

MANDHLAKAZI KA NGINI

21.11.1913

File 59, nbk. 33, p. 17.

- 17 Mandhlakazi ka Ngini of the *Sitshi* people says: My father used to wear *umnaka*.¹ My mother told me, for he died whilst I was still a child. This he wore round the neck. It 'burnt' him, i.e. severely injured his neck. On Dingana being informed he said that he should go to Zulu² ka Nogandaya, present him with a beast, and have him pour the gall where he had been burnt. This was done by Zulu. I don't know if he got better. *Umnaka* is for putting round the neck and is of *itusi* (copper). (When worn) round the wrist it is (known as) *ingxota*.³

18.5.1916, evening.

File 57, nbk. 2, p. 63.

- 63 Mandhlakazi ka Ngini arrives. He says that Mkehlengana⁴ ka Zulu told him that no-one ever saw Tshaka eat, i.e. no one except his immediate attendants.
He thinks a book of *praises*, and genealogical trees of tribes, also historical matter, would sell very well among the *kolwas*.

Sobekase (deceased) was a great authority on the Zulus. He said one of Tshaka's doctors was so expert as to be able to cause two *pieces of tripe* to fight one another. He would call one Tshaka, and another the chief of some tribe it was intended to fight against. He would then cause the two to come into sharp conflict with one another, with the result that the one called Tshaka would cause the other to burst and so be defeated. *Tripe* is of course eaten by *izimbongi*.

20.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 64-8.

Also present: Socwatsha

- 64 <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

Mandhlakazi ka Ngini ka Mkonjwa ka Nhlabane ka Moya ka Sigauli of the *Sitshi* section of the *Qwabe* people. I am the son of Zulu ka Nogandaya's daughter. I was born in the year of Somsewu's marriage regulations, 1869, so am 47 now.⁵

I once saw Zulu. He was about 5 feet 9½ inches tall, with very broad shoulders, and was very hairy on the chest and back. He was

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very dark, but *shiny black*, not jet black. Like Mkotana.⁶ I saw him twice. He could not see any more when I saw him. He had to have someone to lead him *with a stick*. Although he had a big chest and shoulders, he had comparatively thin legs. He no longer had a head-ring. The name of Zulu's kraal was eNtshaseni, not eNdondakusuka. Ndondakusuka was the hill on which Zulu's kraal was. Socwatsha agrees.

.... <Praises of Zulu and Ngini omitted - eds.>

66 Ngini, my father, was of the Izimpohlo of *esiKlebeni*, under *Dingana*. His real regiment was the Ndabankulu.⁷ My father was an *inceku* at esiKlebeni.

Sohayi ka Mvunge of the *Mkhlalose* people, of the Itshelemali regiment of *Ngangezwe*. It was probably (equivalent in age to) the Indhlondhlo regiment in Zululand. He is a great authority on Zulu matters.

Mqaikana⁸ ka Madikane of the *Mkize* people recites the praises of the Embo very well indeed. *His people are related to those of Ngwenyeni ka Bambata*. Mqaikana may be of the same age as the Uve regiment. He used to live at Esimahleni; I think now he is at eNcwadi. He pays taxes at eMpendhle. Ngwenyeni died about three years ago.

Tshaka on one occasion set on the Embo⁹ and Nxamalala people to fight one another. They accordingly fought on the flat at *Myimbona's* place. Tshaka's *induna* sent to set them on was Sizi. Tshaka ordered all the cattle of the Nxamalala to be collected into one kraal or place, and all those of the Embo into another kraal or place, and there await the result of the issue. The Nxamalalas then fought the Embos under Zihlandhlo, and defeated the latter. Tshaka's *induna* then said, 'How is it now, *Mnawe*,¹⁰ that I should open up the cattle and drive them off to Tshaka?' Zihlandhlo said, 'No! I still have a cover to wrap myself in,' meaning *Sambela*.¹¹ He called on *Sambela*, saying, 'My sun will be extinguished, for my cattle are to be taken away.' They were set on to fight again. *Sambela* sent the *amaNtungwa ikanda* to fight. Another one also fought, but I have forgotten its name. *Sambela* fought the day after Zihlandhlo's fight. S. defeated the Nxamalalas unaided by Z. or his people, and set about burning the Nxamalala kraals. When Z. saw the Okeni and the Mbungeni kraals on fire he said, 'What is that over there, Sizi? What is that over there?' After this the Nxamalala cattle were let out and driven off to Tshaka, who of course retained them.

68 These people did not formerly quarrel with one another in any way. Tshaka just simply set them on to fight. On this occasion, the *amaNxamalala*, on being defeated and chased, got caught in traps that had been set for game, when they were easily killed. Although not many could have been killed in that way, the incident was never forgotten or forgiven by the Nxamalalas, who regarded the traps as intentionally set to catch them.¹²

Sohayi, the man mentioned on p. 66, was so smart a man that a chief (mentioned by Mandhlakazi) offered Ngangezwe an ox if he would surrender him and let him be a man of that chief's tribe.

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Ngangezwe refused. Sohayi is now blind and quite unable to walk. He has four wives. His kraal is about 14 miles from Mid-Illovu.

21.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 69-73.

Also present: Socwatsha

<In the testimony of this day's date as recorded in the original, the statements made by Mandlakazi are interwoven with statements made by Socwatsha. Where Socwatsha's evidence supplements information provided by Mandlakazi we have reproduced it below. Where Socwatsha is the principal informant we have omitted his statements: these will be reproduced under his own name in a subsequent volume - eds.>

69 Mzilikazi's war in Dingana's day.¹³ The army was in charge of Ndhlela ka Sompisi. The Zulu army clashed with Mzilikazi's, probably late in the afternoon. The fight discontinued, probably at night and by the Zulus withdrawing after many of them had been killed. The Mzilikazi people did not at first know they were fighting Zulus. When they discovered this, they shouted to the Zulus, '*Heyi! Heyi! So you are hiding your identity! So you die in this manner. We'll be with you tomorrow!*' The Zulus saw they were too few in numbers, so Ndhlela thought of a plan, which was to light large fires all over the place to give the impression that the Zulus had set up camp. As a fact, Ndhlela directed them to retreat as fast as they could to Zululand in order that Dingana should again make ritual sacrifices and this time send out a much larger force.

70 Socwatsha says that in the foregoing battle, a youth of Mzilikazi's force ran up and got in among the Zulus with his assegai, stabbing right and left, shouting, '*Ihloya! Ihloya!*' (i.e. '*Umhlo-la! Umhlo-la!*' - a dialectical difference).¹⁴ He caused quite a commotion, but was killed after having wiped out a number.

71 On Zwide putting Dingiswayo to death, D.'s wives (*umdhlunkulu*) all left their tribe and went to where their husband was, i.e. Zwide's kraal. [See p. 107 for Zulu and longer version of this.]¹⁵ They there got up onto the top of the huts and wailed and lamented. They there struck up a chant (this chant is quite well known). It was suggested that they should be put to death, but Zwide refused, saying, '*They are widows. I won't put them to death. They have come merely to lament their husband's death.*' Hence they were allowed to go free, after being brought down. Their doing so at all was regarded as uncanny and mysterious.

I, Mandhlakazi, once asked a son of Magolwana¹⁶ how it was that the Zulu *izimbongi* were able to remember the praises of kings to so extraordinary a degree, how it was that they managed to dispose themselves to receive and retain so much, what drugs they ate which opened up the chest or heart to the reception of so much. [See p. 6 of next notebook].¹⁷ He said it was because they were given always
72 tripe to eat. Moreover, they used to eat the drug *umklele*, viz.

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the plant used for wattling in the *izigodhlo*.

So much for that. I know, and Socwatsha agreed this afternoon, that *izimbongi* used to wear a dress like the *isiwaba* leather skirt, made of the hide of a beast, i.e. of the part about the neck. This dress was fixed round the waist and reached down to just above the knees. Zulu ka Nogandaya, when he used to *recite* praises, used to put on a dress of this kind.

Our fathers used to refuse to give us information of our ancestors when we wanted to find out about them. They would threaten to beat us if we persisted in asking.

Magolwana used to *recite* praises to such an extent that he would go on hands and knees, and lose his voice. He was once given a pair of large horns which were fixed to either side of his head as if they were on the head of a cow or ox. An *imbongi* would *recite* and *recite*, then stop a little, move on further, then go on *praising*, then stop, then on again.

<22.5.1916>

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 74-82.

74 The death of Pakatwayo,¹⁸ per Mandhlakazi.

It is said that Pakatwayo began the affair by asking Tshaka for beads, fine red ingwele beads that had come from the Nhlwenga.¹⁹ Tshaka gave praise to Pakatwayo's messengers for his words, and sent him some beads. Pakatwayo gave praise. Then he said, 'Weu! Go and ask for a shield for me, go and ask for cattle of his place. I see that there are fine cattle at Mahlabatini.'²⁰ His messengers went off to Tshaka, who gave them some oxen (I don't know if they were more than ten in number). They took them off, and Pakatwayo gave praise for them.

75 Then the Qwabe said, 'These cattle have incisions on their tails, where medicinal powder has been rubbed in.' These words came to the ears of Tshaka. His *izinduna* said to him, 'Do you hear that it is said that you have caused medicines to be rubbed into incisions on the tails of these cattle?' (It was at this time that the Qwabe insulted the Zulu by saying that they were like a necklace which could not even go round the neck, because of their small numbers. They spoke thus because they, who were large in numbers, had never fought with a people so few in number as to be like a necklace which could not go round the neck.)

Tshaka cried, 'Weu! So they say that, do they? They say that I have treated the cattle with medicine? Did they not accept the beads which they came to ask me for?' He then ordered the Mbelebele regiment to go out and build an *ikanda* near a certain place. (I don't know the name of the place; Mkehlengana and others do know it.) They cut poles and put up a fence. The Qwabe saw what they were doing, and the next day came and pulled down the fence and destroyed it. Tshaka's men reported the matter to him, saying, 'While we were busy building the *umuzi*, they came and destroyed it.'

76 On hearing this, Tshaka sent out his regiments to go and build, and himself went with them. When Tshaka arrived the Qwabe ran away, fleeing into the palm trees. The people whom the Zulu found in their homes were stabbed. Then Tshaka's *izinceku*, who were in attendance on him, said that they had seen someone continually coming and

peeping out from among the palm trees. They told Tshaka, 'There is someone peeping out over there.' Tshaka ordered the place to be surrounded. This was done, and the man caught. Tshaka ordered the man to be brought before him, and, astonishingly, he turned out to be Pakatwayo. Tshaka then repeated what Pakatwayo had said about the cattle, and asked him, 'Why, when I had given you a shield, did you say that I had treated the cattle with medicine?' It is said that Pakatwayo could not utter a word, for he was stricken with fear. The Qwabe were then assembled and ordered to come before Tshaka. This they did. Pakatwayo was then eqa'd.²¹ He was eqa'd by Tshaka. Tshaka then ordered him to be taken back to his home at Mtandeni. Pakatwayo then fell sick. This was reported to Tshaka, who ordered that cattle should be sacrificed for him. This was done, but Pakatwayo died. On his death his people konza'd to the Zulu king. Tshaka then ordered the Qwabe to come back and live separately. He asked them, 'How is it that when your chief died you did not fight for him?' The Qwabe could find no word to answer. Tshaka reproved them because they had not fought for their chief.

78 The case of Noziwawa of the Kumalo people.

This man, on one occasion, shortly before the army left on an expedition to Mzilikazi or another enemy, danced a war dance before Dingana as others had been doing. He, however, danced in an even more dramatic manner than the others, for in the course of his pas seul, at the most dramatic moment, he smashed his assegai haft in two, to impress on the king what would occur when he fought the foe. The army left and eventually clashed with the enemy, defeating it. Noziwawa behaved with great valour, and succeeded in killing a large number. On getting back to the king, the *izinduna* made it appear to the king that only about three men had so far distinguished themselves as to be worthy of mention. They gave the names. Enquiries were made after Noziwawa, but the *izinduna* said he had failed to kill anyone at all. Dingana became angry and said, 'Then this fellow who went so far as to break his very assegai before me did nothing after all. Take him and put him to death.' Noziwawa was then taken off and killed. Dingana was then informed of the truth, viz. that Noziwawa had greatly distinguished himself and had killed many men. D. deeply regretted what had occurred but which by then was beyond repair.

This caused Dingana to express surprise at only three men having distinguished themselves when large numbers of the warriors that sat before him showed wounds about the chest and shoulders. He did not believe the *indunas*. As he was making such remarks, a small man rushed forward and danced a war dance in a determined fashion. Dingana asked who he was and if he had killed the enemy, when a large number admitted that he had distinguished himself. Hence he was regarded by the king as a hero.

80 The reason for the reluctance of the *izinduna* to bring to notice names of heroes was from a fear lest their own importance should be diminished through others becoming famous and so receiving royal favours. The *indunas'* policy was to make it appear as if those of high rank, like princes etc., had been heroic. The princes had really no need of rewards, and they would be likely to appreciate the recommendations made by the *izinduna* and, being in a position to

do so, would promote their interests. Thus they masked many heroes through mere self-seeking. A hero who had perhaps killed three or four would be silenced by its being said by the *indunas* that some other man, some special favourite (like a prince) had killed a couple of the very men claimed, and someone else would be declared to have killed the others, thereby leaving the true hero without anything to boast of.

The story of Mhayi.

- 81 Mhayi was a man so crippled as to be obliged always to go about on hands and knees. This was in Tshaka's day, so Mandhlakazi's mother and grandmothers informed him. Tshaka had a special liking for cripples, idiots etc. Mhayi used to go to a woman and say, '*Show me your vagina,*' and the woman would lift her clothing and do so. He would pass on and say the same to another. When he had finished looking he would say, '*This is food for the umnumana!*' These women were not those of *izinduna* or of the *isigodhlo*, for M. would not have dared so to speak to them. Mhayi had quite a large kraal, for, being favoured by the king, he had wives given him from time to time. His daughters are said to have been very good-looking. He himself was not an imbecile in any way. He would sometimes shout out to some man or lad passing by his kraal at a distance, and keep on and on shouting until the stranger came up to him, when M. would ask him to milk his cattle. This done, the stranger would continue his journey. M. was privileged, for he might enter the *isigodhlo*.
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A great hero was Nozitshada ka Maqoboza.²²

Mandhlakazi says the old women, his grandmothers and others, used repeatedly to refer to Mbuyazi and Wohlo in their talks of old times.²³

23.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 82-101.

Biographical notes on Zulu ka Nogandaya. [This account must be collated with those of Mkehlengana and Mkotana, about April and May 1905. It must be regarded not as superseding but as supplementary to those. Mandhlakazi, however, contends that Ndongakusuka was not the name of one of Zulu's kraals, but of the place where he lived. See my notes on p. 98 further on.]

- 83 The story of Zulu begins when he was at his home in the Qwabe country. It happened that he met Tshaka, who was at his maternal uncle's place in the Qwabe country.²⁴ Tshaka did not know that Zulu's name was Komfiya. Because Tshaka was now ruling, Zulu made up his mind to go up to the Zulu country and konza him. He then sought out four men, he himself making a fifth, and went up with them to konza in the Zulu country. When he arrived he said to the *izinduna* that they should report his arrival to Tshaka. They did so, saying, 'Here is Komfiya ka Nogandaya.' Tshaka said, 'Komfiya ka Nogandaya?' The *izinduna* replied, 'Yes.' Tshaka ordered them to get him some food, which was done. The next day they sent for him, and he went up to the *isigodhlo*, where he met Tshaka. Tshaka said, 'So it's you, Komfiya?' Zulu replied, 'Yes, Ngasita,²⁵ it is I.' 'What is it you

want?' Zulu answered, 'Ngasita, I have come to konza.' 'You have come to konza?' Zulu said, 'Yes, Ngasita.' 'Who are the others?' He then named my 'father' Situnga and his brother Magutshwa. Tshaka said, 'It is well, Komfiya,' and told him to fetch the others. When he had done so he was to build a homestead. So his homestead of
 84 Ntshaseni was built. When it was finished Tshaka told Zulu, 'Place your chief man in charge of it, for you yourself are to live here.' He then asked him, 'Is this Situnga, the great warrior of Pakatwayo?' Zulu answered, 'Yes, Ngasita.' 'Is he not the son of Mkonjwa?' 'He is, Ngasita, but he is very ill.' Tshaka said, 'Komfiya, make him the induna of your homestead.' Then Zulu moved up to Tshaka's place, where he became an inceku responsible for smearing Tshaka's hut floor with cowdung. He thenceforward remained an inceku.

While Zulu was an inceku a hundred cattle were slaughtered. The Zulu were summoned and Tshaka formed them into the Mgunanqa regiment. He said, 'Zulu, are you prepared to go among your people, the Qwabe, and kill?' Zulu replied, 'Ndabezita,²⁶ I am.' Tshaka ordered him to
 85 attack, and bring back the cattle of Mbangambi. He went off with Situnga, the two of them. While they were on the way, Zulu said to Situnga, 'I shall stab the people in each house, while you block off the doorway.' Zulu started at the end house. As a person came out he stabbed him, passed on to another house, stabbed another person, and passed on. They did this with the whole umuzi. All the people fled from their homes. The two men opened up the cattle enclosure and drove off the cattle. The umuzi where they stabbed the people was a large one. They drove off the cattle and brought them to Tshaka, who apportioned some to go to Ntshaseni while keeping the rest himself. It caused great admiration that only two men, Zulu and Situnga, had captured so many cattle.

86 I shall now tell of how Zulu won renown as a great warrior. He attacked Nkomo of the Mbata people.²⁷ In those days all Zulu youths were tough. One day when the people were in their homes, there came the wind that makes the sound 'Kwitshi-i-i-i.' Tshaka exclaimed, 'Nhi! This is the wind of Makwata! This means war!' He said this when he was with Mvundhlana ka Menziwa, the hut being full of warriors. He said, 'Let us talk of matters of war. I see that Zwide is coming.' So they discussed military affairs - Mvundhlana, men from all the amakanda, men of Mbelebele.²⁸ Tshaka said, 'Hau! How silent you are, Komfiya.' Zulu answered, 'Nkosi, if three of your great
 87 warriors kill before I do, if I kill only after they do, you may kill me.' Tshaka said, 'Nhi!' So you have matched me, Komfiya!' He told an inceku to go to one of the storage huts and fetch a shield, a single assegai, and a headband, all of which were then given to Zulu.

Tshaka then ordered up his men. When they were drawn up he told them, 'Zwide is at hand.' He went on to prepare for action, having ordered the men of all the amakanda to assemble. In making preparations, he put on his finery and then began giving praises to the ancestral chiefs of his house. I think that the induna at that time was Mvundhlana ka Menziwa.

It was heard that Zwide's force had entered the upper part of the Zulu country. Somapunga²⁹ said, 'No, do not go out to meet him.' Tshaka's army went out to the attack. The news came that the Mbele-

88 bele ikanda had been burnt. Tshaka said, 'It is nothing that they have burnt it; there is no buffalo that was ever beaten by its calf. Tshaka then came over to this side. He ordered his army to draw the enemy along; they should continually make as if attacking, and then give way. In this way the enemy reached Nkandhla, came down the Geongco to Sungulweni, and beyond to Nomveve, where the two armies fought it out.³⁰

89 It was Zulu who led the attack at Nomveve. It was he who stabbed first, and it was his opponent who was the first to fall. They drove the enemy back and forced them into retreat. It was reported to Tshaka that Komfiya, the son of Nogandaya, was fighting fiercely. When Tshaka was told, he said that he could hear where Zulu had been fighting, Zulu 'the heavens which thundered in the open, where there are no mimosas or acacias' (adding a few more lines). The enemy army was reported to be in the wilderness, retreating home-wards. The warriors broke into a war dance, but Zulu did not join in until Tshaka cried, 'Dance, Heavens which thundered in the open, where there are no mimosas or acacias!', upon which the son of Nogandaya danced. A number of cattle were selected, and Zulu's mat-bearer was told to take them to Ntshaseni.

90 Then all was peaceful, after the warriors had returned from driving out Zwide's force. One day, when all the great warriors were sitting with him in his hut, Tshaka said, 'Mvundhlana! I set aside these ten oxen without horns. Let there come forward any man who can match Zulu, and he shall have these cattle.' There was dead silence in the hut. Then Mvundhlana ka Menziwa spoke up. 'O, bird which devours others, there is no man who could match Zulu.' Upon which Tshaka said, 'Take them, Komfiya.'

91 I heard from my father Ngini, who was of the Ndabenkulu age-group, and from Cebokazi, who was of the Mvutwamini,³¹ that there was no one in the Zulu country who could match Zulu. Furthermore there was no one whom he allowed to win more favour than he. No other induna could ever win a reward of cattle greater than that given to Zulu. If Zulu heard that favour had been shown to another induna, he would scatter that man's forces and seize the cattle given to him. It would be reported to Tshaka that the cattle meant for the other induna had been seized by Zulu. Tshaka would say, 'The son of Nogandaya has surpassed all other men. His name is known there where Sikota is, "Sikota, the long grass into which there is no entry".'

Zulu had to leave the Zulu country because of what was said by his wife Nongobosi, daughter of Vimba. After Dingana's death, Nongobosi, together with Zulu's men, said, 'Mpande will not allow you to live,' for Zulu had taken Nongobosi herself from Mpande, saying, 'Sikiti! A woman will never be married by a coward' (ivaka - one who never stabbed anyone, a coward, one who trembles as he comes to an enemy), meaning Mpande. They said, 'Mpande will kill you. He has a grudge against you, for he says that you took Nongobosi from him.'

92 Zulu gave the word to the people of his district, and crossed over. Mpande then raised the alarm among the Boers, asking them to head off this person called Zulu. The Boers came to Ndomdokusuka, to Ntshaseni, but Zulu had already fled and they did not find him. They then closed all the fords over the Tukela, but did not find

him. They then looked for his wives. They asked, 'Where is Zulu?' The women said, 'We do not know.' But Zulu was driving off his cattle. He went in front while Situnga followed. The Boers failed to find Zulu, for he had now met up with Wohlo, who disguised him and sent him to the Mdhlazi.³² Wohlo also went down-country, heading for the other side of the Mkomazi, while Zulu remained at the Mdhlazi. When Zulu heard that Ogle was down at the Mzinto he sent to find out where he was. He was found, so Zulu left the Mdhlazi and went down
 93 to join him. He settled there at the Zembeni. After he had established himself there, his people began to join him, until they had all arrived. He then asked Somtseu³³ for the country at the Mkinyanya. He settled there, low down the Mkomazi river, with all the people who had come with him.

Zulu's chief wife was Mahazane, a daughter of Vimba. She bore Mkehlangana, Zulu's heir. Zulu had many wives, perhaps forty. Vimba lived in the Zulu country. Mpande met Nongobosi in the Zulu country before she had been permitted to marry (for marriage was still controlled).

When my father was klezaing at esiklebeni, in the time of Tshaka, another youth came up to him and hit him, simply to make trouble. He was older and bigger than my father. My father reported the matter to Zulu. While the fellow who had hit my father was driving
 94 cattle, Zulu came up and said, 'Who was it who hit the boy who is klezaing?' When this person denied doing it, Zulu hit him on the head, knocking him to the ground. He was using a knobkierie, and carried on hitting him with it. That was the end of the matter; it was not reported further. Matters concerning lowly herdboys were not reported to the king. Such affairs were reported to the induna, and there they would rest.

Zulu would take fright if he heard that another of the important men in the land had been killed. He would leave his home at once; even his wives would not know where he was. Even when messengers from the king arrived they would be told that no one knew where he was. They would go back to the king and report that they had not seen Zulu. The king would ask where he was supposed to have gone.
 95 They would reply that it was not known. Some days would go by, and then one day people would be amazed to see Zulu approaching, driving cattle. He would come dressed in his finery. He would have made a raid on another district and seized its cattle without having killed anyone. He would have taken them by stealth. He would break into the praises of the chiefs Punga and Mageba, and would then declaim those of Tshaka. Tshaka would laugh, and ask, 'Where did you get these cattle, son of Nogandaya?' Zulu would tell him, and Tshaka would laugh, and there and then give him a portion of the cattle. The district that he had raided was one with many cattle, and part of the Zulu country. He would bully weak peoples if he saw that there were no men to oppose him. The people would not follow up their cattle, for who was there to do so?

96 But one day Zulu acted like a coward. It was during his escape, at the time of 'the breaking of the rope'.³⁴ While they were driving their cattle along a party of bandits appeared out of the forest.

They headed off the cattle which Zulu and his people were driving. They said, 'Give us this beast,' and picked out a light-brown heifer. Soon afterwards Situnga came up. He asked, 'Where is the light-brown one?' Zulu replied, 'There it is, disappearing over there.' Situnga asked, 'Why did you let them take it?', and went charging at them, with his assegai raised and his shield under his arm. He came suddenly in view about a hundred yards below them. He yelled, and as they turned to look he was coming up close to them. Zulu was still standing where he had halted with the cattle, and was looking on. No sooner had they seen Situnga raise his assegai than they fled back into the forest. He headed off the beast which they had taken, and came back with it to Zulu. Zulu's wives said to him, 'So you allowed yourself to be sucked dry!', seeing the beast being brought back by Situnga. They drove the cattle on again, and continued their flight.

This man Zulu had a hardness of heart. On one occasion he had the tables turned on him. He was defied by Situnga himself, and had to leave the matter at that. It happened that when Situnga arrived at the Ntshaseni homestead he asked, 'What is there to eat?' The women replied, 'O, you of the Sitshi people, we are hungry.' Situnga told them to bring out their calabashes, and filled them up. He told them to eat. He ordered the cattle to be brought home, slaughtered one, cooked the meat, and gave some to all Zulu's children and wives. He did all this in the presence of Zulu, who simply kept silent. What could he do in the face of Situnga's actions?

Zulu had married a sister of this man Situnga. Zulu favoured her, and said that she should become his principal wife. Situnga objected, on the grounds that a girl of the house³⁵ could never be made chief wife. Situnga had the last word in the matter, for it ended in his favour.

Situnga was a great warrior, a warrior of Nomo of the Qwabe people. (We Sitshi people were of Nomo ka Kondhlo.)³⁵ Situnga was followed in age by my father Ngini, who was a son of Mkonjwa. [See p. 64.]

[The foregoing was taken down verbatim from Mandhlakazi. Nearly the whole was read over to him. I also turned to my notebooks 56, 57, 60, 61 etc. for Mkotana's and Mkehlengana's evidence about their father Zulu. There were many names and several pieces of information which Mandhlakazi did not know. The principal authority I have on Zulu ka Nogandaya is Mkehlengana (deceased). Mandhlakazi agrees with Mkehlengana that Nogandaya's heir was Voti, not the name given by Mkotana. In the foregoing version by Mandhlakazi he has omitted two or three important incidents in Zulu's life, to be found in Mkehlengana's and Mkotana's versions.]

... <Praises of Situnga ka Mkonjwa omitted - eds.>

100 Mkonjwa ka Ndhlaba of the Sitshi people, grandfather of Mandhlakazi, used to be the greatest warrior in the Qwabe tribe, greater than all others. The old people said that when Nomo wanted to kill a man, and the man ran away to Mkonjwa, he would not be followed up, for Mkonjwa used to fight with the Mtetwa people. It was he who kept

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guard there at the Mtetwa country. He died in battle with the Mtetwa army, being stabbed to death.

.... <Praises of Mkonjwa ka Nhlaba omitted, together with linguistic notes - eds.>

- 101 Nozitshada ka Maqoboza. My mothers merely told me he was a very great warrior. They did not give any particular anecdotes. Kokela ka Mncumbata. This was a very famous warrior like Zulu himself. I think he was *induna* of the *Black Hlomendhlini*, and Zulu was *induna* of the *White Hlomendhlini*. He and Zulu used to hold *ijadu dancing competitions together*. Luswazi ka Ndirolo of the *emaNgadini* people. He was also a great warrior. He was of the Mgumana regiment, and so of Zulu's age-grade. I know nothing of him. Luswazi lived under Zulu, old people of his <sic> i.e. at the Mkomazi. Kokela also, I fancy, came to live under Zulu. Both these men's descendants live under Mqolombeni.³⁷

24.5.1916 - <evidence given 23.5.1916> File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 102-3.

- 02 [Can Mqaikana beat Nduna? Where does he live? Stories about Ngingi and Situnga. Put Noziwawa's (p. 78) and Mhayi's (p. 80) stories into Zulu. Piece p. 71 re memory of Magolwana etc. Piece about death of Dingiswayo p. 71.]³⁸

Mandhlakazi said last night that natives have a superstition in regard to the spilling of *amabele* or mealies. If any of either are spilt they take up a small portion of what has been spilt and throw it over the left shoulder, though they may also do so over the right. This is done to prevent hard times coming on them.

If beer is accidentally spilt in a hut, a broom is not used to sweep it away, but the hand. It is scooped aside as well as possible by the hand. Were it to be done with the broom, those seeing it would immediately exclaim that to do so will bring bad luck.

- 103 [Zwelonke ka Mgengebuli ka Ngudwa ka Mqalana (my servant, aged about 20) agrees with the foregoing. He goes on to say that when a goat is sacrificed to the *amadhlozi*, the women are not allowed in the hut in which the goat's flesh, I think he said, is, and where the pot of beer has been placed for the *amadhlozi*, whilst the men are there. They may come into the hut only after it has been *plastered with dung*.]

24.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 103-6.

Mqaikana³⁹ (the expert Embo *imbongi*) ka Madikane lives under Chief Mandhlakayise⁴⁰ of the Qadi tribe, but pays taxes at Impendhle.

Christianity.

In a talk I had with Mandhlakazi on this subject he said: That he himself wondered if natives were on the true line in worshipping *amadhlozi* etc. His inclination has therefore been towards Christi-

anity. But he finds many difficulties. It is hard to believe in the incarnation, hard to believe in a future life. Then there are many divisions among Christians, proving that many are contending to possess what in its nature cannot be many but one, i.e. Truth.

104 I drew his attention to the great similarity between natives and the Jews, and how Judaism had survived in spite of many calamities, e.g. the dispersion of Jews and the ascendancy of Christianity. The Jews had preserved their nationality and *identity as a people* in spite of dispersion. One therefore has a lesson here for the Zulus. The Jews resisted Christianity and have continued to survive in spite of that resistance. Why should not the Zulus do the same? Why should not their *nation* be allowed to survive? Why should they be broken up, although not knowing what prospects there are of being received by the European races?

M. says he has had to do with what he calls the Church, i.e. Church of England, i.e. Colenso's church, also with Wesleyans. It is native clergy that come his way. If a *dhlozi* beast has been killed, and a native minister comes, he proceeds to partake of the beast without asking any questions. If he were told it was a sacrificial one, he would not partake of it, but if not informed, he considers himself free to eat, though as a fact the beast has been so sacrificed. This causes natives to talk, as also does the order that native beer must not be drunk. Nor must *the meat of a beast that has* 105 *died* be eaten. The Roman Catholic church, however, permit *the meat of such a beast* to be eaten and beer to be drunk.

It is clear that missionaries are endeavouring to break down the native *uhlanga*⁴¹ and to destroy the power of the chiefs.

I said I thought it wrong to break down the *uhlanga* by means of which natives had continued to exist until the present time, and to offer as substitute a creed of another race widely different in civilization. I went on to point out various things to show that the denominations cannot lay claim to Truth. None of them have the whole Truth.

M. says it is apparent to him that the main object is for the ministry to obtain money from natives to enable them to subsist and further the interests of their own families.

106 [It is evident that M. is exceedingly in the dark, and that the policy of missionaries is to get hold of those who are in the dark and unable to defend themselves, and to induce them to accept their particular forms of Christianity as the Truth, whereas Christianity itself is losing its hold in a remarkable way in England and other countries. There is a lot of good in Christianity, but it cannot lay claim to being the one and only Truth. India does not think so, nor does China, to mention no other countries.]

25.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 2, pp. 106-8.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

107 *The mourning for Dingiswayo.* [See note on this, p. 71.]
Zwide asked two of his sisters to help him, for *Dingiswayo* was proving difficult to overcome. He said, 'Children of my father, help me by going to *Dingiswayo* and marrying him.' He gave them each a

snuff-case and told them, 'When Dingiswayo ejaculates, take up some of his semen in the snuff-case.' In due course the girls went off to Dingiswayo. There was a shrilling of women, for they had come to marry the chief. It was good, and there was rejoicing.

I do not know how many days it was before they were taken to Dingiswayo's hut. When they came, Dingiswayo hlobonga'd with them. After he had finished, they wiped him clean. After this they left the
108 Mtetwa country, returned to Zwide, and gave him what he had sent them to bring. When they arrived with it, Zwide said, 'Now I have overcome him!' He then mixed medicine to put Dingiswayo in his power, and when he looked into the medicine he found there the Mtetwa chief himself.

In the Mtetwa country all was quiet when Dingiswayo suddenly gave the order to arm. The important men of the nation reproved him, saying, 'Hau! Without even telling the people why, you order the army to prepare for war.' He ordered his war finery to be brought out. His crane feather was brought. He went into the cattle enclosure, and proceeded to prepare for war the force which he had available. While he was busy, a number of locusts suddenly settled on the feather which he had put on. The izinduna cried, 'Hau, Nkosi, what are those things on the feather?' Others exclaimed, 'They are locusts.' <Continued below - eds.>

25.5.1916

File 57, nbk. 14, pp. 1, 3-7.

1 The feather came loose and fell to the ground. The izinduna said, 'No, Nkosi! The army has been injured. Let it again be treated with medicines.' Dingiswayo answered, 'No, Mtetwa people! It has agreed' (the omen that he had seen). He went off, and the izinduna were silent. He went into Zwide's country. He said that he would there prepare the army which had not been properly prepared.

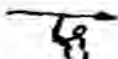
3 Zwide's force came against his, and they fought. There was not a great battle. Zwide defeated his opponents, and gave orders for Dingiswayo to be captured. [Mandhlakazi retracts this, and agrees that Dingiswayo was caught when practically alone.]⁴² I do not know whether they took him to Zwide's place or whether Zwide jumped over him there in the open. Then Zwide ordered him to be released. But his mother said, 'How can you release this crafty person who has done so much against you?' So Zwide leaped over him again. I do not know whether he actually killed Dingiswayo, or leaped over him and let him die.

4 Great lamentations broke out when Dingiswayo's death was reported at Yengweni.⁴³ Great lamentations broke out among the umdhlunkulu, among his wives. They came to Ntombazi's⁴⁴ place, crying, and climbed up onto all the houses. Some climbed up, others pulled out the thatch from the houses, still others were wailing. The men were amazed at this omen. They felt that some evil would follow because the women had climbed on to the houses. Zwide said, 'No. Leave them. They are widows.' They were left alone. They wailed and wailed, until they were exhausted, and asked to be put to death. They were climbing onto the houses, crying, 'Let Zwide kill us too, like our husband.'

That was how Zwide overcame the Mtetwa people. I have not heard anyone say that they went to war again after Dingiswayo's death. People say that it was only Tshaka who continued to feel hatred,

- 5 My fathers (Ngingi and Zulu and others) said that Tshaka found fault with the practice of carrying a number of assegais. [Cf. what is here said with pp. 12, 13, Holden, *History of the Kaffir Races.*] This was when he was still among the Mtetwa with Dingiswayo. He said, 'Wo! If these men were mine I would cut a single assegai for each of them. I do not want them to bear wounds behind. A good man should have his wounds on his chest.' So when he came back to the Zulu country he ordered that only one assegai should be carried, and this was done.

Zulu used to jeer at a man if he did not hold his stabbing assegai in the *imfukule* position. He himself used to hold his assegai in this position, pointing upwards, with the blade above his hand and the shaft below it. Not



(the above attitude is known as *ukukabukomo*, or *ngi m ke mahlanze*, *ngi m guaze mahlanze*),⁴⁵ but the *imfukule* position, as below.



Zulu said that the assegai should be held in the *imfukule* position. Our fathers learnt this from him.

- 6 Magolwana's and other *izimbongi*'s memory. [See p. 71 of preceding notebook. Entered this note in Book of Eulogies, ii, on page facing p. 1.]

I once asked Mfihlo ka Mshwankele ka Magolwana of the Jiyana people, 'How is it that you Jiyana people can recite praises at such length without forgetting them?' He answered, 'We used to eat animal guts and tripe. And when a man was going to recite praises he would eat the root of the *unklele* tree.' It was said that it was those things that made a man not forget. For this tripe came from the *isi-godhlo*, and in the Zulu country it came to be known as the part of the beast that belonged to the *izimbongi*.

Mbelebele, Tshaka's *umuzi*. I think the name derives from the word for a matter that persistently worries one (*umbelebele*), that reminds one of something that one has forgotten. I think the owner of the *umuzi* got the name from the words, 'You have been worrying (*belesela*) me for a long time.' [Lugubu⁴⁶ agrees with this, 31.5.1916. Bryant seems to have a better derivation of this word; See Dictionary.]

- 7 I know that when a child comes and asks for snuff, old women will say, 'I have none.' The child will go and tell the person who sent it. This person will say, 'No, go back and ask again.' The child will do so, and the old woman will say, 'Au! Here is this persistent worrier (*umbelebele*) again. I am being pestered by this *umbelebele*!' She then ignores the child, and it goes off.

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

7.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 11-13.

- 11 One day when Mpande was sitting in assembly, a daughter of Siguyana approached with wild vegetables which she had been gathering, and placed them near Mpande. Mpande said, 'Hau! What is this, daughter of Siguyana?' She answered, 'Wild vegetables, Nkosi.' Mpande tasted some, and when he found that they were good he said, 'Hau, Zulu people! The daughter of Siguyana gives me wild vegetables. But I cannot imagine where I could ever be in need. Where could I ever be in need in the Zulu kingdom, where the smell of food is everywhere?' The implication of his words was, 'Would I ever be destitute and hiding in the forests with Masiguyana? Would she ever have to go out to pick wild vegetables for me?' For a man who resorted to eating wild vegetables was a man in a position of need, one who had been driven from his country by war. 'We drove Sikunyana far away; we drove Mzilikazi far away; and we drove Nxaba ka Mbekane far away!'⁴⁷ He was boasting of the power of the Zulu kingship, which had overcome the nations. [Cf. 'Bellow, beast of the Zulu; you who will never leave this place!']⁴⁸

It was Masiguyana, the mother of Mtonga,⁴⁹ who spoke thus. Mtonga was the one who was designated by Mpande as the future king. He said, 'Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Zulu people, the heir will come from among the calves.' Mapita⁵⁰ and the others murmured, saying, 'Hau! Has not Cetshwayo been designated as heir?'

- 12 <In the original there is given at this point a passage in Zulu bringing out the sense of the words spoken by Mpande when Masiguyana brought him wild vegetables. This passage is followed by Stuart's own translation, which we reproduce here - eds.>

'Zulu, with our nation as mighty as it is, I cannot imagine in what foreign land I could ever be wandering about with Masiguyana where she would be obliged to leave some forest shelter to pick me wild herbs like these. Who is it could drive me forth as an outcast from forests like these of ours?' The men would thereupon concur in approving the king's remark, saying: 'Whatever indeed is it that could happen which would compel Masiguyana to steal from some strange forest, to pick herbs here and there for your Majesty?'

- 13 Mfihlo ka Mtshwankele ka Magolwana ka Mkatini told me the above anecdote. He was an expert on Zulu affairs. He was killed in the Bambata rebellion⁵¹ at Mome. He was a great *imbongi* too, though not like Magolwana.

Nxozana ka Moni of the Qungebeni people was Mpande's *imbongi* when cattle for the royal household were being slaughtered, so Mfihlo told me. Nxozana fathered Jikajika, who was one of Cetshwayo's *izinceku*. I do not know where Jikajika is now.

8.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 13- 14.

Zulu ka Nogandaya remonstrates with Tshaka.

One day in the assembly at Bulawayo Tshaka asked, 'Is Mageansa here?' (Mageansa of the Ncwana people was brother of Zulu.) 'Is Mbewu

- here?' (Mbewu of the Mbedwini people). The men of the assembly replied, 'Yes, Ngasita.' Tshaka said, 'Take them and kill them.' Upon which Komfiya stood up and said, 'Ngasita!' Tshaka looked at him and said, 'What is it, Komfiya?' The latter replied, 'Hau, Nkosi! Why did I come here to the Zulu country? Why, when the people with whom I came from the Qwabe country are being killed? Why do I konza? Do I not konza for them?' Tshaka said, 'Sit down, Komfiya; you have spoken. Let them go.' All the men of the assembly saluted him, saying, 'Yebo, Ngasita!' Tshaka said, 'Komfiya, take them and pour gall on them, for the heavens nearly scorched them.' The assembly gave praise, saying, 'Yebo, Ngasita!' Trembling, the two men went off to their homes in the outlying districts.

The modern people force their way through all places wont to be treated with respect, e.g. when they say, as is reported, 'Bayeza!' for 'Bayede!', and so forth.

9.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 14-15.

<The anecdote that follows is recorded twice in the original, with minor stylistic improvements in the second version. We reproduce the latter - eds.>

- 14 [See Mangati's version on 30.6.1920 in light blue notebook, p. 25.]⁵²
- 15 On one occasion, when Tshaka, in the presence of his counsellors, had ordered a man to be put to death on some pretext or other, he said to him, 'Tell me, So-and-so, now you are on the point of being put to death, which among the things you are leaving behind, do you consider the most delightful of all?' 'A little child, your Majesty, that has just learned to smile,' replied the poor wretch, 'a brave young maize plant just about to burst into bloom; and best of all, the king.' 'So well, Zulu,' exclaimed the despot, 'has the man spoken, he deserves not to die. Release him!' And released he straightway was from his terrible predicament, amid a loud chorus of 'All hails!'

<5.6.1921, High Brae.>

File 57, nbk. 7, pp. 7-8, 15.

Also present: Mgidhlana, Maputwana

- 7 *The killing of Nomantshali, favourite wife of Mpande.*⁵³
Mandhlakazi gives the story of the death of Nomantshali immediately after Mgidhlana narrates it, and in his presence and that of Maputwana. The version is that of Mgidhlana as rendered by Mandhlakazi in Mgidhlana's presence.

Nomantshali ka Sigulana of the emaBeleni people was a wife of Mpande, the king. She was not his chief wife, but was his favourite. People said that she had medicine to make Mpande love her, and that she was weakening him by making him do so. Some years after the battle of Ndongakusuka⁵⁴ (after we had buta'd) - the battle where the princes fought and many of Cetshwayo's brothers were killed - Cetshwayo said, 'Let the daughter of Sigulana be killed.' For it was said that she

had love medicines with which she bewitched the king, weakening him, for he was unable to walk. When he heard this, Cetshwayo said that his father had said that his heir was 'among the calves', though Cetshwayo had already been designated. Cetshwayo called up an armed force and ordered it to go to Mdumezulu.⁵⁵ When the men arrived there they found that the daughter of Siguyana was absent, and that Mtonga and Mgidhlana⁵⁶ had escaped to the Boers, to Landelisa, at the stronghold of Hawane.⁵⁷ The men then went on to Nodwengu, to the place of the king Mpande. When they arrived they ordered the king, 'Bring her forth!' It was Manyono ka Njongolo who said this. Mpande denied that she was there. When they heard this they berated him. Then Mpande said to his incekus Sonkehlenkehle, 'Give me an assegai so that I may kill myself.' Then he said, 'Since you have treated me in this way, you will never see my young sons, not until the stars shine during the day.'

- 8 Manyono then took off his men, and they scattered into the hills in search of the daughter of Sigulana. They felt that she would not have left the Zulu country, as she was a woman, and because she would have fled to the king where she thought she would be safe. They eventually found her near esikLebeni, below the Mtonjana, in the little umuzi attached to it.⁵⁸ Someone pointed out where she was, saying, 'That is where the daughter of Sigulana is!' Then she came out from Langasana's,⁵⁹ for she had heard that her youngest son, Mpoyiyana, who followed Mtonga in age, had been killed. Her heart broke and she came out, saying, 'Let me be killed in the wilderness, for everyone dear to me is dead.' She did not know that Mtonga and Mgidhlana had escaped. The soldiers surrounded her and stabbed her to death.

Mgidhlana adds that when this outrageous episode was reported to Cetshwayo he strongly disapproved of it. His orders had been simply that his 'mother' and her children were to be killed, not that if she had taken refuge with his father that the troops (Ngobamakosi) were to go to Nodwengu and demand her person of the king. The order had been issued to Manyonyo, and he exceeded instructions by going as far as he did.

- 13 Mpande creates an awkward impression in Zibebu's mind. Per Mandhlakazi, Mgidhlana agrees with this, and asks where Mandhlakazi got so true a version as to what happened.

When reports were being made to Mpande after the battle of Ndongakusuka, he asked which troops had been responsible for the victory. The answer was that it had been the Mandhlakazi.⁶⁰ Mpande said, 'Ha! So they say that the Mandhlakazi are a separate force, that the Mandhlakazi fight as a group.' That was all. Zibebu heard the king say that the Mandhlakazi were a separate force, implying that he too was a chief in his own right, though he had fought for Cetshwayo. The impression then was made on his mind that he really stood apart from Cetshwayo, and this was no doubt one of the reasons which induced him to stand up and fight against Cetshwayo in later years.⁶¹

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<8.6.1921>

File 57, nbk. 7, p. 29.

Also present: Mgidhlana, Maputwana?

- 29 Mandhlakazi says he has heard on good Zulu authority that Mpande praised Nomantshali, i.e. *the daughter of Siguyana*, thus: 'Thighs, the cynosure of the Zulu nation's eyes'.

2.2.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 85-92.

- 85 Mandhlakazi ka Ngini of the Sitshi people.

The killing of the Qadi people.

They were killed when Dingana became king. He summoned the Qadi, ordering them to bring poles. It was the practice in the Zulu country that when building was to be done the proclamation was made, 'Let poles and bushes be brought.' On this occasion the Qadi were required to bring only poles. When they had come with them to Dingana, he ordered them all to run and pretend to fight so that it could be seen how they would do in battle. The Qadi duly did so, running up to a ridge and back again to Dingana. He ordered them to do it again, which they did. By now they were tired from the running, for they had had no food. He then had them all killed. Their chief was Dube.

The killing of the abaMbo people.

- I heard tell that the Nguqa, a powerful ibuto of the eMbo people, was ordered to go up to the royal place. It duly did so. Dingana then ordered the men to stage a mock battle, and run to where the Qadi had run. They ran to the place, and back to Dingana, who ordered them to run again. Again they ran. A third time he ordered them to run, and a third time they ran. He saw that now they were tired, and gave the order for them to be killed. They were put to death, all except those who escaped by running away and hiding.

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

The killing of Zihlandhlo ka Gawabe.

- A certain Jiyiza ka Dhlaba, of the Mbo people by birth, went with a message to his people after a man of the Qwabe had whispered to him, 'Go and warn Zihlandhlo⁶² that I have heard that an attack is to be made on him.' Jiyiza went off. When he got home he took his shield from the storage hut and proceeded to work on it, delaying in the delivery of his message. A force of men sent by Dingana arrived at Zihlandhlo's place, four or five of them. They came and stood before the gate, and announced that they had been sent by Dingana and wanted to see the chief. They asked for Zihlandhlo to be called, and said that he must come alone, as they wanted to discuss a matter that was privy to the king. (None of the people knew the king's affairs.) Zihlandhlo went out and sat down. The men came close up to him as if they wanted to speak privately, when suddenly one stabbed him with an assegai. None of Zihlandhlo's people saw what happened. The men went off, calling out as they did so, 'There is your chief. Let him not be eaten by the dogs at the gate!' The men of the place came from the upper end of the homestead to find Zihlandhlo dead at the gate.⁶³

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Zihlandhlo was a favourite of Tshaka's, together with Magaye⁶⁴ ka Dibandhlela.

After the death of the chief, Jiyiza ka Dhlaba said, 'I was told that he was to be killed, but I forgot to warn him.' The abambo people cried, 'Hau, Jiyiza! So it is you who are responsible!' He was driven out from among the abambo. He went to the place of Dumisa⁶⁵ ka Mvenya, and was given refuge there. Today his sons are still living there. Even now the abambo people all say, 'We remember Jiyiza well, the man who brought about the misfortune which caused the death of our chief.' He remained an outcast, and the abambo do not mix with his people.

The English do not have grudges, but the Boers never stop saying that we once fought with them.

The killing of Matshukumbele ka Gawabe by Zihlandhlo ka Gawabe.

Zihlandhlo said to Matshukumbele, 'My brother, I appoint you to visit Tshaka for me.' Matshukumbele went off to konza Tshaka, who presented him with cattle and told him to take them back to Zihlandhlo. But Matshukumbele did not do so; he kept them for himself. Again he went to konza, again Tshaka gave him cattle to take to Zihlandhlo, and again he kept them for himself. Then Zihlandhlo went up to konza. Tshaka kept his silence for a time, and then asked, 'Hau, my brother! Do you not give praise?' Zihlandhlo answered, 'Wo! No, Nkosi, I have not yet seen Matshukumbele.' Zihlandhlo returned home.

Matshukumbele heard that Zihlandhlo had been to konza Tshaka. He said, 'Wo! I must go against Zihlandhlo.' He then summoned his men and ordered them to arm themselves. He was intending to go and kill Zihlandhlo. Some of his men had told him that, in speaking to the king, Zihlandhlo had denied that the cattle had ever reached him. When he heard this, Matshukumbele said, 'I must kill Zihlandhlo.' He armed, and went off to Zihlandhlo's place. Zihlandhlo saw him coming in at the gate of his meeting place. Zihlandhlo was in the cattle enclosure with his assembly. Matshukumbele said to him, 'Why did you say that I had not brought the cattle?' Zihlandhlo answered, 'What do you mean? Have you come to kill me?' He said this because Matshukumbele was standing there armed. Zihlandhlo said, 'No, son of my father, do you think I could say such a thing? In fact I was asking for monkey skins for you, so that you can dress up when you go to konza Tshaka for me. Come, child of my father, sit down, and I shall give you the skins tomorrow.'

Then Zihlandhlo whispered to one of his izinceku, 'Run to Sambela at Mngeneleni, and tell him that Matshukumbele wants to kill me. The men are in the cattle enclosure, looking at him. Let a force arm at once, and come here in the night. Sambela is to kill the men who are siding with Matshukumbele.' The inceku took the message to Sambela at Mngeneleni. Sambela said, 'No. He is being insulting. I cannot kill men of the home.' The men of Mngeneleni armed, and very early in the morning were in position behind the homestead, for Zihlandhlo had ordered that they should halt there, behind the isigodhlo. When the force arrived, Sambela sent an attendant to report its arrival to Zihlandhlo, who came out through the gate at the upper end of the homestead to find the whole force from Mngeneleni present. He ordered them, 'Do not kill Matshukumbele. Capture him so that I may speak

90 with him.' Matshukumbele was still asleep in the house which had been allotted to him. Zihlandhlo went back by the upper gate into the isigodhlo.

At dawn one of his izinceku went out and shouted, 'All men to the cattle enclosure!' The men of Zimahleni and the men of Matshukumbele rose, and crowded into the enclosure. Zihlandhlo too went into the enclosure. When the men had sat down, Sambela's force came up on them through all the openings in the fence, and proceeded to stab Matshukumbele's men. Zihlandhlo crossed paths with the force from Mngeleneni as he was going back to his isigodhlo. In trying to escape, Matshukumbele's son Ludonga [Mbokodo said Sibabili was the name - see notebook under date 9.11.1913⁶⁵ - but I still think Ludonga is right: Sibabili may be another name of the same man] climbed onto the fence, where he was stabbed by Mngqudu ka Mzukula of the Ndhlovu people, an inceku to Sambela. He stabbed him to death. The others were stabbed there in the enclosure. As Matshukumbele was escaping over the fence, Mhlana 'who carried the calf on his back', of the place of Ngeongo, an inceku to Sambela, rushed at him and caught him. Mhlana praised himself with the words, 'Now I have you; the neck does not tire from bearing the medicines worn by a man who has killed in battle, but they have tired out the old people'. So Matshukumbele was caught by this warrior. Matshukumbele exclaimed, 'Hau! So you have caught me, son of Msolwa. What hands have you caught me with?'⁶⁷ Zihlandhlo ordered, 'Bring him here to me!' They did so. Zihlandhlo said, 'Hau, my brother! So you wanted to kill me. You were going to stab me because I was alone. Here are the monkey skins which I was telling you about yesterday. Do you see them? Here they are. These are the monkey skins from the Kombe.'⁶⁸ He then put him to death.⁶⁹

91 The matter was reported to Tshaka. Tshaka exclaimed, 'Maye! Who is it who has killed Matsuku?' (his nickname, as used by Tshaka). It is said that Tshaka was very fond of him. Tshaka was planning to launch an attack on Zihlandhlo, and surround his homestead, when Nandi intervened, saying, 'What of the consequences of your oath?'⁷⁰ Did you not make an oath that you would not kill Zihlandhlo, your "brother"? That was the end of it.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

92 Sambela.

Sambela was fathered by Gawabe. He followed Zihlandhlo in age in the same house. He was pure white in colour, and very small. He was a great warrior; there was no Embo who was as great as he. Sambela once suggested to his brother Zihlandhlo that Tshaka should be killed. Zihlandhlo disapproved, for he was on very friendly terms with Tshaka, and in addition, when Tshaka used to say that Sambela should be killed, Zihlandhlo would refuse. Tshaka wanted to kill Sambela because he was so strong, and also because he had fame as a warrior. Sambela made the suggestion in the assembly of his people that Tshaka should be killed. I think that Sambela was of the uluTshwele (regiment), an ibuto of Zihlandhlo. [See Mbokodo's evidence.] Sambela and Zihlandhlo were killed by Dingana. [For the death of Zihlandhlo see pp. 86, 87 herein. For the death of Sambela see Mbokodo's version in notebook under date 9.11.1913.]

3.2.1922

File 59, nbk. 28, pp. 92-5.

Per Mandhlakazi.

The girl who married Mavovo of the Embo people, then married Mavovo of the Cube people, and finally returned to Mavovo of the Embo.

93 Mavovo, the grandfather of Gawabe, the chief of the Embo, married a girl (I forget of what people). After she had married Mavovo, she was taken by Mavovo of the Cube, for she had chosen him as a husband. She had run away to him. He said, 'Whom have you married, woman?' She answered, 'I have married Mavovo of the Embo.' They were neighbours.⁷¹ Mavovo of the Cube said, 'It is I who am Mavovo. That other fellow is Mavovwana.'⁷² Mavovo of the Cube said this because he had taken the woman away from him.

94 It came to the ears of Mavovo of the Embo that Mavovo of the Cube was continually calling him Mavovwana. Then there was excitement among the Embo! Mavovo of the Embo said, 'Weu! What is to be done, for here is Mavovo of the Cube treating me with contempt?' The country was suffering from famine. The woman who had married Mavovo of the Cube after being taken from Mavovo of the Embo now had a child, a fat little girl still at the breast. There was a diviner, a man of no property who went round looking for food, for it was a time of famine. He said to Mavovo of the Embo, 'Nkosi, I could fetch that woman back for you if you still wanted her.' Mavovo said, 'Could you really fetch her back?' He replied, 'I could, Nkosi.' Mavovo gave orders for him to be given some amabele, so that he could carry it with him. This was done. He and Mavovo finished their talk and he went off. He journeyed to the Cube, to Mavovo's place. As he was coming up to the gate, he met some children sitting playing. He asked, 'Which is the child of so-and-so?', giving its name. When he saw it he said, 'Come closer, child of my sister.' He kissed it on the cheeks, there at the gate. The mother was away, having gone out to work in the fields. 'O! Give greetings to my sister.' He went off alone, and returned to the place of his people.

When the woman returned home she called the child, kissed it on the cheeks, and suckled it. After she had finished, as dawn was approaching, she escaped, and, carrying the child on her back, took the road that led to the Embo of Mavovo. She came to Mavovo and married him. A great cry was raised at the place of Mavovo of the Embo, for the great wife had returned. The womenfolk uttered shrill cries, 'Ki! Ki! Ki! The great wife has returned!' She escaped from Mavovo of the Cube after she had been made great wife; at Mavovo's of the Embo she had also been great wife. When she came to Mavovo of the Embo, he had appointed another chief wife, the mother of Kabazele. She bore Mbangi, at the Mpunga homestead.⁷³ (Mbangi fathered Magaba.)

Mavovo of the Embo said, 'I have overcome him. It is now he who is Mavovwana, and I who am Mavovo.' This woman remained as a wife among the Embo, and it was seen that Mavovo of the Cube had been overcome. I have forgotten the name of this woman; I think she was of the Cunu people.

I shall go, and complete the story; I cannot finish it now.

95 We people are surpassed by the bees of the wild. For they put food aside; they accumulate stocks that will last for a very long time. They do not complain of hunger. They surpass us in realizing that the

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land may be affected by famine, or that floods may occur, while we do not go out to find food.

[This applies to the gross improvidence of natives, as for instance in not seeing the advantage of recording their ancient stories etc. etc., for to do so would promote their national interests.]

Notes

- ¹The neck-ring.
- ²A well-known warrior.
- ³The armband worn by persons of distinction.
- ⁴Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁵A photograph of Mandlakazi is reproduced in Stuart, uHlangakula, p. 45. On the Natal Government's measures to amend certain African marriage practices in the late 1860s see Welsh, Roots of Segregation, pp. 78 ff.
- ⁶Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁷The designation 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. The isiklebhe (loc. esiklebheni) *umuzi* was first built by Senzangakhona: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 46; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, index under *imizi*. The inDabankulu *ibutho* was one of those formed by Shaka of men born in the early nineteenth century: see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 241.
- ⁸Another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁹I.e. the Mkhize people.
- ¹⁰I.e. 'my elder brother'.
- ¹¹Brother of Zihlandlo. See the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.
- ¹²For another account of this incident see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 275-6.
- ¹³Historians disagree as to the dates of the attacks made by the Zulu on the Ndebele during Dingane's reign. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 435-6; Lye, 'The Ndebele kingdom', Journal of African History, vol. 10, 1969; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', pp. 26, 33, 38; Rasmussen, Migrant Kingdom, pp. 85-91, 128-9.
- ¹⁴*Umhlola* means a strange occurrence, an ill-omen.
- ¹⁵This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is to a more extended account of Dingiswayo's death as given by Mandlakazi later in his evidence.
- ¹⁶Magolwana kaMkhathini of the Jiyane people was a famous *imbongi* in the time of Mpande. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 30-1.
- ¹⁷This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is to Mandlakazi's evidence under date 25.5.1916.
- ¹⁸Chief of the Qwabe.
- ¹⁹A derogatory term for the Tsonga and neighbouring peoples living to the north-east of the Zulu kingdom.
- ²⁰The present-day Mahlabathini district is located to the north of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi river. As used in the present context, the name seems to refer to the historic Zulu heartland, which is to the south of that river.
- ²¹Literally, jumped over. On the significance of one chief's jumping

- over another see Van Warmelo, ed., *History of Matiwane*, pp. 19n, 105n; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 312.
- ²²Stuart here cross-refers to information about Nozitshada given by Dunjwa kaMabedla: see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 126.
- ²³Mbuyazi and Wohlo were Henry Francis Fynn and Henry Ogle respectively.
- ²⁴Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 48, gives Shaka's mother Nandi as daughter of the Langeni chief Bhebhe and his great wife Mfunda of the Qwabe people.
- ²⁵A term used when addressing the Zulu king.
- ²⁶Another term used when addressing the Zulu king.
- ²⁷This may be a reference to the Nkomo of the Mbatha chiefly house who, according to Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 224, was killed by the Mthethwa in Dingiswayo's time.
- ²⁸Mvundlana kaMenziwa was head of the Biyela section of the Zulu royal house. UmBelebele was the name of one of Shaka's *amabutho*, and also of one of his *amakhanda*.
- ²⁹Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 161, 212-13, 588, gives Somaphunga as a son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide who joined Shaka after Zwide's defeat and death.
- ³⁰The route taken was along the ridge between present-day Nkandla village and Eshowe, and then down to a position near the confluence of the Mvuzane and Mhlathuze rivers where the battle took place. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 206; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 17.
- ³¹A female *ibutho* formed by Shaka and consisting, according to Bryant, of women born in the final years of the eighteenth century. See *Olden Times*, p. 645.
- ³²Mandlakazi may here be referring to the Mlazi, a river which enters the sea just south of present-day Durban, and near which Ogle (Wohlo) had his main establishment (see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 111). Mdlazi was the name of a Cele chiefly *umuzi* established in the early nineteenth century near the Mhlali river, which enters the sea fifty kilometres north of Durban. See *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 96, 119.
- ³³Theophilus Shepstone, successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, 1845-76.
- ³⁴The original has *ngoku dabuka kwe goda*, an expression commonly used to denote Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839, when he crossed with a large following to the Natal side of the Thukela.
- ³⁵The original has *intombi ya s ekaya*. Zulu and Situnga both belonged to sections of the Qwabe people.
- ³⁶For Nomo's position in the Qwabe chiefly genealogy see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 186.
- ³⁷Another of Stuart's informants.
- ³⁸This paragraph occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of page 102.
- ³⁹Not to be confused with Stuart's informant Mqayikana kaYenge of the Zondi people, whose evidence will appear in a later volume of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ⁴⁰For Mandlakayise's place in the Ngcobo-Qadi chiefly genealogy see Bryant, *Olden Times*, opp. p. 482.
- ⁴¹Literally reed or stem, i.e. people of the same stock or ancestry.
- ⁴²This note appears in the original as an interlinear insertion.

- ⁴³Dingiswayo's principal *umuzi*.
- ⁴⁴Mother of Zwide.
- ⁴⁵I.e. at close quarters.
- ⁴⁶Another of Stuart's informants. His evidence has been reproduced in Stuart Archive, vol. 1.
- ⁴⁷Sikhunyana, a son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, was defeated in an attack on Shaka in 1826. Mzilikazi of the Khumalo fled from the Zulu country in the early 1820s, and was subsequently attacked on several occasions by the Zulu. Nxaba of the Msane people was driven by Shaka from his kingdom in the early 1820s.
- ⁴⁸A praise shouted by Zulu warriors to the cattle in the royal enclosure when boasting of the might of their nation. See also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 30.
- ⁴⁹A son of Mpande by his favourite wife Nomantshali, daughter of Siguyana (Zigulana) of the Ntuli. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 27.
- ⁵⁰Maphitha kaSojiyisa was closely related to the Zulu royal line, and wielded considerable influence in the kingdom.
- ⁵¹In 1906.
- ⁵²Mangathi's evidence is reproduced in the present volume.
- ⁵³Nomantshali was killed in March 1861. See Mael, 'Political integration in the Zulu empire', pp. 295 ff.
- ⁵⁴In December 1856.
- ⁵⁵One of Mpande's *amakhanda*.
- ⁵⁶Sons of Mpande. Mgidlana was another of Stuart's informants.
- ⁵⁷A mountain east of present-day Utrecht.
- ⁵⁸The esiKlebheni *umuzi* was situated in the Zulu ancestral heartland about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. The first *umuzi* of that name was built to the south of the river below the Mthonjaneni heights.
- ⁵⁹One of Senzangakhona's wives.
- ⁶⁰UMandlakazi was the name used to identify the people under the local authority of Maphitha kaSojiyisa and his son Zibhebhu, who were closely related to the Zulu royal line.
- ⁶¹Zibhebhu was one of the leading opponents of the Zulu royal house after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ⁶²Chief of the Mbo (Mkhize) people. For Bryant's version of the Mbo chiefly genealogy see Olden Times, p. 406.
- ⁶³For Bryant's account of the death of Zihlandlo see Olden Times, pp. 413-14.
- ⁶⁴Chief of the Cele.
- ⁶⁵Chief of the Duma-Seleku people in the Mzinto area. For further information on him see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 531.
- ⁶⁶Mbokodo's evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁶⁷The original reads, 'Hau! U ya ngi bamba mfokatana ka Msolwa. U ngi bamba nga tip' itandhla na?' The informant Mandlakazi here breaks into the *ukutekeza* manner of speech, presumably in imitation of Matshukumbele.
- ⁶⁸A forest on Qudeni mountain in the south-west of the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁶⁹Bryant's account of this incident in Olden Times, pp. 410-11, is based on that in Stuart's uTulasizwe, pp. 96-9.
- ⁷⁰The original has *Iqangane u yo li bekapi?*, literally, 'Where will you put the *iqangane*?' *Iqangane* is a swelling of the belly supposed to be caused by the making of a certain rash oath: see Bryant,

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Dictionary, p. 528.

⁷¹The Mbo and Cube territories were in close proximity to each other: see map in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 698.

⁷²Diminutive form of Mavovo.

⁷³The original does not make clear which of the two women was mother of Mbangi. For the positions of Khabazele and Mbangi in the Mbo chiefly genealogy see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406.