

MANGATI KA GODIDE

29.6.1918

File 57, nbk. 4, p. 4.

- 4 Mangati ka Godide ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi (alias Nkobe; he *ground the grain - izinkobe* - of Senzangakona) ka Kuguqa ka Msalela ka Nomatshingila of the Ntuli people, parent tribe amaBele.¹ Mangati was *induna* of the Indhluyengwe regiment.² He is about 70 years of age. He used to be a policeman at Greytown to John Shepstone, and knew father.³ He is tall, light brown, and of slight build. He is very smart, quick-speaking, and his words are not easily caught.

Ndhlela was of the Ntontela regiment. He was Prime Minister. He was of about the same age as Senzangakona. His eldest sons were of the Ingcobinga regiment.

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

Ndhlela was tall, brown, with thin legs and a big chest. His land was at Mpapala, at the Mamba. It also included Mpatesita's district, and stretched up to the Mfongosi. His great kraal was eziBungwini, near Macala mountain, where Godide was brought up.⁴ I never saw him.

1.7.1918

File 57, nbk. 4, pp. 14-19.

Also present: Socwatsha?

- 14 Mangati continues.

I knew Godide. He was *induna* of the Mpunga regiment. His great kraal was Egweni, near Macala hill. Ndhlela's eziBungwini kraal, the principal one, was also there. Godide was born at Mgungundhlovu;⁵ he came to the vicinity of Macala when a boy.

Zihlandhlo had his kraal at Esimahleni about Macala. Sambela's was near there too. The Esimahleni is now at eNgilanyoni hill near Mid-Illovo. Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Gubele, of the Embo people.⁶ Sambela was son of Gcwabe. Kabazele's and Gubele's graves are *above the Nsuze*.⁷ Gcwabe's is at the foot of Macala - the eastern slope. The remnants of the tribe were given by Dingana to Ndhlela to look after.

I once visited Ngunezi ka Siyingela ka Zihlandhlo. He gave me £3 8s at his Esimahleni kraal because he regarded my grandfather as the protector of the remnants of the tribe.

15 <Praises of Sotobe ka Mpangalala omitted - eds.>

Mpande narrowly escapes being killed by Dingana. [In working this up refer to Sivivi's account in notebook 10.]⁸

It was Ndhlela who saved Mpande from being killed. Mpande was then living within four or five miles of Middle Drift, near where the road goes to Fort Yolland, his kraal being called Emlambongwenya, *for it was the place of his people*.⁹ He had already had some sons, viz. Cetshwayo, Mbuyazi etc., but such fact was concealed from Dingana. As a boy, Mpande had trouble in one of his legs, a bone protruding therefrom (*umcoboka*).¹⁰ This, and the fact of his appearing a bit of a fool, was urged by Ndhlela as an excuse for not putting him to death as Dingana had done some five other sons of Senzangakona.

Nxagwana and Matunjana were sent by Dingana with cattle (100 heifers) as a present to Mpande, it then (later on) being Dingana's intention to put him to death on his coming to *give praise* for the gift, as is customary when the king made any gift. Ndhlela, the head *induna*, was not informed of the plot but got to hear of it, so he secretly informed Matunjana of it [see below], directing him to advise Mpande not to come to *give praise*. [See Zulu version pp. 16-19.] When Matunjana and Nxagwana got to near where Mfanefile's store is, Matunjana pretended he wanted to get away to see his sweetheart, so went, saying he would shortly return. He at once made his way by a devious route - travelling part of the way in a river bed -
16 to Mpande and told him that the cattle to be given were part of a plot and warned him not to come to express thanks. Matunjana immediately went back and rejoined his companion. Mpande lost no time in getting away to Natal. *This was 'the breaking of the rope'*.¹¹

Ndhlela was not told by Dingana of the plot. He heard of it from others. He was very surprised, hence his directing Matunjana to warn Mpande.

It was at Komo hill that Nxagwana and Matunjana halted with the 100 heifers.¹² They there killed a beast, partaking of it with the party of king's envoys accompanying them. Matunjana then said he wanted to go and see his girls at Mpapala. He went off down the Mamba stream, travelling part of the way in the river bed itself so as to keep out of sight. On getting to Mpande's kraal at night, he threw a stone at the *induna's* hut. The *induna* came out. Matunjana said he wanted to see Nkonzapi (another name for Mpande). The *induna* brought Mpande. Matunjana then told the *induna* to leave and, when alone with Mpande, he told him the whole plot, i.e. delivered Ndhlela's message.

As soon as Ndhlela discovered the plot he sent his *inceku* Rwayirwayi. He said, 'Go, Rwayirwayi, and signal to Matunjana that he should come here to me.' Ndhlela then left the homestead and went out into the hills, saying, 'Bring him to me in the hills. You will find me at a certain place in the bush.' Rwayirwayi duly called Matunjana and took him to where Ndhlela was, in the hills, at a place
17 where the bush was dense, to the east of Kwa Matiwane.¹³ They came to Ndhlela. Ndhlela was bitter about the plan to kill Mpande, whom he had protected by saying that he was not going to contest the kingship. He said, 'Go, Matunjana ka Sibaxa of the emaNkwananyameni. When you get to the Komo hill, leave Nxagwana, with the excuse that you are going to Mpapala to visit the girls who have chosen you in marriage.' (This was in Ndhlela's country. Three girls had as a

matter of fact chosen Matunjana when a wedding-dance was on. Ndhlela knew of this, and these girls were daughters of his - Ndhlela's - people.)

He said, 'Matunjana, the Zulu nation will not survive if Mpande dies, for he has fathered children, while Dingana, like Tshaka, has none. Mpande will save the Zulu nation from crumbling.'

Matunjana then went off to carry Ndhlela's secret message to Mpande. He said to Mpande, 'Tomorrow we shall come with cattle which Dingana has given you. You must give praise. You must give praise to me and to Nxagwana; you must act as if you were seeing me for the first time.' They went inside. Songiya, mother of Mpande, was roused. Mpande said that she too should see Matunjana, who had come to warn him; his mother should hear the words of Ndhlela. Mpande's mother gave praise. She gave Matunjana a pot of beer. Matunjana then went off in the darkness. At dawn he was at the Mamba, at Sungulweni.¹⁴ He came to Nxagwana as the sun was rising. Matunjana then said, 'Let meat be cooked and then let us be off to drive the cattle to Mpande.' They went off, going down the amaDungela ridge.

The cattle were brought to Mpande at Emlambongwenya. (This was probably the name, as it was the place of his people.) [Socwatsha says it was Empenqaneni. Mangati (says) the kraal was first called Empenqaneni, and later Mlambongwenya. It was called Mpenqana whilst Mpande was still a prince. The name changed as stated when he became king.]¹⁵ Cries of joy were raised. Nxagwana and Matunjana gave praises to the kings. They cried, 'Take them, Prince! Your brother, the king, gives them to you. He says, "Drink from the udders with your mother." He apportions them to you.' Songiya went out, and beat the cattle with a stick, crying 'Halala!'¹⁶ and giving praise.

The shouting of praises came to an end. They went to look at the cattle. Mpande gave praise. 'The son of my father has placed a cover over me by giving me so many cattle.' He then gave them one of his own household cattle to slaughter - a cow. They feasted on beer and meat, and then went to lie down. The next day they left. Matunjana left his stick behind. He came back from the hills saying, 'I have forgotten my stick.' He wished to convey all Ndhlela's words; he had not yet finished. He said, 'On no account come and give praise for the cattle. You will be killed. Ndhlela says, "Cross the river, and go to the Boers." So that when Ndhlela has died because of what he has done for you, you will care for his orphaned children. He can no longer care for them. If you survive, look after his children.'

After Ndhlela's death Mpande duly took care of his children. He gave them cattle. He started with Godide (my father), the eldest. He gave him 250 cattle. He then gave cattle to all Ndhlela's children, saying that they should grow up (kula). He also gave cattle to the children of Nduwana, and established them in homesteads.¹⁷ Cetshwayo, had he not been killed by the English, would have taken care of us and presented us with cattle too, like his father. He gave them all cattle by the dozen and established them in homesteads.

Nzobo (alias Dambuza) ka Sobadhli of the Ntombela people.¹⁸

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

He was of the iWombe regiment. This is the man who caused people to

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be killed off in every direction, especially those with property, cattle or girls.

When the Boers got Nzobo they tied his legs together and then tied the string round the brake (screw), his face downwards, so that when the oxen pulled the waggon he had to protect his face by holding on to the ever-moving ground. Hence he was soon exhausted and so done to death.



This was done because he was supposed to have suggested to Dingana the putting to death of Piet Retief and his party.¹⁹

12.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 1-2.

- 1 Mangati ka Godide ka Ndhlela ka Nkobe (Sompisi) ka Kuguqa ka Msalela ka Nomatshingila, of the Bele people. Ntuli is our *isitakazelo*.

Mangati is about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and of the Indhluyengwe regiment. He is about 73 or 74 years of age.

Senzangakona took Bibi, the sister who followed immediately after Ndhlela in age, to wife. She was followed in age by Nduvana.

Senzangakona said, 'How is it that my wife, who is so beautiful, and whom I love, should be called a Bele? Why should she be addressed as Mbele? It is difficult for the tongue to say Mbele to my wife. When she is addressed as Mbele, does it mean that she is the front covering (ibele) of a rock rabbit (imbila)?'²⁰ He said that the old people should be asked what their *isitakazelo* was. They replied, 'We are addressed as "Mbele! Ntuli!"' He then said that the name Ntuli should stand, and that his wife should not be called a Bele. Hence the origin of the Ntuli people in Zululand being called by this name, as if it were their *isibongo*, whereas it is simply the *isitakazelo* of the Bele people.

- 2 We Beles are blood relations of the Basuto. Our place of origin is eLenge (Job's Kop), Natal.²¹ It was there that our ancestor Mahlaphahlapa lived. I do not know his father's name. He afterwards fled from eLenge. Whilst at eLenge our people were cannibals.²² This is a well-established fact. Mahlaphahlapa fled to Cape Colony, perhaps to Basutoland [as stated by J.S.]. His chief son was Qunta, whose chief son was Mabandhla, and his chief son of the left-hand house was Ndomba. Mabandhla lives in Cape Colony, where there are many Beles. Mabandhla's chief son is Mbomvu. Ndomba lived in Estcourt (?) Division. He is dead.

We Beles are a hardy, long-lived tribe.

13.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 2-4.

The amaBele are descended from cannibals who long ago used to eat people. I have heard this said.

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Our great-grandfathers, the grandfathers of Ndhlela, came down into the Zulu country by means of a grain basket.²³ The grain basket rolled from eLenge (Job's Kop) with them inside it. There were people inside it. A piece of fat appeared in the basket, at the place where they were living. The person with the piece of fat ran away to the Zulu country. They followed him and so came to the Zulu country, travelling by means of the grain basket. They arrived in the Zulu country and came out of the basket. They then konza'd in the Zulu country, at a time when the house of the Zulu was still small and had not yet increased in size. Our people went to the Zulu when Jama was still ruling, or it may have been Senzangakona or even Ndaba.²⁴ Our people grew up with Senzangakona. We konza'd to the Zulu before the country had been united by Tshaka.

- 3 The real name of Nkobe (father of Ndhlela) was not Nkobe but Sompisi. He was called Nkobe because he used to grind the grain (izinkobe) of the chief; he was a menial. He was called Nkobe because he used to grind the maize very fine, leaving no husks in it. (This meant that the maize would rise when being cooked.) He surpassed the girls in grinding, for when they ground boiled maize for the chief there would be husks in it. The girls were told to leave off grinding as they had been surpassed. Thus he came to be called Nkobe.

[See history of the AmaBhele in Bird, *Annals*, i, where it is said they went off to Cape Colony and there became slaves, not merely amaMfengu. This disposition to become slaves was, as seen above, in Nkobe, i.e. in the above incident.]

The inkata yezwe was never thrown away or buried with the king when he died.²⁵ I do not know what became of Cetshwayo's on his death; I fancy it must have vanished as the people had been scattered.

- Mangati says that Dinuzulu was not a party to the war on the Government started by Bambata.²⁶ He ascertained this himself from
4 Dinuzulu during the rebellion. Dinuzulu was at fault in harbouring Bambata's wife. Sigananda declared that Dinuzulu was at the back of the war, and it was because of this assertion that Mangati was drawn into taking part.²⁷ He felt he could not do otherwise if his king had ordered him to fight. Sigananda, however, was quite mistaken, hence Mangati, like others, was duped. Bambata was nearly stabbed when natives found that bullets 'entered' when he or his people declared they would not.

14.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 4-13.

We amaBhele are amaNtungwa.²⁸ These originated up-country. The Kumalos are amaNtungwa; Matiwane ka Masumpa's people, the amaNgwane, are amaNtungwa.²⁹

There are the following sections of the Ntuli tribe:³⁰

Mavumengwana, Ndhlela's son of the left-hand house
(Mfungelwa)³¹

Mpumela ka Ndhlela (Mlokotwa) - formerly Godide³²

Mbuzo (Mapoyisa) - Nkandhla district

Mkonto (Maqilimana), not yet chief; (Ngobizembe)

Bele (sections)

Ndomba ka Qunta - at Estcourt

Mncindo ka Tshoba - Richmond Division near the Mkomazi

Mahlungwana ka Tshoba - *down the Mpambanyoni*, close to the sea.

- 5 Bibi, the wife of Senzangakona, was a sister of Nduvana and Ndhlela. Nduvana was of the Wombe regiment; Ndhlela was of the Intontela regiment. Ndhlela was the eldest; then came Bibi, then Nduvana. [See more about Bibi, pp. 10, 11.]

Bibi was killed by Mpande's regiments near Maqongqo.³³ She ran away with Nduvana. They got to a little sharp-pointed hill in the thorn country called Uve. Here they hid in a donga of a little stream. The *impi* came upon them in a little bush and killed the two. Bibi was killed on the ground that she had been a favoured wife of Senzangakona, and so opposed to the other wives. I do not know the class of girls Bibi belonged to.

Godide (my father) told me, 'My fathers (i.e. Ndhlela and Nduvana) had been *circumcised*.' Godide was of the Inyosi regiment. I was Godide's *inceku* and he frequently spoke to me. Godide was very dark (like Mavumengwana). He was *impucule*, i.e. without a hair on his chin or lips. He was tall, say 6 feet 1 inch. Ndhlela was very tall, say 6 feet 5 inches or so; so were his sons Nhlukuziso and Ndabankulu. These two I knew. Nhlukuziso and my father Godide were killed by Zibebu at Ondi.³⁴ Ndabankulu died at home of a chest complaint.

- 6 When Senzangakona took Bibi to wife he expressed disapproval of her tribal name Bele. He caused inquiry to be made of the old men of the tribe, upon which they said Ntuli was an *isitakazelo* of the tribe. S. then directed all those Beles associated with Sompisi, whom Senzangakona had called Nkobe, as above explained, to drop the name Bele as their tribal name and assume that of Ntuli, which was done.

What happened seems to have been this. Sompisi found his way first from eLenge to the Zulu tribe. He there became a servant to Senzangakona. Presently his relatives followed on from Lenge and *konza'd* the same chief and were received because Sompisi was in favour. When the change of name was directed, the relatives of Sompisi, though properly speaking amaBele, took it on. Hence, at the present time, we find three sections of Ntulis in Zululand, and one in Natal, viz. under Mavumengwana, Mpumela, Mbuzo, and Mkonto respectively, of which Mbuzo and Mkonto are not descendants of Sompisi but of some ancestor common to all further back. This will be seen from the following genealogies:

Mavumengwana and Mpumela ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi (Nkobe) ka

Kuguqa ka Msalela ka Nomatshingila.

Mbuzo ka Mngeni ka Menyelwa ka Mahaule ka Mlomo.

Mkonto ka Ntwananhle.

I was born at Empandhleni shortly after Mawa ka Jama crossed into Natal [1842].³⁵ Mpande took exception to Mawa crossing over into Natal with as many people as she wished to do. At any rate much too large a number wanted to accompany her and so do as he had himself done when, in Dingana's reign, he left with a vast concourse of Zulus. He accordingly directed these would-be elopers to be attacked by the Izingulube regiment, so that the people of the nation should get

drawn together and no longer cross over. Many were killed and this act checked too great an exodus. Mawa's party was thus a small one. I do not know what *troubled* Mawa so much as to cause her to leave. She *crossed over* with Makobosi ka Xube of the Ndhlovu people. Makobosi was
 8 Ndhlela's great *induna*. Mawa, I believe, first settled in Dukuza district (near where Stanger is now), then moved on towards Verulam, and seems to have lived there. Makobosi's son Ncapayi afterwards became court *induna* at Verulam.³⁶ I do not know where Mawa died, but she died in Natal. I do not know if she was ever married.

Mawa left the Gingindhlovu district, then known as Entonteleni, to escape into Natal.

The Izingulube were stationed at Entonteleni. Their orders were to *go up the Tsekela* to cut off the flight. They proceeded as far as *Isiwa samanqe* and Ndulinde, starting from eDhlokweni drift.³⁷ People seeing this were afraid to come down and join Mawa. They thus *were drawn in together*, i.e. they were directed to vacate the district adjacent to and near the Tsekela and to move and build further inland. Among those who did this was Godide my father, who went from Macala mountain and re-erected his kraal or kraals at Empandhleni.

The site at Macala originally became that of my grandfather Ndhlela on Dingana putting Zihlandhlo (ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Gubela
 9 ka Mavovo) to death. These were of the Embo tribe and originally came from Swaziland. The graves of Gcwabe and Kabazele and Gubela are at Macala, i.e. on that side of Macala which looks towards the Insuze river. I can point them out.

Zihlandhlo was killed *at Makedama's place, in the emakabeleni country* on the right bank of the Tsekela.³⁸ That is where his grave is.

I am not sure if the father of Gcwabe is Kabazele or Gubela, or which is the elder of these two.

Zihlandhlo's chief son was Siyingela. This man crossed into Natal and went to live on the Mkomazi at eNgilanyoni hill between the Ilovu and the Mkomazi. They there rebuilt Esimahleni kraal which had previously existed at Macala.

I do not know where my ancestors Kuguqa, Msalela, or Nomatshingila were buried. Nkobe, alias Sompisi, died *in the Emahlabatini country* at Kangela kraal.³⁹ This was in Tshaka's day, I fancy. I do not know what his regiment was.

*It is a practice in the Zulu country that when the sons of the king have intercourse with a girl they penetrate her; they do not soma externally.*⁴⁰ This is well established. Mpande's sons did this.

10 Bibi's son was Sigujana.⁴¹ [This concurs with what Tununu says: nbk. (pink) 22, p. 2.]⁴² She also had a daughter, Nomqoto, who became mother of Sokwetshata ka Myandeya ka Mbiya of the Mtetwa people.⁴³ Bibi, as has been pointed out, was daughter of Nkobe, alias Sompisi. She was *followed in age* by Nduvana, and she herself *followed after* Ndhlela, the great *induna*.

Mangati knows the name Mfokozana, though not as alias to Sigujana, though it may be. This Mfokozana (of whom) Mangati knows was a son of Senzangakona.

Nomqoto died *in the Mtetwa country, where she had married.*

Nomarinqa, a girl, who *followed Mbandamama ka Ndhlela in age*, also

became a wife of Myandeya. She was summoned by Nomqoto, then wife of Myandeya. She said, *'Let a girl of the house of my maternal uncle come.'* She accordingly went. Nomarinqa gave birth to a boy and a girl. I don't know their names.

Bibi was killed by Mqundane ka Nobongoza and others.⁴⁴ Mpande had said, *'Let her not be killed. I shall need to use her to rule.'*⁴⁵ But Mqundane said, *'Stab her, for she was favoured over our mothers.'* [For the place etc. where she was killed see 6 pp. back, p. 5.] For in Dingana's time she had become a woman of great importance at Mqungundhlovu. Mpande too intended to set her in a high position.

- 11 You must be the possessor of some beautiful virtue, like Bibi, whose star was in the ascendant whatever king happened to come into power - a saying in the Zulu country.

Bibi was Senzangakona's favourite wife; she surpassed all his other wives in favour.

A story about Manembe's death (the great doctor).

Manembe of the Gwensa people lived in the Lower Umfolozi district, perhaps at Inseleni and not far from Cetshwayo's Mangweni kraal. He was the great doctor who treated Cetshwayo's army with medicines just before his attacking and defeating Mbuyazi at Ndondakusuka.⁴⁶ Later on, Manembe's chief son, Ngulungulwana, went to Mangweni kraal to serve, being in one of the regiments. N. here got ill from a fever and died. Cetshwayo, however, did not trouble to report either the illness or his death to Manembe. M. said, *'What is Cetshwayo doing that he does not send a report to me that my child is dead? He would not have died if his illness had been reported to me.'* He regretted that he had used his powers to treat Cetshwayo's army, saying, *'I would not have done it if I had known that he would see my son ill and fail to report the matter. Enough of my helping him, I who overcame Mbuyazi's doctors, Mqalana of the Nzuza and his lot!'*⁴⁷

- 12 Cetshwayo heard of this, that he was complaining in this manner. He said, *'Hear, my men, Manembe is complaining, and is blaming me, saying that he will leave off doctoring my army.'* His izinduna replied, *'Manembe will perhaps kill you, for he is mourning for his son.'* The order was given that Manembe should be killed. A force was sent out from Mangweni. Manembe's strange powers let him know that it was coming to kill him. He told his wives to take his children and scatter while he remained alone at home. They refused, and set about cooking some food. But the food would not cook; the boiled maize no longer spattered round the hearth. The beer which they had drawn off could not be poured. The ladle would not enter the beer-pot, even though it was full; if a person tried to scoop out some beer the ladle would fly into his or her face.

- 13 The impi arrived and surrounded the homestead. He called to it from the calf pen (he was simply seated there, not hiding), *'Do you come to kill me? Because my child Ngulungulwana is dead?'* That was all. He said, *'Kill me, that I may follow my child.'* He said, *'Things will not prosper with you people.'* Then they killed him. When the sun set he rose up, even though they had stabbed him; he rose up and spoke, saying, *'Things will not go well with you, because of my death.'* That was the end. Nor did Cetshwayo's affairs prosper, as history clearly sets forth.

[Cf. snake not ceasing to wriggle till after sunset.]

Mangati knew Cetshwayo well and often sat and conversed with him.

15.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 13-21.

Mangati proposes a Zulu name for Robert. (The name, Mdabuli (he who forces his way into the origins of things), *on account of your 'cutting through' by asking all these things, i.e. about the far-off past - searching, exhaustive inquiry - and also for going across the sea [re Swazi Dept.]*).⁴⁸ This was proposed as a name for little Robert, I having earlier in the day asked Mangati to give him a Zulu name before he leaves today.

'Yeti!' This is used (said) when praising a girl at the performing of the *igcaga* wedding dance, before the girl had left the row of dancers but was still with the main body, and when the praises of her ancestors and her elder relatives were declaimed, followed by the *giyaing* of the warriors.⁴⁹

When a beast is about to be killed for the ancestral spirits, the expression in Zululand is not 'Yeti!' but 'Izwa-ke!' or 'Izwanini-ke!',⁵⁰ such term being addressed not to the living but to the departed, i.e. those about to be *bongwa'd*. The *bongaing* then proceeds at once.

If the king gives cattle to anyone, that person does not begin by saying 'Yeti!' or 'Izwa!' when he *bonga's*, but *bonga's* and sings eulogies right away, the occasion not being formal.

I do not know what 'Yeti!' means.

I have noticed that the term 'Bayeza!' is used as a salute among Natal chiefs. They have got away from 'Bayede!'⁵¹ I don't know why they do this.

'Bayede!' in Zululand is shouted out loudly when a large number are present to give it. If (there is) only one person he drawls or dwells on the second syllable, and salutes in a lower voice; he does not shout as would be done when many salute together.

Nomantshali.⁵² [This story incomplete.]

Nomantshali was the daughter of Sigulana of the *Bele* people, i.e. our tribe. She came from elenge, where her people were. Thus she is one of our tribe, like Bibi. She (N.) was almost as great a royal favourite as Bibi. *She was the favourite of Mpande. On the day she died the earth shook; the mountains thundered; a person pouring milk into a gourd found that it would not go in; a woman grinding meal (inkhlama) found that it scattered and could not be ground; and when boiled maize (umcaba) was being ground it too spilt.*

I did not know Nomantshali. I saw her at Mdumezulu, at the place of *Sitshwili* (a ridge), beyond *Nodwengu*.⁵³ She was of medium height and build, light-coloured, good-looking, not fat, moderately sized. She gave birth to Mtonga and *Simpoyiyana* (who was killed with her). [Mgidhlana says this name is right but it became usual to shorten it to *Mpoyiyana*.]⁵⁴ She was killed in the *Mahlabatini* country. She was at the place of *Langazana ka Gubetshe*, to which she had escaped, at *eSiklebeni*, on this side of (below) the site of *Mgungundhlovu*.⁵⁵

I do not know the origins of this affair. She was killed by Cetshwayo, some time after the battle of *Ndondakusuka*. Mtonga was

- a grown youth (*insizwa*), of the Mbonambi age-group. I have heard it said that Nomantshali had once put a spell on Cetshwayo's mother Ngqumbazi. Ngqumbazi had left the Gqikazi umuzi at the Vrina river,⁵⁶ and had passed by Nomantshali's place at Mdumezulu. When she came to Mpande's place she lay down. The next day she was still lying down. She was ill. She began to grow a beard on her face like a man. It was said that she had been bewitched by Nomantshali, at whose place she had slept. Mpande said, 'Why did you sleep at Nomantshali's place, when you have accused her of placing a love-charm on me?'

She would probably not have been stabbed. A woman was not stabbed, but had a rope put round her neck; it was then struck tighter and tighter with a stick, so throttling her.

The king took Msukile, a daughter of Ndhlela who followed Mavumengwana in age (she died last year; she was of the iNgcotsho age-group), and sent her to Nomantshali. He lobola'd her with 40 cattle. She was not killed. She was maternal aunt (*uninakazi*) to Mtonga. She was placed in Mtonga's charge. She died at Mtonga's place last year.⁵⁷

A praise-name or eulogy of Nomantshali was Somapa.

- My tribal *isibongo* is Bele (also, as previously explained, Ntuli); my personal praise is 'the hoe of Mpendu which hoes on the hillside'. The real signification of the tribal *isibongo* is that it is an *isitakazelo*, i.e. it is associated with happiness or gratefulness of disposition, friendliness. It may be that the tribal name is called an *isibongo* because it is that which is always employed by custom when expressing thanks to another (*ukubonga*). It is that by means of which one expresses thanks, for any gift or kindness, hence *isibongo*.

Mvundhlana ka Menziwa was a great chief, and under him lived Masipula (ka Mamba ka Ntopo ka Ndaba ka Jama) of the eMgazini people (*Ntshangase - isitakazelo*) and Mdhlaka (ka Ncidi ka Ntopo ka Ndaba ka Jama) of the eMgazini people - the great indunas of Mpande and Tshaka respectively.⁵⁸ Masipula was formerly *inceku* of Dingana at Mgungundhlovu. My father Godide was *inceku* of Dingana in the *isigodhlo* at Mgungundhlovu. The *isigodhlo* there was called eNkwezi. My father milked the cows of the royal household.

Mvundhlana was the great head of one branch of the Zulu tribe. As time went on and they became rather distantly related to the Zulu royal house, the Zulu chief designated them as a separate group,⁵⁹ seeing they had beautiful girls, upon which Mvundhlana's people became the *Biyela*, whilst those of Masipula and Mdhlaka were called *Mgazi*.

I know that Senzangakona took to wife Zitshungu ka Mudhli ka Nkwelo ka Jama, and she became chief wife of eNgwegweni.⁶⁰ When the Zulu War was fought she was still chief wife there. Upon doing this, Mudhli's section became the *left-hand house of the Zulu people*, but took no special name.

- I never saw Mvundhlana. He died at his home. Mvundhlana was a very great warrior. What he used to do was this. He would engage the enemy in battle with the rest of his regiment, and when the enemy began to flee he personally kept on and on following it and went right out of sight, upon which he would go off to the amaBele district, from where his mother Ngazi came, and there stay so long that it would be

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concluded in the Zulu country that he must have been killed.

The severe wounding of Hlati and Ndhlela in the last Zwide attack on Tshaka.⁶¹

The Ndwandwe came down the Geongo ridge, passed Empandhleni, and reached the Tukela at Ndondondwana.⁶² They then turned about, climbed up the Madingela, and went down to Maqonga, below the Komo; they went along the Mvuzane towards the Mhlatusu, where they turned about and set up camp.⁶³ The Zulu watched them. The next day the Zulu approached, coming from Tshaka at eTshoue. In discussing the plan of action with Tshaka, Hlati ka Ncidi and Ndhlela ka Sompisi said, 'Do not be agitated; do not be afraid. When the enemy come to take you they will do so only after having defeated us men of the Ntontela ibuto. We shall scatter them.' Indeed at dawn the next day the armies met at Nomveve.⁶⁴ The two men fought fiercely with the enemy. As the enemy
19 began to give way they both fell, severely wounded. They were as if dead. The enemy retreated, then broke and fled. The Ndwandwe were routed by the iNtontela and driven towards the Mhlatusu. But the two men were lying badly wounded where the fight had taken place. The Ndwandwe were utterly defeated. Ndwandwe and Zulu corpses were lying across one another where the armies had met.

Those who could do so returned to Tshaka, those with wounds and those without. They said, 'Hlati fought fiercely, until at last he fell. Ndhlela too fought fiercely, until at last he fell.' The king asked, 'Are they dead?' His men replied, 'They are still groaning; they are not yet dead.' The king sent out his izimbongi with oxen to call on the ancestors with praises so that the two men should recover. 'For if they die then I too am as if dead.' Indeed praises were given. The two men regained consciousness during the night; they were revived by the cold. They squatted on the ground. They were lifted up by the arms; they vomited blood. A small homestead was seen nearby; they were taken to it. Water was drawn and they were made to vomit. Blood came from their mouths. Horns were used to administer
20 an enema to them, causing blood to flow. The king sent doctors to treat them with medicines; they vomited blood. The eventually recovered. On the king's orders they went to him at his home; they did not go to their own homes. He treated them with medicines and they recovered; they survived their wounds. A large present of cattle was given to them. The king said to Ndhlela, 'What is your elder brother's homestead called, then?' He answered, 'It is called eManwe-
21 leni.' Tshaka said, 'No. Let that name be dropped. I now name the homestead eManxebeni, after the wounds (amanxebeni) which the Ndwandwe gave you. Go and set up a homestead, and establish yourself with these cattle. Bring up the child Sonsukwana, of your elder brother, Gqwatshaza.'⁶⁵

Hlati followed in age after Ndhlaludaka; he was father of Madwaba. [This man Madwaba was a very good imbongi: see Mangati's remarks re him where he is dealing with izibongo in separate paper.]⁶⁶

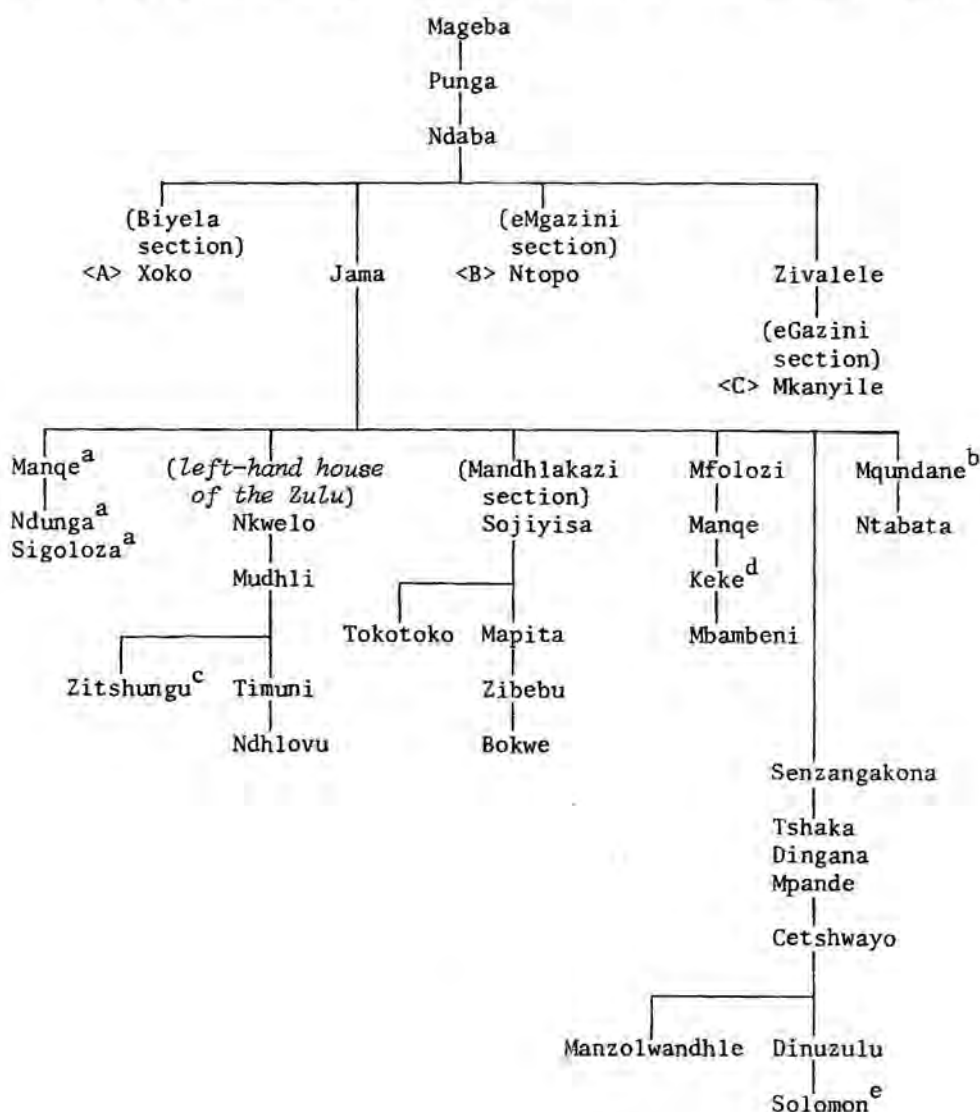
[Mangati catches the 4.25 p.m. train to Pietermaritzburg (15.6.1920), he having come to Pietermaritzburg in connection with Ntulizwe's case - now declared head of Ndhlela's section of the Ntuli tribe. I asked him to get Mantshonga and Mazimu, living near Empa-
21 ndhleni, to come down to me at once. I promise to pay. Both are said

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to be exceptionally good *izimbongi* of Biyela affairs.]

My own impression of the genealogy of the Zulu tribe, based partly on Mangati's information:

<The genealogy given by Stuart at this point in the original was clearly built up from information supplied by a number of different informants over a period of time. It includes numerous arrowed insertions and supplementary notes. For typographical reasons, certain relationships, which in the original are indicated by conventional genealogical descent lines, are here indicated by the use of the symbols A, B, and C. Repetitious information has been omitted - eds.>



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^aPer Mtshayankomo, black notebook 76.

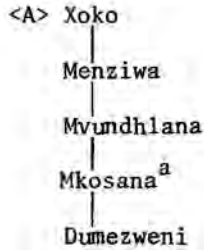
^bAlias Maqoboza. (He was, of the Wombe regiment. Jama is possibly Mqundane's grandfather, not father.

^cMarried Senzangakona.

^dDhloko regiment.

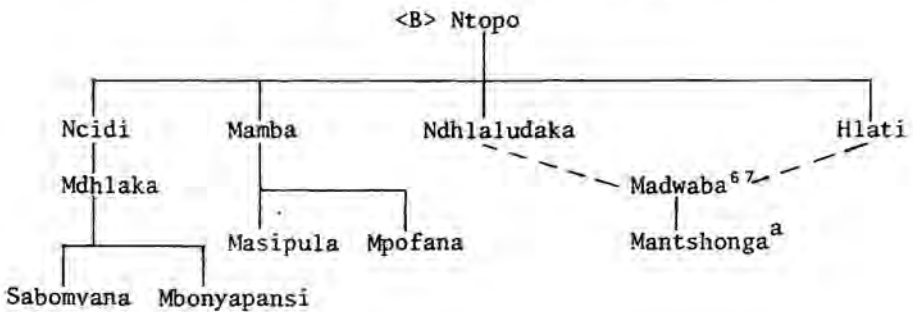
^eAlias Nkayitshana.

Biyela section



^aKilled at eSandhlwana.

eMgazini section - *isitakazelo* Ntshangase



^aLiving, aet. 52.

eGazini section



Into the above must come the great Biyela section (the *isitakazelo* is Ntshangase and Ndabezita), chief Mvundhlana (the great warrior) ka Menziwa ka Xoko ka Ndaba, and no doubt other sections as well.

Zulu
eMgazini
Mandhlakazi

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Biyela

Ntombela

eGazini - this was *the washing enclosure of the king*, maybe Senzangakona or Tshaka. Mbopa ka Sitayi of the eGazini - so-called after he had stabbed Tshaka.

29.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 22-3.

22 Mangati continues.

The Mandhlakazi were not originally formed into a separate section (*datshulwa'd*) by the Zulu kings. The name was of one of Mapita's kraals, and a district seems to have adopted that name. The kraal had been erected in honour of his grandfather. At Ndondakusuka it was the Mandhlakazi section which caused Mbuyazi's men to break. This fine action caused the name to develop so as to connote all Mapita's tribe.

The Mandhlakazi were later on separated off by Dinuzulu on the occasion of some beer being sent him (at Usutu)⁶⁸ by Mahu ka Tokotoko ka Sojiyisa. A large number of girls went. These girls, after sitting for some time with the prince, left the prince's hut (i.e. those related by blood), except Mahayihayi, Mahu's daughter, and some girls of ordinary people. Dinuzulu questioned her. (Dinuzulu was looking for a girl he could sleep with that night. He asked Mahayihayi why, being a 'sister' of his, she did not leave with his other 'sisters'.⁶⁹ She replied, 'So you are rejecting me too, even though I am available to you?' She then quoted a case where one of her tribe, a son of Hayiyana, had had illicit intercourse with Ndabuko's daughter, who died before childbirth.⁷⁰ D. said, 'This dying was proof of doing wrong.' 'Yes,' said M. 'Their intercourse was illegally and secretly done, knowing it to be wrong. In our case it would not be so.' Mahayihayi married D. and had a daughter by him. She is living.) She said she belonged to the Mhlabangubo people, meaning that Zibebu, her great uncle, had attacked and actually stabbed Cetshwayo at Ulundi.⁷¹ Because of this stabbing of the king, so this Mandhlakazi section was regarded by her as having become an independent tribe, with its name as proposed by her, just as, in the case of Tshaka's being stabbed by Mbopa ka Sitayi, the latter's tribal name from thenceforth became eGazini,⁷² that (iGazi) being the name of a small kraal of the king (possibly Senzangakona or Tshaka) just outside one of his big kraals, where he used to wash with *love medicines*. (*The enclosure where the king washes.*)

23 Mahayihayi's father afterwards sent to ask Dinuzulu about his having slept with her, pointing out she was his 'sister'. Dinuzulu pointed out that the girl had herself stated she belonged to a different tribe on account of Zibebu having stabbed Cetshwayo. ('We stabbed the chief.') After this Mahayihayi became Dinuzulu's wife, he then being said to have separated off the Mandhlakazi tribe.

Mapita had three leading kraals: Ekuvukeni, Enkungwini, Ekuxedeni.

30.6.1920

File 59, nbk. 37, pp. 23-7.

During one of his campaigns Tshaka saw a little hill which was situated up the Bivana river (between it and the Pongolo).⁷³ He liked the way in which it rose directly out of the plain. When his army was on its way home he ordered it to go and dig up the hill and carry it back, so that he could use it as his seat at home. He said that he would review his troops while seated on it. His *izinduna* said, 'Nkosi, never will your men be able to dig out the hill and carry it; they would die. The earth is too heavy. You would have to return home alone, for all your men would have been killed by the weight of the earth.' So the idea was abandoned.

This hill was pointed out to me by Vusindhlu [Dick A.'s *induna*]⁷⁴ ka Mqandi ka Mtshana of the *ezibisini* people on the occasion of my visiting him. He at the same time told me its story. This hill is about 20-25 feet high, and is flattish on top. Tshaka climbed up this hill and sat on it.

- 24 Mapita was rather short. I saw him at eNkungwini, his kraal. I was mat-bearer to Msuduka ka Nduvana. He was dark brown in colour, almost shiny black. He was no longer able to go to konza Mpande. He was of the Wombe, the great *induna* of this regiment being Nduvana of our tribe.

I never saw Nduvana. He was killed at Maqongqo with Ndhlala. [In 1839.]⁷⁵

The mother of Mpumela (Nompoya) and the mother of Mavumengwana (Sogidi) married Mondise, Dingiswayo's chief son.⁷⁶ They were seized by Tshaka's impi. The king gave them to Ndhlala, the great warrior, as wives, of which he had four. Three of them were daughters of the same man.

Solomon, alias Nkayitshana, named after a certain white man at St. Helena where Dinuzulu was [wrong; it was after Nzibe], (was called) Mapumuzana, because the Zulu people rested after the capture of Dinuzulu.⁷⁷ That is, they did not want him any more, for they allowed him to be caught, and in so doing obtained rest or cessation from fighting.

Cetshwayo gave Dinuzulu his name because the Zulu people did not like him, that is Cetshwayo.⁷⁸ Not all the Zulu people gave praise to Cetshwayo; some of them spoke evil of him.

- 25 We Ntuli tribe don't *dabulana*, i.e. don't intermarry. For instance, if we did *dabulana* we should be intermarrying with Mngeni (Mbuzo's) people.⁷⁹ Their old chief was Sogweba ka Masekwana, now Velapansi (living). But we don't. No son of mine would intermarry with these people, and particularly not with Mavumengwana's nor Mpumela's.

It is looked on as incest to intermarry with even distant members of the same tribe. We look on it as marrying one's sister.

Those not regarded as a separate people among the Zulus are the *Mkanyile* people and the *Sitayi* people, both of the eGazini people. They are called eGazini because they are of the *igazi*, as they stabbed the king. *Igazi* was the name of the enclosure where the king washed.

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The people of Maqoboza, alias Mqundane, the father of Ntabata (dead) of the Imboza regiment are of the Zulu tribe. These two were not separated off. They live between Hamu and Masipula.⁸⁰

The abakwaNongcanga people, i.e. eGazini. The abakwaMkasana (Ndabezita). The abakwaManqe ka Mfolozi ka Jama. These have not been separated off as yet, all being the names of old Zulu men.

The story of Tshaka and the *umtakati*. [See what Mandhlakazi gave on 9.1.1921; see light green nbk., pp. 14, 15.]⁸¹

26 Once, at the royal kraal Bulawayo, a man was caught *takataing* someone of the *umpakati* during the night.⁸² He was arrested. The matter was reported to Tshaka, who expressed great surprise that anything of that sort should go on in his kraal, and directed the culprit to be brought before him. 'Is it a fact that you *takata*?' said Tshaka. 'Yes, Sir, it is.' 'How is this?' 'Sir, it is in consequence of having been inoculated when a child by my father to the end that I should follow this practice. He inoculated me on the anus.' 'Well then,' said Tshaka, 'now that you are about to die, say what things of surpassing beauty you leave behind on earth.' 'In the first place, oh son of Senzangakona,' replied the poor wretch, 'I leave the king whom, merely to converse with face to face, is an inexpressive delight; next, the smile of a little child that has just learnt to sit up by itself; and lastly, the young shoot of a mealie plant, to look on which is enchanting, especially when seen with one's head brought so as to view the tops of a whole field.'

27 Tshaka, pleased with the man's compliment to himself, then directed that he was to be taken away and have the place where he had been inoculated excised, whilst his medicines, particularly those which he had, on Tshaka asking him, pointed out as what he poisoned others with, were to be taken and burnt, and their ashes strewn on the Umhlatuze river to be carried off towards the sea. The excision was accordingly made and the medicine destroyed. The man was thereupon allowed to live. Never again did he resort to his former practices; the king's treatment had cured him completely.

The name of the man is unknown.

Mangati refers to the story of Gcugcwa, though does not relate it, there being no time.⁸³

[I asked Mangati to return with Mantshonga and Mazimu. He expects to come back about six weeks hence. 30.6.1920.]

In the separating off of a section of a chiefdom (*dabulaing*) there must be shedding of blood, i.e. violence. As regards a girl, she is deflowered with the penis, which is regarded as like an *assegai*, for it draws blood; (the same) as regards a king or chief, when assassinated or wounded by some portion of his own tribe. In each case, there being effusion of blood, there is *dabulaing* or creation of a new order, separation from the parent tribe, after which intermarriage may lawfully occur.

It does not follow that all chiefs of tribes *dabula* sooner or later. The Ntuli chiefs, for instance, as Mangati explains, do not observe this custom; hence, with even so distantly related a portion of the Ntuli tribe as Mbuzo ka Mngeni's there is no intermarriage with the principal part of the tribe to which Mangati belongs.

15.12.1920

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 7-10.

- 7 Mangati ka Godide, *isibongo* Ntuli.
'Sikiti! I swear by Sikiti!' This was said by the men of former times. I have heard them so making oaths, but I do not know the origin of the name. I know it refers to Tshaka.⁸⁴
- <Notes on proverbs omitted - eds.>
- 8 A song sung when young people were holding an *ijadu* dancing competition.⁸⁵
- O, ha, o, he has many cattle!
 They are being aggressive towards one another,
 You of our maternal uncle!
 I shall take mine tomorrow.
 I am speaking of that yonder,
 Of which you no longer know.
 He is speaking of that yonder,
 Of which you no longer know.
 And yet it is you who know of it.^a
 O, ha, o!
 He has many cattle,
 You of our maternal uncle,
 I shall take another war-shield,
 I am speaking of that yonder,
 Of which you no longer know,
 And yet it is you who know of it.

^a A reference to the succession, when Cetshwayo became Mpande's heir. Mbuyazi did not know that Cetshwayo was the heir, for his father still said that it was Mbuyazi. He was setting them on to fight.

- This was Cetshwayo's *isisuso*, accompanied by the clapping of hands when dancing was taking place.⁸⁶ That is where the dispute between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi began in 1856. There was talk of there being an *ijadu* dance between the two parties, so that they might compete with each other. There was a cry of 'Oxixixi! We are dying of laughter.' This was the accompaniment of the song, which the girls cried out as they stood behind. 'Oxixixi' was intended as a derogatory name of Mbuyazi's party. The dance was not, I believe, held, but Cetshwayo's party practised the song given above.

I was a mat-bearer at this time, carrying mats for Msuduka ka Nduvana who followed after Ndhlela in age.

Mpande gave Cetshwayo a shield made from hide of the *indhlelo* side (i.e. the side onto or into which a beast eats), whilst Mbuyazi was given a shield made from the hide of the *inxeba* side.⁸⁷ Mpande killed an ox, one that was black, with patches on the inside of the hind legs and up as far as the top of the legs. It was called an *iwaba* beast.⁸⁸ It was killed at Nodwengu. Mpande intended that the two of them should fight each other to the death so that he could then designate as his heir Mtonga, son of his wife Nomantshali.

- When Mpande crossed into Natal the Boers asked who his heir was.⁸⁹ He said, 'What do you intend to do to him?' They replied, 'We shall cut an identifying mark on him so that if Dingana kills you we shall

recognize the heir whom you indicate to us.' He indicated to them that Cetshwayo was his heir, upon which they cut a mark on him. They asked about Mbuyazi. 'What is his status?' Mpande said, 'I fathered him with Monase, who was an ingodosi girl of Tshaka.'⁹⁰ They enquired about Tshonkwini, who was of the same age-grade as Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi (they were all fathered at the same time). Again Mpande accounted for him by name, saying, 'I fathered him with an ingodosi of Dingana.' They enquired about Hamu. Mpande replied, 'I fathered him for Nzibe, who is dead.' (He was not involved in the succession dispute.) Nzibe died in Sotshangana's country on one of Tshaka's campaigns.

Nzibe, Mpande, and Ntikili (a girl) were next to one another in age; they had the same mother. Ntikili married Mayanda, and bore Somkele.⁹¹

14.1.1921

File 57, nbk. 9, p. 16.

- 16 'They are returning, the ones of Mgungundhlovu whose fighting sticks are red with blood!' - a praise of the Mgungundhlovu cattle when coming home to be milked.

22.1.1921, Saturday.

File 57, nbk. 9, pp. 16-20.

- 17 Mawa was a daughter of Jama, like Mnkabayi and Mmama. I do not know whom she married, if she was married. She built on the Ntonteleni kraal site, i.e. in the district round about that kraal. And this district is the one on which Gingindhlovu was built by Cetshwayo.⁹² She built at Ntonteleni during Dingana's reign. [See Gardiner, Journey to Zoolu Country, pp. 116, 143, 144.]

I do not know the difference that arose between her and Mpande, but Mawa crossed into Natal with a considerable section of the people. Mpande, seeing this, at once sent the Izingulube regiment to put a stop to the exodus. This regiment accordingly killed a number of people who proposed eloping, and so prevented the exodus from being larger than it was. The Ingulube regiment established themselves in a kraal at that part (eNtonteleni).

Gqugqu was a child of Senzangakona (or Jama). I am not sure. Nor am I sure if this child was girl or boy. [It was a boy.]⁹³

She, Mawa, crossed into Dukuza (Stanger) district, and later went to live inland of Verulam, i.e. at Ndwedwe, where she died. She was accompanied by Makobosi, my grandfather, Ndhlela's principal induna. Makobosi's father was Xube of the Ndhlovu tribe.

- 18 <Praises of Makobosi omitted - eds.>

I never saw Makobosi. I was born just after the crossing over of Makobosi with Mawa and I am of the iNdhloyengwe regiment.

Makobosi crossed with Mawa seeing that Ndhlela had been killed by Mpande at Maqongqo. Makobosi was sent for by Mpande, who approved of his having looked after his aunt Mawa, but Makobosi objected to returning on the ground that he would be put to death for having caused Mawa to desert and to cross into Natal. That, at any rate, was his belief as to what would happen. Hence he remained and died in Natal,

near the Mdhloti river. His chief son may have been Manepu, who I know was under Mbozane in Ndwedwe District.⁹⁴ Nonguba and Mngwazi were other prominent sons of Makobosi.

19 [See Bird, *Annals*, i, 97, re death of Tshaka.]

Mxamama ka Ntendeka (alias Sotshaya) ka Sotshungotshe of the Sibisi people - a favourite of Tshaka.⁹⁵ It is said this man, whilst seated in the assembly before Tshaka, would suddenly look up at the sky as vultures were flying overhead. Tshaka, seeing him looking up, would say, 'What does the thing of Sotshaya say now?' Upon which he would say, 'I am looking at the vultures. I think they are hungry; they have come to attend the assembly.' Then people would be put to death and the vultures fed.

The Ndongande was in the bush country on a ridge running towards the Mhlatusi. This was the name of a donga. This was a large and deep donga where people were killed.

Mxamama would be disappointed if people were not put to death. It would be said to him, 'Go away. Matters are quiet; there is no weighty business today' (i.e. none are to be caught and sacrificed).

One of Mxamama's duties was to close all the gates of the isi-godhlo, for he was one of those responsible for keeping watch.

20 Tshaka copied Mxamama in himself, saying on other occasions, 'The vultures are hungry; they have come to attend the assembly; therefore they must be given food,' upon which men would be killed.

Notes

¹For a variant version of this descent line see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 126. Ndlela was one of Dingane's chief *izinduna*. His chief son Godide was killed in Zibhebhu's attack on Cetshwayo's oNdini umuzi in July 1883. Senzangakhona, father of Shaka, was chief of the Zulu in the early nineteenth century.

²Formed in the late 1860s of youths born in the late 1840s.

³Before his appointment as Secretary for Native Affairs in 1876, John Shepstone, brother of Theophilus, had spent nine years in Greytown as resident magistrate of Umvoti county. Stuart's father, Martinus, was clerk and Dutch interpreter in the Umvoti county court from 1868 to 1878.

⁴The Mamba stream flows into the Thukela twenty kilometres east of present-day Kranskop village. The Mfongosi flows into the Thukela ten kilometres north-west of Jameson's Drift. The amaCala hill lies ten kilometres north-east of Jameson's Drift and overlooks the Manyane stream.

⁵Dingane's chief umuzi.

⁶Cf. the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly line given by Bryant in *Olden Times*, p. 406.

⁷The Nsuze river enters the Thukela twenty kilometres north-east of Kranskop.

⁸Sivivi's evidence will appear in a later volume of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁹The Middle Drift (ford) over the Thukela was situated twenty kilometres north-east of Kranskop village.

¹⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 78, gives um-Coboko (*unchoboko*) as 'scrofula,

- showing itself gen. in glandular-swelling, body-sores etc.'.
- ¹¹ *Ukudabuka kwegoda* in the original, an expression used to refer to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in September 1839.
- ¹² The kwaKhomo hill lies twenty kilometres south-east of present-day Nkandla village on the road between Nkandla and Eshowe.
- ¹³ The place of execution near Dingane's Mgungundlovu *umuzi*.
- ¹⁴ USungulo (loc. oSungulweni) is a hill near the source of the Mamba stream.
- ¹⁵ The notes within parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Socwatsha was another of Stuart's informants.
- ¹⁶ An exclamation of joy.
- ¹⁷ Nduvana is presumably the 'Ndwane' whom Bryant gives as Ndlela's brother: see Olden Times, p. 60.
- ¹⁸ Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli was one of Dingane's chief *isinduna*.
- ¹⁹ For a variant account of the execution of Nzobo by the Boers in January 1840 see Delegorgue's *Voyage* as cited in Bird, ed., *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 571.
- ²⁰ *Ibhele* (or *umbhelenja*) is a 'square of skin worn hanging as a frontal dress (in place of the *isinene*, by men, and sometimes by girls when in "un-dress" within their homes, or as part of adornment for a wedding)': see Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 32.
- ²¹ Ilenge (loc. eLenge) is a prominent hill twenty kilometres west of present-day Pomeroy.
- ²² For other references to Ntuli cannibals led by Mahlaphahlapha in the time of Dingane, see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 58, 347, *Zulu History*, pp. 35-7; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 299, 302.
- ²³ The original reads '... *behla nge silulu*', which literally means by means of, or on account of, a grain basket. The historical connotations of this phrase are uncertain and a subject of debate. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 20-2, and *Dictionary*, p. 365; Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 467.
- ²⁴ Ndaba and Jama are usually given as grandfather and father respectively of Senzangakhona.
- ²⁵ An *inkatha* is a grass coil placed on the head for carrying a load. The *inkatha yezwe*, literally 'the grass coil of the nation', was a ritually made coil which was kept in the king's great hut. The unity of the kingdom was believed to depend on its preservation. See *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 40-1; Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 475-7; Krige, *Social System*, pp. 243-4.
- ²⁶ Bhambatha kaMancinza was chief of the Zondi living in the Mpanza valley near Greytown. He was a principal figure in the disturbances which took place in Natal and Zululand in 1906.
- ²⁷ Sigananda kaSokufa was chief of the Cube people in the Nkandla district. He was prominent in the disturbances of 1906.
- ²⁸ For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa*, pp. 120-32; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, index.
- ²⁹ Mawane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane in the time of Shaka.
- ³⁰ In the lists of Ntuli and Bhele sections that follow, the first name on each line is that of the founder of the section. Of the personages mentioned in the Ntuli list, we have been able to identify Mavumengwana, Mphumela, and Godide as sons of Ndlela; and Mfungelwa

- and Mlokotwa as sons of Mavumengwana and Mphumela respectively.
- ³¹Bryant, Olden Times, p. 60, gives Zinti as the son of the left-hand house of Ndlela.
- ³²Presumably what Stuart means to indicate here is that after Godide's death (in 1883: see note 1 above) his brother Mphumela succeeded to the leadership of this section of the Ntuli.
- ³³The amaQongqo hills north of the upper Mkhuze river were the scene of Dingane's defeat at the hands of Mpande's forces in January 1840.
- ³⁴In 1883.
- ³⁵Empandleni is a hill near present-day Nkandla village. Mawa, daughter of Mpande's grandfather Jama, fled with a following to Natal in 1843, not 1842.
- ³⁶I.e. at the magistrate's court.
- ³⁷*Isiwa samanqe*, literally the cliff of vultures, and Ndulinde are hills west of present-day Gingindlovu. Dlokweni is a locality on the lower Thukela.
- ³⁸The Khabele people lived in the Thukela valley north-west of Ntunjambili (Kranskop) mountain.
- ³⁹The emahlabathini country, which lay on either side of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi river, was the locality where many of the Zulu royal *imizi* were built. KwaKhangelana was one of Shaka's *imizi*.
- ⁴⁰*Ukusoma* was the practice of pre-marital external intercourse.
- ⁴¹Sigujana succeeded his father Senzangakhona as chief of the Zulu, but was shortly afterwards assassinated at the instigation of his brother Shaka.
- ⁴²Tununu's evidence will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Papers.
- ⁴³Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 203.
- ⁴⁴Nobongoza was a son of Jama and brother of Senzangakhona. His son Mqundane was thus a cousin of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande. See Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 356.
- ⁴⁵The original reads, '*Ng'i yo busa ngaye*'.
- ⁴⁶In 1856.
- ⁴⁷Mqalane of the Nzuza people was an *inyanga* who treated the army before it went to war in the time of Senzangakhona and Shaka: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 57, 204-5, 226, 588; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 184-5.
- ⁴⁸Stuart accompanied a Swazi delegation to London in 1894. We have been unable to identify the 'Robert' here referred to.
- ⁴⁹On the *igcagea* wedding dance see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 548.
- ⁵⁰Literally, 'Hear!'
- ⁵¹A salutation reserved for the Zulu king.
- ⁵²One of Mpande's wives, whose sons Mthonga and Mgidlana were feared by Cetshwayo as possible rivals for the royal succession.
- ⁵³EmDumezulu and kwaNodwengu were *imizi* of Mpande, situated north of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- ⁵⁴This note occurs in the original as a marginal insertion. The evidence of Mgidlana, one of Nomantshali's sons, will appear in a later volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁵⁵Langazana, a wife of Senzangakhona, lived in the isiklebhe *umuzi* near the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi in the reigns of Mpande and Cetshwayo. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 49-51; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 12.
- ⁵⁶The royal *imizi* in the iVuna valley were located to the west and

- south-west of present-day Nongoma.
- ⁵⁷Mthonga was chief of a section of the Zulu in the Eshowe district.
- ⁵⁸Mvundlana was of the Biyela people who, like the emGazini, were closely related to the Zulu royal line. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 39-40; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 356. In genealogies of the Zulu royal line Ndaba is usually given as the father, not the son, of Jama.
- ⁵⁹The original has '... the Zulu chief *dabula'd* them'.
- ⁶⁰The genealogical relationship between Senzangakhona and Mudli is uncertain: see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 41, 46, 48, 123. Ngwegweni was one of the Zulu royal *imizi* in Mpande's time.
- ⁶¹Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe. The struggle between Zwide and Shaka took place c.1818-c.1819.
- ⁶²The Gcongco ridge lies on the north bank of the Mhlathuze river to the south of present-day Melmoth. Empandleni is the hill on which Nkandla village is situated. Ndondondwane is a locality on the Thukela about the present-day Middle Drift.
- ⁶³The amaDungela are hills on the north bank of the Thukela near Middle Drift. Kwakhomo hill lies further to the north-east on a spur of the Nkandla range. The Mvuzane stream flows from this spur into the middle reaches of the Mhlathuze.
- ⁶⁴KwaNomveve is a locality situated between the Mvuzane stream and the Ntumeni heights to the south.
- ⁶⁵Cf. the genealogy in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 60.
- ⁶⁶We have not been able to trace the paper referred to.
- ⁶⁷It is not made clear in the original whether Madwaba was a son of Ndlaludaka or of Hlathi.
- ⁶⁸Dinuzulu's principal *umuzi*, located near Nongoma.
- ⁶⁹As a great-granddaughter of Sojiyisa, a son of Jama, Mahayihayi was a member of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house, and was therefore considered a 'sister' of Dinuzulu. Cf. Bryant's account in *Olden Times*, p. 73.
- ⁷⁰Hayiyana was son of the Mandlakazi chief Maphitha kaSojiyisa. Ndabuko was a son of Mpande.
- ⁷¹The name Mhlabangubo literally means 'stabber of the cloak'. The reference is to the attack made in 1883 on Cetshwayo's homestead uluNdi by the Mandlakazi under Zibhebhu kaMaphitha. During his flight after the battle Cetshwayo was wounded by men of Zibhebhu's force.
- ⁷²The reference is to the assassination of Shaka at his Dukuza *umuzi* in 1828. Mbopha kaSithayi, who belonged to a section of the Zulu royal house, was one of his assassins.
- ⁷³The Bivane river flows into the Phongolo east of present-day Paulpietersburg.
- ⁷⁴Dick A. was probably R.H. Addison, Chief Native Commissioner for Natal and Zululand from 1913 until his retirement in 1915. (Information from J.P.C. Laband.)
- ⁷⁵The defeat of Dingane's forces by those of Mpande at the amaQongqo hills north of the upper Mkhuze river took place in January 1840.
- ⁷⁶Dingiswayo was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century. Mphumela and Mavumengwana were sons of Ndlela.
- ⁷⁷Solomon, alias Nkayishana or Maphumuzana, succeeded to the chiefship of the uSuthu section of the Zulu in 1916 after the death of his father Dinuzulu in 1913. Dinuzulu was held in captivity on St.

Helena from 1890 to 1898 after being found guilty of leading a 'rebellion' against British authority in Zululand in 1888. Nzibe was a son of Senzangakhona who died on the Zulu campaign against Sosha-ngane in 1828. The name Maphumuzana derives from the verb *ukuphumusa*, to give rest.

⁷⁸ The name Dinuzulu derives from the verb *ukudina*, to become tired, and the noun *uZulu*, the Zulu people.

⁷⁹ I.e. Mbuzo's section of the Ntuli people living in the Nkandla district.

⁸⁰ Maqoboza, alias Mqundane, is variously given as a son or grandson of Jama: see the genealogy on p. 210 above, and Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 356. Hamu was a son of Mpande; Masiphula kaMamba of the emGazini section of the Zulu royal house was one of Mpande's chief *izinduna*. Hamu's territory lay on the upper reaches of the Mkhuze river, Masiphula's further to the east.

⁸¹ Mandhlakazi's (Mandlakazi's) evidence appears in the present volume.

⁸² The precise meaning attributed to *umpakati* (*umphakathi*) varies from one authority to another. According to Fynn, 'The followers of the chief, while in attendance on him at his kraal, are generally designated "Amapakati", understood by Europeans to mean "counsellers"'. This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, ed., *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, p. 450, gives *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, p. 643, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinduna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival....' Gibson, *Story of the Zulus*, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati"'.
⁸³ Gcugcwa was famous in Zulu lore for a riposte which he made in answer to Shaka when taken before the king for stealing royal cattle. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 497-8.

⁸⁴ Sikithi, i.e. the Finisher-off, was one of Shaka's praise-names.

⁸⁵ On the *ijadu* dance see Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 567-8. The original of the song recorded by Stuart reads as follows:

O - Ha - o a nga nkomo!
Isibindi zi ya nikwana,
Wena ka malume!
Ngi ya wu tat' esami ngomuso
Ngitsho nga lokuya!
O nga sa kwaziyo.
Utsho nga lokuya
O nga sa kwaziyo
Kanti wawen' okwaziyo
O! Ha - o
A nga nkomo
Wena ka malume
Ngi ya wu tat' esinye isihlangu
Ngitsho nga lokuya
O nga sa kwaziyo.
Kanti wawen' okwaziyo.

- ⁸⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 602, gives *isisuso* as a 'certain kind of quick, spirited dance....'
- ⁸⁷The *indlelo* is the side of a slaughtered beast opposite the side with the stab-wound in it. The latter, the *inxeba* side, is the more prized and is a perquisite of the chief or some favoured person. See Bryant, Dictionary, p. 101.
- ⁸⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 691, gives *iwaba* as a 'black ox...with a white patch under the belly and running slightly up the flanks or about the stump of the tail....'
- ⁸⁹The reference is to Mpande's flight to the Republic of Natalia in 1839.
- ⁹⁰*Ingodosi* (*ingoduso*) normally denotes a 'betrothed girl, who has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding': see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 188.
- ⁹¹Mayanda (Malanda) and Somkhele were successive chiefs of the Mkhwanazi people.
- ⁹²I.e. in the south-east of the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁹³Gqugqu, a son of Senzangakhona, was put to death by his elder brother Mpande in 1843.
- ⁹⁴Mbozana was chief of the Ngongoma people in the Inanda district. See the genealogy in Bryant, Olden Times, opp. p. 482.
- ⁹⁵On Nomxamama see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 595, 667.