

MADIKANE KA MLOMOWETOLE

8.7.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Ndukwana

1 My chief is Mqawe. I live at eNanda; (my kraal name is) eMatata.¹ I have built square huts. I am a *kolwa*. I am a teacher of the Bible. I was never *butwa'd*. I was born at the same time as Cetshwayo and Tshonkweni; therefore I am of the Tulwana, also, better still, izimVukuzane or Pepelenqoleni or Amapela.²

My father Mlomowetole was of the Ntontela regiment³ or Amehlakamboni (a name afterwards given by Tshaka as an *isitakazelo* or name given after something good or worthy done in war).⁴

2 My father was not known in the Zulu country. He *konza'd* Tshaka. My father was of the Maqadini people. He went voluntarily to *konza*. He was living in Nkandhla, on the Nsuze river; he used the Gcongco hill.⁵ My father was under Dube, grandfather of Mqawe, when the *konzaing* to Tshaka took place.

Dube ka Silwana ka Njila ka Ngodoma ka Dingila are the names of former Amaqadi chiefs,⁶ but we *separated* from the Nyuswa tribe. [See Bird's *Annals* under 'Tribes'.]⁷ Dube's son was Dabeka, and Dabeka's son was Mqawe - still living, same age as myself. Mqawe's son and heir is Mandhlakayise. He has been to and returned from America to learn. He went with my son who still remains. Mandhlakayise stayed in America about seven years.

My father lived at Ntontela kraal.

Tshaka was born at Esiklebeni.⁸ He was not born *illegitimately*. My father told me this. He was *driven out* from Esiklebeni.

3 Tshaka was conceived by Nandi before Senzangakona had been *circumcised*. When it was seen that N. had *become pregnant* the order was given that S. should *be circumcised*. He was *circumcised*. N. came to *marry* Senzangakona from the Langeni people. She was the sister of Makedama the chief, Makedama ka Mbengi. Mbengi was Nandi's father. Nxazonke was Mbengi's father. [No. Mhlongo was Mbengi's father.]⁹

4 Nandi did not *have a marriage ceremony*.¹⁰ The Langeni came to *ask* for cattle from the Zulus. It was then arranged that Nandi should be given. She was put in the *isigodhlo*. This happened after Jama's death. Mnkabayi was reigning then.¹¹ The *isigodhlo* in question, into which Nandi was put, was Jama's. Tshaka was as a child *concealed* by Mnkabayi. *Senzangakona's circumcision wounds had healed up in the river*. Mnkabayi went to see her brother Senzangakona and told him that the *illegitimate child* that she had had been brought forth. S.

MADIKANE

was told that it was a boy. S. said, 'How can a person my (age) be said to have a son?' M. said, 'When I saw it was a boy I gave him poison.' S. said, 'My sister, you did well.' M. said to Nandi at Esiklebeni that she was to run away to the Langeni people and hide the child. N. tied up her belongings and returned to the Langeni. Tshaka grew up there.

5 Nandi afterwards returned to the Zulu country with Tshaka, who could then walk. S. heard of the arrival before M. had reported the fact. M. got frightened and told N. to run away with T. T. then grew up; (it was) known that he was S.'s child and the one which had caused him, S., to be circumcised. T. grew up among the Langeni.

Two men left the Zulus and went to konza T. among the Langeni, Silwane ka Ndhlovu and Nomleti. Makedama made war with an impi. He attacked with T. and the other two men, and succeeded in winning. T. also killed people. Makedama then lungisa'd the warriors who had stabbed.¹² He left T. alone; he did not lungisa him. T. questioned (him, saying,) 'Is not the impi I stabbed yours?'¹³ M. replied, 'You do not belong to us.' T. became angry and left his uncle. At this time Nandi had married among the Quabe people. T. then ran off to the Mtetwa. He was with Silwane and Nomleti. He went to the place of the induna Ngomane. Ngomane questioned the men T. was with and they told him. Ngomane then reported him to Dingiswayo.¹⁴

6 The Siklebeni kraal was an ikanda of Jama; it was not built for the first time by S. S. had the kraals Nobamba, Siklebe and Ntontela. There may have been other kraals but the tribe was small.

My father heard all this from Makobosi ka Ndhlovu, also from Hlati of the eMgazini people. My father lived with Hlati, (a man) belonging to (one of) S.'s regiments.

The regiments of Godongwana¹⁵ assembled, and whilst (they were) so collected S. arrived. He had konza'd there. T. giya'd. When he returned to the circle of men Dingiswayo said, 'Do you know who that is?' S. said, 'No'. D. replied, 'He is your son. He came from the direction of the Langeni. Why did you drive him from home?' He was conversing with Senzangakona, not censuring him. S. then returned home.

7 D. then called Tshaka and said, 'How is it you don't present your father with a beast, seeing he has come here?' S. returned, where-upon T. met with the persons of high rank and the izinyanga of the Zulu. He agreed with them on all matters, both good and bad. He then killed a small, black cow for his father.

8 That night T. got on top of the hut in which S. was asleep. In doing this he was gaining ascendancy over his father, according to the ways of the black people. He was following the customs of his own people, not the Mtetwa's. Tshaka washed etc. Next day S. found himself unwell. This was reported to Godongwana. G. then directed he was to be escorted home before getting worse as he was at a kraal strange to himself. S. left and got back home. He heard that he would not recover. He then issued an order in the Zulu country. He proclaimed, 'Let this matter that we were talking about not be discussed' (viz. appointing Sigujana);¹⁶ 'let it be avoided, because T. is at Mtetwa where we are ruled.'

S. then died. T. went up from the Mtetwa country and killed Sigujana. D. escaped and went to the Quabe country where he hid.¹⁷ After this T. became king and reigned in the way we are already

MADIKANE

familiar with.

15.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 8-11.

Also present: Ndukwana

9 Senzangakona's mother was Mtaniya. After Jama's death Mtaniya was *ngenwa'd*¹⁸ by Vubukulwayo, Jama's son. Vubukulwayo was killed by Mkabayi, Jama's daughter. Vubukulwayo and Mtaniya plotted together so that the child of their marriage should become king, and not Senzangakona. They accordingly sent some beer to them by a *girl*, which had already been poisoned. This beer however was not partaken of, as both Mkabayi and Senzangakona had had their suspicions aroused as to the aforesaid design. As soon as the girl arrived, Mkabayi expressed her thanks to Mtaniya and Vubukulwayo, and then sent the girl to go and fetch some water at the spring. In her absence Mkabayi took out a small quantity of the beer, threw it away, and put back in the *pot* a similar quantity of her own beer. This artifice changed the appearance of the beer. When the girl returned she was 10 advised by (Mkabayi)¹⁹ not to drink as the beer belonged to *chiefs*, and if she did she would fail to get a husband. The girl therefore left the beer alone. She was told to take it to Mtaniya, to say, 'Even the cream-coloured drink is sweet,'²⁰ and give her the *potful* as a present from Mkabayi. As a matter of fact almost the whole of the beer was what Mtaniya had originally sent. Both Mtaniya and Vubukulwayo partook of the beer and died.

Aba kwa Ntontontswana, or *aba kwa Lufenu'wenja*, i.e. the Zulu people.²¹ Tshaka caused two things to die out, (a) the *name* Lufenulwenja, (b) *circumcision*.

11 The *mtshopi* custom is our great custom (alias *noyazi*).²²
The *ngonqo* custom - *the umgonqo is held*, i.e. the calling together and congregating of girls because of a certain girl having *reached the age of puberty*.
Circumcision (law).
The transfer of lobolo (law).

16.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 11-14.

Also present: Ndukwana

Ibele le ndhlela li ya puta,²³ i.e. a thing perpetually disturbed does not bear fruit. Always meddling with the native question will never lead to its solution.

Dingana's regiments were very fond of him. He gave them plenty of meat, food etc. (Ndukwana) So common was meat that people used to *rub themselves clean* with it.²⁴

Customs:

Mtshopi

Mgonqo - singing about adultery etc. only, *singing lewd songs*.

MADIKANE

The throwing away of young plants, i.e. in a river - took the place of mtshopi in Natal.

- 12 Tshaka marked the Fasimba regiment on both sides. He caused incisions to be cut in the skin all up each side. The classes of girls too had distinguishing marks.

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

Tshaka once sent out a heifer with two men to different parts of Zululand. Their instructions were to ask people in the usual way for snuff, and the first person who gave the snuff without having denied having any was to be given the beast.²⁵ Many persons were approached. At last a woman, on being asked, took out a snuff box and, in knocking out the snuff, said, 'But there isn't much, I'm afraid.' She was thereupon given the heifer.

- 13 Tshaka once offered a large-sized calf to anyone who could lift it on to his shoulders. Manqondo (father of Qetuka) ka Mazwana succeeded in doing this, and thereupon became the owner of it. This was done at Gibixegu.²⁶

Isifazane - Godongwana's first regiment.²⁷

Godongwana got his idea of enrolling regiments from the Europeans at Cape Town. Before then no regiments were ever enrolled.

When Godongwana first left home in flight he went to a district near Ntunjambili²⁸ - Natal side (of the Tukela), - where he was obliged to do menial work. He lived in the Ngcolosi district (Hlangabeza's tribe).²⁹ He had to thresh upoko millet. This service dissatisfied him and he went off, presumably to the Amaxoza and so on to Cape Town. He returned on a horse etc.³⁰

- 14 The Amawombe regiment was Senzangakona's first one; it was enrolled to copy Godongwana.

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

17.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 14-18.

Also present: Ndukwana?

I am sure Godongwana's first regiment was the Isifazane. He set the example to all the surrounding tribes as regards regiments. There is no doubt that G. learnt the idea of recruiting regiments from the English. My father Mlomowetole, who is my informant, was quite sure on this point. My father was of the Ntontela regiment [i.e. of the age-grade of Nongila, Jantshi's father].³¹ My father died in or about 1888. Our tribe is the Amaqadi, and the Amaqadi separated from the Nyuswa people.

- 15 'O i yenga ngani, yati "ngqwaba, ngqwaba!", ye muka.' This was a song sung by Godongwana on his return. It means, 'How will you manage to deceive it (him)? It goes "ngqwaba, ngqwaba"' (i.e. 'flap, flap' - the wings - for on being stabbed he 'flew' away), 'and went away.'³²

The old way of procuring fighting men was to recruit according to the kraal or neighbourhood, throwing all boys etc. with their fathers. They threw assegais at one another; they regarded one

MADIKANE

another from a distance. People were ransomed with cattle. They fought in dispersed formation.

Zwide's daughter Nompetu married Sobuza (of Swaziland) and gave birth to Mswazi and Mzamose, wife of Langalibalele ka Mtinkulu.³³ Langalibalele's son by her was Siyepu (living).

The putting on of headrings by men used always to go on. Jobe³⁴ for instance would have worn a headring.

16 The Zulus came to Mahlabatini³⁵ from above or further north. I heard this said. They parted from the Qwabe, Amacumu, and Amawutshe (Amabaca) and went to live at Mahlabatini.

The Amaqadi tribe separated from the Nyuswa. Dingila ka Ngcobo was the one who first separated from the Nyuswa tribe. (It is, named the Amaqadi because when the wife who shall bear the chief is chosen, a second, junior, wife is chosen who will bear a younger brother of the chief, and in the event of there being no chief heir, the heir of this house will inherit.³⁶ Dingila himself was an iqadi. They parted from the Ngcobo long before Tshaka's day, say in the times of Punga and Mageba.³⁷

17 Tshaka was not illegitimate. Nandi had come to Senzangakona to marry by becoming one of his *isigodhlo*, and it was whilst she was living there that she had intercourse with S. and, becoming pregnant, bore Tshaka. Now Mnkabayi, S.'s sister, heard of this and reported the fact to S. S. exclaimed, 'It seems ridiculous that I who am still so young and have not been circumcised should be said to have a child.' Mnkabayi at once replied, 'Oh, seeing the child was a boy I have already put it to death by giving it poison.' This satisfied S. Mnkabayi at once communicated with Nandi, directing her to go home with the child. This she did, and returned at a later time with Tshaka to show Mnkabayi. Some person or another reported the arrival to S. who at once took steps in the matter. Nandi, however, thanks to Mnkabayi, succeeded in escaping, got back to the Langeni, and then went to marry among the Qwabe.

18 Mnkabayi afterwards caused the man who had made the report to S. to be put to death.

Tshaka therefore was to a large extent a legitimate son of S., although born before Nandi had actually become Senzangakona's wife and therefore before he had *lobola'd* her.

[Query: Did S. ever marry Nandi, *lobola* her and make her his wife? This seems doubtful.]

Tshaka was born at Esiklebeni.

[But then if Nandi was not married to S. how came she to have Nomcoba by him? - 24.10.1904.]³⁸

30.8.1903

File 60, nbk. 29, pp. 18-19.

Hlonipa, courtesy, respect - grievances. (Small men are placed over their former superiors. They act with disrespect towards their former 'fathers'. We fathers are worse off because of this. They do not show us respect for they think themselves chiefs. We make all equals, so respect dies out. They say to us, 'What are they now?')

MADIKANE

The old ways are gone. Let us be raised up.'

- 19 The girls are not *lobola*^{7d} with proper numbers. They are called merely *commoners*, and this because the so-called chiefs consider themselves *chiefs*.

Zimema ka Sigodo was *inceku to Cetshwayo*, responsible for bringing him food. (He was) an *induna* of a regiment. Magwendu is under the authority of Sisimana ka Nhlanguana, a *menial* of my 'father' (Mpande), who had food (meat) thrown on the ground and would eat it up from there, or have *ububende*³⁹ thrown down and lap it up. Now he stands above Magwendu. Sukani has his own kraals and is chief, but has only a small patch of land.

Mkungo has land of his own. Mtonga has been given a large plot of ground.⁴⁰

26.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 14-20.

- 14 Madikane arrives, 26.5.1905. Madikane ka Mlomowetole ka Bobo ka Ndhululisa ka Mpinda. I am of the Cele tribe and this tribe sprang from the Mtetwa. My grandfather was born in the amaQadini tribe.

The amaQadi tribe *parted from the Nyuswa*. The amaQadi descend from Ngcobo (the Nyuswa appeared later). It was Dingila, the son of Ngcobo, who left. He fathered Ngotoma who fathered Njila who bore Bebe who bore Dube who bore Dabeka who bore Mqawe (living). Ngcobo was the son of Buyiswayo ka Bamula ka Ludiwo ka Fuze.⁴¹

Dingila is the one who *parted from the Nyuswa*. He withdrew with the *inqadi* section of the house. The amaQadi people say 'Ngcobo' only; we do not say 'Nyuswa'.

- 15 Nyuswa was Ngcobo's son. The amaQadi appeared before the Nyuswa people; the Nyuswa appeared later.

I was born in the amaQadi tribe. When praises are being said, people say, 'Ngcobo of the Mvoti', i.e. the Natal river of that name.

Tshaka's great warrior was Ndengezi ka Kuzwayo of the Mdhlalose. Tshaka said, *The warrior who drives away Zwide's army will be given so many cattle that when a stick is placed across their backs it will not fall to the ground as they move off!* Ndengezi defeated Zwide's army. He drove it off by attacking it with the shout, 'U ya babaza!'⁴² Zwide's army had fought with and defeated others of Tshaka's forces. Ndengezi attacked it at Ntonteleni, shouting, 'U ya babaza!' The

- 16 amaWombe, his age-grade, followed. Zwide's army fled.

Tshaka's army returned and Ndengezi was given cattle by Tshaka, but not as many as Tshaka had promised when exhorting his army. So Ndengezi came and said that a hundred cattle were too few. Tshaka said, 'Could I ever give you enough, Ndengezi?' Ndengezi answered, 'I ask for Zwide's cattle according to the king's word.' Then Tshaka became angry and said, 'I do not want to kill you. Go and die in the wilderness!' Ndengezi obeyed, and even today it is not known where he died. It is thought that he went to Mzilikazi's.⁴³ He left his children and his people behind, and went off.⁴⁴

- 17 He was called Ndengezi-matshumi. His brother Nkayishana was killed by Mpande.

When he threw himself against Zwide's army he cried, 'U ya babaza!', meaning Tshaka. He charged the enemy and was followed by his

MADIKANE

whole section, which was of Tshaka's age-grade. He carried his shield high. He shouted out, 'U ya babaza!', referring to Tshaka, meaning that Tshaka was surprized at the daring of those who fought against his forces. No sooner did he do this, followed by those mentioned, than Zwide's army turned and fled. In his praises his heroism was extolled by means of reference to those words of his: 'Dhlungwana'⁴⁵ who has no friend expresses his surprize'.

- 18 Ndengezi is not the actual name of this man (longer form Ndengezi-matshumi). I do not know his real name. He came to be called Ndengezi because of his being obliged to comply with the custom, after killing people, of getting a *potsherd* (*udengezi*), putting in *medicine*, and *sucking it from the fingertips*. He would have only one *potsherd* even though many people had been killed. 'Umdaka o nga zu ngoma' was another of his *praises* - 'the mud that never dries', for he was always going out to fight.

Tshaka took Magaye's Njanduna regiment, not merely the name. He did the same with regard to Zihlandhlo ka Gwabe, taking his Inguqa.⁴⁶

- 19 Many customs or practices were 'taken' by Tshaka from Zwide whom he defeated. The salutation 'Bayete'⁴⁷ may have come from him. The *royal ceremonial song*⁴⁸ came from Zwide ka Langa, who in his turn had taken it from Sobuza ka Ndungunya.

The *umkosi* was observed with the performance of the *royal ceremonial song*, which had a stamping of feet quite different from the other songs of the *umkosi*, and when this was sung it would be the end of the *umkosi* - not to be sung again till the same occasion next year.

'He bewitched him.

Everyone hates him!

Everyone hates him!

Acknowledge, acknowledge him as the only *chief*.'⁴⁹

There were five great tribes in the early days, viz. under Sobuza (Swaziland), Zwide, Mtetwa, Qwabe and Ngcobo (under Mapoloba).

- 20 The royal salutation of 'Bayede!' possibly came from Zwide and by him from the Swazis.

Nyambose is the name of a hill in the Mtetwa district, first built on by the Mtetwa people, and that is how they come to derive their name as abakwaNyambose.⁵⁰

27.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 72, pp. 20-24.

Madikane continues. [This man has given me information before: see preceding notebooks.]

I am the same age as the Tulwana regiment. I was born when Dingana began his reign, at the time when Dingana first gave the order permitting girls to marry, after Tshaka had refused to allow them to do so.

.... <Tale of the chameleon and lizard omitted - eds.>

- 22 One very old thing amongst us are the *heaps of stones known as izivivane*. When a man is walking along he picks up a stone, spits on

MADIKANE

it, and throws it on the heap. He does it so that he will find good fortune ahead; he does it so that he will be well received. And one who is going to make a request from a relative will take a stone, spit on it, and throw it on the *isivivane*. This was the custom in the whole country, among all us black people.

23 Similarly, as regards circumcision among us black people, all of us used to be circumcised. Even today some peoples still practise circumcision - the Amampondo, the Amaxoxa, and the Abesutu. Among them it is a serious matter if a man has not been circumcised. Even if he speaks the truth, his words will be rejected; it will be said that he has not been circumcised. And when a matter is being discussed where the taking of oaths is necessary (as when a case is being heard), he will not be given a chance to speak. It will be said that his words are unclean; it would cause offence if he were allowed to take an oath and speak. But if he did, his words would be rejected. When Tshaka began his rule he put an end to this. He also put an end to circumcision among us Zulu, saying that it deprived the men of virility and fierceness. So it died out.

24 In the days when circumcision existed, people would speak with moderation and calmness; they would speak with humility. Things change; the ways of people are not the same in all times. When Tshaka was king people went according to his ways. When Dingane came to rule they followed his ways. When Mpande began his reign, again they followed different ways. In the time of Mpande we in Natal had good fortune. The English came, and times were easy, and there was happiness. There returned the times such as had existed when circumcision was practised. We lived a long time in happiness.

We black people began to complain about the way we were governed when Gebuza ka Somsewu entered office. He was succeeded by Mismolo, and times were better.⁵¹ But now there is a restlessness in the hearts of all the people. What is now clear is that we shall be done harm, we shall die, we shall be done harm by the government. There is now much commotion. There are now policemen in the land who go round looking for crime that formerly was not there. In former times it was the chiefs who were the policemen, <continued below - eds.>

27.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 1-7.

1 ... it was the black chiefs who looked after matters for the government.

I have never heard the expression *So ku mpondo za mtini*⁵² used, only *So ku ukwanyisa kwe mtini* and *So ku mpondo za nkomo*.⁵³ Although I at first admitted knowing the expression *Mpondo za mtini*, *Ukwanyisa kwe mtini* was what was running in my head. As a matter of fact, on reconsideration, I have never heard the expression used by anyone. I know nothing of (the word) *upondo* being associated with the word *mtini*.⁵⁴ I do not know how the expression *Ukwanyisa kwe mtini* originated, from *amaNtungwa*, *abeNguni*, or *amalala*.⁵⁵ These expressions came into vogue principally in Tshaka's day, for the army used to close in on the enemy at this time of day so that daylight would soon come and they would not kill one another.

Tshaka called those in Zululand who *tekeza'd amalala*, whilst those

2 of Natal he spoke of as iNyakeni, i.e. those who also *tekeza'd*.⁵⁶ He used to insult us and frighten us by saying that we did not have the cunning to invent things out of nothing, like lawyers. He said that we Lala could not do it. He said that we were Lala because our tongues lay (lala) flat in our mouths, and we did not speak in the Ntungwa fashion.

He spoke of them as iNyakeni because they had dirty habits and did not distinguish between what was good and what was bad. A person of the iNyakeni did not pay respect to chiefs, nor did he wash or keep himself neat.

The iNyakeni were composed of the Ngcolosi, the amaKabeleni, the Nxamalala of LugaJu's place at Mangangeni, the Mapumulo, the Hlongwa of Dibinyeka (chief), i.e. those from the Nadi, the Kuze, the Nhlangwini, and many others further south.⁵⁷

3 These names Lala and Nyakeni may have been and probably were in existence long before Tshaka's day, but it was in his day that they came to be widely known, i.e. when all these people were incorporated in the Zulu empire.

The Cele, Tuli, Makanya and Nsomi were not of the Nyakeni people but they came from Zululand to live in the Nyakeni country. The Cele came from the Mtetwa; the Makanya and Nsomi came from the Qwabe. The amaNsomi are not abaNguni; they are amaLala. The Cele are also amaLala on account of their dialect.

I was born at the Nsuze in the Nkandhla district, and crossed into Natal as a lad (herding calves) just before 1839 when Mpande came into Natal. Since then I have lived on the coast.

4 *Inganekwana* means something unimportant, of no import.⁵⁸ It is so called because the matter or story or circumstances related have passed and cannot be associated with any particular place or persons. *Inganekwane* is so called because the substance of the story cannot be attributed to any particular persons as being the actors in the story mentioned. *Izinganekwana* are the stories of past generations. When Tshaka's name dies out the stories of his reign will become *inganekwana*. Most of these stories relate to girls, when going to marry, meeting with beasts. These stories do not refer much to men.

5 The word *inswelaboya* came from Pakade ka Macingwane of the Cunu.⁵⁹ This was because he was an old man. At the time of the war between Dingane and Mpande he got many of Dingana's cattle and crossed into the bush country of the Mpofana (Mooi) river.⁶⁰ He lived in the wilderness far off from the Europeans. He was continually killing people. When the English came, this indiscriminate killing was put a stop to. Pakade then came up with the plan of blaming it on *izinswelaboya*. When there was beer P. used to give orders (if he wanted to kill anyone) (for people) to go to a beer drink and on the way back catch this person and kill him. 'Kill him and hide him in an unfrequented place. When this is reported to me I shall say, "He has been killed by *izinswelaboya*."' So the word became more common. The killings continued, and deaths of this kind were attributed to *izinswelaboya*. This is the origin of the word.

Pakade crossed into Natal in 1838 or 1839 at the time of 'the breaking of the rope'.⁶¹ Pakade's people are known to me; my

MADIKANE

mother's brother is there.

I know of two cases of *izinswelaboya*. One is that of Ngwababane's son in Pakade's district. It seems that Ngwababane was seated with his child in the afternoon about four. Seeing his goats going towards a bush, and as it was getting late, he sent the lad to drive the goats back. The boy ran off to the bush, but as the goats continued to enter the bush and no-one seemed to be driving them back, the father went to see what the matter was. When he got there he found his son missing. He searched for him in every way and afterwards got others to help, all without success. The search was continued the following day, and the next, far and wide. On the fourth day, the lad being still missing, *cleansing medicines* were eaten because people concluded the boy must be dead. On that day a young man left a kraal some 20 miles away from where the boy was missed; he left with some dogs, going out hunting. He went into a bush near his home. The dogs pushed ahead, hearing some rustling, and eventually came upon the body of a boy, which turned out to be that of the boy who had been lost. He had been rubbed with fat over the chest and stomach in the form of a large circle. The boy was only able to answer that he was the son of Ngwababane on being asked if he was the one being looked for. The *izinswelaboya* would have been caught had not they been frightened by the dogs. The boy was conveyed home; no sooner did he get there than he expired.

The other case is of a boy who was caught *on the edge of a field, chasing off birds* with two others. Finding him missing, his companions shouted but he did not answer. It so happened that the *company* of men etc. who were accompanying Sir T. Shepstone were passing by at the time.⁶² They came to the bush in which the gardens were, and found the boy in the bush. His penis had been sucked, as also his nostrils, and *his ears had been spat into*. The men took him out of danger, and he was treated with medicines, and given a purgative, and his penis, which had been swollen, returned to normal size. He recovered.

28.5.1905

File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 8-17.

Also present: Qalizwe?

The story of the talking rook and the talking dog. Mangena was out herding his cattle when a rook came and sat in a tree and called to him. He could not see any person calling. The rook said, 'You herd those cattle but you will not enjoy the use of them.' Mangena heard, and this time he saw the rook. He became alarmed; he left the cattle and went home. He sent a messenger to report the matter to Mawa ka Jama. They then made a plan to cross over into Natal. But he did not enjoy the use of those cattle. They were taken to Natal but the English returned them all to the Zulu country. When Mawa came with those cattle she stayed at an umuzi built at Verulam. Then a messenger from the great place came to Pietermaritzburg, a messenger came from Mpande to ask for the return of the cattle which had been carried off by Mawa and Mangena. Kofiyana, the induna in Natal, was then at the Mngeni, where he had his home. A messenger from the government in Pietermaritzburg went to tell him that he should seize

MADIKANE

10 the cattle and give them to the men from the Zulu country. Kofiyana then summoned his people (we were all his people), and they seized the cattle. It is with those cattle that we had established ourselves, we of the white man's country.⁶³

Mangena was a son of Nokupata of the amaNkwanyaneni. He was an inceku of Tshaka. Under Dingana he was induna of Ntonteleni, induna of the place of Mawa ka Jama.

11 In that time of disorder there also appeared a dog. It happened that in the afternoon, when the women were returning from cultivating, a woman poured some fat into a spoon, which she put down in the doorway of her hut. She then went to call another woman to come and help her do her hair. When she came there she cried, 'Weu! I have forgotten the fat; I left it on the ground; the dog will have eaten it!' The dog replied, 'No, here is the fat. You thought the dog had eaten it.' That was all the dog said. It caused great astonishment. This happened at the place of the people of Mqalana (who was induna at Ntonteleni, although he did not cross over into Natal with Mawa). That is the end of the story about the dog. This happened at the same time that the rook spoke to Mangena. It is said that the dog really spoke.

Mqalana was a son of Bulongwe of the Dhlamini in the Zulu country. It is not known why this strange event occurred. Its meaning is not known.

Doctors were probably called to ward off evil and give the people courage, for when an omen appears it means that something will go wrong in the home and people will die.

In certain places it is commonly said that rooks talk.

.... <Notes on evil omens omitted - eds.>

14 *Ukwehla ngesilulu.*⁶⁴ This expression is a comparatively recent one; it came into vogue when I was a youth. The grain basket belongs to the Mabasa, the amaMbata, the amaNtshali, Ndaba, Kumalo, Radeba (of the Hlubi), the amaNgwane (Matiwana's people), Dhlamini (ama-Swazi), Tembu, Nxumalo (Ndwandwe) etc.

The word *isilulu* is used to indicate rolling, i.e. towards the south, for all peoples came from the north.

15 People from the north came and settled in these parts. At a later period others followed from the north and, finding others of similar customs and tongue already in occupation, on also settling down to occupy the upper parts - chiefly where the sources of the (rivers of) Zululand and adjoining countries are - they spoke of themselves as *having come down with the grain basket*, meaning that as compared with other inhabitants they were not aboriginals or ancient occupants but had come from the north. And yet as a matter of fact all at some time or another came from the north.

They say, 'We rolled by means of a grain basket', meaning that they rolled from the north to the south where the country is wide, and there settled, just as a grain basket rolled down a hill eventually rolls onto the flats below and its contents empty themselves there.

The term 'Mnguni' originated among the Zulu and Quabe; they call one another 'Mnguni'. The Cunu also say 'Mnguni!' The older maCunu used to make an oath thus, 'Mnguni ka Luboko!', when swearing by

MADIKANE

Macingwane,⁶⁵ who was son of Luboko.

I have (heard) the amaLala peoples speak of the Mtetwa as the Tongas from down-country⁶⁶ as if they were a section of the Tongas.

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

- 17 Madikane says: *When a sheep is slaughtered its muzzle is held to prevent it from making a noise. If it cries, the people's place of living will be destroyed, and the nation will be scattered. Our people were injured because of them on the return from Mzilikazi's place;⁶⁷ sheep had cried when being slaughtered.*

.... <Further notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>

29.5.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 73, pp. 19-22.

Also present: Mkotana

- 19 <Note on proverb omitted - eds.>

'The one who installs a chief does not rule with him.' I was your mat-bearer before you rose in rank; now you are chief there are others about you. With these I am on bad terms owing to jealousy, and they quarrel with me, so I who was your only follower, who assisted you, am no longer in favour.

- 20 Nomleti ka Madinane: *'All the nations say, "Bring him on!" - his praises.*⁶⁸ I do not know his real name. This man left the Zulu tribe and *konza'd* Tshaka when (he was among) the Langeni. When T. became king he, at the *umkosi* ceremony, gathered all his cattle from all his *amakanda*. The calves remained at home; they were kept separated by the herds. After dancing the *umkosi*, all went off to wash. Nomleti returned home alone from the stream, *putting on airs and imagining he was like Tshaka*; he thought a great deal of himself. He cut through the middle of Tshaka's cattle, although no one was supposed to do so. Tshaka saw him passing through them on his way back, and cried out, *'Who is that insolent fellow walking among my cattle?'* *'It is Nomleti, Nkosi.'* *'Take him and kill him!'* And indeed he was put to death, even though he had been with Tshaka in his time of destitution and had gone with him to the Mtetwa.

This was an instance of *'The one who installs a chief does not rule with him'*. During the *umkosi* ceremony no one used to be killed - this was an exception. T. must have known that this was Nomleti; he could have seen him by the colour of his shield.

- 21 Mkotana has never heard this story; he says, *'I am a child.'*

Madikane also knows of the case of Nocola, the mat-bearer of Pakade before he became chief. A girl who had married Mqawe, chief of the amaQadi, fell sick, and the diviners were put on to finding out who had caused her illness. They put the blame on Nocola. Pakade gave orders that they must be watched for to prevent their going to ekuNengeleni, the name of the kraal where the girl was, so (that they should) see him first. He was at ekuVukeni. They failed to

MADIKANE

prevent their going to ekuNengeleni and reporting to Mamcoboza, Gabangaye's mother.⁶⁹ Mamcoboza sent to Pakade to report the result of the *divining*. P. was much concerned because of Nocola's having been smelt out, and it was to prevent anything of this kind that he caused the people to be laid in wait for. He did not want to injure Nocola, for when he *had been in need* he used to be accompanied by him. Nocola was then *driven away* by Gabangaye and his mother for having caused the girl's illness. She had already been *lobola'd* at this time by Mqawe (I was Mqawe's *representative in arranging his marriage*). It seems her sickness arose by a *dormouse* jumping about her whilst (she was) asleep at night. She was well covered and yet the animal came again. This strange occurrence was said to be caused by Nocola, and was the immediate cause of the illness referred to.

Pakade *cried* and said, '*Indeed, the one who installs a chief does not rule with him.*'

Mbopa's is another case in which *the installer does not rule with the chief*, for he got Tshaka's assegais and gave them to Dingana, and so assisted Dingana to become king.⁷⁰

'The whites ought to have been people who do not die, because they are so skilled at making things' - we natives say this. Also: *'Only death overcomes them.'*

27.6.1905

File 62, nbk. 74, pp. 8-13.

8 Madikane arrives, 27.6.1905. [Called in connection with the Central News Agency boys.]

Magudwini of the *emaSomini* people is an authority, still living. He lives *up the Mhloti river*. If he was an *umpakati*⁷¹ he must know something worth hearing.

9 After Tshaka had *overcome* Zwide, Nxaba ka Mbekane with Lubedu ka Masondo came to Tshaka to *pay tribute*, as T. had conquered all the country.⁷² Nxaba came with 10 girls of his father's kraal. They arrived at Gibixegu (Bulawayo - (called) Gibixegu because Zwide had been killed).⁷³ They found Tshaka *dancing*. They were given a place to sleep in and told to come back next day. Tshaka was an *expert performer*, able to *dance and sing*. Tshaka *composed a song about Lubedu* which was to be danced to next day.

'Etshe, Lubedu of the place of Masondo!

Now at last we see you!'

Lubedu laughed. Tshaka said, '*So the small, fat toad is laughing at me!*' (for Lubedu was short). '*Take him away,*' said T., whereupon he was killed, for laughing at the king, and yet he was only laughing because he approved what the king did.

Nxaba was *alarmed* on seeing this, but *controlled his feelings*.

10 T. took the girls Nxaba had brought and gave Nxaba 100 head of cattle. When Nxaba *returned home* one of the girls he had brought became ill. T. said the girl was to be taken back. All of them after this did this, and all went back, none of them returning. When the last girl got ill and returned to Nxaba, he at once did up his things and fled to the north. He was not killed by Tshaka. He seems to me to have belonged to the Kumalo or Ndwandwe tribe - not certain. He went off to Mzila's (ka Sotshangana ka Zikode).⁷⁴ Zwangendaba is the name of

MADIKANE

one of Tshaka's regiments; latterly people were called after it.⁷⁵ Nxaba is the proper name, though some use Nqaba.

The Zulus, when they went after Mzilikazi, came upon a great plain which they called uDedangendhlale.

The Zulus, Cunus, and Qwabes speak of one another as abaNguni, especially the Qwabes.

- 11 I think Mzilikazi was the first to go off north, before Nxaba. Mzilikazi was an *inceku at esiklebeni*, responsible for milking. He was Tshaka's *inceku*.

Zwide's great kraal was eMgazini, where Tshaka defeated him. There was also uMgazana; uPunga was another, then Pungana another, (also) iZulu and iZuywana. [Notice the diminutive forms.]

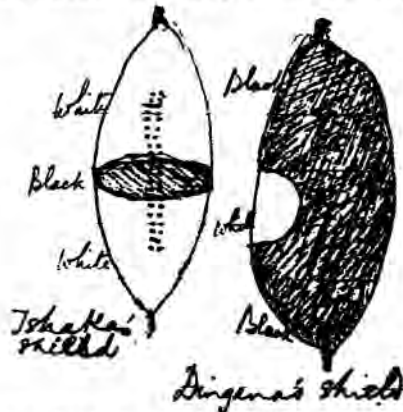
I have heard of Hlangabeza (of Tshaka's day) but know nothing of him.⁷⁶

Macingwane ran off from Zululand. The Bacas ran off with him, under Ncapayi ka Madikana. Matiwane ka Masumpa of the Ngwane people also ran off.⁷⁷

Tshaka wanted the enemy to be stabbed as if they were cattle, i.e. at close quarters, whilst holding the assegai.

Tshaka was about medium height, dark but not black.

12



Tshaka's shield - my father told me this. He used to see Tshaka *giyaing*. Dingana's shield is the one used when he went to fight Mzilikazi, after which the Boers were drawn into the country.

The best cattle, the handsomest, with the best hides, came from *Jobe's country* in the Nkandhla district near the Mzinyati,⁷⁸ and that is where Tshaka's shield used to come from.

My father was of the Intontela regiment. This kraal was *down the Mlalazi river*. Formerly it was on the Emtongani.⁷⁹ It came down to the Mlalazi because the land was better.

The regiment that followed next in age after my father's was the Dibinhlangu (Izimpohlo).

Ntontela was Senzangakona's kraal. My father was of the Mbonambi regiment, not the Intontela, though all at the Intontela kraal were called Intontela.

- 13 The emaMbateni were the first tribe attacked by Tshaka, then the emaNtshalini, the emaCubeni, and the emaLangeni (chief Tayi) (section, of the Ngcobo.

MADIKANE

28.6.1905

File 62, nbk. 74, pp. 13-14.

My father fought against Zwide and Sikunyana.⁸⁰ He had a wound in the middle of the forehead, high, just at the edge of the hair. He got this in the Pondo *campaign*, the second one, when the Pondos were conquered.⁸¹ They came to T. at Dukuza to pay tribute.

Mdhlaka was in charge of the Pondo *impi*, also that to Sotshangana.⁸² The Zulus *went on the campaign against Sotshangana in an angry mood*, as (they had not been) allowed to rest, and passed by their homes. This *impi* Tshaka divided in two at the Mkomazi, at Dududu (a hill near the sea and the Mpambanyoni).⁸³ One body was sent past Pietermaritzburg and Pasiwe, *passed through the Cunu country, and made for the amaNkamane hill (in Jobe's country, Msinga division) to join the other body sent up the coast.*⁸⁴ I fancy the two bodies met across the Pongolo, north of it.

Bravery - the stabbing of others - was highly rewarded by Tshaka. He made them presents of cattle.

14 Dingiswayo sent Tshaka out with a body of troops to attack the amaMbata people whilst he went to war against the amaNtshali. Tshaka not only defeated the amaMbata but pursued them, killed them off and returned with their cattle etc. Dingiswayo, who had expected T. to return sooner and had been waiting for him, reproved him for his drastic measures, it being against Dingiswayo's policy to exterminate any tribe.

11.7.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 17-18.

Also present: Mayinga, Mkotana

17 Madikane: I went to see Magudwini on Wednesday last week.

18 Magudwini's regiment was Intenjane, one of Tshaka's regiments. *'The dun-coloured cattle (Izintenjane) that bellowed at Ngoye' - praise of this section of the Ndabenkulu regiment.* He said Tshaka was *dark in colour.* The man is sometimes incoherent in his speech. He said he *attacked* by Tshaka's order Macingwane, and then Malusi, then Tshaka was *attacked* by Zwide. Then Tshaka *attacked Tayi of the amaLangeni section of the Ngcobo people*, then Pakatwayo, then conquered Zwide. That is all that Magudwini seemed to know.

The *Mkandhlu and the Intontela vied with one another.* The two fought against Zwide; the former ran away. Again, among the amaMpondo, the *Mkandhlu* ran away. This time the regiment, when it got home, was one day collected into a *circle, with the whole Zulu army round it.* The *Intontela* now entered with their assegais only and proceeded to kill the *Mkandhlu* all off.

12.7.1905

File 62, nbk. 76, pp. 18-19.

19 Madikane continues what Magudwini (who must be over 100 years old) told him: He belongs to the *amaNsomi of the place of Nkuna, their chief.* He says that they originated among the *Qwabe*, i.e. the *amaNsomi.* (*Amansomi* are birds with red wings that fly about in large flocks in forests.)⁸⁵ They originally lived near Entumeni and

MADIKANE

the Tukela, with some in Natal south of the Tukela just above the Makanya.⁸⁶

During his reign Tshaka held frequent dancing competitions, and would kill those who wilfully danced out of time with the others. T., hearing him, would get angry and put him to death.

14.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 10-11.

- 10 Per Madikane ka Mlomowetole, of the Ntontela regiment.
The origin of the uDhlambedhlu name (of regiment) arose in this way. Dingana distributed cattle to them when at their *temporary quarters*,⁸⁷ according to their *companies*. He asked afterwards if the
11 cattle, which were numerous, had sufficed. Those present, who had driven them off to the troops, said no, that several *companies* had got none. He thereupon said, 'This is not the Mgamule regiment; it is the Dhlambedhlu,' because the *cattle* disappeared without sufficing. 'I attempted,' he (Dingana) said, 'to estimate correctly, but their numbers exceeded my expectations; they *dhlamba'd* me.' Hence the name Dhlambedhlu, as indicating the great number of the men of the regiment.⁸⁸
- Mpande, when he *began his reign*, was determined to recruit a regiment as large as Dingana's Dhlambedhlu, but although the Isangqu, Tulwana etc. were very large, nothing ever equalled the Dhlambedhlu.

Magudwini, of Nyuswa's tribe (chief Deliweyo deceased - tribe now in charge of Gobosi(?), Deliweyo's brother).⁸⁹ This man is very old - of the Ndabenkulu regiment. (His *section* there is the Intenjane.)

Notes

¹Mqawe kaDabeka became chief of the Qadi people in Natal after Mpande's revolt against Dingane in 1839 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 495), and was still ruling the Qadi in the Inanda district, north-west of present-day Durban, in the early 1900s. On p. 1 of nbk. 77, File 62, under date 27.7.1905, Stuart records information on Madikane obtained from Norman Nembula in the following words: 'Madikane is Mqawe's *insila* (*impotulo*) and under old native law would have been killed off long ago.' *Insila* means body-servant, close attendant; *impotulo* (*wphothuli*?) means hair-shaver.

²The Thulwana *ibutho*, to which the Zulu king Cetshwayo belonged, was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 646, lists the amaPhela *ibutho* as being several years senior to the Thulwana. Neither he nor Samuelson (see list of 'regiments' in Long, Long Ago, pp. 235-7) mentions the names izimVukuzane and Pepelenqoleni.

³Formed c.1816 of men born in the 1780s and 1790s.

⁴*Isithakazelo* is a term of polite or formal address.

⁵The Nkandla is the area at the sources of the Nsuze river, which flows into the Thukela north-east of present-day Kranskop. The

- Gcongco is a ridge near the upper Mhlathuze river.
- ⁶Cf. the list given by Bryant in Olden Times, opp. p. 482.
- ⁷The reference is to Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 150-1.
- ⁸Madikane later describes the isiKlebhe (loc. esiKlebheni) as an *umuzi* built by Jama, father of Senzangakhona and grandfather of Shaka. On this *umuzi* see also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 46, 642, 643; Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, pp. 112-13, 123; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *imizi*.
- ⁹Cf. the Langeni chiefly genealogy given by Bryant in Olden Times, p. 126. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Langeni and Nandi.
- ¹⁰The original has 'Nandi did not *tshada*'.
- ¹¹Mnkabayi was sister of Senzangakhona. For information on the regency that followed the death of their father Jama see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 41; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 178, 179, 188-9, 199.
- ¹²The meaning of *lungisa* in this context is not clear. The word can mean any of the following: to 'put in order...arrange, adjust; correct, rectify; improve; chastise; repair...reckon up with' (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 368). Madikane may be using it to mean 'reward'.
- ¹³The sense of this is probably, 'Is not the *impi* in which I fought yours?'
- ¹⁴Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century. Ngomane kaMqomboli of the emDletsheni people held a position of authority under Dingiswayo. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 64; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Shaka.
- ¹⁵Another name of Dingiswayo.
- ¹⁶Sigujana kaSenzangakhona briefly succeeded his father as chief of the Zulu before he was killed by Shaka. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 120.
- ¹⁷The reference is probably to Shaka's brother Dingane, who is said to have sojourned in the Qwabe country in his early manhood. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 122.
- ¹⁸*Ukungena* (passive: *ukungena*), literally to enter, means here to take to wife the widow of a deceased male relative.
- ¹⁹The original has Mtaniya.
- ²⁰The original reads, *Ku m nandi no ko ponjwana*, which (in modern orthography) should presumably read, *Kumandi nokumponjwana*.
- ²¹*Untontontwana* is the diminutive form of *untontonto*, a species of tree. *Ulufulwenja* literally means dog's penis. On the application of this name to the Zulu people see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 13, 221, 369-70; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 104, 174, 202.
- ²²The *umshophi* (*mtshopi*) was a set of rituals followed to exorcise the evil influences which were regarded as carrying epidemics of disease. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 662-4; Krige, Social System, pp. 71-2; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 98, 100.
- ²³Literally, the corn on the roadside fails. See the explanation in Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs, pp. 202-3.
- ²⁴It is not made clear in the original which of the statements in this paragraph were made by Ndukwana.
- ²⁵It was Zulu etiquette for travellers, when asked for snuff by others encountered on the road, at first to deny being in possession of any.

- ²⁶Gibixhegu was one of Shaka's *imizi*. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 586; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 247.
- ²⁷This statement appears in the original in the top margin of the page.
- ²⁸A mountain near present-day Kranskop village.
- ²⁹Hlangabeza was chief of the Ngcolosi people living in the Kranskop district at the time of the interview here recorded. On the Ngcolosi see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 507-10; History, pp. 55-6.
- ³⁰For variant versions of Dingiswayo's exile see Fynn, 'History of Godongwana', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 61-2; Shepstone, 'Early history of the Zulu-Kafir race', in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, pp. 160-3; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 87-94.
- ³¹Jantshi kaNongila was another of Stuart's informants. His statements have been reproduced in Stuart Archive, vol. 1.
- ³²See also Stuart, Baxoxele, pp. 20-1; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 97.
- ³³Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century. Sobhuza (Somhlolo) kaNdvungunyane was king of the Swazi from c.1815 to c.1839. He was succeeded by his son Mswati (Mswazi). Langalibalele was chief of the Hlubi who fled from the Zulu country to Natal in 1848.
- ³⁴Presumably either Jobe kaKhayi, chief of the Mthethwa in the late eighteenth century and father of Dingiswayo, or Jobe kaMaphitha, chief of the Sithole in the time of Shaka and Dingane.
- ³⁵Present-day Mahlabathini is situated on the ridge between the White and Black Mfolozis.
- ³⁶If a chief's great wife failed to produce an heir, the succession would pass to the son of her principal *iqadi* or *inqadi* (pl. *ama-nqadi*), i.e. her 'supporting' wife. See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 417-18.
- ³⁷Phunga and Mageba were ancestral figures in the Zulu chiefly house.
- ³⁸Traditions disagree as to Nomcoba's paternity. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 49, 53; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 11, 189.
- ³⁹A choice dish made of blood and chopped-up meat.
- ⁴⁰The reference is presumably to the sons of Mpande who fled from the Zulu kingdom in the aftermath of Cetshwayo's victory over his brother Mbuyazi in 1856.
- ⁴¹On the relationship between the Ngcobo, Nyuswa and Qadi peoples see also Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 480 ff; and History, pp. 64-73.
- ⁴²'He is surprised!'
- ⁴³Mzilikazi kaMashobane was head of a section of the Khumalo people in Shaka's time, and founder of the Ndebele kingdom.
- ⁴⁴For a similar story about Ndengezi see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 107.
- ⁴⁵A praise-name for Shaka.
- ⁴⁶Magaye kaDibandlela (?) was chief of the Cele; Zihlandlo kaGcwabe was chief of the Mkhize (Mbo). See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 406, 544; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index entries for Cele and Mkhize.
- ⁴⁷'*Bayede!*' was a salutation reserved for the Zulu king.
- ⁴⁸*Ingoma* in the original.
- ⁴⁹The original reads
'Wa m Loyisa!
O bari ba ya m zonda!
O bari ba ya m zonda!
Vuma! Vuma ingoma!

- (i.e. acknowledge, acknowledge him as the only *inkosi*)'.
- ⁵⁰The Mthethwa *isithakazelo* or term of polite address is Nyambose.
- ⁵¹Gebuzwa was Henrique Shepstone, who was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, 1884-93. Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone, who was first Diplomatic Agent and then Secretary for Native Affairs, 1845-1876. Mismolo was F.R. Moor, Minister of Native Affairs in Natal, 1893-7 and 1899-1903, and Prime Minister of the colony, 1906-10.
- ⁵²Literally, 'It is now the horns of the otter', i.e. it is now the time when the horns of the otter are visible, or early morning.
- ⁵³Literally, 'It is now the suckling of the otter', and 'It is now the horns of the beast' respectively. Both expressions mean 'It is now early morning'.
- ⁵⁴'Horn' and 'otter' respectively.
- ⁵⁵For discussion of the terms Ntungwa, Nguni, and Lala see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 3 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.
- ⁵⁶See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 118. We have been unable to determine the derivation of the word iNyakeni. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 462, gives *inyakeni* as spoon-bag. Stuart, Baxoxele, p. 24, lists the Nyakeni as one of Dingiswayo's *amabutho*.
- ⁵⁷For information on Lugaju kaMatomela of the Nxamalala see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 522.
- ⁵⁸*Inganelekwane* (pl. *izinganelekwane*) means a fable, folk tale, or nursery tale.
- ⁵⁹*Inswelaboya* (pl. *izinswelaboya*), literally one lacking hair, means one who murders to obtain human flesh for medicines. For information on Phakade, chief of a section of the Chunu, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 271-3; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Chunu.
- ⁶⁰The Mpošana or Mool river rises in the foothills of the Drakensberg near Giant's Castle and flows into the Thukela east of present-day Tugela Ferry. Phakade's adherents established themselves near the confluence of the two rivers.
- ⁶¹'*Ngo ku dabuka kwe goda*' in the original, an expression used to refer to the split that took place in the Zulu nation when Mpande and his following fled into the Republic of Natalia in 1839.
- ⁶²It is impossible to specify to which of Shepstone's journeys this refers, but he is known to have travelled through Phakade's country in April 1848. See S.A. Archival Records, Natal no. 2, pp. 298-300.
- ⁶³Mawa, daughter of Jama and sister of Senzangakhona, fled to Natal with a large following in 1843. For further information on her see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 42-4; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 100, 200. Khofiyana appears to have been a refugee from Shaka who took service with British traders at Port Natal, and was subsequently able to attract a number of adherents (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 496, 554, 561). Verulam is the name of a village on the Natal north coast. The implication of this passage seems to be that Mawa's followers used the cattle which they had brought from the Zulu kingdom to set themselves up in Natal, and that these cattle were subsequently taken by Khofiyana on the orders of the Natal Government and given up to Mpande's envoy.
- ⁶⁴Literally, 'the descent by means of, or on account of, a grain basket'. For discussion on the meaning of this expression see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 14; Zulu People, pp. 20-2; Dictionary,

MADIKANE

- p.365; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 175; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 467.
- ⁶⁵ Chief of the Chunu in the early nineteenth century. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 264-71; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Chunu.
- ⁶⁶ *Umzantsi wa s' ebulTonga* in the original. On the relationship between the Mthethwa and Tsonga see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7, 108, 232-3, 280; History, pp. 127, 134; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, pp. 134-7.
- ⁶⁷ Presumably a reference to one of Dingane's campaigns against Mzilikazi's Ndebele, most probably that of 1837.
- ⁶⁸ For Nomlethi see p. 48 above.
- ⁶⁹ Gabangaye was son and heir of Phakade (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 263, 273).
- ⁷⁰ Mbopha kaSithayi, Shaka's chief personal attendant, was one of the king's assassins.
- ⁷¹ The precise meaning attributed to this word varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counsellors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Zulu-English Dictionary, p. 643, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinDuna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati"'.
⁷² Nxaba kaMbhekane was chief of the Msane people. He fled from Shaka in the early 1820s into the territory north of the Limpopo. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 278-9, 460-1, 471-2; Omer-Cooper, Zulu Aftermath, pp. 57-8, 64-5, 121-2.
- ⁷³ Gibixhegu literally means 'get rid of the old man'. For other versions of the derivation of the name see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 586; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 247.
- ⁷⁴ Mzila was son and successor of Soshangane, founder of the Gasa kingdom in central Mozambique. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 330-1, 456-7.
- ⁷⁵ Neither Bryant nor Samuelson lists the Zwangendaba as one of Shaka's regiments. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 438, 439, gives it as one of Mzilikazi's regiments and also as one of his *imizi*. He suggests that the name may have derived from Zwangendaba kaHlatshwayo, chief of a section of the Mfekane or Ncwangeni people, who fled from Shaka c.1820. See Olden Times, pp. 162, 278, 458-9.
- ⁷⁶ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 179, 180, 626-7, gives a Hlangabeza as chief of the Ntshali people in Shaka's time, as does Dinya kaZoko-zwayo in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 95.
- ⁷⁷ Macingwane kaJama was chief of the Chunu. For the history of the Bhaca, Chunu, and Ngwane in Shaka's time see Bryant, Olden Times, chs. 16, 32, 38; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index.

MADIKANE

- ⁷⁸ Jobe kaMaphitha was chief of the Sithole people. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 251, 259; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under Sithole. The Mzinyathi river is marked on maps as the Buffalo.
- ⁷⁹ The 'kraal' referred to is presumably the Ntontela *ikhanda*. The Mlalazi rises near present-day Eshowe; the Mthonjaneni is a ridge to the north of present-day Melmoth.
- ⁸⁰ Sikhunyana kaZwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, made an unsuccessful attack on Shaka's kingdom in 1826. An account of the Zulu campaign has been left by H.F. Fynn, who accompanied Shaka's army. See his Diary, pp. 122-8; and also Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 60 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 588-94.
- ⁸¹ In 1828.
- ⁸² Mdlaka kaNcidi was Shaka's chief military commander. Bryant gives him as belonging to the emGazini people; one of Stuart's informants gives him as belonging to the Khanyile. The campaign against Soshangane took place in 1828, immediately after the campaign against the Mpondo. See Bryant, Olden Times, chs. 43, 62, 63; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 28.
- ⁸³ The Mphambanyoni river flows into the sea south of the Mkhomazi near present-day Scottburgh.
- ⁸⁴ The Chunu lived north of the Thukela near its confluence with the Mzinyathi (see map of clan distribution in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 698). The uPhasiwe or Karkloof range of hills is to the north-west of Pietermaritzburg; the amaNkamane hills are north-west of Pomeroy.
- ⁸⁵ The *isomi* (pl. *amasomi*) is the red-winged starling.
- ⁸⁶ Ntumeni hill is west of present-day Eshowe. The Makhanya people lived on the south bank of the lower Thukela (see map of clan distribution in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 698).
- ⁸⁷ The original has *izinhlonhla*.
- ⁸⁸ Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 242, writes, '...the name Udhlambedhlu is composed of Dhla, "to eat or feed on," Imbedhlu, "a pestering and harassing nature, impatience," and may be meant to imply that the regiment would be always pestering and harassing others'.
- ⁸⁹ For Deliweyo's position in the Nyuswa chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 481, genealogy opp. p. 482. Gobosi was chief of the Nyuswa in the Mapumulo district.