

LUGUBU KA MANGALISO

4.3.1909

File 57, nbk. 14 enclosure, pp. 1-4.

- 1 *Lugubu of the Mbata people, induna.*¹ Chief: Ngqambuzana.²
 Ngqambuzana ka Mganu ka Nodada ka Ngoza (not Somsewu's *induna*³) ka Mkubukeli ka Gazi ka 'Ndosi ka Nyandeni (alias Mvelase) ka Tshezi ka [one or more other names (forgotten) come in here] ka Mtembu ka Majola.⁴ I forget Majola's father and grandfather. It was Mganu who appointed me as *induna*.

Lugubu ka Mmangaliso ka Gasu ka Mndaba ka Dumisa ka Mlotsha (his sons were Msesezo and Mbeje) ka Jodo ka Mtabela *of the Mbata people*. (Jodo may be a son of Mlotsha, or even Mlotsha's father. Mtabela too may be father or son of Jodo - 31.5.1916.)⁵

The Tembu people *originated* at Hlazakazi, near Mangeni; also at Ingxobongo and Isandhlwana. The Isipezi hill was, however, occupied by my tribe, the Amambata.⁶

The Tembus are amaNtungwa,⁷ (as are, the Mabaso, Sitole and Mangweni, i.e. *the people of Dumisa, the chief of the Amangwe.*⁸ *The people of Matiswana ka Masumpa*⁹ are also amaNtungwa, and the amaBomvu are also amaNtungwa. *The Kumalo people* are also amaNtungwa.

There are very many Amambata - now scattered. The Tembus were the original *chiefs* of the Amambata. (Bomvu and Nsibankulu are very old names in the Mbata tribe, also Tshandu ka Ndaba. These three are very ancient, but it seems to me that the last is Mbata, for this name includes all. But Mtembu is the greatest name of all - 31.5.1916.)¹⁰

The *izinduna* who set the army on to fight were selected from the Amambata.

I am the same age as *the Great Ngobamakosi.*¹¹

- [See fuller and verbatim version of this in Zulu in notebook under date 31.5.1916.] The Tembus were a big tribe and actually fought against Tshaka. It occurred in this way. Tshaka, proud of his growing power, asked his people if there was anyone like him, anyone who was so great a hero and who led his men to battle. They said Ngoza ka Mkubukeli, the Tembu chief, was such an one, that he was in the habit of leading his men, and had on various occasions been wounded in battle and could show the scars. Tshaka thereupon sent
 2 four messengers to Ngoza to invite him to come on a visit to Tshaka and to sit with him, i.e. as his equal. As soon as Ngoza got this invitation he sent men to go and cut some reeds. When they had brought them, he ordered two men to take a small portion of these reeds, go along to Tshaka and, on coming before him, to stick a reed in the ground before him by way of defiance. This the men did, where-

LUGUBU

upon Tshaka got into a rage and had it in mind to put the men to death, but they did not swerve, whereupon Tshaka (who talked with a kind of lisp, mouthing his words) commended them for sticking to their chief. He said he had no quarrel with them, for they were only messengers, but with their master. He thereupon ordered the men to be supplied with three oxen, one to be slaughtered on the spot and two to be for food on their way back. They were told to go back and to tell Ngoza that he would be attacked at the next new moon, for when that moon *began waxing* it would be Tshaka himself that was *appearing*.

The men left. Whilst on their way back, the Zulu army caught up to and passed them on their way to attack Ngoza. The men pushed on at once to give the alarm, travelling through the night. Ngoza at once warned his tribe and all crossed over into the Umsinga division.¹² The Zulus followed and an action took place at the Umbe hill near Pomeroy (where Gwalagwala¹³ used to live). The Tembus fought well and defeated the Zulus, driving them back into Zululand.

It so happened that Ngoza had sent to conspire with Macingwane of the Cunus¹⁴ with a view of resisting the Zulus. The Zulus, anticipating something of the kind, sent another section of their army up the Tugela to attack Macingwane.

3 It was under these circumstances that Ngoza judged it best to leave Zululand for the south.

Before proceeding with Ngoza's subsequent doings it may be mentioned that Tshaka accompanied his army on this occasion (prior to his attack on the Ndwandwe tribe), and took up a position on the Isipezi Mountain, Nqutu district.

Ngoza dispersed the tribe under Macibise¹⁵ living about Pietermaritzburg, and went southwards to Pondoland where he was put to death by the Pondo king Faku.

A number of the Tembu people now determined on going back and giving their allegiance to Tshaka. When they got to Tshaka he commended them for their loyalty to their chief which made them cling to him as far off as Pondoland. He was glad to have them as his adherents, for men who had proved they could be so devoted to their chief might be expected to become devoted to him. He put them under the immediate supervision of Sojiyisa, son of Jama.¹⁶

Many other Tembus remained in Pondoland.

Tshaka was angry because of Ngoza's having been killed by Faku. He accordingly decided to attack the Pondos, for if the Pondos could defeat Ngoza, who had fought so determinedly with the Zulus, they must be worthy of his steel. An army was accordingly sent to attack the Pondos, some Tembus accompanying it to act as guides.

4 The Tembus advised going along the coast the whole way, which was done. The attack was not pushed in any way, only to the extent of seizing numbers of the Pondo cattle. It is said that two men were sent on to shout in the forests etc. that 'he' (i.e. Tshaka) was not to be stabbed, for if they did so it would be the worse for them. For this reason the army met with no actual resistance, and after looting the cattle, returned with them to Tshaka. On that occasion Tshaka went and took up a position at Hlutankungu¹⁷ whilst the army was away.

[Lugubu recited about 40-50 lines of Ngoza's *izibongo*. No time to take down, but taken down fully on 29.5.1916.¹

After seizing the cattle Tshaka caused two men to shout on the

LUGUBU

hills to the Pondos that they were henceforth to look on themselves as *uZulu*, and that they were all to return to their homesteads, *idhl' imbuya*,¹⁸ and enjoy peace.

29.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 8-29.

- 8 Lugubu ka Mmangaliso ka Gasas ka Mndaba ka Dumisa ka Mlotshwa of the Mbata tribe. Stands about 6 ft. 2 in. Is about 61 years of age. Very intelligent, clear-headed man. Splendid at throwing light on meaning of *izibongo*. Has rather a thick headdress, grey beard. Does not hold himself very erect.

I am of the same age as *the Great Ingobamakosi regiment*; others my age call themselves 'uKandempemvu'.¹⁹ I know the praises of Ngoza, Nodada, Mganu, Mabizela; also Mndaba, Dumisa, Gasas, and slightly of Mswazi ka Sobuza, Mtshwetshwe ka Mkatshana, Faku ka Ngqungqutshe.²⁰

Tshaka called Faku 'Mfakwana' by way of insult, just as he called Ngoza 'Ngozana'.²¹

Mmangaliso was of the Isipezi regiment.²² My father, until he became an *insizwa*, grew up among the Tembu under Ngoza ka Mkubukeli. When an *insizwa*, he went to *konza* to the Zulu king. The Tembu tribe at that time lived at Hlazakazi, and from there to Isipezi. My earliest ancestor, Mlotsha, lived with the Tembu, and so for all the others.

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

- 10 Pungatshe, fearing Tshaka was about to attack, said, 'Take these white oxen and drive them to Tshaka. Tell him that our people do not want war.' The *impi* was actually in sight when he gave this order. 'What is that moving over there, my Zizi people?' The Zizi (his people) said, 'It is an army, Nkosi.' He asked, 'Where is it going?' They replied, 'It is coming to kill people and carry off cattle.'

This was the Butelezi tribe, living at the Dhlubeni, on the Tukela, near Ladysmith. They were Lalas.

When the oxen were given, the *impi* turned back and went to Tshaka who said, 'Hear, my Zulu people! He fears the lion of Zululand. He says that he will not fight the Zulu nation. He is a man, this Pungatshe. He will survive to a great age; the army will never go against him again.'

I don't know, says, Lugubu, if this Butelezi tribe is the same as that in Zululand, of which Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele was a member.²³

.... <Praises omitted - eds.>

- 29 Lugubu was most impressed by my *bongaing* Tshaka, Senzangakona, Dingana and Cetshwayo. He cannot understand how a white man can know so much of the native tribes and Zulus in general. He says it would be a very striking thing to the Tembu tribe were I to come and *bonga* their chiefs at a large gathering. He believes natives would willingly pay money to hear me *bonga*, that is, hear me in some room, those admitted entering one at a time. Such *bongaing* would be a great pleasure and surprise.

- 29 When Zwide invaded Zululand, Tshaka retired. He, during retirement, went to the top of a hill and there *halted*. This was very early. When the sun was about one hour above the horizon, Zwide's *impi* appeared, and advanced towards the heart of the Zulu country. Tshaka's men seeing this, said, 'The enemy are in our homes! Let us loose at them!' Tshaka sent his force in to the attack. As he was marshalling it, his plume came loose from his headband. It fell to the ground, where it stuck in and stood swaying about. His attendants ran to pick it up. The army cried out, 'We are full of fear! The king's plume has fallen just as he is sending us out to fight.' Tshaka said, 'Leave it! There is another that will fall.' The attendants left it. He said, 'Look Zulu! When you come up to the enemy, if they go up onto the hill and get you down below so that they can attack you from above, leave them.' After sending off his force, he told his attendants to fetch the plume. They did so, and he put it back in his headband, from which it had come loose.²⁴

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

- 31 Macibise. Ngoza broke up her people when flying towards the amaMpondo. There were many chiefs killed or who had cattle seized during his flight.

The flight of Ngoza and his people from Tshaka's Zulu country. [The date of this is fixed fairly closely by Lunguza's evidence, under date 13.3.1909.]

- To go back to the very beginning, Tshaka, in the Zulu country, was discussing military affairs. He said, 'Zulu people, I have overcome all the chiefs. I am a warrior. I have only myself to fight against. There is no other chief who makes war as I do.' A man of the Zulu spoke up and said, 'Nkosi, there is Ngoza too. He too, Nkosi, makes war. He goes with his army. He bears assegai wounds.' Tshaka said, 'Wo! Do you think this little Ngoza fellow is my equal? Who could be like Dhlungwana,²⁵ the warrior of the house of Nandi?'

- At dawn the next day Tshaka said, 'Zulu! Let men go and summon this Ngoza fellow to come to me. We shall live together, we two warriors. When our army is making war, and we are looking on, we shall unite our forces: they shall fight as one.' The men whom he sent went off. They came to Ngoza in the Tembu country, three of them, coming to summon Ngoza. Ngoza at first agreed. Then he summoned his men's assembly. He told them of the matter, saying, 'Here are men from the Zulu country come to summon me. Tshaka says that we should unite and live together. What do you say, Tembu people?' The Tembu said, 'Mnguni²⁶ is deceiving you. He will kill you and take your people.'

Then Ngoza sent off the father of Maqobongo, named Sigwegwe, of the Radebe people; he sent off the father of Mapompo of the Mbata people, together with a third man whose name I do not know. He said, 'Go to Tshaka and tell him to fix a handle to his assegai.' (Ngoza wanted to fight Tshaka, i.e. challenged him deliberately.) 'Take a reed, a single reed, and thrust it into the ground in front of him.' They left, and went off on their way. They came to the Zulu *izinduna*. They came to [Nsobo] Mdhlaka.²⁷ He took them to the king; he went

- to report their coming. Tshaka came out of his hut to see the Tembu men. He went into the cattle enclosure and ordered them to be summoned. They came up. He said, 'Speak, men of the Tembu! What have you to say?' They said, 'Nkosi, Ngoza ordered us to bring a reed and thrust it into the ground in front of you.' Tshaka exclaimed, 'What do you say?' They replied, 'Nkosi, he told us to bring a reed and thrust it into the ground in front of you.' He stood up and said, 'By the great chief, I should kill you!' (Refers to his deceased father - that is how they used to swear.) He said, 'That Ngoza fellow dares to say this to me? I will kill you right now.' He commanded them, 'Speak! What have you to say?' They repeated, 'We are sent by Ngoza. He told us to come to you with a reed and thrust it into the ground in front of you.' Tshaka glared fiercely at them. He cried, 'Wo, Zulu! These are men indeed. They are not afraid, even though I stand up, I who am Tshaka. Even though I fix my eyes on them they show no fear, and speak the word of their chief. He asked, 'Have you eaten?' They answered, 'Nkosi, we have had no food at all.' He said, 'Let three oxen be fetched.' The oxen were brought. He said to one of the Zulu izinduna, 'Go with them, and let them rest. Let them at once slaughter this beast with a white patch. Eat and be filled. When you leave, when you are on your journey, slaughter another ox. Then, further on, kill the other one. Tell Ngoza, "Watch for the new moon. You have called; the one whom you called has answered." When the new moon shows, he will not say it is the moon: he will say, "It is Tshaka who comes."'
- They went off. While they were on their way they saw armed men in the path, carrying war shields. They came up with them as they were going down to the great place. They said, 'Men, what is happening?' The men replied, 'We too do not know. The order to arm has been given.' They left the oxen which they were driving, saying, 'Wo! Tshaka was deceiving us in saying that he will come when the moon is new.' They travelled by night until they arrived among the Tembu. They came to Ngoza and said, 'We come with the enemy at our backs. They are upon us!'
- Ngoza sent to Macingwane at Ngonyameni, saying, 'Let us join forces, for Tshaka has troubled you for a long time. Guard the Tukela, and keep watch for a Zulu force coming along the river. I shall keep guard here at Hlazakazi.'
- Indeed the enemy force came. All Ngoza's cattle, together with the women, were hastily sent to where the Tukela joins with the Sampofu,²⁸ for they were hoping that the Cunu would intercept the Zulu force if it came along the river.
- The army came. The Tembu fought with the army of Tshaka that came against them. They defeated it and drove it across the Mzinyati, while Tshaka was sitting on top of the Sipezi, a hill nearby. But as for the force which went along the Tukela, the Cunu ran away from it. They crossed over to the other side of the Tukela, and went up the Kwa Wole hill. They halted there. No sooner had the Zulu come up than they caught sight of them. They said, 'The rabble²⁹ are sitting on Ntwekeni. We are not going up that hill.' The Zulu went off along the Tukela. They discovered where the cattle and women of the Tembu had been hidden; there were very many of them. They seized the cattle and killed all the women and children.³⁰
- After seeing this, Ngoza crossed the river. The Tembu sing a song that goes: 'Did we not say that the Cunu are dogs? They ran away,

child of the elephant.³¹ He crossed over and came into the country of Nomagaga of the Kuze people of Dhlomo.³² Nomagaga blocked his way, saying, 'Do not come here. If you cross here, I shall fight you.' Ngoza said, 'I shall pass; I am running away from Tshaka.' Ngoza said, 'Do not pass. Stay there and stand against Tshaka.' Ngoza replied, 'I am coming.' He crossed over. Men of the Tembu said to him, 'Give us the opportunity to fight, otherwise what will we have to eat? You always let the regiments fight, while as for us, we do not take part. Then you give the captured cattle to the fighting men.' For when Ngoza overcame a chief and seized his cattle he would give them *all* to those who had been in the fighting; he kept only the oxen for himself.

Ngoza agreed to this. He crossed the river and let the men of the Tembu go into battle. He himself remained at the river with all the womenfolk who had escaped. Nomagaga's force was on the hill called Mduna. He sent his force into the attack, and they joined battle. The Tembu force was defeated by the Kuze and driven back to where Ngoza was. Ngoza cried, 'What? Are you running away after asking to be allowed to fight?' They answered, 'Nkosi, we haven't done yet.' He cried, 'Into it!' They joined battle, and again our force was defeated and driven back to Ngoza. He said, 'What? Are you running away again?' They answered, 'Nkosi, we haven't done yet.' He said, 'Into it!' Again they joined battle, and again the Kuze drove them back to Ngoza. Ngoza asked, 'How is it now, Tembu?' They said, 'Nkosi, we are defeated.'

Ngoza had with him two regiments, the Izinkwenkwezi and the Nonyenge. The praises of the Nonyenge regiment were 'The one which stands firm like a beast with legs splayed' (which does not run away). Only great warriors were in that regiment. Weh! Then we saw things! They joined battle, and the Tembu regiments drove the enemy up the hill to where Nomagaga was positioned on the summit. They drove the enemy force past him, and killed him. The hill was in the form of a long ridge with a line of cliffs round it. The Nonyenge climbed up through a pass at the near end while the Izinkwenkwezi went up by a pass at the far end. That was how they defeated the enemy impi. Then Ngoza went up the Mduna hill.

At that place died my father's younger brother, Nketo of the Mbata people. They stabbed him here in the small intestine [low down on the right side]. My father left the battle because his brother had died.

I no longer remember much of what happened after that [i.e. the rest of Ngoza's flight]. After climbing the hill, Ngoza went off towards Mhlumba.³³ There he came upon another chief named Nomagaga - I don't know of what line.³⁴ He at once killed him, in the country where the Cunu are living today. He then came to the Pata.³⁵ He encountered Ndawonde of the Gozini people who was living at the Pata, and killed him. He went on, and crossed the Mpofana river. Ngoza's people did not yet know the country well, and were heading back the way they had come, towards the Zulu country. They found they were going back to the country of the Nguni. In the country near the Ngome, (i.e. where Bambata recently lived),³⁶ they encountered Mbemba of the Mdhlitsheni people. Here they took fright, saying, 'We are close to the Zulu country. There is Pisweni' (a hill opposite Qudeni).³⁷ So they turned back. (There was a chief killed by him at the Mpofana river where the Pata joins it.)

43 Then he came to Mrolweni.³⁸ In his course he killed many chiefs indeed; I no longer remember their names. He went down into Maci-bise's country, and broke up her people. I do not know whether he killed her or not. Then he went up towards Howick, where he encountered a strong chief, Sondaba ka Patwa.³⁹ This man fought against those two regiments, the Izinkwenkwezi and the Nonyenge. In the Nonyenge there were many great warriors. From among us Mbata people there were my father's younger brother Sigele, Mhlebi (another of my father's younger brothers), Lukwabiti of the Xaba, Nongcama of the Dhladhla, and others. When they had defeated Sondaba's impi, they made towards the Nhlosana hill and then went down to the Nzinga.⁴⁰ They crossed the Mkomazi and passed beneath Marwaqa hill [on the site of Bulwer]. Then they went off into the Mpondo country, and there the chief died.

44 After this the Tembu went back. Now that Ngoza was dead they returned to the Zulu country. Their coming was reported to Tshaka. He was told, 'The Tembu have come. Their chief died in the country of the Amampondo.' Tshaka said, 'Let them appear here.' They came. They were afraid, saying, 'Tshaka is going to kill us because we once fought with him.' Tshaka ordered all the men to be separated and brought to him. They came before him. Their leaders were asked for, and were pointed out. Then Tshaka said, 'Where are the sons of Ngoza? Are there none left?' Nhlakwomuzi was pointed out; he was still a mere youth. Nodada was pointed out, and also another.⁴¹ Tshaka said, 'Heleleyi! These are now our people. I am happy that I have found the Tembu, who fought against me, and drove me in retreat until I vomited with exhaustion. They followed their chief and destroyed many nations. Never did they desert their chief; always they remained loyal to him. To me too they will remain loyal. Let them suffer no longer. Let them join my house; let them go to Mapita ka Sojlyisa.' They were all taken and placed among the Mandhlakazi.⁴² The order was that they were to be under the authority of a man of only the highest rank. Indeed they went off to settle there.

45

When the army went out against the Mpondo on the orders of Tshaka, he said, 'Now I shall see the chief who killed my friend Ngoza, who once fought with me.' He said, 'Speak, Tembu! Where is he?' They answered, 'Nkosi, you should go along the seashore.' He said, 'That is what I shall do.' He then called out the Zulu army. All the minor peoples which he had brought under his authority were called up to pay allegiance. He said, 'I hear that this chief is a powerful one.'

46 The army went off. The Tembu were ordered to lead the way. When Tshaka came to the Hlutankungu hill, he halted. The army went by on its way to the Amampondo country, but he remained behind. The Zulu army seized cattle in the Amampondo country and came back with them. Tshaka said, 'Zulu, you are deceiving me. The cattle of the chief who killed Ngoza are not here. That chief is a great one.' After this the force returned home. That, then, is the end of the trail of the Tembu people.

All Ngoza's isigodhlo girls had their hands cut off by the Amampondo so that their brass armlets (ingxota) could be removed, for the metal was worked there.

The Msinga is the place where there are men⁴³ - Mpatasa ka Mtshongwane of the Mvelase [i.e. a full-blooded Tembu]⁴⁴ is still

living; he is a good authority on Tembu affairs. He would be of the Indhlonhlo regiment. [Hardly able to travel.]

.... <Notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>

47 When Ngoza was fleeing from Tshaka, Macingwane followed behind
48 him. He was afraid to go forcing his way through other peoples as
Ngoza had done. He preferred to go where the way had been cleared
(for the chiefs of the place were now dead). Macingwane followed
Ngoza. He had no sooner left the Zulu country than he came to Kwa
Wole, a hill with a forest growing on it, opposite the Msinga on
this side of the Tukela where the Government offices of the Mpfana
are.⁴⁵

31.5.1916. Union Day.

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 48-65.

The strange powers used by Mabaso among the Tembu. [Mabaso the wonder-performer. The birth of Mvelase.] It happened thus. The Mabaso people were Tembu,⁴⁶ while Mabaso was a minor chief in the country of the Tembu. A girl was chosen, Mabaso's sister. He took her to the Tembu, to his superior chief. The girl gave birth to a
49 daughter. Her second child was also a daughter. When she became pregnant for the third time, Mabaso said that he was to be told when the time for the birth was near. This was duly done. He devised a scheme. A large quantity of thatching grass was gathered; it was carried by many women to the Tembu, to their kinswoman who had given birth to the daughters. With them they brought a baby boy whom they had hidden inside a bundle of grass, as ordered by Mabaso. They came with him on the day when the inkosikazi was in labour. She gave birth to a third daughter. The birth was reported to the Tembu; it was reported that the inkosikazi had given birth to twins, one a girl, one a boy.

Then one night when the inkosikazi was recovering, Mabaso arrived. He came while the hut was still partitioned into two for the confinement. Mabaso sat behind the partition. The Tembu came to see the
50 child, all the chief men of the Tembu. It was the custom in former times when the inkosikazi had given birth for the people to be called to come and see the child. It was also reported to Dumisa and Mbeje⁴⁷ that the inkosikazi had given birth to two children, a boy and a girl. But the boy had been brought by the Mabaso women who had carried the grass; the inkosikazi had not given birth to him.

Mbeje and Dumisa of the Mbata people duly arrived. They came and sat in the yard. A container of beer was brought out of a hut and presented to them, and they were invited to drink. They did so. After they had rested a while they said, 'Could you now show us the children.' This was done. The girl was shown first. They said, 'Now could you show us the other.' The boy was brought out. They exclaimed, 'Ho! How big he is!' Mabaso was sitting there in the hut behind the partition. Now Mabaso was feared because he had strong medicines. He
51 would point at people walking along one behind the other, and they would stop and be unable to move. When the two men said, 'How big he is!', Mabaso stuck his head out of the doorway and called, 'Ho! You, Dumisa and Mbeje, you are voicing doubts, are you?' They jumped

LUGUBU

up and ran away, saying, 'He is going to put a spell on us!' They even left unfinished the beer which they had been drinking.

We Mbata people are now called 'amaVungama', for those chiefs of ours had vungama'd. ⁴⁸ Lungusa⁴⁹ calls the boy Nyandeni; I call him Mvelase. His praises are 'Mvelase who came out of a bundle of grass from the Mabaso people'. Both were his names, Nyandeni and Mvelase. Formerly the Tembu isibongo was Tshezi. Then it was changed to

52 Mvelase. The child grew up and became a chief among the Tembu. It is now said that they are Mvelase's people. That is the end of the story. It became a legend. People were afraid to say, 'This man is not one of our people,' for they feared Mabaso. The boy became one of the Tembu.

Mabaso had always had a knowledge of medicines. No-one knew where he had got his powers of being able to stop people in their tracks.

<Stuart indicates that the following passage, which is not in sequence in his notebook, should be read in conjunction with the story above - eds.>

56 Mabaso said, 'If my sister gives birth to a daughter, it will be said that this boy was also born to her and that they are twins.' The Tembu called the boy 'Mvelase who came out of a bundle of grass

57 from the Mabaso people'. When Mvelase was called 'Nyandeni' it was meant that he had been brought in a bundle of grass from the Mabaso. ⁵⁰

The Mbata people voiced doubts, saying, 'Hawu! How big this boy is! It is as if the two babies were not born at the same time.' As for the Tembu who had noticed this, they simply accepted it. Although they had seen it, they were afraid of the powers that Mabaso could work. The Mbata had voiced their doubts without realizing that Mabaso was in the hut. Mabaso would watch out for a person who seemed to have suspicions.

The inkosikazi who gave birth to the twins was not attended by any Tembu women. There were no Tembu present, only Mabaso's people, those who had brought the grass, arriving when it was dark. Very

58 early the next day it was announced, 'The inkosikazi has given birth.'

Strange powers worked among the Tembu. The chief Gazi⁵¹ would be sitting, and a basket of amabele would be placed on one side of him and dry maize on the other. The amabele too would be dry. He would say, 'Ha! Who is there who can compete with me?' He would scoop up some of the maize in one hand and some of the amabele in the other.

53 Raising his hands, he would scatter the amabele and mealie seeds in front of the people to whom he was talking. The seeds would already be sprouting; they sprouted as he held them up in his hands. People were afraid of this when they saw it, and would say, 'The powers of Gazi are great.' There is no-one who still knows the medicine that has the power to do this. Even among the Mabaso it is not to be found. It is no longer known because among our people an inyanga who works with medicines would never pass on his knowledge to his child. He would be afraid that his child would one day use it to kill him. He would never know when death might suddenly come to him. So this knowledge is lost, for how would it be passed on when the

man who possessed it was dead? Today people have still not realized that an inyanga should pass on his knowledge to his children so that it does not die with him. It should be that when he dies they remain in possession of it.⁵²

- Gazi's designated successor was Mkubukeli. He had been appointed while Gazi was still ruling. Gazi lived for a long time. Mkubukeli reached manhood, and married. After fathering Ngoza and then
- 54 Butshali, he died. Gazi was still alive. He lived to a great age, and his son died before him. Gazi continued to rule. Eventually he died, when Mkubukeli's son, Ngoza, was still young. A woman, Mnyango,⁵³ was appointed to rule, for it was said that if a man were chosen to rule, he would find it difficult to step aside when Ngoza came of age. So she ruled for a time until Ngoza reached maturity, when she relinquished the chieftainship.

- Ngoza was continually fighting with those chiefs who had konga'd to the Tembu. He fought with us Mbata people; our chief at that time was Mbaca. There was fighting all the time. The cause of the quarrelling was that some calves had strayed from the Tembu and gone into the fields of Gasa (my grandfather). The Mbata took them and
- 55 shut them up in their own cattle kraal. The Tembu armed themselves and went to root up the amabele plants where the calves had been eating. They said, 'What right have they to take our calves and go and shut them up at their place?' They sent a man to say to the Mbata, 'Since you do not bring back our calves, we are now going to pull up the amabele where they were eating.' Gasa ordered that they should be given the calves; their value was not equal to that of the amabele. There was fighting, and that was the start of the enmity. The quarrel went on for two years. Two sections of our people, the Duze and the Ntshaleni, went over to the Tembu. The Tembu finally defeated us.

- In the fights that took place in former days, the men would hurl assegais at one another. They did not approach closely. If one side was defeated and a man was left exhausted, he would say, 'Mo! I am defenceless!' He would be taken captive, but never killed. When the fighting was over his family would come and ransom him with a beast.
- 56 That was the custom in former times. Chiefs had not yet begun putting people to death, even if they had done wrong. Women were not killed in war, nor was a man who was running away, for he was like a woman. Only a man who was engaged in fighting was stabbed. The practice of stabbing a man who was running away, or one who was left wounded, was begun by Tshaka. Small boys, children, used not to be killed. The practice of killing even women was one begun by Tshaka. Chiefs are responsible for acts of madness.

- 58 Sections of the Tembu people. (All these are amaNtungwa.)
 abaTembu
 abakwaSitole
 abakwaMabaso
 abakwaTinta, of the Ngwe people⁵⁴
 amaMbata
 abakwaQunta (Isibongo - emaBeleni)⁵⁵
 amaBele

LUGUBU

The abakwaPutile (the abakwaMazibuko people) are said by old people to be blood relations of ours. Any chief of ours dying is reported to them first, before being reported to other large nations. *If this matter were not reported to them it would be an offence; similarly, if they did not report to us it would be an offence. If it was heard that an impi was coming to destroy us we would send and ask them to assist us.*

59 *When the time came for the unkosì ceremonies, they were held in the Tembu country, at the senior chief's place. When they were over, our subordinate chiefs would return and hold ceremonies at their own homes. There was not yet any of the sort of jealousy which led chiefs to say, 'I cannot say that I am chief if there is another man in my country who is regarded as a chief.'*

This is like the practice among the amaMpondo; among our people too it was formerly so. For among the amaMpondo there are many chiefs. However, there is a senior chief who has all the others as dependents. Among the abeSutu too, in Mtshwetshwe's country, the chiefs are numerous, but there is a senior chief.

I do not know the oldest tribal name which all these people [on p. 58] would acknowledge. The Tembu tribes are amaNtungwa - [all those on p. 58]. The name that formerly wited them was amaNtungwa. I do not know where amaNtungwa came from.

60 *In enumerating the Zulu chiefs, my father, together with Sigele, Nyati and Qubindhlu (of another tribe), would count up to eight. They would end with Tshaka and would not count Dingana and Mpande, saying that they had been born of one father. In their enumeration they counted a chief who reigned and then fathered another chief.*

They used to count up eight generations in each tribe of the tribes in Zululand.

The Tembu say that they originated at Ndingiza, a cliff at Hlazakazi. The amaMbata also trace their origins to Hlazakazi, to a great rock with a fissure in it, in a cliff near the Mangeri river. I cannot say where Tembus and Mambata originally came from, no idea whatever.

AmaLala, amaZizi, amaNtungwa, amaSwazi - all these are very numerous.

61 *There used to be a folk tale which said that there were white people living, and that they would one day come. The old women of former times, those who bore our fathers and Tshaka, would say, 'There are white people who wear clothes. They will one day come to this country.' Our forefathers would ask, 'Where will they come from?' The answer was, 'They are on the other side of the sea.' Our people would query this, saying, 'How could they cross the sea?' But indeed there came white people who wore clothes.*

They had simply been telling stories. It was only a tale, but when they talked about it they would say, 'It came true.' But I no longer remember these stories well.

Sections of our tribe

amaMbata ka Mbeje
 amaMbata ka Dumisa
 amaMbata ka Tshandu
 amaMbata ka Nsibankulu
 amaMbata ka Dhladhla
 amaMbata ka Mngeni - now in Pondoland, went with Ngoza
 ka Mkubukeli there.⁵⁶

- 62 These sections have all broken up. The Dhladhla are in Zululand. The Tshandu are in Zululand; they are very numerous. The Mbeje are in Zululand and in Natal and in the steep places at Sitebe, near York,⁵⁷ the high ridges at Sitebe. The Mbeje are also at Helpmekaar. The Dumisa are in the Tembu country. We Mbata have our chief among the Tembu. His name is Hanisi; his chief is Ngqambuzana. His father is Mbozamboza ka Mbaca. Mbozamboza died before the Zulu War. [This could not be the Mbozamboza said to have gone with Sotobe ka Mpagalala to Cape Colony.]⁵⁸ The Nsibankulu - I don't know where these live.

- 63 Dispersion of the Mambata. The amaMbata were skilled in war; there were many great warriors among them. They were 'bought'⁵⁹ by other nations. That is how it was formerly. A chief would give cattle to secure a warrior; they would be given to that warrior's chief. But I do not know which chief it was that bought them, and formerly assembled warriors in this way.

The great increase in the number of chieftainships was caused in this way: I, for instance, could leave Ngqambuzana's country and go and build in another place. It was common for communities to be broken up by war, for in Tshaka's time clans who were settled in their own lands were all broken up.

The old people say that Diyikana's people (of Nsibankulu's line) would succeed to our inheritance if we all died out. Diyikana was a man of great importance under Mpande. I have forgotten who his father was.

- 64 Manyosi ka Dhlekezele and Diyikana of the people of Tshandu ka Ndaba, of Nsibankulu's line - these two are heads of the portion of the Mbata tribe that konza'd to the Zulu. They konza'd to Senzangakona or Tshaka or some previous king, e.g. Jama. They did not run off with the other Mambata people that accompanied Ngoza when he fled from Tshaka, through Natal, to Pondoland.

The address-form 'Ndabezita' came from Tshandu ka Ndaba.⁶⁰ Tshaka said, 'You call yourselves "Ndabezita". Have you enemies to deal with then?'⁶¹ He said this because he himself was continually coping with enemies, as he was always at war. He ordered them to stop using the term 'Ndabezita'.

I do not know if Manyosi or Diyikana had a tribal district of their own. There are some of our tribe living near Nhlazatshe mountain⁶² but these do not enjoy self-government; they have konza'd other chiefs.

- 65 I hear it said that all the peoples now living in Natal were driven here by war. The place they originated from is the Matshona country, beyond Mzilikazi's country. Then they settled here. I have not heard the name of the chief whose impi drove them out, nor of what people he was.

LUGUBU

I hear it said that there is a people which used to hunt buck and eventually came to this country.

The people whom I still hear described today as having come down with a grain basket from the Drakensberg are the Ndimande; that is their isibongo. There are some of them with us among the Tembu. MaNcadini people also live among the Tembu.^{6,3} No-one knows how they came down. The event has now become like a legend.

[Lugubu now leaves by train for Greytown en route to his kraal.]

Notes

¹Faye, Zulu References, opp. p. 77, reproduces a photograph of Lugubu taken in 1923, and describes him as 'Head Induna of the Tembu Tribe in Natal'.

²Chief of the Thembu people in the Weenen division.

³Theophilus Shepstone's *induna* was Ngoza ka Ludaba of the Majozi people.

⁴The genealogy is that of chiefs of a branch of the Thembu who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, lived on the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river south of present-day Nquthu. For Bryant's version of their genealogy see Olden Times, p. 244.

⁵The passage in parentheses occurs in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁶The places referred to are all in the Nquthu area.

⁷For discussion of the term 'Ntungwa' see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies in Southern Africa, ch. 6.

⁸Dumisa was chief of the Ngwe (Mangweni, Amangwe) in the Dundee division.

⁹Mathiwane ka Masumpa was chief of the Ngwane people who fled across the Drakensberg onto the highveld during the reign of Shaka. After a career of marauding, he eventually returned to the Zulu kingdom and was put to death by Shaka's successor Dingane.

¹⁰The passage in parentheses occurs in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹¹Formed c.1873; age-group born c.1850-3.

¹²The Msinga division of Natal colony lay along the middle reaches of the Thukela west of its confluence with the Mzinyathi.

¹³H.F. Fynn junior, resident magistrate at Pomeroy, 1876-96.

¹⁴Macingwane ka Jama was chief of the Chunu who occupied the territory along the lower reaches of the Mzinyathi to the south of the Thembu. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 263, and map between pp. 698 and 699.

¹⁵Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 48, gives Machibise as chief daughter of Dibinyika, chief of a branch of the Zondi people. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 256, describes her as ruler of a section of the Nqondo people.

¹⁶Sojiiyisa ranked as a member of the Zulu royal house, though there is doubt as to his exact parentage. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 44-5.

¹⁷Hluthankungu hill lies at the sources of the Mthwalume in southern Natal.

¹⁸An expression meaning to remain settled in one homestead. See

Colenso, Dictionary, p. 64; Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs, p. 203.

- ¹⁹According to Bryant, the Khandempemvu was formed in c.1868, some five years before the Ngobamakhosi (Olden Times, p. 646).
- ²⁰The first four names are those of chiefs of the Thembu who lived in the present-day Nquthu area. The following three are those of Lugubhu's own male ancestors. The last three are those of the well-known kings respectively of the Swazi, southern Sotho, and Mpondo.
- ²¹The two derogatory names are diminutive forms.
- ²²Formed c.1821-7; age-group born c.1801-7.
- ²³The identities of the personalities in the story of Phungashe's submission to Shaka as given here are not clear. The best-known Phungashe of Shaka's time was chief of the Buthelezi people who lived near present-day Babanango in Zululand. Ngqengelele and Mnyamana, though not of the main chiefly line, were of this Buthelezi group. The Zizi in Shaka's time lived in the upper Thukela region of present-day Natal. Who the Buthelezi or Zizi at Ladysmith were is not known.
- ²⁴Bryant's Olden Times, p. 206, contains an account similar to that given by Lugubhu. He places this incident in the second of the major military engagements between Shaka and the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, c.1819. One of the sources used by Bryant is Stuart's vernacular reader uHlangakula.
- ²⁵A common praise-name for Shaka.
- ²⁶The word 'Nguni' is applied to the Zulu and related peoples of the south-east African littoral. In the present context it is being used as a personification for Shaka.
- ²⁷The name 'Mdlaka' appears in the original as an insertion over the name 'Nzobo', round which Stuart has added parentheses. Nzobo ka Sobadli of the Ntombela people was prominent in the service of Shaka. Mdlaka ka Ncidi of the Mgazini people was one of Shaka's leading commanders. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 133-4, 429, 632.)
- ²⁸At a point a few miles west of present-day Tugela Ferry.
- ²⁹The original has 'amaNkengane', which Bryant gives as 'any poor, destitute, common fellow...; applied contemptuously to any individual of a foreign tribe....' (Dictionary, p. 436.)
- ³⁰Bryant's account of the clash between Shaka and Ngoza (Olden Times, pp. 249-50) draws heavily on Stuart's version as published in his Zulu reader uHlangakula.
- ³¹The Zulu reads:
*'Sa si ngatsho ini,
 Ukut' amaCun' a izinja, ba balekile.
 Zinyane le ndhlovu.'*
- ³²Nomagaga ka Dlomo was chief of the Kuze (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 367; Zulu History, p. 47). Bryant's account of the defeat of the Kuze (Olden Times, pp. 346-7) again draws heavily on Stuart's uHlangakula.
- ³³A hill between the present-day villages of Weenen and Muden.
- ³⁴Probably Nomagaga ka Mphumela, chief of the Phahleni offshoot of the Dlamini of the middle Thukela area (Bryant, Zulu History, pp. 40, 47).
- ³⁵A feeder stream that runs into the Mpofana near present-day Muden.
- ³⁶South-east of the Mpanza river between present-day Greytown and Tugela Ferry; not to be confused with the Ngome near Nongoma in Zululand.
- ³⁷Pisweni and Qudeni are two prominent hills south and north respec-

- tively of the Thukela downstream from its confluence with the Mzinyathi (Buffalo).
- ³⁸Mrolweni (Mholweni) is shown on present-day maps as Mount West, which lies at the source of the Karkloof river south-east of the town of Mooi River. For an account of Ngoza's engagements in this area see Bryant, Zulu History, p. 45.
- ³⁹Chief of a section of the Wushe (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 356, 372).
- ⁴⁰Nhlosana hill lies north-east of present-day Mpendle village; the Nzinga, a tributary of the Mkhomazi, runs west of the village.
- ⁴¹For the place of Nhlakomuzi and Nodada in Bryant's version of the Thembu genealogy see Olden Times, p. 244.
- ⁴²'Mandlakazi' was the name used to identify the people under the local authority of Maphitha ka Sojiyisa, who was closely related to the Zulu royal line.
- ⁴³Presumably Lugubhu means men with a knowledge of Thembu history.
- ⁴⁴According to Bryant (Olden Times, pp. 242-5), there were two main branches of the Thembu living north of the Thukela, one on the Nseleni river near present-day Richards Bay, the other on the Mzinyathi river near present-day Nquthu. The latter were commonly known as the Mvelase.
- ⁴⁵The Msinga is a prominent hill on the north bank of the Thukela near its confluence with the Mzinyathi. 'Mpofana' is the Zulu name for the Mooi river. Which Government offices are referred to is not clear.
- ⁴⁶According to Bryant, the Mabaso were an offshoot of the Thembu, with whom they remained closely associated. His account of the birth of Mvelase is based on the version in Stuart's vernacular reader uHlangakula. (See Olden Times, pp. 243-5, 418-9.)
- ⁴⁷Dumisa and Mbheje were of the Mbatha people. Both feature in the informant Lughubhu's list of forebears given at the commencement of his evidence.
- ⁴⁸The verb *ukuvungama* means to murmur, grumble, utter complaints. It is this word which we have translated as 'voicing doubts' at the point where Mabaso suddenly confronts Dumisa and Mbheje.
- ⁴⁹Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁵⁰The name Nyandeni derives from the locative form of *inyanda*, which means a tied-up bundle, as of grass, wood, sticks etc.
- ⁵¹A chief of the Mvelase branch of the Thembu. Bryant gives Mvelase as possibly being his predecessor (Olden Times, p. 244).
- ⁵²Giving evidence before the 'Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs in the District of Natal' in 1852, H.F. Fynn stated: 'It is a principle understood throughout every tribe of Kafirland, that none of the children of an Isanusi can succeed their parents in that profession. It is believed that the requisite discernment and power are denied....' (Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 108.)
- ⁵³Bryant, Olden Times, p. 245, gives Mnyango as Ngoza's elder sister. Hence she would have been a daughter of Mkhubukeli.
- ⁵⁴For Thinta see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 181-2.
- ⁵⁵For Qunta see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 347-9.
- ⁵⁶Bryant gives Mbheje, Shandu and Dladla as brothers in the Mbatha chiefly line (Olden Times, p. 224). The name Dumisa features in Lugubhu's own genealogy given at the beginning of his evidence. Nsibankulu is mentioned by Lugubhu as 'a very old man in the

amaMbata tribe'. We have been unable to find a reference to Mngeni.

⁵⁷Midway between present-day Pietermaritzburg and Greytown.

⁵⁸Sothobe and Mbozamboza were emissaries sent by Shaka in 1828 to make contact with the Government of King George IV. See Isaacs, *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 212ff.

⁵⁹The verb used in the original is *ukuthenga*, which means to barter, trade, buy.

⁶⁰'Ndabezitha' was the *isithakazo* or polite address-form of several clans, including the Mbatha. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 410, writes that their 'great ancestor seems to have been an individual (possibly one and the same) called uNdaba'. He continues: 'Upon the conquering of the smaller clans by Shaka, the use of the *isitakazo* seems to have been assumed by the Zulu clan, to whom it is now almost solely applied.' See also *Olden Times*, pp. 221-2.

⁶¹Shaka is here making a pun on the words *indaba* and *izitha*, which mean 'matter, affair, business' and 'enemies' respectively.

⁶²A mountain overlooking the White Mfolozi west of present-day Mahlabathini.

⁶³Bryant (*Zulu History*, pp. 76-7) gives the Ndimande as a sub-group of the Maphumulo. The Ncadini he lists as an offshoot of the Thembu (*Olden Times*, p. 691).