

BIKWAYO KA NOZIWAWA

11.10.1903. Sunday evening.

File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 5-12.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 5 Bikwayo - son of Noziwawa ka Mzizima ka Mahlantula ka Zangwa ka Lalalingumnguni (ka Mntungwa ka Siwela ka Mdhlayo ka Mpezeni - the sequence of these is doubtful but their names were all used when *bongain* cattle). Bikwayo is of the Ngobamakosi regiment.¹

I live under Sikonyana ka Kuhleka. (Bikwayo's *clan-name* is *Ntuli*.) Cetshwayo *tunga'd* me.

- My grandfather Mzizima was made *king's messenger* of all the low country of Tongaland, i.e. that of the Amarubu or *amanhlwenga*.² The Amarubu fought at Gingindhlovu and were cut to pieces there. They were *stabbed* with bayonets as they tried to force their way over into the laager. I was *induna* of the Amarubu and that is why I was caused to put on the headring. The Amarubu were made up of various tribes.

Cetshwayo gave the Amarubu permission to help themselves to people's food supplies, gardens etc. when going to Delagoa Bay (kwa Ndinisa) to fetch guns and gunpowder.

The Portuguese leader there was 'Mis Hofumana', who gave us guns, gunpowder, and caps, also spirits.

The guns were of the following kinds: (a) *ibala*, (b) *imbobiya*, (c) *iginanda*, (d) *umhlabakude*, (e) *igodhla*, (not as long as the *ibala* gun), (f) *umakalana*, (g) *isinqwana* (for *close-range fighting* if the *impi* ever approached to close quarters; it was a very short gun, about 18 or 20 inches), (h) *ifili*.

The *ibala* gun was very long - up to my neck - five feet.

The *imbobiya* was a large-barrelled gun.

- 7 The *idhlebe* or elephant gun came from the Boers, not the Portuguese, in the early days of Mpande's reign.

The *umakalana* was a double-barrelled gun and only given to men of position.

The *ifili* had a long range, and a small bullet and small cap, the same size cap as the *umakalana* gun. The *ifili* was a small gun, as long as the *umakalana*.

I have not seen Ndinisa, only Hofumana. The last time I saw this man was before the Zulu War.

I used to go to Tongaland with my father - as *mat-bearer*. My brother Mnyaiza (deceased) used also to go. We used to go for *genet*

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skins for the warriors' dancing girdles; blue monkey skins for the strips worn at the side of the face; leopard and otter skins for the
8 warriors' headbands; blue cloth to be worn by the king's *isigodhlo*; large red beads, and lion and leopard claws worn by chiefs; elephant tusks (for the king who would send them on to the Europeans); rhinoceros horns for making snuff boxes of the type carried in the ear lobe (for the *amakosikazi*); beads; calabashes, gourds, etc.; beer baskets, food baskets, *ubusenga* rings, ornamental sticks and knob-sticks, and many other articles - ostrich feathers, and *umampabane* beads³ worn by chiefs.

We would go and demand these things. If people refused we would stab them. They had to pay tribute with these things in Zululand - that is, the nearer, smaller, low-country tribes.

Amagulugulu are the long green beads used for *lobolaing* with - of which I have samples.

9 The things I procured were carried by Tongas etc. to the king. Noziyingili⁴ would be given cattle, say those of some man who had been killed off, including the bull, with goats and sheep. The carriers would have beasts killed for them, part of which they would carry away.

We always slaughtered a beast wherever we slept, for the king's goods were sprinkled with gall.⁵ People did not greet us until a beast had actually been stabbed. (The chief) would then come and tell us our various huts. We would pull his fences to pieces to get firewood for our fires.

Noziyingili *konza'd* the Zulu king, and so allowed us to behave as stated. No-one ever resisted us.

10 I have been three times to Mzila's country.⁶ Mzila's father is Sotshangana ka Zikode ka Ndwandwe ka Nyamande - praise-name: the black one of the *Lutuli*.⁷ Mzila's son is Ngungunyana.

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

I have seen Ngungunyana at the *Emkontweni kraal* - Mzila's military kraal.

Tombolo is the *inkosazana* who followed in age after Mzila. People swear by her.

Ngungunyana's country is *kwa Gasa*.

I have seen Mzila; I have eaten and drunk 'grog' with him, procured from the Portuguese - and Banyana's.⁸ Mzila had *tunga'd*. He spoke the Zulu tongue, but his followers' tongue has now changed.

11 I went to Mzila's to fetch skins of blue monkey, genet, leopard, and otter, and gunpowder, caps, and lead when about to fight against white people. Cetshwayo asked for these things.

I would go in the winter and return in the summer. Noziyingili's land has disease; not Mzila's - it is open country, it is sweet, it is rich, i.e. a man likes the women there. A person coming from Zululand would be made an *induna* of a regiment and would be presented with an elephant tusk or cattle seized in war, and this tusk at a later date would probably be bought back with four girls.

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Ndukwana says that Mtokwana has gone up to Ngungunyana's.

12 I have seen Noziyingili, Zambile, and Ngwanaza, but not Hluma⁹ - he was before my time. Makasane's¹⁰ grave is at Mtinkulwini, a forest where *the kings are buried*. This forest is on the Usutu river and is a large one. All the kings are buried there. People are sent to *clear the undergrowth* there. No fire is allowed to burn there. If a buck, even though wounded, gets into the forest, it is allowed to go.

I have very frequently visited Tongaland officially. Cetshwayo sent me mostly. I have gone on various journeys for the British Government to Sambana, Mbikiza, Mtshelckwana, and Ndhlaleni. I also went to Ngwanaza, Luvico, Mjindi, Fokoti, Ngcamana, Sibonda, Hlawukana ka Tobo, Hokoza ka Nopangwana, Masuku ka Mduku, Mavuso ka Mgwazi, and Mayiwana ka Sonkope.¹¹

Noziyingili's great kraal was Nkonyameni; Zambile's was Mfihlweni.

The rule in Tongaland is to face a kraal either east (seawards) or northwards, not south or west. A man would be killed for doing this.

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File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 13-19.

Also present: Ndukwana

13 Ndukwana and Bikwayo: *The messengers* who went from the Zulu kings to Tonga country were:

(a) Magwegwana of the Hlabisa people. His grandfather was Wolizibi, but I do not know Magwegwana's father. Mpande's mother, Songiya, was daughter of Ngoja (Ngotsha) of the Hlabisa tribe. She was sister of Somfula (deceased); Somfula's son and heir is Zofa (quite a boy).

(b) Mabi ka Sipotsho

(c) Sobofu ka Mteti

(d) Mpisikayihlangulwa ka Sipotsho, who went and remained at Sotshangana's

(e) Mazipo ka Wolizibi, who also remained at Sotshangana's

(1) Nongqiwu ka Mgobozi

(2) Sidhlebe ka Matula

(3) Gongoda ka Sidhlolo

(4) Gungu ka Sipepo

(5) Noziwawa (my father) ka Mzizima

14 The biggest of these last was Sidhlebe, but he was killed by Mpande before he had children. Sidhlebe had *plundered amanhlwenga* cattle and taken them to his kraal, including some white ones. No one was allowed to *steal* any beasts.

Those from (a) to (e) above were attached to Nodwengu in Mpande's time, whilst nos. 1 to 5 were attached to Mlambongwenya kraal. Nongqiwu was an *umumzana* and of high rank (see further on). There were no other Tongaland *messengers* but those at the two kraals named. The above were all Mpande's.

Cetshwayo's were:

Gawana ka Nongqiwu

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Mnyaiza ka Noziwawa (my father). I was put in Mnyaiza's place when he died.
 Ndhlumbi ka Silwana. (Ndhlumbi was killed by Cetshwayo. He appropriated *genet skins intended for the king* and sold them for cattle and then *lobola'd women.*)
 Somkamba ka Gongoda
 Nqabeni ka Mhānjana
 Madhlozi ka Mtekelezi
 Silo ka Gege
 Somfula ka Mazaza
 Somanti ka Madolo
 15 Mvubuyi ka Mfulateli. (Killed by Cetshwayo, for he *stole* cattle seized from chief Sambana ka Nhlongaluvalo.)

Matshobana, Mvubuyi's younger brother, succeeded Mvubuyi, but he was afterwards killed, for a mamba got under Somkamba's mat as he lay asleep, and tried to work its way through and bite him. He woke and killed the snake. He reported to the king, who directed *bulaing*. The diviners stated that Matshobana had caused the snake to come, whereupon the king ordered him to be put to death, asking as he did so why he desired Somkamba's death, seeing he, Matshobana, also got presents of cattle from the king. After this, Matshobana's younger brother Mgulule succeeded.

Madanduyana ka Masiya was killed by Noziyingili. His story ran thus: The king sent him for *genet, blue monkey, leopard, mongoose,*
 16 *otter* and other skins. Noziyingili collected 600 of them and handed them to Madanduyana. The latter refused to accept on the ground that Noziyingili had *insulted the inkosikazi Ngqumbazi, the king's* mother, by saying she was a *woman who had borne an illegitimate child, a woman who smelt of the vagina, a woman already used and rejected who had been married to Tshaka* (for she was a sweetheart of Tshaka's). As a matter of fact Noziyingili had not said this. Madanduyana left and reported to Ngqumbazi who wept tears, reported to Cetshwayo who grew angry. Cetshwayo then sent Mnyaiza (my brother) to ask if he had *insulted 'the heavens above',*¹² and to ask if Cetshwayo could think of engaging in a fight with him. Mnyaiza went to Noziyingili, who denied it, and said Madanduyana had told lies. 'How can I *insult "the heavens above"?* Why, I would not think of *insulting* even Mapita,¹³ who is of smaller rank in Zululand.' Mnyaiza went back alone and reported. Cetshwayo sent him
 17 back to say he would be prepared to forgive him (Noziyingili) on his seeing him arrive to explain, by which was meant the payment of a heavy fine (of cattle) and sending of men accompanying them. Noziyingili then sent cattle etc., but he complained of Madanduyana. The king agreed with Noziyingili, the old Zulu Tonga, and fined Madanduyana.

At a later time Madanduyana was sent back to Tongaland with a party of 16, including four *mat-bearers*, to demand more taxes. Noziyingili saw his opportunity. He caused Madanduyana and the whole of his party to be put to death. No one escaped, and their heads were taken and stuck on sharpened posts which were stood upright on either side of the cattle kraal gate of the Nkonyameni kraal. As soon as this happened, Mmqiwana, father of Ngcamane, went off and

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18 reported to Cetshwayo. Mnyaiza (my late brother) was then sent to find out if it was the truth that his men had been killed. Noziyingili *admitted it* and said he had done so. He said he knew that when the Zulus entertained ill-feeling against anyone it was great, and he therefore took time by the forelock by killing the man who had maliciously told lies about him, who was an *irresponsible trouble-maker*, so that if he himself were killed he would have the satisfaction of knowing that he had put the man to death.

Noziyingili now sent numbers of cattle, skins of all kinds, gun-powder, guns, caps, lead, etc. to the king to atone for his offence. The king in the end accepted the things and Noziyingili was pardoned.

19 I am wrong in saying all the party of 17 were killed. It so happened that Madanduyana had sent one, Maziwana (of the Mboza regiment) ka Hlombe to get *ukusuya* or the beer made from the lala palms. The massacre took place in his absence, so he escaped - the only one who did escape. At first in Zululand they thought he too had been killed, but he turned up eventually.

Bikwayo says: I and two others were sent by Cetshwayo afterwards to *fetch calabashes* in Tongaland, work which Madanduyana had previously performed. This we carried out, the *calabashes* being distributed to the various *military kraals* throughout the country.

It has to be observed that much of what has been stated took place whilst Mpande was still king but when Cetshwayo was fast acquiring power. Ngqumbazi was already dead when Cetshwayo came to the throne.

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File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 19-24.

Also present: Ndukwana

20 There were others who used to go on missions to Tongaland, men whose names I have forgotten, e.g. Zondwayo ka Luvalo, who belonged to Mlambongwenya, where I did. Nongqiwu, aforementioned, was the great *induna*. He was the *umumzana*, and those stated as belonging to Mlambongwenya were under him. Of those previously named, Sidhlebe was the greatest. When he died Sobofu became the greatest, and when Sobofu died Nongqiwu became the principal *messenger* to Tongaland. Sobofu's son did not succeed him for he, the son, became an *isangoma*.

21 There were no *messengers* to Swaziland for the only thing ever done there was to send to *ask for rain*, when a small herd of black oxen would be sent. I do not know who went to Swaziland for rain. They were not particular *messengers*. Mahlatini ka Sojaba of the Zungu and Mpungana ka Mquba of the Tembu were sent by Cetshwayo to Swaziland, viz. to Mbandeni. Mpungana was *induna* of (the) Kandempemvu and *induna* of the place of the people of Mkosana, the great *induna* of (the) Kandempemvu. Mahlatini was an *inceku* of Mpande at Gqikazi (*Ngqumbazi's place*). He cooked for *Mqumbazi*.

21 These two drove off cattle (oxen). They took *inkumande* oxen, the name of the king's black oxen. One or more of these oxen were slightly speckled white underneath.

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The things used to be fetched from Tongaland after *reaping and threshing* took place. It was said that in summer they should be allowed to *set traps* and kill the bucks. The *calabashes* too would be dry and the seeds taken out. The *beer baskets and other baskets* would also have been made.

- 22 The persons who gave the various things were not presented with anything by the Zulu king. The demand used to be made of the Tonga king, who would send out men of his own to collect and bring to us, we in the meantime having cattle killed for us and being given food. We would not collect ourselves. And when the things were ready the Tonga king would furnish men to accompany us with the things to Zululand, they acting as the carriers.

Things were fetched from Tongaland year by year. No year passed without this being done. *Dancing girdles* were always wanted, also ostrich feathers, which got out of order etc. and required to be replenished.

The Zulus could not *trap buck*; they were *trapped by amankengana*¹⁴. Tongaland was the great supplying country for Zululand, but, Ndukwana remarks, the *ostrich and crane* feathers were got from some place in the north, from the abeSutu and from Mlambo (I think an umSutu).

Bikwayo says: The *secretary bird* feathers were also fetched from Tongaland.

Tshaka began this great commerce with the Tongas, although Dingiswayo may have actually started it.

- 23 The demand for *dancing girdles* caused so many skins to be got from Tongaland. It is doubtful if Dingiswayo ever wanted *dancing girdles*, and if so, to anything like the extent that Tshaka and later kings did. *Genet tails* were required for *war shields and ordinary shields*. I do not know who Tshaka's great Tonga messenger was. It might have been the man Sidhlebe whom I have already named.

- 24 The *messengers* were sent to various and particular chiefs by the king. The king knew all the *amankengana* chiefs. And the duties of the *messengers* ended with the chiefs sent to. Noziyingili of course gave the largest number of things, 100 to 200 men being required to carry them. The other chiefs like Ngcamana, Sibonda, Manaba, and Tobo ka Mabuya would furnish say 30 to 40 carriers. Sambana furnished 50 carriers. He supplied *monkey skins* chiefly, not many *genet skins*, nor would he give cloth as the Tongas did.¹⁵ Mjindi would give 20 to 30 carriers.

Noziyingili not only furnished the things referred to, but gave *cloth* and European liquor in *amagalafu* [carafes?] - bottles covered in wickerwork obtained from the Portuguese.

In some years the numbers of carriers among certain chiefs would be less than stated, sometimes only five or even four.

The Zulu king would treat the carriers very hospitably, giving them food, and then Noziyingili would be given say 100 or more cattle, and other chiefs would also be given cattle. The carriers were given *fat, string made of sinew, small shields*, black ones, white at the lower quarter but of the common kind; also *the bushy ends of ox tails*. The chiefs would be given better shields. They in their turn would send back messengers to *give praises at the royal household*. These chiefs for the most part have never even seen the king. The king becomes *an object of veneration*.

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File 61, nbk. 33, p. 1.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 1 Bikwayo says: I was once stabbed with a *stabbing assegai* in my left leg (thigh), high up, the wound going out near the anus... <Non-historical material omitted - eds.> I was stabbed in a fight between Mandhlakazi and Usutu shortly after the Msebe battle¹⁶ and before Cetshwayo's death, and when Cetshwayo had returned to Zululand. I fought then for Zibebu.¹⁷

.... <Note on ophites omitted - eds.>

15.10.1903

File 61, nbk. 33, pp. 2-20.

Also present: Ndukwana

- 2 Rainmaking. Our king allowed men to practise as rain doctors. All Zulus gave a black sheep or a beast to a professional man. Our *government is hard*¹⁸ - we recognize no one as having power, and yet there are persons who can *make rain*. There would be rain. In time of drought black oxen would be killed at Nobamba and at Siklebeni. At Mpangisweni we *were saved* by Mkanyeli ka Zivalele. He used to take oxen and send to Maboepa ka Mlotsha (a rain doctor living at Pondwana Hill in Hamu's district. When we *appeared* we heard that Madungudu ka ... <sic> (a woman) caused rain, *good rain*, not storms, steady rains, *among Somapunga's people in Ndwandwe country - it was good rain*. Maqabisi (a woman) is a rain doctor still living. She lives among the Mtetwa, also at Ngoye. (She) could cause rain, *just a drizzle, a good rain*, but now it is forbidden (she) cannot do so. Bikwayo has seen her. We frequently sent to Swaziland, but not every year. Their sky *thunders greatly*. Three years might pass by, (and we would) go in the fourth year, and so on. Mmangaliso ka Tanga (is now) deceased. [Fokoti, his (Mmangaliso's) son, is living.] (Mmangaliso) lived at the Mkuze, near Ngcamana and Luvico. Mmangaliso was a noted rain doctor. Those people under Fokoti no longer ask for rain.
- 4 Ndukwana says Mgamule sent to Fokoti several years ago. He refused to cause rain, but it did rain a little in fits and starts, for Mgamule's land is high land. The Swazis tell us they get rain *from among Dokolwane's people* near the Nkomati river. It does not *storm greatly*. It is a great misfortune natives who can cause rain being directed not to attempt to do so. Now we are afraid of the Government for it does not allow this. We cannot understand this as the Government would benefit because their trees would grow, and people *would be free from hardship, having enough to eat*, and be better able to pay money. Ndukwana: Rain doctors are just those who should not be disallowed. The Government would not be required to pay anything, for we have our things indoors. Year by year we look to agriculture. We reap and look forward to next year's crops. We depend on what
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comes out of the ground. We do not preserve or store anything.

Bikwayo: The Government *keeps* us from that *occupation*, and food. We have not money to buy food from us. We pay tax, and have only sufficient for that. People will die. And yet the Government will demand money. 'I will demand even from those who are still living even if others are dead.' People are going to die.

The Government ought to be considerate in so bad a year as this is, and allow us to endeavour to find a *last way out*. If that were allowed there certainly would be rain.

6 Ndukwana: The *medicine pegs* were *driven into the ground by out-*
siders. In time of drought all the inmates of a kraal, girls etc.,
would go out and hunt in the fields and on the hills for *pegs*
driven in by strangers. Anything found would be taken and thrown
into a river or stream, even though a cloth or *piece of knotted*
grass.

When lightning or a thunderbolt strikes and kills cattle or people, the inmates will call to a neighbouring kraal and say what has happened and send for a doctor.

Pegs will be *driven in* all about the kraal. The position of these will be known by the kraal people, and when rain is wanted the sticks will be taken up and thrown into the water. Rain then comes.

7 The doctor comes and washes them so that they become 'white' and
can mix with others. He *purifies* them with medicine.

Those killed by lightning are not mourned for, on the ground that the king has killed them. *The heavens, the king, has descended; the bird has descended on the home*. The king can do as he likes, and if there were mourning the king might repeat the same thing and establish a dangerous condition of affairs.

8 The *inyanga* will give them *pegs* which will be thoroughly *smeared*
with medicine and given to the inmates who will *push them in* all
over the hills to keep off the lightning. When ...,¹⁹ all will be
worked loose, pulled out, and thrown into water. The sky has been
'pegged' all over Natal. There are numberless *stakes* about on top
of huts which keep away rain, and they are rubbed with *medicinal*
powder and red ochre. There are also *potsherds*²⁰ *on top of the huts*
in Natal - not in Zululand. There are no *stakes* in Zululand.

When the clouds are very dark and heavy, threatening a thunderstorm, heaps of grass will be taken *above the kraal* at the back and there set fire to. No special drug will be thrown into the grass, but the *umhlonitshwa* or *uhlambihlotshwana*²¹ will be put in, not to prevent the rain, but to prevent the lightning from striking about the kraal.

9 Other plants used are *insingo* and *ingoino*. The *umhlonitshwa* is
also put *above the doorway on the grass door screens*, and *insingo*,
uboqo, and *ingoino* are also put there. *It prevents fierce storms,*
so that the sky does not thunder and does not strike the houses.

In Natal, *crocodile fat* is used to *ward off lightning*. Here they
call down lightning on one another, as if it were a game. A man who
owns property puts in many pegs - 'I must take precautions, so that
they won't *call down lightning on me*.' The *bewitching* won't stop;
they kill one another by it. Those born grow up in this evil cunning.
In Zululand we *drove away* those who *burnt medicines, put in pegs*,
etc. Under the Queen and King we have come to great trouble. We are

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asked, 'Did you see yourself being *takata'd*?'

At the beginning of the rainy season the sky was watched for storms.

The complaint is very general against the European, for the heavens are to be feared and people cannot propitiate them. If we
10 *sprinkle medicine*, people threaten to send us to gaol.

This is a very considerable affair. Not everyone had the power of calling down the heavens. A person who prevented rain from falling was killed. Vendevende ka Mziya was killed by Cetshwayo for preventing rain by beating his *isimbiya*.²² (An *umtakati* uses this.) Tshinaza ka Hlomisa saw him and reported this. Tshinaza reported to Muti ka Mfusi, who told the king. No *bulaing* was done, for the man was seen. He was put to death, and then rain came. He said, '*Nqwini people, are you indeed killing me? Do not throw me out on the hill; throw me into the water so that it will rain.*' He was an *isi-konkwane*.²³ It rained that very day. Cattle were called in at once;
11 boys assisted, for cattle may be taken by the gale and swept over the cliffs.

The king said that nothing of Vendevende's was to be plundered, but was to be carried away and thrown into the water - spoons, huts, and everything.

Bikwayo: *Mbete ran away; he left us Mangwe.* We were told to head him off at the Mhlatuze. Mapita's people reported this.

Ndukwana: *Mbete was of our people at Gqikazi.* He was a doctor to make rain. I once went to him to ask for medicine, for I was a messenger. The *amabele* at Muxazibana's place gave us stomach pains. The people had put in *umakukumezana*²⁴ when the *amabele* was in heaps.
12 *Umakukumezana* may also be put in seeds so that they swell and become plentiful. I asked for medicine for such *amabele*. Mbete gave me drugs. He gave me powder of charred herbs. Take a few grains of *amabele* and grind them very fine; take a potsherd, and mix aloe with a little hot water (like beer) in the sherd, pour the powder in, and then suck the mixture from the fingertips.

Mbete, a man from Natal (Stanger), would keep the rain away. [His son is Chief Gqayinyanga.] He would cause the *isigodhlo* to follow him to the Ivuna. (He was at Gqikazi). He would pound up his medicines at the stream, then sprinkle them with a grass broom in the path as he went homewards, carrying water. Girls followed him, clapping their hands together, until they got home. The sky would then become red, and so put rain off.

Then a steenbuck was seen with a red cloth fluttering from it.
13 It was said that Mbete had tied it on. A hunting party went out, and surrounded it, but the buck would get up behind them each time. We would ask, '*What strange omen is this?*' There was nothing superstitious about the steenbuck.

Mbete had a tall man and an *insizwa* with him. These two went to the Mandhlakazi²⁵ and were there arrested as spies. Mbete, who remained at Gqikazi, said, '*Those are my people. I told them to go and look for medicines.*' Mbete then left, as we thought, to fetch his friends, but he disappeared. The alarm was raised. It was said that he was in the bushveld, and was coming to cross over where the
14 two branches of the Mfolozi join. Every effort was made to catch him, but he escaped.

Bikwayo: *He passed by while we were asleep there at the Mhlatuze.*

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We heard from *izinceku* early next day that he had *crossed over* - three persons' footprints. He entered the Ngoye (forest) and so escaped.

Maqwebelende, a man, came several years after Mbete. He was arrested, for he was a *spy, and unknown*. He said, '*Let me go, and I shall make it rain*'. He was allowed to go, but watched. It rained, but when he saw that he had been allowed to go free he stopped the rain so that all the crops burnt up (dried up). He was caught and then killed by order of Cetshwayo. He was killed near Mangweni, near the Mhlatuze. When first promising to bring rain he said, '*Let it be said that the sky is "anointing", not that it is raining; it is anointing the girls of Maqwebelende.*'

After this Mlozi came. He too was a stranger. He was *found by a party out hunting*. He said to the *hunters*, '*Do not stab me.*' 'Why shall we allow you to go free?' 'Because I will cause rain to come for you.' This was reported to Cetshwayo. '*Let him be watched, and let him make rain then.*' He stayed at Maqubandaba, the *kraal of Madhlebe*. A little rain came. But after this, seeing he was no longer watched, and having established his right to be an *inyanga of the king*, he then *refused to make rain*. The king gave the order for him to be killed. He was killed.

Next came Zinkuni; he came from Natal. He *went about putting* 16 *in medicine pegs*. He was caught by a *hunting party of the Biyela, in the bushveld at Lumbi*. He asked them to leave him alone. 'I will make it rain for you. *We have been sent out; we are many*', he said, 'but I am the *great bull*, and if you allow me to go, it will rain.' No rain came, so he too was killed by Cetshwayo. He was killed *in the bushveld, in the open space round the kraals* near the old Mfolozi magistracy.

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

Somanxiwa ka Nomageje ka Gaqa: this man *turned round* and said he could *make it rain*. He was of the Dhloko regiment. The king said he was to be *left alone*. He was allowed to practise. He asked for four young men (aet. 20 to 21). A boy, Njakadamsiya, son of Somopo ka 17 Sikala, was *chosen*, and Mahungqu (chief) ka Mkokwana, Masusimpisi ka Mndhlovu, and Bikwayo (myself). We then proceeded with him to where the rivers all *meet*, viz. the Inseleni, Ipose, Imbabe, Icwaka, Kula, Intiwe, and Mhlatuze. All these *met at the place of the people of Jokozele ka Mdhlekedhlana*.

Somanxiwa told the king, who was at Mangweni, to *find a black ox*. He directed that it should be fetched from Odwini, one of Cetshwayo's kraals. It was fetched. He said a completely black ram must be 18 *fetched* from Gobipombo, a kraal of Cetshwayo's. These were *driven* to the streams. First the *sheep* was caught (the ox eating grass), and was killed. We were told to *kill it with our bare hands*. We did not *stab it with an assegai*. He pierced it *in the side*, on the side on which a cow is not milked. He *took out the liver and gall bladder*, for that is what was required as *medicine*, also the *tail*. He told us to drive the ox up to him. (We had had to select a very quiet, fat

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and stupid ox, which would not startle.) He had a *stabbing assegai* which he had *sharpened*. He went up to the beast, *patted* it (scratched) and suddenly plunged the assegai into its left side, far back, in the small intestine. The beast fell at once and soon expired. He cut it open with an axe and took out *the liver and gall bladder*.

19 He then took off both *livers*, stuck a stick through both and, with an *empty calabash*, went to a black, unfrequented pool full of alligators and seacow. Suddenly he dived down, and remained so long down that we believed he must have been carried off by alligators. The water in the meantime waved and eddied, so much so that the alligators moved about and the seacow bellowed. After a time we heard him away in the distance, saying, '*Kubili ku kunye nje*.'²⁶ He then swam towards us with the *calabash*, which was full of mud. As he did this an alligator approached him. Again he dived, and the next we saw was his coming up close to where we were, saying, '*Kubili ku kunye nje; nga ngi nenhlaba; kayi kuhle [kuhli?]*', a *praise of the Dhloko* regiment of which he was a member. He then came out and directed us to call up all the girls and boys who had not arrived at
20 the age of puberty, all women and old men, all women who did not menstruate. They came. It was to *roast* the meat in question that they came; as a matter of fact it was to eat it.²⁷ The ox's flesh was cut up as one does that of a pig, with the skin on. The beast was duly consumed.

We were two days at this place. The third day rain came, even though this was the man's first attempt, and it rained all the way as we proceeded on our homeward journey.

Notes

¹Formed 1873; age-group born 1850-53.

²*Amarubu (amahubhu)* literally means 'liars' or 'deceitful persons'. *Amanhfwenga* means 'beggars', and is a term of contempt, connoting 'worthless foreigners', applied by the Zulu to the Tsonga and neighbouring peoples living to the north-east of Zululand.

³Medium-large red beads.

⁴A Tsonga chief. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 306-7.

⁵To ensure protection by the ancestral spirits.

⁶Mzila was ruler of the Gaza kingdom, which at its height extended from near Delagoa Bay to the lower reaches of the Zambezi and inland to the south-eastern districts of present-day Rhodesia. His capital was at Shimanmani near the headwaters of the Buzi river.

⁷In the original the praise stands as a later insertion. It is not clear whether it applies to Ndwandwe or Nyamande.

⁸We have been unable to identify this name.

⁹Personages in one of the southern Tsonga chiefly lines. Hluma's son Noziyingili married Zambili, a daughter of the Swazi king Somhlolo. Ngwanase, who succeeded Noziyingili, was Zambili's son.

¹⁰Father of Hluma

¹¹Of the names given, most are those of minor chiefs who lived between the Zulu kingdom and Delagoa Bay.

¹²*Izulu eli pezulu* in the original - a play on the word *izulu*, meaning the 'sky, the heavens'.

¹³Putative grandson in the male line of the Zulu chief Jama, and

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cousin of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande. His son Zibhebhu was to achieve an ascendancy that enabled him to rival Cetshwayo and Dinuzulu in the 1880s.

¹⁴This word has the derogatory connotation of 'inferior, poor, low-class outsiders'.

¹⁵The distinction drawn between Sambana and the Tsonga chiefs probably derives from the fact that Sambana was chief of the Nyawo, an Nguni group occupying the Lubombo mountains between the Phongolo and Ngwavuma rivers just to the west of the Tsonga chiefdoms.

¹⁶March 1883. The Mandlakazi and the Suthu were the followers of Zibhebhu and Cetshwayo respectively.

¹⁷See note 13 above.

¹⁸i.e. the Natal colonial government.

¹⁹Illegible in the original.

²⁰For burning medicines to keep away the lightning.

²¹Species of small veld flowers.

²²A bamboo musical instrument said to be used by *abathakathi*.

²³Literally a peg, stake, stone or other object used to influence the skies. By extension, in this context, a rainmaker using his powers for evil purposes.

²⁴A creeper with poisonous red berries.

²⁵See notes 13 and 16 above.

²⁶The import of this praise and of the extended version given a few lines below it have been lost. A literal translation of the extended version would be: 'It is two in one; I had an aloe; it is not pleasant'. The aloe is associated with bitterness.

²⁷Possibly for ritual strengthening purposes.