

## MAKUZA KA MKOMOYI

5.3.1921

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 28-34.

- 28 Makuza ka Mkomoyi ka Pobo ka Sigudo ka Linda ka Ceba (or *Cebekulu*) of the *Cebekulu* people. Mkomoyi was stationed at Bulawayo; he was of the Izimpohlo under Dingane.<sup>1</sup> I am of the Mbonambi regiment.<sup>2</sup> I was born after the death of Dingana, and after Mawa's flight into Natal (1843)<sup>3</sup>. [Makuza was, I think born about 1847 or 1848.]

Cetshwayo collected various regiments and placed them into his Undi kraals, of which at first there were two, viz. *the Black Undi* and *the Red Undi*. The former was situate at Ngoye, the latter at the Mlalazi.<sup>4</sup> The Eqwageni kraal was at Eshowe. Cetshwayo did his best to collect as many troops as he could into his new kraals, but Zulus living in the northern parts of Zululand would not obey his orders. Upon this, C. (it was after the Ndongakusuka (battle))<sup>5</sup> remonstrated with Mpande, asking how it was he did not cause the upper districts to comply. He, C., said he was acting in the best interests of the country, and that Mpande was not doing so. He accused him of having set him and Mbuyazi on to fight, by saying, '*Makasane has a sufficiency, Makasane who saw his rams kicking one another in his presence.*'<sup>6</sup> When Mpande said this *all the great men of the Zulu country* exclaimed, '*He is setting them on!*'<sup>7</sup> Did you not promise the Boers not again to bring about bloodshed?' Mpande said, 'I won my kingship by force of arms; so must others do likewise.' Hence he justified his above remark by what had been habitual in Zululand.

- 29 Cetshwayo pointed out to his father that he *had set the two on*, although he, C., had had a snip or piece taken out of his ear by the Boers on the occasion of Mpande declaring to the Boers that C. was his son and heir. Mpande accused C. of spoiling the country, and (said) that if he would not follow his, M.'s, advice, he should go and be advised by his mother, and if (he was) unwilling to be guided by her, he must refer to *other men*, i.e. the British Government, whose protection Mpande had asked for. C. said, '*Be silent, kafula!*'<sup>8</sup> Was it not you who set us on to fight at Ndongakusuka? It was you who said, '*Our house did not gain the kingship by being appointed to sit on a mat*'. [I.e. when the son and heir was appointed he would sit on a mat because of his rank.] '*Our house gained the kingship by stabbing with the assegai.*' It was you who said, '*Makasane has a sufficiency*' etc.

C. spoke as above when Shepstone came on a visit.<sup>9</sup> This took place at Nodwengu, Mpande's head kraal. Shepstone reproved C. for speaking in these terms to his father, for he, M., being father,

was in a position of *supreme authority* over him. Among Europeans all respected and obeyed their fathers. C., however, regarded Shepstone as *an outsider* and as not having had anything to do with the Ndongakusuka affair by which C.'s status was established, i.e. with the circumstances immediately antecedent thereto.

John Dunn at this time was C.'s adviser, and C. had great confidence in him.<sup>10</sup> Hence Mpande advised Shepstone to go and get in touch with J. Dunn as the best way of approach to Cetshwayo. Dunn advised Shepstone to admonish Cetshwayo in general terms without bringing in his duty to his father etc. etc., for of course C. was deeply incensed against his father because of the bad action of Mpande in causing them to fight one another. Shepstone, at the coronation, followed this course, and matters seemed for a time to go well.<sup>11</sup>

- 30 The first European to come to Natal was Hlazakazi. This may be Febana, or as I think, more probably Lieutenant King.<sup>12</sup>

*'This stick which they carry, what is it for?'* (This was said by the earliest Zulus of the gun that was carried, *for they did not know that it was a weapon.*) Tshaka then wanted the carrier (a European) to aim at a vulture hovering above with this *stick* of theirs. The European did so, and fired, bang! The sound caused all round about to fall on hands and knees. The bird was brought down. Wonderful! The Zulu nation then pressed that ambassadors be sent to the makers of such weapons and find out about them.

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

*'So you are inciting the Zulu nation against me so that it should kill me?'* - said by Tshaka to Nandi re the child she nursed.<sup>13</sup>

*'Let men of good blood go, not men of bad blood.'*<sup>14</sup> This was the advice given by the men to Tshaka as to who should go across the sea to visit King George IV.

- 31 Story about Tshaka, re sticks thrown into the sea.

When Tshaka, through being profoundly impressed with the power of a gun, wished to establish communication with the English people as makers of such a weapon, his first impulse was to go across the seas himself. But gratification of the impulse depended on what the sea itself wished in respect of the one desiring to cross it. Hence arose the idea that sticks should be thrown into the sea in order to see what became of them. If they were carried away altogether, it would be clear that the owner of such stick would himself be carried away and not suffered to return to the country. If, however, the sea brought it back, it would indicate that the owner would be permitted to return in safety to Zululand. When at the Isibubulungu<sup>15</sup> with his regiments, Tshaka directed all the men to come to the seashore, and one and all, including himself, were to fling their sticks into the sea and watch the result. The sticks were accordingly thrown, the men standing along quite a considerable stretch of coast. The waves brought back the vast majority, but not that of the king. Search for it was continued until nightfall, without success. There were other sticks that did not return, namely those of men who were known to

have killed others, especially the sticks of *the great men of the nation*, and of those whose children or wives had been in the habit of dying rather freely, as well as of those whose blood was bad.

32 As the king had thus been 'smelt out' by the water, it was out of the question for him to undertake the voyage. He accordingly asked for volunteers from his people as a whole, but no-one would come forward, as they would not dare to cross the sea, as it and the sky seemed to be one and the same, i.e. the sea seemed to merge into the sky, especially in regard to the deepest and most awe-inspiring waters remotest from the land. Tshaka discussed the matter with his men. They said, '*Let men of good blood go, not men of bad blood.*' He said, 'If I were to go, people in England would put faith in me, being the king, but as I can't go, having been *smelt out* by the water, someone else must do so.' He then thought of Sotobe ka Mpingalala. Now Sotobe's stick was among those which had been cast back onto the shore, so there was no objection on that score to his undertaking the voyage. Sotobe and Mbozamboza accordingly were deputed to go under the charge of Hlazakazi (Lieutenant King).<sup>16</sup> They went, and later returned, upon which cattle were killed as a thanks offering to the spirits for the ambassadors' safe return, whilst he, Sotobe, himself was made a present of cattle that filled *the enclosure*.

The sticks thrown in were ordinary ones used by people. But *they had become physically identified with their owners, for when people ate meat they would smear fat on the sticks, and then on their own bodies*. As the king's stick did not return, the doctors were consulted. They caused the other sticks of the king, as also of all those whose sticks had been returned by the water, to be washed and treated with drugs, and so ward off any harm that might be brought to the owners in case *the heavens* broke out violently, as indicated by the sticks that had not returned. These sticks were all *washed with medicines* so as to ward off lightning, and prevent it from coming and 'taking' them when the sky thundered, as the sea had taken the sticks.

33 I am in no doubt whatever as to this stick incident. It really occurred. I got the story from my father Mkomoyi. He also *threw* his stick, for he was one of Tshaka's warriors.

Inquiries for the king's stick. '*Haven't you seen the king's stick?*' '*No, we haven't seen it.*' The search was made very thoroughly, but with negative result. This king's stick was well known by all, for it was the one used to *point* with.

The sticks represented the very persons of the respective owners, for the reason that it is the universal rule for the owner to smear his stick. Hence no fitter test could have been devised, nothing more directly connected with each person. Indeed it may be said to be part of himself (cf. *a discarded garment*).

A test was being applied. The sea is pure. No dirty thing enters it. Anything carried down by rivers is got rid of, thrown on the banks or bottom, before the river enters the sea. As, therefore, all things automatically purify themselves before going into the sea, the sea itself is not only pure, but [because evidently having the power of election and discrimination, and the capacity of self-purification, like the living human body] it is a living thing. It is a self-cleaner or purifier. The sea too, if anything enters it by chance, gets rid of it, and casts it on shore.

Custom in regard to a reed raft. 'Do not get into the raft; the water will "smell you out", and take you. Confess yourself.' The raft hears nothing, but the water in contact with it does. He then crosses.

- 34 The king's stick would not have been taken away had he confessed his misdeeds, e.g. killing off girls who became pregnant by him etc. His stick, I think, failed for that reason to return. Then the king's stick must have been of brass, but that of course would sink.

The reed raft made by natives to cross rivers is called *isihle-ngela* or *isihlenga*. Zulus do not get onto it, as a rule, before they cross-examine and confess themselves. This cross-examination is called *ukuzibula*, *ukuzitsho*. 'Do you go about secretly trying to kill or injure others? Are you a thief? Are you jealous? Are you covetous? Do you commit adultery? Do you have criminal intercourse with women?' These questions are put in connection with the raft, with the object that the water, which is in touch or contact with it, shall hear the confession and so abstain from injuring or drowning the individual in question.

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File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 37-43.

- 37 .... <Repetitious information on crossing rivers by raft omitted - eds.>

The defeat of Pakatwayo<sup>17</sup> by Tshaka.

Tshaka proposed to Pakatwayo that they should hold an *ijadu* dancing competition. Pakatwayo said, 'How do you hope to surpass me, son of Senzangakona?' He said that he would not dance with a man whose forces were not numerous enough to go round one's neck [the reference is to a bead necklace], whereas the *Qwabe* were unsurpassed in strength. Nor would he dance with a little *Ntungwa*<sup>18</sup> fellow from up-country, whose penis stood erect. He, P., had a vast tribe, covering a large part of the earth. His kraal was at Emtandeni.

<Stuart indicates that the passage below, which occurs in the original on p. 39, should follow on from the preceding paragraphs - eds.>

- 39 *Sojiyisa* asked, 'Hau, chief of the *Qwabe*, since we are of the same descent,<sup>19</sup> why do you speak in this way? Why do you use insulting language to Tshaka, saying that he is a necklace which does not fit round the neck? Do you wish to make war then? Because we are the same people, for our part we do not wish to fight. We have said that we wish to dance. But you, for your part, insult us.'

Pakatwayo answered, 'I spoke in this way because of your numbers. But tomorrow we shall dance.' He continued, 'Come without your assegais.' He said this because he saw that Tshaka had felt the two insults about the size of his forces and his being a little *Ntungwa* from up-country.

- 37 The dance was accordingly arranged, so Tshaka went to Mtandeni with his warriors. He took his assegais with him, but these were hidden in the river, and he came to the kraal with his men in dancing costume, but unarmed. Their costume was of ox-tails, headbands, etc.



etc., so thick that their bodies could not be seen, out of respect for the king they had come into the presence of. He had one beast killed for him, and next day the dance was held, Tshaka's men being the first to perform. They danced well. *The chief gave praise, saying, 'I have seen. You have danced well.'* Then the Qwabes followed, very much more numerous and imposing than Tshaka's men.

- 38 When the Qwabes had danced and had reached the climax, Pakatwayo shouted, *'We have stabbed them!'*, meaning that Tshaka's party had been defeated and that Pakatwayo's was more powerful. Tshaka, hearing this, got incensed. *'Why does he insult us twice, saying that we are a necklace too short to fit round the neck, and then crying, "We have stabbed them."?'* The dance concluded. Pakatwayo then said, *'I killed a beast for you yesterday, son of Senzangakona, and won't do so today, so you may as well return home.'* Tshaka took the hint and left, *though angered by these words. He said, 'So he wants to fight me?'* He noticed that as the festivities were over, all the Qwabes dispersed to their respective homes. He saw then that the opportunity of getting the better of Pakatwayo had arrived. He got to the river where his assegais were hidden by sunset. He then made all his men arm and, when it was quite dark, marched them back to Mtandeni kraal. *The Qwabe had supposed him to have left, whereas he had not.* Instead of attacking the kraal here and there, he went with his force straight to the upper end, and sought out the king's sleeping-hut. Now it was not the custom for the king's hut to be shut up tightly of a night, because to do so caused the place to become too stuffy. Only a *shield* would be set across the doorway. Hence as soon as Tshaka's men got to the hut they went straight in, found Pakatwayo and stabbed him to death. The alarm was then given, but only presently, to add that their king had been killed.

- This is the version that was given me by my father Mkomoyi and another of my 'fathers', Buhlungu, both being the sons of Pobo ka Sigudo ka Linda [see p. 28]. My father was older than Buhlungu, the latter being also of the Izimpohlo regiment. They did not tell me that Pakatwayo was caught at a *palm* tree, jumped over by Tshaka, taken home, and died next day from fright.
- 39

As soon as the Qwabes began to arm, on hearing the call to arms, they heard the king was already dead, upon which they said, *'Whom are we to fight for now that our king is dead?'*, upon which they returned to their homes. Thus there was no fighting at all between the Qwabes and Zulus.

- 40 Tshaka, after killing Pakatwayo, went to *sleep* at some other kraals of the tribe. Next morning, when the Qwabes were collecting and Tshaka was making off, Pakatwayo's *induna*, Sikwayo, remarked that as their king had been killed, and killed because he had *insulted* Tshaka, there was no more necessity for fighting, and the whole tribe would *konza Tshaka*. Tshaka then had all the cattle of the tribe collected and brought to him. He then became their king. The Qwabes said the insult by their chief had now been expiated, and, *'We are now Tshaka's people.'*

The man who, it is stated, stabbed Tshaka in the arm is said to have been Sikwayo, the *induna* of Pakatwayo. *'Sikwayo was being*

slandered,' said Mkomoyi and Buhlungu. 'Shaka was stabbed by his father's sons, Dingana and Mhlangana.'<sup>20</sup>

The capture of Dingiswayo by Zwide.

Zwide put a spell on Dingiswayo, chief of the Mtetwa. He was smeared with medicines, and then stirred up a mixture of medicines so that it frothed over. He saw Dingiswayo in the medicine. He said, 'Here is Dingiswayo, he is coming to me. He has left his whole nation; he has left his army. He is coming with his isigodhlo girls.' And indeed Dingiswayo went off in the night with his umahlankulu girls.

41 Then Zwide ordered, 'Let the amaPela regiment arm.' He said, 'Dingiswayo has left his home. He is now in the bush country with some of his people. I have seen him in the medicine.' The amaPela went out. Zwide instructed them, 'Go down into the bush country.' That was part of Zwide's territory. The amaPela went down into it. Some of them said, 'We cannot find him as the king told us to do.' Others said, 'He is here. It smells of umutwa.'<sup>21</sup> And indeed the amaPela came upon Dingiswayo's party, which was carrying food with it. They came upon his people as they were eating. Dingiswayo's party were startled, saying, 'Hau! Where does this impi come from?' Dingiswayo told them, 'It has come from Zwide; it has come to take me away. I saw Zwide as I was sleeping; I saw that I would be taken away. I have been summoned by him. Now he has sent to fetch me.'

42 The amaPela came up and asked, 'Where is the chief?' His people replied, 'He is sitting over there, eating.' They then said to Dingiswayo, 'You must go up-country, Nkosi. We have been sent to fetch you. Do not stay in the wilderness. Our king says that you must come and eat, since you have left your home.' Dingiswayo's girls and wives cried, 'We shall never see our chief again, for he is being taken away.' The amaPela said, 'Be quiet, for he will be given food. Do not cry for him.' Then they went off. Dingiswayo said to his women, 'Sing my song, the one sung when I left home crying.'<sup>22</sup> Sing that one.' The soldiers said, 'No. Do not sing songs of crying.' The girls repeatedly cried, 'We shall never see the chief again!' The soldiers contradicted them, 'You shall see him again. He will be given food. A beast will be killed for him and he will be given meat and beer.'

They went off, returning to the chief, Zwide. They found the chief seated. The sun was just coming up. They took the one chief up to the other. The order was given, 'Take all Dingiswayo's people to that hut.' They went in. Then Zwide asked, 'Who is as great as you, Dingiswayo?' Dingiswayo replied, 'No, I am no longer as great as you, for I have left my people and my soldiers.' Zwide said, 'So then, could I now fight with you, Dingiswayo?' The latter answered, 'No, I no longer say that I could fight with you.'

43 Zwide then left Dingiswayo and went some distance away. He danced a war dance, and then came back and jumped over Dingiswayo. Then he called his izinceku to take him to the cattle enclosure where he, Zwide, used to wash, and where he had stirred the medicines. He then summoned all his izinduna and said, 'My izinduna, do not kill the chief by hitting him with sticks, for he is already dead. You will bury him at sunrise tomorrow. Look after him well, and let him sleep, so that you may bury him tomorrow.' They an-

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swered, 'We have heard, Nkosi. We shall not kill him, for he was killed by you when you jumped over him.' Zwide said, 'I have killed him with the medicines which I ate.' 'We have heard, Nkosi. Tell us where we are to bury him.' 'Bury him at the Mahlabaneni hill. While some are digging, let others cut posts. When you have prepared them, fix them in the ground, so that when you have finished no evil person will be able to cut open this chief for the purpose of killing the chief who lives.' Zwide's order was, 'When you have buried the chief, you will build a fence right round the grave. Then come and report to me, and to the warriors who have done the work I shall give cattle.' Indeed the men came to report to him. 'Have you buried him properly?' 'We have done so.' Then the men came to have cattle distributed to them by the king. They did not go home; they slept outside. Water was brought to the chief, and he stirred it up. The gall bladder of a beast was also brought to him, for he had overcome another chief. He cleansed himself after the death of the chief whom he had overcome.

[There is no reference to Ntombazi<sup>23</sup> above; she is the one who insisted on Dingiswayo being put to death, for Zwide was inclined to release him.]

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>IzimPohlo seems to have been used as a corporate name for certain male *amabutho* closely associated with one another from early in Shaka's reign. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 124, 645. Bulawayo was the name of an *umuzi* built by Shaka, first on the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi and subsequently between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni. See Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, pp. 124, 126.

<sup>2</sup>Formed c.1863; age-group born in early 1840s.

<sup>3</sup>Dingane was killed in 1840. Mawa was a sister of Senzangakhona. For accounts of her flight from the Zulu kingdom into Natal in 1843 see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 42-3; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup>The Ngoye hills are situated between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni. The Mlalazi river rises near Eshowe and flows into the sea at Mthunzini.

<sup>5</sup>Fought in December 1856.

<sup>6</sup>The original reads, 'U ya del' uMakasane o wa ke wa bon' izinqama zake zi kahlelana e se kona (or e buka)'. We have been unable to establish the precise connotations of the reference to Makhasane. A man of that name was chief of a section of the Tsonga in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 303-5), but as used in the present context the name seems to refer to Mpande himself.

<sup>7</sup>The original reads, 'Wayi qata na!'

<sup>8</sup>A term of contempt applied by the people of the Zulu kingdom to individuals who fled to the colony of Natal, as Mpande had done in 1839.

<sup>9</sup>In 1861.

<sup>10</sup>For information on Dunn's life see *Dictionary of S.A. Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 260-2.

<sup>11</sup>Shepstone's 'coronation' of Cetshwayo took place in 1873.

- <sup>12</sup>Febana was Francis Farewell. He and Lieut. J.S. King were leaders of the party of white hunters and traders who came to Port Natal in 1824.
- <sup>13</sup>This passage appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 31.
- <sup>14</sup>The original reads, 'A ku ye aba gazi lihle, aba gazi libi ba ngayi'.
- <sup>15</sup>Durban Bluff.
- <sup>16</sup>Sotobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiya people was one of Shaka's principal *izinduna*. Mbozamboza of the amaNgwane people is described as a 'chief' under Shaka (Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 117). For accounts of Sotobe's mission to Port Elizabeth in 1828 see Isaacs, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 616 ff.
- <sup>17</sup>Chief of the Qwabe.
- <sup>18</sup>For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 8, 233; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
- <sup>19</sup>The founding chiefs from whom the Zulu and Qwabe peoples took their names are traditionally supposed to have been brothers: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 19-20. Sojiyisa ranked as a member of the Zulu royal house though there is some doubt as to his parentage: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 44-5; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index under Zulu Royal House: men.
- <sup>20</sup>Makhuza here seems to be confusing two separate events. Shaka was wounded in the arm and side by an unknown assailant in 1824: see the description of this incident in Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 83 ff. He was stabbed to death by his brothers Dingane and Mhlangana in 1828.
- <sup>21</sup>Perfume used for dressing hides, i.e. the coverings worn by the *isigodlo* girls.
- <sup>22</sup>Presumably a reference to Dingiswayo's flight from home during his youth. See the accounts of this incident given by Bryant in *Olden Times*, pp. 87 ff, and by Matshwili kaMngoye as rendered by Stuart in *uBaxoxele*, pp. 14 ff. We have been unable to trace Stuart's original notes of his interviews with Matshwili.
- <sup>23</sup>Zwide's mother.