴ and the Abyssinians¹²⁵ further north. Indeed, writes Mary Kingsley:¹²⁶ "All the African [Negro] tribes I have met, have peculiar forms of hair-cutting—shaving the entire head, not shaving it at all, shaving half of it, etc.—when mourning." The ancient Indians¹²⁷ "offered their hair to the gods to avert further misfortune, when a near relative died." Perhaps that was the reason too why, as Herodotus¹²⁸ tells, "Mardonius and all the Persian army made great lamentations for Masistius. They shaved off all their hair from their own heads, and cut the manes from their war-horses, while they vented their grief in such loud cries that all Bœotia resounded with the clamour."

Many other of the Zulu burial customs also find their counterpart elsewhere in Bantuland, showing how ancient and persistent they must have been. Thus, the Zulu men, after burying a corpse, washed their hands in the *umSwani* (stomach-contents) of the goat or ox slaughtered for the purpose. Similarly, among the Kambas of Kenya Colony, "after the corpse is disposed of, they kill a number of goats, and cutting open the chests of the animals, they smear their faces and bodies with the contents of the stomach".¹²⁹

The Zulu women, furthermore, showed their mourning by wearing bands of rushes (*isiNqwazi*) round their heads, just as the Wemba women wear a band of cloth,¹³⁰ and the Sudanese Dinkas wear a cord round their necks.¹³¹

Their abstinence from work also was repeated in Uganda, where all work ceases after a death.¹³²

The Zulu *iHlambo* (or 'washing') ceremony a few months after burial is paralleled again among the Bisas, who, two

months after a death, "mourn while beer is being made, and then give a great dance and drink beer in honour of the defunct".¹³³ Something similar obtains also among the Ibos of Nigeria.¹³⁴

Every disembodied Zulu spirit receives at once a new embodiment in the form of a special kind of harmless snake. We have not heard of this particular idea elsewhere in Bantuland, save a vestige of it among the Ndawus of Portuguese East Africa. Those people bury generally in forests "where there are usually many snakes". But there they do not believe (as do the Zulus) that the spirits actually enter within these snakes, but that the snakes, somehow, belong to them, being called "the snakes of the spirits".¹³⁵

In this reincarnated form, the Zulu spirit is supposed to wander forlornly about the surrounding veld, seemingly unable to settle down properly to spirit-life, until the surviving relatives have ceremonially 'brought it home again' (*uku-Buyisa*), which ceremony constitutes the formal completion of the burial-service.¹³⁶ This 'bringing home' business must be another of those very old-world survivals. The idea is as strong in India as in Nigeria. "Not only is care taken [among the Calabar Nigerians] to send the soul down [to the underworld], but means are taken to see whether or not it has duly returned".¹³⁷ The Ibo Negroes, too, believe that "after death there is a certain place in which souls foregather, and where they remain until the second funeral ceremony to the dead has been performed, and while so detained, they exist in a kind of leaf called *Okazi*".¹³⁸ This second burial takes place within six months to a year after death. It is intended "to release him from the thralldom of the region of the dead in which all souls are confined, where they exist on leaves or grass just like the brute beasts, and to usher him triumphantly . . . into the abode of his fathers in the world of spirits. For the universal belief on this point is that no human soul can attain to the peaceful ancestral habitations without the rite of second burial".¹³⁹ Transporting ourselves now over the sea into India to attend there a wake at Berar, we learn that there too, "the ceremony includes that very suggestive practice (known to all Brahmanic rites) of bringing back to his house the dead man's soul, supposed to have lost its home by the body's death".¹⁴⁰

The Zulus have never heard of a public burial-ground or cemetery; their family instincts are too strong to allow its members to be thus separated, even in death.

But they have in their land numerous mysterious heaps of stones (*isiViváne*) scattered everywhere about, especially along public highways, and which many Europeans believe to be grave-sites. If they are such, then they should properly be dealt with here as 'burial customs'. But ourselves we do not think they are; they are, we prefer to believe, rather simple 'luck-heaps'. The Zulu custom is, that every passer-by pick up a stone with his (bare) foot, then take it in his hand, spit on it, and throw it on the heap, without any words. If asked his reason, he replies that he does it to obtain 'good-luck' (*iNilahla*) on ahead, having usually in mind 'something to eat or drink', 'shelter for the night', 'success in his law-suit', 'good fortune with the chief he is visiting' and such-like. There is never any mention of 'ancestral spirits'. But there are other reasons also for our being convinced that these stone-heaps do not mark graves. Firstly, because the Zulus themselves tell us that they have no tradition whatever that they are; secondly, because, when they throw their stones, they make no appeal whatever to any spirits, but only spit on them; thirdly, because the Zulus never had the custom of burying anybody alongside the public highways (where these stone-heaps are almost always found); and fourthly, because we have frequently found the heaps on such rocky or stony ground, that it were impossible to dig a grave there, and absurd to deliberately select such a spot, when softer soil was to be met with only a few yards away. As said, we have noticed that their position is normally alongside old and much used public pathways, and that they sometimes exist in a continuous series along such highways (as Gardiner observed on the road leading to king Dingane's capital at emNgungundlovu). All this leads us to the conclusion that, as far as the Zulus are concerned, they are merely superstitious 'luck-heaps'—such 'good luck' as every traveller might wish to find awaiting him on ahead.

Similar practices, with the sole object of ensuring 'luck', extend right through Bantuland. On the Zambezi, small bits of stick replace the stones. The beChwana place a little grass, with a stone on top, along the side of the road—all 'for luck'. Since the custom extends from New Zealand, through Polynesia,

Borneo, Central Asia, Scandinavia, and North America to Guatemala, it is scarcely probable, as some have surmised, that the Bantu learned the practice from the Hottentots !

So now, at the end of this our final journey through the Zulu country and amongst the Zulu people, we cast this last stone on the wayside heap with a fervent prayer for the future Good Luck of all our dear old friends, the ZULU PEOPLE.

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An Appendage. We venture to append here a paragraph (which could hardly be fitted into any other chapter) dealing with a very unusual and interesting event that once came our way.

News had reached us of a case of levitation recently occurred at the Native mission-station, yclept St. Michael's, near the Umzinto-Ixobó railway line in south Natal ; and this being our first experience of such an unusual happening, down we went to investigate. At the mission-station there was the usual girls' boarding-school ; and in that school there was a certain Native girl, already adult, who was the heroine of the play.

Arrived there, we met the particular girl (now recovered from her former 'indisposition') and spoke with her. She seemed mentally normal and intelligent, but looked physically somewhat debilitated. Our present enquiries, however, were addressed solely to the Europeans, the missionary in charge of the station and the Sisters who ran the school, and who were all actual eye-witnesses of the strange events. The girl, we were informed, started by making known to many other of the school-children their personal secret peccadilloes ; which fact (seeing that the accusations were always true !) struck them as so extraordinary, that they reported the matter to the authorities. Then, as things progressed (and as the Sister in charge informed us), the girl became at times attacked by a mysterious and considerable 'swelling out' of the upper body, and a disposition at the same time to rise up vertically from the floor up into the air. The Sister looking after the girl was therefore

(as she told me) constantly engaged holding the girl down or pulling her back again! Sometimes, however, the girl's pull upwards was so strong, that the Sister herself was almost taken off her feet.

The girl was later placed in a small room apart from the other children; and one day, while lying there on the bed, and in the presence (as they personally informed us) of the local priest and the Sister in charge, the girl suddenly rose up from the bed and, still in the horizontal posture, floated away to the ceiling, and so round the room and back down again! But what struck the mission onlookers was that, while floating along up in the air, the girl's clothing, instead of falling away from the body, continued firmly attached to it! What, one may wonder, had become of the law of gravitation—inoperative both in the case of the girl's body and of her clothing!

At last the mission authorities deemed it proper to notify their own bishop. This went down there, performed the prescribed Church rite of exorcism, and the girl thereafter returned once more to the normality in which we found her.

A *poltergeist* was another curious experience we once had. It occurred at another mission-station; but this time not in the Native-quarters there. Near by the mission-station was a wood, and in that wood a man was once found who had therein hanged himself. Soon after, in the dormitory of the mission Sisters, there lay one of their number seriously ill in bed; when to the consternation of the sick Sister and her attendants, various heavy articles of furniture suddenly began to topple over or be flung about the room! Well, what to do about it? They took the true Christian course, and set about fervently praying for the poor afflicted soul (whosoever it may be); and, once again, peace came to the house and to that soul.

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39. *IV*, 190.
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THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE ZULUS

Eileen Jensen Krige

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE ZULUS, first published in 1936, has become one of the standard books on the Bantu and remains the only complete and systematic account of the life and customs of the most romantic and best known South African tribe.

The book presents Zulu culture and society largely as it was before the impact of Western civilization. The author, a well-known South African anthropologist, has collected and systematized the scattered material contained in travellers' accounts, missionary reports, periodicals of all sorts, and by further independent enquiry has completed the picture and filled in the numerous gaps.

A much wider area of tradition and custom than the title would indicate is covered in the book. After an historical introduction showing the genesis of the Zulu nation, the fundamental lines of Zulu society - the kinship system and village organization - are dealt with. The following chapters on the moulding of the individual and the main stages in his life, namely, infancy, childhood and customs associated with birth, childhood, transition to adulthood, marriage and death. From the significance of these stages the author proceeds to an account of the economic system - conceptions of property, the scope of agricultural activities, the place of cattle in the life of the people, industry and trade. This leads to an examination of the political organization, the role and functions of the king, law and justice and the military system, aspects of Zulu society that are intimately connected with the glamour that surrounds the Zulu people and that throw light upon the Napoleonic career of Shaka and his influence in welding together the native people of Natal.

That there is, however, another aspect to Zulu culture is evident from the chapters dealing with religion, magic, and medicine, which constitute their interpretation of the moral forces in the universe, and with music, dancing and folklore, which reveals their artistic achievements.

The book abounds in interesting and curious detail, giving a vivid impression of the richness and variety of activities and institutions in which Zulu men and women could find expression. Appendices give further details of traditional Zulu dishes, a full list of Zulu regiments, of articles of dress and adornment and an enumeration and interpretation of the marriage gifts that pass between the families of bride and bridegroom and provide the clue to the significance of bridewealth (lobolo).

This book has been a source of valuable information to students, officials, missionaries, traders and others who live and work with the Zulu.

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