

## **Translation of Dingiswayo kaJobe, parts I, II, and III**

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From James Stuart, *uBaxoxele*, London: Longman, Green, 1924, pp. 14-42.

Page numbers of the original are given in bold type between two forward slashes, thus: **/14/**.

Translations of the footnotes in the original have been placed at pertinent places in the main text. They appear in square brackets, and are preceded by the word 'Footnote'.

### **/14/ Dingiswayo kaJobe**

(King of kwaMthethwa)

UMaf' avuke njengedabane

(The one who died and rose again like the idabane plant.)

### **Part I**

[This story about Dingiswayo woYengo was told to us by Mashwili kaMngoye kaDingiswayo in November 1903. Mashwili was killed in the war of Bhambatha. He was of the uDloko ibutho, and had a great knowledge of the affairs of his people in kwaMthethwa.]

Godongwana was the son of Jobe, who was the son of Khayi kaXaba ka Madango kaNdlovu kaMthethwa kaNyambose ka Khubazi <check spelling> of the Mthethwa clan. [Footnote: Godongwana was the name by which he was usually known. We are not entirely certain whether it was Godongwana or Gotongwana, for this is what some people called him. Godongwana was otherwise known as Dingiswayo; he had two names. The name Godongwana was given by his father; Dingiswayo was a praise-name.]

**/15/** The place where Godongwana was born was eBalungwini, Jobe's main umuzi, where the kings were installed (bekwa). Godongwana followed Thana in age. When Godongwana was old enough to herd calves, Jobe set up another umuzi for the house of Godongwana's mother.

< I have translated 'kipa' as 'set up'. Literally it means 'sent out'. We might want to talk about this.> Its name was oYengweni.

In character, Godongwana was the sort of person who carried small knob-sticks made from the iphahla tree; he did not carry umshiza fighting-sticks. In growing up, he was a boy of straightforward character. He spoke in an easy manner, but showed determination.

Jobe had many young sons at oYengweni. The mother of Godongwana was Mabhamba, who was a daughter of Nzimase kaDonda kaTshiya of the kwaMbokazi clan. The name of the umuzi of his mother's people was kwaTshiya. It was named after her great-grandfather.

When the umuzi was set up for Godongwana's mother's house, he was still a boy who herded calves. At that time Thana lived at the umuzi of his mother's people. He went there after reaching the age of puberty. At that time oYengweni had already been built. It was his father's wish that he should go and live with his mother's people and grow up there, for Thana was his father's favourite son. The sons at oYengweni increased to a large number, for when sons were born at eBalungwini, their mothers (who were not amakhosikazi <senior wives?>) were sent to join those at oYengweni.

When Jobe's sons at oYengweni had grown up, they began talking among themselves about their father. 'O! We are in a bad way. Our father is now an old man. He has to have milk to drink, and meat has to be ground up like umcaba so that he can eat it. He does not discuss public matters. When will this broken old man die, and another chief be installed?' It was Godongwana who began this talk; the others agreed with him.

*/16/* Then the induna of oYengweni, Nodunga kaMakhanya ka Njonjonjo of the kwaMthethwa clan, went off to report what was being said. He had been present among the sons when they had talked in this way. When he came to Jobe he said, 'O! Wena wohlanga! I come here to tell you of the seditious talk among your sons.' 'What are they saying?' 'They are saying: "When will this broken old man die, one who has to drink milk, and eat meat that has been ground up? When will he die, and another chief be installed? He can no longer discuss matters in the ibandla; his strength is gone. He can no longer walk; it is beyond him. He can no longer lead discussion of affairs."'

When Jobe heard this from Nodunga, his heart was sore indeed. For many days he did not speak; he addressed no one. When he spoke again, he exclaimed, 'O? So now I am an old man who is about to die?' He then counted up his sons at oYengweni. To each one of them he

apportioned an ox. When he had done this he said to the induna of oYengweni, ‘Tell all my sons to slaughter the oxen, each one to slaughter his own. For I am going to come and install a chief in my place. But the smaller boys must not come forward, only the youths.’

So they proceeded to slaughter the oxen. Jobe did not arrive that day; he said he would come when the chest meat was being eaten. Then Jobe went up with his amabutho, very many of them. I do not know their names. When all his sons were comfortably seated, he gave the order to the amabutho, ‘Stab them all, leave not one alive. Be sure that you finish off for me that over-clever son Godongwana. When you have killed him for me, you will have done your job, I swear by my father Khayi.’ /17/ Beer was brought in and he spat. That was the plan he gave to the amabutho that he went up with.

As the sun was going down a great commotion arose. The amabutho attacked the young men, and stabbed them all. Godongwana escaped over the outer fence. They hurled spears at him, and pierced him below the ribs with an inhlendla (barbed spear). He ran off with it stuck in his body. He made his way to the place of Dlaba kaMavovo in the amaCube country, where the people worked the spear loose. He stayed there until the wound healed.

He moved on further, below the uNdi mountains, to Mthimkhulu kaBhungane kaNsele in the country of the amaHlubi. He arrived as it was raining; he had on a small cloak of calfskin. He came to a small umuzi, and entered. He found a woman there. He went in and greeted her. The woman looked hard at him, and said, ‘Hawu! Baba, sawubona!’ He responded. ‘So then, Baba, where do you come from?’ ‘Mame, I come from kwaMthethwa.’ ‘Whose son are you, there at kwaMthethwa?’ ‘I am the son of Jobe.’

The woman then sent a child to the head of the umuzi, her husband Ngqwashu of the amaHlubi, calling him to come and see this person, one who said he was a son of Jobe. It was all too much for her. Ngqwasha arrived, and asked him the same questions as his wife had done. Godongwana replied as he had done before. He said, ‘Here I am, coming from among many of my father’s sons. He has killed us all. I am the only one who escaped. Here is the wound I received when they stabbed me. I am a son of Jobe. My name is Godongwana.’

Ngqwashu said, ‘O! Well then, I am going to report your arrival to the chief, Mthimkhulu.’ He duly went off and reported the matter. Mthimkhulu said, ‘Go, Ngqwashu, and fetch him. Bring him here to me. I will see if he is the son of a chief.’ He went off and fetched him; he brought him back to the chief, Mthimkhulu.

/18/ He said, 'Treat him with medicines. Stir up medicines for him, then bring him to me.' The inyanga of the place was summoned; he stirred up medicines and treated him. He was brought to the chief. The chief asked, 'Are you the son of Jobe?' He replied, 'Yes, Nkosi.' He said, 'I shall see if you are the son of a chief. Go and fetch the cubs of a lioness, there among the rocks below the mountain. There are two of them; they stay with their mother. Bring only the cubs; leave the mother. Bring them here to me, so that I can see that you have taken them. If you take them, I shall see that you speak the truth when you say that you are a son of Jobe.'

Godongwana went off. He came to the place where the lioness was, together with its cubs. He found the cubs and the mother there. He caught them. The mother fought, roaring loudly. It fought him fiercely, but he took the cubs and went off with them. On this journey he did not carry his weapons, for he had been treated with medicines of chiefs, with medicines of the isithunzi of chiefs. The lioness was fearful of him; it was in awe of him. He went off with the cubs.

He brought both of them back to Mthimkhulu. On his arrival, Mthimkhulu said, 'You have indeed spoken the truth. You are the son of a chief.' He said, 'Treat him with medicines for them, so that he can take them back.' They treated him. He took the cubs back to their mother, and returned.

When he arrived back at Mthimkhulu's, an old white ox was slaughtered for him. He had been there for three days, but was living in fear. Even before he had finished the meat, he made his goodbyes to Mthimkhulu, saying, 'Nkosi, I fear the impi of my father. I feel in my bones that it is following me.'

He went on, and eventually came to eRini [footnote: Grahamstown]. He there met a white man who took him in and put him to work with horses. He remained there a long time. Many years passed while he was at eRini. It happened that when he felt that he... <continued on p. 20>

/19/ [Illustration of Grahamstown, taken from Cory, *Rise of South Africa*. The caption reads in translation: This illustration was made in 1824. If Godongwana really got as far as eRini, it was probably in about 1800. <Grahamstown was not established until 1812.>]

/20/ <continued from p. 18> ...had had enough of the work he caught a fever. He dreamed many dreams. He dreamt about his father, and Nodunga, and Xaba. He felt too weak to

continue working. He said his goodbyes to the white man, and set off homewards. He did not take the route that he had followed when he ran away. He took paths that went up-country.

The white man had said to him, ‘What would you like by way of your earnings?’ He said, ‘I would like a gun and an injomane.’ [Footnote. A horse (ihashi). In the Zulu country at that time, horses were not yet known. They were called isilwane, injomane.] The white man gave him both, and he went off.

The illness that he had had told him that his father Jobe had died. When he was about to die, Jobe called together his izikhulu and all his amabutho, and said, ‘I am now dying. I now appoint the chief of you all, assembly of kwaMthethwa. I appoint Mawewe for you, to be chief of you all. But, even though I appoint Mawewe, you should know that Godongwana is not dead. If he had died, I would have heard. My heart tells me that he is alive and well. This is something that you should know.’ Mawewe’s mother was of the house of Godongwana’s mother; she had been taken into the upper part of the umuzi. I do not know her name, nor do I know her isibongo. Mawewe was a young boy herding calves at the time Godongwana’s brothers had been killed off.

Godongwana went off on his journey homewards. He arrived at his the place of his people (kubo) during the night. He had with him his horse and his gun. He halted on a hill above the umuzi, nearby, and called out,

‘Ngqwaba, ngqwaba, ye muka nayo!

U yi yenga ngani na?’

(‘Thump! Thump! He drives off the impi before him!

What is he enticing it with?’)

<Drawing on Bryant, OT, p. 90.>

/21/ He called out a second time,

‘Ngqwaba, ngqwaba, ye muka nayo!

U yi yenga ngani na?’

He went off. Early the next day people went to the hill and found the tracks of an unknown animal. They talked among themselves, saying, ‘The man who called out in the night was travelling with this animal.’

The people made a report about the tracks of the animal, and about the man who called out,

‘Ngqwaba, ngqwaba!

Yemuka, yemuka nayo!

U yi yenga ngani na?

Ngqwaba, ngqwaba!

Ye muka, ye muka nayo!

U yi yenga ngani na?

The next night he stood on another ridge in front of the umuzi. He repeated the call of the day before. It was reported all over the land.

That night Godongwana put up at the place of a relation by marriage (umkhwenyawabo), Mbangambi, for he saw that people were sounding the alarm to one another. He arrived at Mbangambi’s very early in the morning and entered by the gate, which he found closed. He pushed aside the bars and went in. He encountered Mbangambi in the open space.

Mbangambi said, ‘Who are you?’ ‘I am Godongwana.’ ‘Hawu! So it is you who travel with this animal?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Was it you who called out in the night at oYengweni?’ ‘Yes.’

Mbangambi was the son of Dlozi kaLushozi, in the house of the amaShoba clan. I do not remember the isibongo of his people.

After this encounter, Mbangambi went to report the matter to Nqola kaKhayi. ‘Here is Godongwana; he is traveling with an animal which he calls an injomane. He said that it was he who twice called out in the night at oYengweni.’ /22/ Nqola said, ‘O! You tell me this, but what are we going to do about him, now that we have installed Mawewe? We have nothing to do with him.’ Mbangambi went off home.

He went and reported all that Nqola had said. Mbangambi was the induna of the iMpola and amaBhuda amabutho. When Godongwana learnt of Nqola’s response, he said to Mbangambi, ‘Call up the young men whom you command, those of my father.’ He brought them up. Then Godongwana said, ‘Now hear, my youths. Today I have returned. Early in the morning I want to take the fight to Nqola.’

So at dawn the impi surrounded Nqola’s umuzi. The youths seized Nqola, and Nonsolo, his inkosikazi. They seized ‘Mpaka of the gateway’; they seized ‘Let me alone for I am a prince.’ The alarm was raised all over the land. All the izikhulu heard. They said, ‘Yebo, the chief,

Jobe, told us that Godongwana was still alive. On the very day he died, he told us to keep a sharp lookout for him.’

The izikhulu brought up oxen to go and greet Godongwana with. All the izikhulu did so, together with his father’s amabutho. All the izikhulu who were at oYengweni came and said, ‘You of the uhlanga! May you live always! You come at a propitious time, o chief. We have all been waiting for you, according to what your father Jobe told us. He said he thought you were alive; that you had not died, and were still living.’ The izikhulu had come to the umuzi of Mbangambi. They said, ‘O! It is now time that the chief went up to his own umuzi, oYengweni.’

Now, while the whole country was thronging to the side of Godongwana, Mawewe made his escape. He went to the home of his mother, at kwaNxumalo. Godongwana went up to oYengweni, but Mawewe was no longer there. Godongwana asked where he was, and was told that he had gone to his mother’s home at kwaNxumalo. After some days, Godongwana sent to the chief of /23/ kwaNxumalo to say that Mawewe should come back; he did not want him to stay at kwaNxumalo. Godongwana said, ‘Go and call him; tell him to come back from kwaNxumalo.’ But the people of kwaNxumalo refused, saying, ‘We are unable to send Mawewe back.’

This was said by the chief of kwaNxumalo. His name was Malusi kaManukuza kaLanga of the Nxumalo clan. Mawewe’s mother was a girl of the Nxumalo clan, a daughter of Langa. She had been placed in the upper part, in the house of Godongwana’s mother; she was a young wife in this house. When Jobe killed off his sons, his offspring, Mawewe was a small boy, and was not among the number of those put to death.

When they refused to send him back, Godongwana said, ‘Go and tell the chief at kwaNxumalo to have spears forged and hafted. I shall come and seize Mawewe by force.’ After receiving the message, the Nxumalo people (uNxumalo) gathered together separately and discussed the matter. They sent word to their chief, saying, ‘O! Son of Manukuza kaLanga, do you too see that you do not have an impi as large as Godongwana’s? The course of action for our chief should be to send Mawewe home, so that we do not get burnt by the izala.’ [Footnote: The izala is the place where ashes are thrown away. This was to say, ‘So that we do not get burnt for nothing’.]

So the chief of kwaNxumalo summoned his izikhulu to accompany Mawewe. They went off with him without having been told what to say. They brought Mawewe to Godongwana. They said, ‘Yebo, chief of the uhlanga! We have come to bring to you your umnawe, Mawewe. Here he is.’ Godongwana said to him, ‘Why did you run away? You ran away perhaps because you had been /24/ made chief? You have now come to Godongwana, to *Dingiswayo*. You have come to:

Maf’ a vuke, njenge dabane;  
 uSombangeya ka Ndaba.  
 uMadhlekezele, inkomo ya nganene,  
 I zo tengana na yip’ enenekazi?  
 I zo tengana no Mbangambi wo Vuma, emaTshobeni.  
 uSombangeya ka soz’ a tshelwa zindaba,  
 U ya tshelw’ izindab’, u gijimel’ erawini.  
 Unyawot’ omnyama, uNofukutwayo!  
 Kon’ u nge m bon’ e zula pezulu.’

(The one who died and rose again like the idabane plant,  
 Sombangeya, son of Ndaba;  
 Madhlekezele, the beast of the nobleman,  
 With which noblewoman will he barter?  
 He will barter with Mbangambi wo Vuma at emaShobeni;  
 Sombangeya is never told the news,  
 When he is told the news he runs for his shield;  
 Black millet, the one who is eaten raw,  
 So you could not see him wandering above.’)

<See Cope pp. 122-3>

He said, ‘Remove him from my sight! I do not want to see him again.’ He said to the people of kwaNxumalo, ‘Go back to Malusi. I have nothing to say to him.’ They took Mawewe and killed him outside the umuzi at oYengweni.

In the days that followed the death of Mawewe, Dingiswayo formed a number of amabutho. These are his amabutho:



1. iziChwe, induna Thayiza
2. iNyakeni, induna Dube kaYengeni
3. iNhlangano, induna Ngomane kaMqomboyo of the eMdletsheni clan
4. iNingizumu, induna Mayanda kaVeyana of the kwaMkhwanazi clan
5. iMini, induna Nomadidi kaGugushi of the ebaThenjini clan
6. isiFazana, induna Nohaya kaNgaba [Footnote: = Ngabha] ka Nsindana of the kwaMwandla clan
7. iNyakatho, I do not know its induna.

These were his own amabutho, separate from those of his father. He butha'd them at oYengweni, the umuzi of his own house, where the sons were killed off, where he had escaped over the fence. I remember two of his father's amabutho:

1. Amnyama
2. Amhlophe

## **/25/ Part II**

To complete the formation of the amabutho and to set them up with their own izinduna, established an ikhanda for each, with its own cattle, including those of the king. The iziChwe ibutho ate all its cattle, then it turned to the king's cattle. It ate them too, and finished them off. It was reported to the king that the iziChwe had finished off its cattle, including those of the king. Only a few of the king's were left. Godongwana became very angry about this; he ordered all his men to engage with the iziChwe.

So all his men came up. Godongwana too was present. The men were sent into the place of assembly (inkundla); other amabutho remained outside. Then the iziChwe were summoned. They were told that they were to go out to war <alternatively, pakwa could mean that they were to have cattle distributed to them>, but that they should not carry their shields. They were told to go into the place of assembly. They did so. When they were all present, the king came forth through the opening at the upper end.

When he came out he called, 'Weh, Thayiza! Who was it who gave you my cattle?' As he spoke, before Thayiza had answered, he spat. He ordered them to be attacked and stabbed; they were surrounded in the place of assembly. Not one of the iziChwe survived, including their induna. There remained the womenfolk of the king, together with his isigodlo. Both the womenfolk and the isigodlo were his father's.

After the killing of that ibutho, he butha'd another. This one he also named the iziChwe. Its induna /26/ was Bhuza. The king removed it from its place and sent it to build at eMangweni. Before this, he summoned all his amabutho, and his izikhulu, all in their amakhanda. He was going to tell them his new name.

When all the amabutho were present, he went and stood in the middle. He called out, 'Among all of you, let there not be a single man who calls me Godongwana. That name remained behind at the outer fence. From today the name that you will call me is Dingiswayo. You heard it the day I declaimed my izibongo before Mawewe.' Cattle were slaughtered, and there was feasting. When the breasts of the oxen were being eaten, he ordered the iziChwe to go off. The assembly of the iziChwe went off; it went off to eMangweni, together with its induna, Bhuza. I do not know the name of his father, nor his isibongo.

When Dingiswayo first made war, he began with Mjezi (I do not know his isibongo nor the name of his father). He was angered because he had heard that Mjezi kept an isigodlo. He said, 'So is Mjezi a chief then, that he has an isigodlo?' For his part Mjezi said, 'I am a chief, even if I am not a chief of the original stem (uhlanga). I too have an isigodlo.' Dingiswayo then sent an impi against him, for Mjezi had no shame; he did not seek to hide his little isigodlo.

The impi attacked, and surrounded his umuzi. Mjezi's impi was destroyed. His cattle were eaten up, together with his womenfolk and his isigodlo, the one which had caused the fighting. When Mjezi's womenfolk and isigodlo were brought up, the king looked on and did not like what was happening. He said, 'I do not like this. It is bad that the womenfolk of a chief are eaten up. Also, it is bad that chiefs are killed. They should be left, together with their womenfolk. Only the cattle and the isigodlo should be eaten up, lest the earth (umhlabathi) become impoverished.'

/27/ The second time he made war, he attacked Thokozwayo kaMandayiya. He had heard it said that Thokozwayo held umkhosi ceremonies. He sent to him, saying, 'Hawu! Thokozwayo, who told you to hold the umkhosi?' Thokozwayo said, 'Shall I leave off holding the umkhosi? Am I not a chief?' That reply troubled Dingiswayo. He then sent out an impi. It killed Thokozwayo and cut off his head for replying with obstinacy.

Thirdly, he attacked Phakathwayo kaKhondlo kaMncinci kaLufutha kaSimamane of kwaQwabe for dividing up his cattle according to their colour. They were grouped in herds of

similar colour. He said, 'Go and tell Phakathwayo to mix his cattle together. They should not go in herds of different colours. Phakathwayo replied, 'I do as I please with my livestock. I slaughter for my amabutho as I please.' So Dingiswayo sent out an impi.

It fought and defeated Phakathwayo. It ate up his cattle and his isigodlo. It overcame him. But it did not take his womenfolk, for many of Phakathwayo's wives were sisters of Dingiswayo. Because of a dearth of food, Phakathwayo himself went to khonza to Dingiswayo for his family <meaning of original not entirely clear>. They made peace. Dingiswayo then gave him cows for milking and oxen for slaughtering – by way of making peace and establishing close relations, for their families intermarried. Many of Phakathwayo's sisters married Dingiswayo; because of this, the two of them had very close relations.

After a while a quarrel broke out between Phakathwayo and his younger brother Nomo kaKhondlo. Nomo was of the left-hand house; he was born by another woman. [Footnote: His mother was a sister of Dingiswayo.] They disputed. Nomo said /28/ he was a chief in his own right. So Phakathwayo called on Dingiswayo to hold a hearing on the matter.

When Dingiswayo arrived he held a hearing and made a decision. He said, 'I do not want a quarrel to arise where you will dispute over the cattle, for I gave them to you because of a dearth of food. Today there is still a great dearth in the land. Because of this, Nomo. I am separating you off; I will take you with me. You will give the cattle in your enclosure to Phakathwayo. You will come with me, together with your umuzi, lest Pakathwayo kill you. You will bring nothing apart from your umuzi.'

He went off with Nomo, and placed him at kwaMpemvu, near eNseleni, at eCwaka. Dingiswayo was between the two of them. He apportioned cows and oxen to him. He gave Nomo more cattle than the ones he had left behind for Phakathwayo. When Phakathwayo heard that Nomo was well settled (busa), and that he had a great number of livestock, more than his own, he became fearful. He said, 'I see that Dingiswayo went off with Nomo like this to set him up as a chief. I see that he has turned the case against me. I think he is going to attack me and kill me, and that Nomo will come back and establish himself in my country. So I shall go and attack him and kill him.'

Phakathwayo then sent out an impi to surround Nomo's place during the night. It attacked, and burnt imizii. The alarm was raised in the country: 'The impi has attacked!' The news first

reached the iNyakatho ibutho, then it reached the iziChwe. The whole impi armed, ikhanda by ikhanda; the word was that Phakathwayo's impi was destroying the country. The ibutho that had been sent out to kill Nomo was the iziNkonde.

When daylight came, Ngomane and his /29/ ibutho were stationed at the fords across the uMhlathuze. Dingiswayo's amabutho followed up that of Phakathwayo. As it was getting light, his ibutho arrived at the fords and encountered Ngomane's ibutho. Phakathwayo's ibutho prepared to fight, for the one following was close behind. They began to fight. O! They reached the uMhlathuzana and oNgoye and the uMlalazi. At the uThukela they were still fighting. Then the men of the iziNkonde said, 'Hawu! They are killing us. We are now at an end (kwaze kwamafundo).' [Footnote: This expression refers to the ufuno of a house, for they began stabbing the 'house' of kwaQwabe at the uMhlathuze, which was the 'doorway', and continued until they reached the uThukela, the 'umsamo', or 'ufundo' at the back of the house.] Dingiswayo was present; he acted like this because he was angry. He did not say that it was because Phakathwayo wanted to kill Nomo; he said that he was angry because Phakathwayo had not told him the cause of his grievance. The impi finished them off; not one man of the iziNkonde was left. None survived afterwards.

On its way back the impi ate up all the cattle, in 'districts' (izifunda) large and small. It brought them to Dingiswayo. He sent to Phakathwayo, saying, 'Look! If you do that again, you will see what happens. It will be much bigger than what happened today.' Phakathwayo replied, 'No, Gumede wo hlanga! I wanted to take his livestock and kill him. What shall I say, now that my iziNkonde assembly is finished?'

The fourth time he made war was against Matiwane kaMasumpa kaSihayo of the amaNgwane clan. Matiwane boasted that he too was a chief. He held the umkhosi; he had an isigodlo; he had his own amabutho. He had no need of help from other chiefs. When Dingiswayo heard this he sent out his whole impi, and also the two amabutho of his father, the Amnyama and the Amhlophe.

When he came to Matiwane's district, he /30/ attacked just as it was getting light with his father's Amhlophe ibutho. They fought until the sun came up. Then, seeing that his ibutho was in difficulties, Dingiswayo set on the Amnyama. It too fought for a good while. Dingiswayo was thinking that he would withdraw his whole impi, when he saw the umuzi burning and most of Matiwane's impi running away.

The chief induna of his father's amabutho was Ziyongo, 'the one whose cloak was eaten up'. [Footnote: This is where the expression, known across the country, came from: You will come back alone, like the cloak of Ziyongo.] Matiwane's impi ran away, and his cattle were eaten up. The isigodlo was also eaten up. Ziyongo's cloak had been given to him by Dingiswayo. When his men saw that Ziyongo's cloak had been seized by Matiwane's impi, they reported the matter to Dingiswayo. He said, 'Go and call out, saying, 'O! Yebo, Matiwane! If you do not return Ziyongo's cloak today, you will see what big thing happens; it will be bigger than what happened two days ago.' Matiwane had run away, and his womenfolk and his isigodlo had been seized.

When Matiwane's isigodlo and his womenfolk were brought to Dingiswayo, they played the inkokha bow [Footnote; the imvingo or uqwabe], remembering the country of their people. Dingiswayo took pity on them. While he was thinking what to do with them, envoys arrived from Matiwane. They were driving oxen. They came to Dingiswayo and said, 'O! Son of Xaba! We have been sent by the son of Masumpa, Matiwane, with these oxen. He says he is paying tribute. Take him under your protection.'

Dingiswayo said, 'So, where is the cloak?' They said, 'Nkosi, here it is. We have brought it as well.' He said, 'Go, together with his womenfolk and his isigodlo.' He gave the womenfolk milking cows. They went off with /31/ Matiwane's envoys, together with envoys from Dingiswayo. After that, Dingiswayo did not again make war on Matiwane. They remained at peace. Matiwane khonza'd greatly to Dingiswayo. He behaved with respect, and reported affairs to him, including matters that might cause Dingiswayo trouble. They lived in peace.

The fifth time he made war was against Macingwane kaLubhoko of eNkonyameni at eNkandla, of the amaChunu clan. He was told that if he did not want his cattle to be eaten up, he should break up his isigodlo. Macingwane refused to do so. Dingiswayo then send out his impi. It attacked Macingwane's impi and destroyed it. His cattle and his isigodlo were eaten up, and he was made to khonza.

On the sixth occasion, he made war on Zwide kaLanga of the Nxumalo clan. [Footnote: Of the Ndwandwe clan.] Zwide had said, 'Why did Dingiswayo take an attractive girl and give her to Malusi?' Malusi was also a son of Langa, of the left-hand house. Zwide was angry, and said, 'I will teach him a lesson; I will attack him and kill him.' Dingiswayo had previously fought with Zwide many times,

<and had been defeated; he had been overcome and forced to pay tribute.

Not entirely clear in the original whether it was Dingiswayo or Zwide who was defeated. It could be Zwide. On p. 44, note 4 to the last line of the izibongo of Dingiswayo (some lines apparently given by Mashwili, others probably not), Stuart writes, 'uDingiswayo wa m ahlul' uZwide, nxa ku-liwa'. I read this as meaning 'Dingiswayo overcame Zwide in fighting', though grammatically it could also mean the reverse: 'Zwide overcame Dingiswayo in fighting'. The former meaning is more likely, and is supported by the 'but' in the next sentence: 'But it ended with Zwide killing Dingiswayo...'. So where does this leave the statement on p. 31?>

On this occasion, when Zwide attacked Malusi, Zwide still had many more men than Dingiswayo.

Then Zwide sent out his impi. It attacked Malusi and killed him, together with all his impi and his wives. This came to the ears of Dingiswayo. It was very painful to him. He went off in person, together with his izikhulu and his abanumzana, but without an ibutho. He went off to Zwide's, for Zwide was related to him through marriage (umkhwenyawabo). He went off to ask why he had killed /32/ Malusi, for Zwide had married sisters of Dingiswayo, as Malusi had done. Zwide said, 'Yebo. Have you come here because of what you heard?' He agreed.

Early the next day, Zwide said, 'Call the king of kwaMthethwa, and let us go to the place of assembly. We will discuss the matter that brings him here to my place.' Much beer was also taken there, and oxen were slaughtered. Dingiswayo had not come with any of his isigodlo or of his wives; he had come only with men. He came out and went to the place of assembly, together with all his men.

After they had drunk beer, Zwide said to Dingiswayo, 'Now look! Because you have come here on account of the matter of Malusi, I have really found you out. For you have greatly insulted me. You will not cut across this place again. [Footnote: You will not pass by this place.] You will learn a lesson from me. Why, son of Jobe, did you take the girl that I picked out for you when she was young, and then why, when she was older, did you give her to Malusi, my dog? And why did you kill Mawewe, the child of a girl of kwaNxumalo? Look! If you want to escape from my hands today, make reparation to me for what you have done by giving over all the cattle of oYengweni. They will stand in place of your sister.'

[Footnote: Her name was Nomathuli kaJobe; her mother was of the Qwabe clan. I do not know the name of her mother's father.]

Dingiswayo said to Zwide, 'What are you saying? That I should make reparation, and pay tribute! O! Look, you will eat them up over my dead body, you of the Nxumalo clan!' When he said this, Zwide summoned his amabutho. He surrounded them there in the place of assembly and stabbed them; he finished them off. Dingiswayo also met his death there. The umuzi where Dingiswayo and his izikhulu were killed was in the country of kwaNdwandwe; it was Zwide's ikhanda.

### **/33/ Part III**

#### *UZulu khonza's at kwaMthethwa*

Senzangakhona began by sending people to kwaMthethwa to go and sell ikhathazo in exchange for cattle. They also went to kwaQwabe. Ikhathazo was a medicine in great demand in the country of kwaMthethwa and of kwaQwabe. It was highly prized at kwaMthethwa. They bought ikhathazo; it was carried by the induna of Senzangakhona's people. His name was Mudli. Dingiswayo gave him cattle.

When Mudli brought the cattle to Senzangakhona, the latter said, 'Go and khonza for me. Ask him to give me protection, for I am ihobe. [Footnote: A person without any cattle at all.] Dingiswayo gave thanks. He said to his people, 'I will give him a name.'

After his envoys had gone off, he said, 'The name of this little Ntungwa is Qengwa. It does not want us to make war on it. Also, it has no livestock at all. It goes about khonzaing for cattle.' Indeed, Dingiswayo did not make war on him.

#### *Shaka khonza's to Dingiswayo*

Shaka went off with his mother, Nandi, and his sister, Nomzinhlanga. [Footnote: Mashwili is mistaken here. Shaka's sister, who followed him in age, was Nomcoba. It was she who went with her brother to kwaMthethwa. The mother of Nomzinhlanga (also called Ndikidi) was Mnkabi kaSodubo of the Nzuzi clan. Nandi was placed in the house of Mnkabi.] When they came to kwaMthethwa, /34/ they went to oHeni, an umuzi of Dingiswayo. He was not there; he was at Balungwini. [Footnote: Another of Dingiswayo's imizi.] At oHeni, the people asked where he was from, and who his father was. He said, 'I am Shaka kaSenzangakhona. I come here to the king. This is my mother, and my sister; I am travelling with them.'

When he had finished his story, the induna of oHeni went to report his arrival to the king. It was sunset. The king said, 'O! The sun has gone down. Give him a young steer. Bring him to me tomorrow. I will hear why he has come.' So early the next day he brought him to Dingiswayo.

When Shaka arrived, together with his mother and sister, Dingiswayo said, 'Who are you?' 'I am Shaka.' 'Who is this girl?' 'She is my sister, Nomzinhlanga.' [Footnote: Nomcoba.] 'And this person, the lady, who is she?' 'She is my mother, Nandi; she is the daughter of a woman of the Mthethwa clan, who took a husband of the eLangeni clan.' [Footnote: She was a daughter of a woman of the Qwabe clan, Mfunda. It was Mfunda who was a daughter of a woman of the Mthethwa clan.] 'Boy, who is your father?' 'It is Senzangakhona.' 'So, why are you here?' 'Nkosi, I have come here because I am running away from home at kwaZulu. I am being killed by my father Senzangakhona. I have come here to khonza and to ask the king for protection, together with my mother and this girl.' To this, Dingiswayo agreed.

Early the next day Dingiswayo summoned the izinduna of the amabutho, together with the amabutho and the abanumzana to introduce Shaka, his mother and his sister to them. The amabutho and the abanumzana gathered at eBalungwini. Cattle were slaughtered for the amabutho and the izikhulu. A beast was slaughtered for Shaka, another for his mother, and another for his sister. /35/ Shaka was a youth (insizwa) at the time he came to Dingiswayo's; Nomzinhlanga [Footnote: Nomcoba] was a little girl. Both of them were children of Senzangakhona's. They had been born at the place of Nandi's people, at eLangeni; she had not married.

The king told Shaka's story to the amabutho and the izikhulu. He said, 'I am receiving him. I give him to you, Ngomane. [Footnote: Son of Mqomboyo (Mqomboli), who was a son of Msizi of the Mthethwa clan.] Build an umuzi for him; its name will be kwaGqogqa. [Footnote: It was not known what Dingiswayo meant when he gave it this name. To gqogqa is to dress the hair as women do.] And the cattle which I shall give him should not go into your enclosure.'

Nandi eventually married Gendeyana of the Qwabe clan. He fathered Ngwadi by her. When Senzangakhona heard that Nandi had married Gendeyana, he was very angry. He looked for ways to kill them. When Mudli learnt of this he said to Nandi, 'See what Senzangakhona is doing. He wants to put Shaka to death. You should leave this place with him and go to your relatives. If you do not do this, you will surely die, both of you.' So Nandi went off with her



two children; she went with them to kwaMthethwa, where her mother [Footnote: her grandmother] had been born, a daughter of Khayi, one who had married a man of the Qwabe clan.

Shaka had been born at eLangeni, in the umuzi of Mgabhi (son of Mbhengi), at the eNgugeni umuzi. Nandi had these children without having been lobola'd. When Nandi saw that Senzangakhona was not going to marry her, she went off to marry Gendeyana of the emaMbhedwini clan. [Footnote: Of the Qwabe clan.] When Senzangakhona heard this, he wanted to kill Nandi and Shaka. Nandi gave birth to Ngwadi by Gendeyana.

/36/ Shaka remained at Dingiswayo's, and was appointed as induna of eSinameni, one of the sections (izigaba) of oYengweni. He was bonga'd for his courage and his prowess as a warrior, for he went out with every impi which Dingiswayo sent against other chiefs. Dingiswayo overcame them; Shaka was always present. He was:

uNodum' e hlezi, ka Menzi;  
 iLemb' e l'eq' amany' amalembé ngo kukalipa.  
 uSitshaka ka si tshayeki.  
 uDabaz' itaf' e be liya ku Mfene.  
 uNomashovushovu ka Senzangakhona.  
 uGaqa li bomvu na sekupatweni.  
 uBolokoqa, ba z'alukanisile;  
 Z'alukaniswe uNoju no Ngqengeye,  
 E ya kwa Ntombase [Footnote: uNtombazi], ne ya kwa Nandi,  
 Ya yi kip' etshoba li bomvu,  
 I kitshwa elimhlope, la kwa Nandi.

The one whose fame resounds, even as he sits, son of Menzi,  
 The axe that surpasses other axes in sharpness,  
 The one who beats but is not beaten;  
 The one who trudged the plain leading to Mfene;  
 The talkative one, son of Senzangakhona,  
 Spear that is red even on the handle;  
 The one who hurls out, they have sent them out to graze together,  
 They were sent out by Noju and Ngqengenyé,  
 The one belonging to Ntombase and the one belonging to Nandi,

He brought out the one with the red tail,  
Brought out by the white one of Nandi.

<See Cope, pp. 88-9>

*Ruling the isizwe of kwaMthethwa after the death of Dingiswayo*

After the death of Dingiswayo, his place was taken by Mondisa, his brother. But the umuzi did not all agree that Mondisa should do this, for his sons had now grown up and were of age to take the place of their father. The umuzi was divided in two. One side accepted that Mondisa should rule, the other did not. Before his death at the hands of Zwide, the king had given no whisper to his sons about who should succeed him.

Mondisa proceeded to kill off all Dingiswayo's izikhulu. While he was doing this, Ngomane made off with his amabutho. He ran off to Shaka, to go and tell him what was happening. When he was some distance away, /37/ he left the amabutho behind; he went forward alone to Shaka, to report that kwaMthethwa was breaking apart on account of Mondisa. Shaka took Ngomane in. All the amakhanda that had refused to accept Mondisa, and that had survived the killing-off, went over to Shaka. Those that sided with Mondisa remained behind. Mondisa then ruled the country of kwaMthethwa.

Sometime after Mondisa had killed off the izikhulu, Shaka sent to him to say that he should come up and see him, for the country of kwaMthethwa was now peaceful. 'If people do not accept you as their king, come to me, so that I can go down with you and install you as king of kwaMthethwa. For was I too not installed in the place of my father?' The induna who was sent to Mondisa was Sihlahla (I do not know the name of his father).

That is how he decoyed Mondisa. The latter went up, but on his arrival did not even see Shaka. Instead he was astounded to find that he was surrounded by an impi, together with the assembly that had supported him. He was put to death. Shaka then took the whole country of kwaMthethwa and its people.

*Senzangakhona goes to kwaMthethwa to visit Dingiswayo.*

Dingiswayo never made war on Senzangakhona, for he said he was a man without cattle (ihobe). After that, Senzangakhona often came in person to khonza. Dingiswayo would present him with cattle. Since he made frequent visits, he knew that Shaka had come to

khonza at kwaMthethwa. Senzangakhona had not known Shaka since his birth, but he had heard that he was present. He was not able to recognize him or point him out.

On what turned out to be his last visit, Senzangakhona came /38/ with his inkosikazi Bhimbi, daughter of Sompisi kaKuguqa of the Ntuli clan.

[Footnote: Her name was Bhibhi. She followed in age immediately after Ndlela (the great induna of Dingane). Bhibhi was followed in age by Nduvana.

Senzangakhona said, 'Why is my wife, who is so beautiful, and whom I love, called iBhele? Is she addressed as 'Mbhele'? The tongue finds it difficult to say 'Mbhele' to my wife. When people say 'Mbhele', do they mean a grain (ibhele) of maize?' He said that the old people should be asked what their praise-name (isithakazelo) was. They replied, 'It is Mbhele! Ntuli!' He said that the name 'Ntuli' should be used. 'Do not say that my wife is an ibhele.' From that time onward, people of the kwaNtuli clan were addressed by that name as if it was their isibongo, whereas it was really an isithakazelo of the amaBhele clan.]

When his arrival was announced to Dingiswayo, the latter was told, 'Here is Senzangakhona! Today he has come with his inkosikazi and his izinceku.' Dingiswayo said, 'Let mats be unrolled, reaching to the gate.' This was done. Oxen were slaughtered. Amabutho danced in his honour.

On the third day after his arrival, Dingiswayo and Senzangakhona went to sit in the cattle enclosure. Dingiswayo rose and went to the hut where Shaka was. He said, 'Here is your father. We are sitting together in the enclosure. Go and greet your mothers. Ask them for snuff. Smear this medicine on your hands. When they hand you a vessel, or a snuffbox, rub the medicine on it. Do not use the snuff yourself. Bring it back and put it in this medicine.' Dingiswayo then left and went back to the enclosure.

Shaka duly went to the womenfolk, though they did not know him. When he came in, they thought that he was a younger brother of Dingiswayo. He greeted them. They responded, except for the inkosikazi. She was suspicious, for she saw that he looked like Senzangakhona. He then asked for snuff. They all gave him some. They took his father's snuffbox, and gave it to him. He poured out a small amount. He rubbed the medicine on the snuffbox, and handed it back. He asked, 'Which of you is the inkosikazi of the chief?' /39/ They said, 'Here she is.' 'So she is the one who remained silent when I greeted you?' They agreed. 'Is she the mother

of Sigujana?’ They agreed. Then Shaka went out. He took the snuff with him, and went and mixed it into the medicines.

After that, the people in the enclosure dispersed. When Senzangakhona came back to his hut, the womenfolk told him, ‘A brother of Dingiswayo’s was here. He came to ask for snuff, and to greet us.’ After a while he took some snuff from his snuffbox. A little later he said to the womenfolk, ‘I feel tired out.’ He was in pain. ‘Go and report to the king.’

Early the next day they went to report that he wished to go home. Dingiswayo said, ‘When does he want to go home?’ They said, ‘At sunset tomorrow.’ He said, ‘All right. I have got ready the cattle which he is to take with him. Tomorrow we will go out and gather in the place of assembly.’ They held a great festival for him. There was much dancing. Shaka also danced that day.

When Shaka had finished dancing, Dingiswayo said to Senzangakhona, ‘Do you know this young man?’ He replied, ‘I do not know him.’ Dingiswayo said, ‘O! You know nothing. You do not know the creature that will poke about in your ear while you are fast asleep.’ The assembly broke up. Then the cattle for the feast were slaughtered, so that he would have food to eat on the way. Then Senzangakhona left.

As soon as he got home he said, ‘Indeed I have seen Shaka. If I am feeling ill, it is because of him.’ After some days Senzangakhona died. Dingiswayo decided that /40/ the cattle which he had given to him were Shaka’s. He was giving them to Shaka, though Senzangakhona had known nothing about it.

Then people came to report to Dingiswayo that Senzangakhona had died. He said, ‘Who has killed Qengwa? Who has killed my Ntungwa?’ He then sent off Ngomane and Siwangu kaMbikwana of the Mthethwa clan, a son of Khayi. They went off with the iNhlengano and iNyakeni amabutho. They took Shaka up-country. They were told to announce that Shaka was coming to take the place of his father.

When Ngomane, Siwangu and the amabutho arrived with Shaka, the izikhulu of Senzangakhona were put to death – Mudli, Zivalale, Mathangatha, Mbumana, and Sigujana, their chief. Dingiswayo reproved them for killing Mudli, for Shaka owed his life to him. He would have been put to death at eLangeni but for Mudli, who had sent him away.

Dingiswayo was a great warrior. Every time he made war, Shaka went with him. When he first came to know Shaka, it was in the war against Matiwane. He was then a grown youth. He made Shaka an induna on the return from Matiwane's.

Dingiswayo was a man of average height, not short, not very tall. He had not put on a headring. He put it on when he became king.

At the time he put on the headring, the chief of kwaQwabe, Phakathwayo, was summoned to come and watch the celebrations (umdlalo) of the assembly of amabutho. Phakathwayo came with his amabutho. The celebrations went on for three days. Oxen were slaughtered. When he put on the headring it was autumn; the maize was ripe in the garden plots. Heifers were slaughtered for the womenfolk. They also ate the innards of the oxen; the amabutho were not allowed to eat the innards. After /41/ three days Phakathwayo and his amabutho left. He was given four oxen which were hardly able to walk. [Footnote: Because they were so fat.]

*The name 'Dingiswayo'.*

The name Dingiswayo came from the time when he ran off with a spear in his back. It was because he no longer had a home. He became a wanderer in the land, for he did not yet know his way round the country. Because of this, on his return he followed other paths; he was confused about where to go. When he put Mawewe to death, he named himself Dingiswayo. And when he killed off one ibutho called the iziChwe (whose induna was Thayiza) and proceeded to raise another (whose induna was Bhuza), he again raised his new name. He named himself Dingiswayo.

Dingiswayo's imizi were these: 1 oYengweni; 2 eMinini; 3 eZiyondlela; 4 oHenzi; 5 eManineni; 6 eNhlabeni; 7 eZichweni; 8 eNyakeni; 9 eNingizimu; 10 eNtambana; 11 eNhlangano; 12 eNyakatho; 13 eBalungwini; 14 eSifazaneni.

I, Mashwili, the narrator of this account of my grandfather, am the son of Mngoye kaDingiswayo. When Mngoye crossed over, he first built at kwaDukuza, at eMbozamo. He left there and came to eZinsimba [Footnote: Near kwaDukuza, above it], where I, Mashwili, live today. [These words of Mashwili were written in November-December 1903. He died in the war of Bhambatha on 8 July 1906.] My father died and was buried at eZinsimba. When my father arrived there, /42/ the hut tax was not yet paid to the government. I grew up at

eMbozamo. I am of the iWombe ibutho. [Footnote: He is referring to the ibutho of kwaMthethwa, which was of the age of the uDloko of Mpande.]

I married when I was living at eZinsimba. What caused my father to cross over to this side was that Mpande killed my 'father' Khuzwayo (who was of Dingiswayo's iNyosi ibutho). My father thought that he too would be put to death after the impi came back from eSwazini. He ran away, and crossed over to eSilungwini.