

MBOKODO KA SIKULEKILE

5.11.1913. 34 Loop Street.

File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 27-49.

- 27 Mbokodo (not Mbokodwe) ka Sikulekile ka Sambela ka Gcwabe ka Mavovo ka Kabazele ka Gubela ka Nomhlanga ka Sibiside of *the Mkize people*.¹ They are called the Abambo of *Mkize, or of Mzobo*, Mkize having been a man. (Mzobo - a very ancient people.) The section of the tribe where Mqolombeni, Sikukuku etc. live is known as *the Mkize of Mpunga*.² This word Mpunga was the name of one of Kabazele's kraals - *the people of Mpunga*.
 I am of Uve age.³ [He has a headring, is about five feet eleven inches in height, dark, of spare build, evidently weak in the chest.] I am a 'brother' of Mqolombeni, who is my chief.
 Praises. I know (those of) Mavovo, Gcwabe, Zihlandhlo, Siyingele, Ngangezwe, Sambela, also the younger generation, Ngunezi and Mqolombeni.⁴

.... <Praises of Mavovo, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 28 There were two Mavovos, the Embo chief and the amaCube one. The former selected a girl of some tribe for his chief wife, but before
 29 he married her, the Cube Mavovo took and married her. She bore a child. A drought now came about, when the Embo Mavovo 'fetched' her, i.e. attacked the other with an *impi* and captured the woman and made her one of his ordinary wives, leaving her child with the Cube people. Mavovo of the Cubes was not however put to death.⁵
 The two Mavovos lived opposite a particular drift.

.... <Further notes on Mavovo's praises, and praises of Gcwabe, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 33 [My boy Maguleni brings in, by my direction, a dish of porridge for Mbokodo. He receives the dish and spoon and attempts to leave the room to eat on the verandah, it being considered disrespectful to eat in the same room in which a chief (*nkosi*) is. I tell him to sit where he is and go on with his eating, which he does. Later: after being without snuff, some arrives. He leaves the room to fetch it. He puts it in his pocket. I ask where it is and tell him to *take some*. He attempts to go out as a matter of course. I keep him back and tell him to *take some*. He won't *do so* in the room but goes out as he may *cough*. The man, from his genealogy, is of high rank. I see he has on a piece of what appears to be leopard hide done up like a cat's tail (*blue monkey*) and tied round his head, immediately beneath and beside the headring. He is cute in bringing out the hidden or obscure meaning

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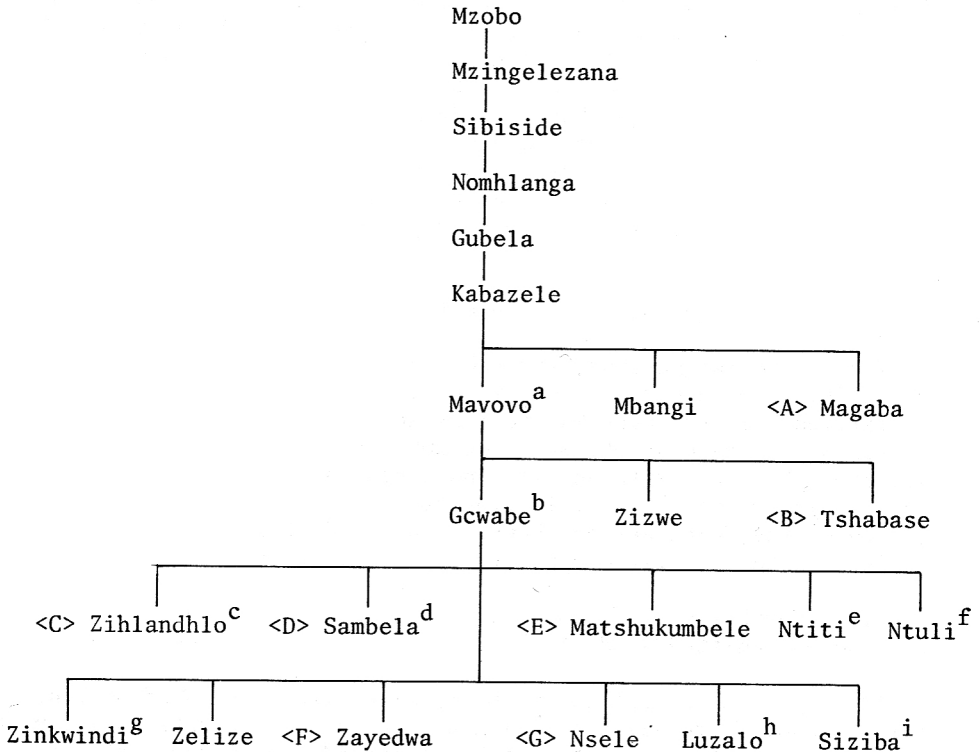
in the *praises*....]

<The genealogies that follow were recorded by Stuart on 5.11.1913. In the original they appear in notebook 23 on pp. 48 and 49, where they interrupt the narrative recorded by Stuart on 6.11.1913. We have therefore inserted them at the point where Mbokodo begins a detailed statement on Mkhize (Mbo) history. In our rendering of these genealogies we have used the symbols A, B, C, etc. to indicate relationships which, for typographical reasons, cannot here be shown by means of conventional genealogical devices - eds.>

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Embo (Mkize) genealogy

Per Mbokodo ka Sikulekile, 5.11.1913. See M.'s name in this genealogy on p. 49.



^aHeir.

^bHeir.

^cHeir. Was killed by Dingana.

^dWas made a chief by Zihlandhlo: see narrative.

^eDispersed on the Embo tribe being defeated by Dingana.

^fDispersed on the Embo tribe being defeated by Dingana.

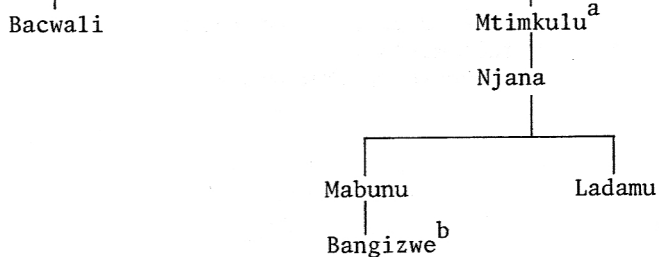
^gIssue live in Zululand.

^hDied unmarried.

ⁱWent to live near Matatiele.

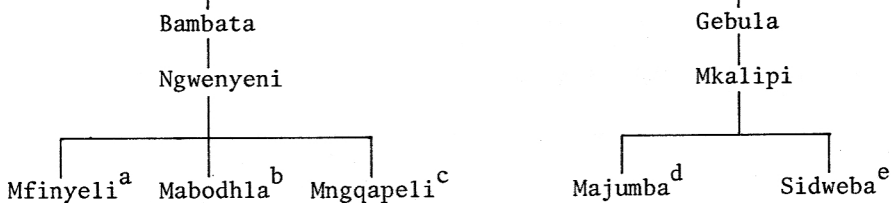
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<A> Magaba



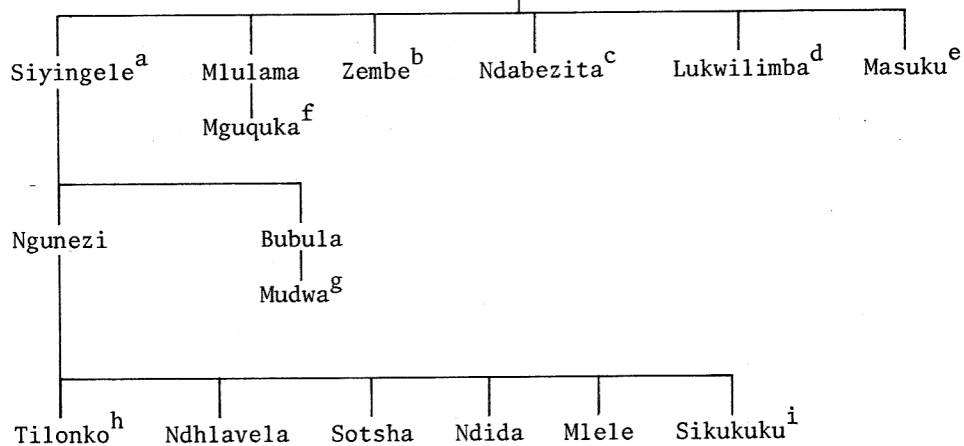
^aHeir.
^bLad - living.

 Tshabase



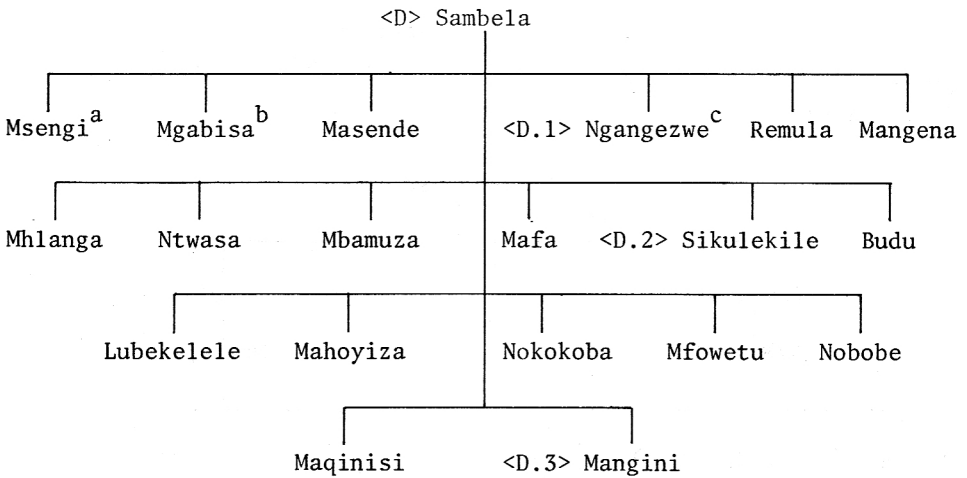
^aLiving.
^bDead.
^cLiving.
^dLiving.
^eLiving.

<C> Zihlandhlo

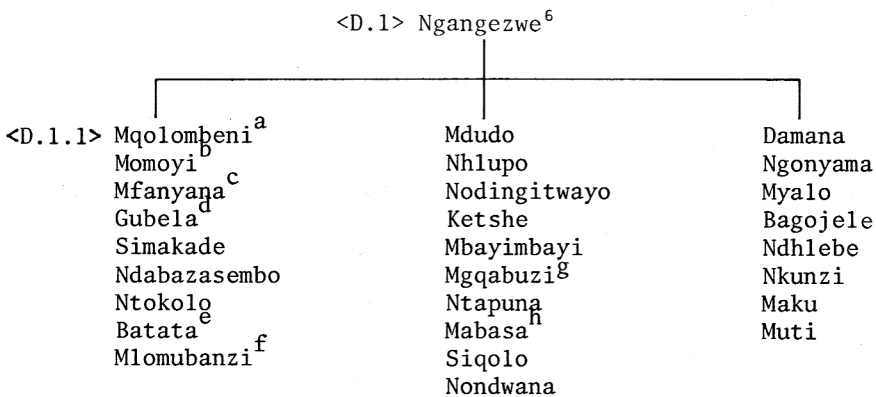


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- ^aHeir. *Eldest son.*
- ^bDied unmarried.
- ^cDied unmarried. Ndabezita would have been Zihlandhlo's heir had he lived.
- ^dMbokodo does not know where this man died.
- ^eM. does not know this man's issue.
- ^f*Kolwa* chief. Near Camperdown (Ngomankulu).
- ^gDead. Heir.
- ^hHeir.
- ⁱ*Eldest son.*



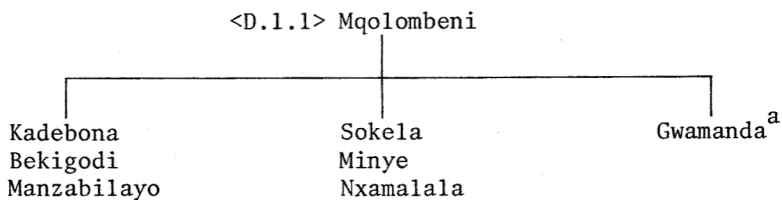
- ^a*Eldest son.*
- ^bSiyedwa.
- ^cHeir.



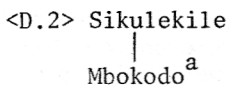
- ^aHeir. Has a *chief wife*, but she has so far borne only a girl.
- ^bDead.
- ^cDead.
- ^dDead.
- ^eDead.
- ^eDead.

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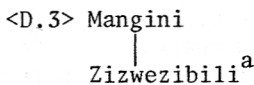
f Dead.
g Dead.
h Dead.



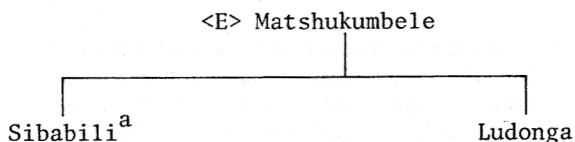
^a Is the eldest son. Will become chief if principal wife of Mqolombeni does not bear male child.



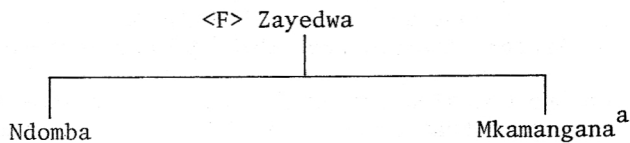
^a My informant



^a Dead. Of Uve regiment. Lived in Zululand.

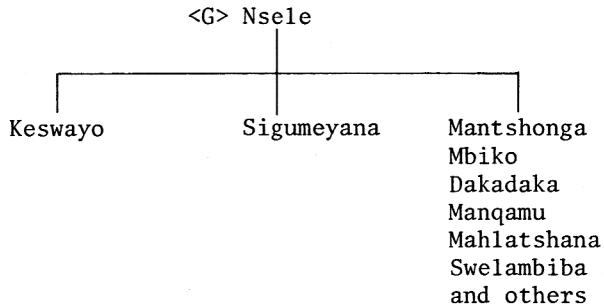


^a Heir.



^a Heir

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34 Umumbo (Embo). This was originally the name of a person, who gave the name to the tribe. Our ancient ancestor Gubela is now giving his name to a tribe, just as Mkize, originally a man, has given his name to a tribe.

We are amaLala.⁷ We originally came from Swaziland. There is an ancient tradition that we are one and the same as the Swazis. We must have come from Swaziland south on account of fighting and quarrelling. We came and occupied territory about Nkandhla and Qudeni, e.g. Ngongoma forest on the side of Qudeni.⁸ There is no place named as that from which we came in Swaziland. We intermarry now with the Swazis.

I am not sure how many of our ancient chiefs are buried in the vicinity of the Insuze, never having been there.⁹ Mavovo, Kabazele, and Gubela are said to be there.

35 Our tribe lived a very long time in the neighbourhood of the Insuze and Qudeni in Zululand, near the Ngongoma forest, also at eLwandhlazi, also at eMatigulu, eKwaneni, and eDimane.¹⁰ Sambela died at eKwaneni, whilst Zihlandhlo died at eDimane (south of the Tugela). Some of our tribe also lived at Ndindindi ridge. Our neighbours were the amaCube.

When Senzangakona died and Tshaka became king, the latter took a fancy to Zihlandhlo, for by that time Gwabe had died (from natural death). Tshaka used to speak of and to Zihlandhlo as '*my younger brother*' (*mnawe wami*). On going out on a military expedition Tshaka would get Zihlandhlo to accompany him. T. said, 'I will never seize or raid your stock, not to my dying day, for you are my *mnawe*.' Tshaka got Zihlandhlo to co-operate with him when he was building up his power and conquering tribes. Owing to this, T. took a fancy to him. When the *impi* went to attack Sikunyana ka Zwide, Zihlandhlo was present. The latter came too when the *impi* was sent to attack the Pondos.¹¹

36 Tshaka on one occasion attacked Dhlaba of the Mzondi people. The cattle belonging to that tribe were placed in a stronghold at eLwandhlazi. Tshaka was unable to capture them, for a stone wall had been built all round. When he found he could not succeed he told Zihlandhlo of his failure. Zihlandhlo: '*Perhaps I could capture them.*' Tshaka: '*You think you could capture them when I have failed?*' Zihlandhlo: '*I could do so.*' Tshaka: '*Go and get them! We shall quarrel if you fail.*' Zihlandhlo went off, entered the stronghold, brought out the cattle and returned with them to Tshaka. T. said, 'You are indeed my younger brother. I would have suffered from *isimanga* if I had captured them.'

37 (*Isimanga* is a form of oath: e.g. I might swear I would not eat certain

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food and that if I did I would be overcome with *isimanga*. I could not then eat of the food without paying a fine to exonerate myself.)¹²

Tshaka always therefore repressed any feelings he might have entertained of raiding Z.'s cattle. He later on directed Z. to fight against Mtsholozza, of the *Nxamalala* people. Z. fought and defeated him. This again pleased T.

After T.'s assassination by Dingana the latter saw that Zihlandhlo would lament, lament the death of T., for they liked one another.¹³ D. then sent an *impi* and killed him. This is the *impi* which, arriving at night, killed Sambela at eKwaneni. Two men were sent by Dingana to Z. at Dimane to say, 'Approach. We have come with a message from the king. He said we were to tell it you secretly and when alone.' They accordingly left the kraal and went to a spot outside it. When they got him there they killed him.¹⁴ After doing this they ran off. Zihlandhlo was killed at his Simahleni kraal. Sambela was the first attacked and killed off. Z. was murdered some time afterwards.

When Sambela was attacked, the *impi* fought for three days; on the fourth day Sambela was killed. This place, eKwaneni, is not at his home but in the hills. Very many Embo people were killed on this occasion, as also Dingana's men. The country belonging to the Embo people was then pillaged by the Zulus; members of the tribe were also seized. When Zihlandhlo was killed, he had evidently run away to the Dimane. Z. had practically no people with him where he was killed, for no battle was fought.

Ekwaneni is a valley, with a small bush in it. It was this valley that the Embo entered. Others took refuge at eLwandhlwazi. The people were surprised, as they knew nothing of the *impi* coming.

Siyingele, heir of Zihlandhlo, fled and settled about the Umlazi, Camperdown etc. Bambata ka Tshabase ka Mavovo etc. and Gebula were the two who first pushed on ahead, accompanied by people, to find a place on which to live. They brought with them Siyingele and Msengi (Sambela's eldest son). Ngangezwe (Sambela's heir) was too young. He was taken to his maternal uncle, Somhashi, of the Bomvu tribe. Bambata and Gebula did not ask anyone for the land they selected, as there was no one to ask from in those days, though this was when the hostilities with the Boers were going to begin. Many of the rest of the Embo tribe remained temporarily in Zululand, as if subjects of Dingana. The men were in his army and even fought against the Boers; they were wounded in some of the actions that occurred. Later they came and joined the main portion of the tribe where it now is.

When a piece of ground to live on was found in Natal, Msengi sent messengers to fetch Ngangezwe. He sent Swelinyama and Mavundhla who returned with him. On his arrival Msengi built a kraal at eMpendweni. Later Ngangezwe left Msengi's kraal and built his own at Embutweni.

I never saw Bambata and Gebula. They died long ago, but I knew their sons Ngwenyeni and Mkalipi.

Sali. Mbonjeni. Sibenya. Nomagwayi of the *Zolweni* people. AmaDebe (Bacas).¹⁵

When Siyingele first arrived, he built at the eMgwahumbe river, which enters the Ilovu river, far down. His people lived all about Camperdown. Later on he went and lived at eGilanyoni (large hill),

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overlooking the Mkomazi and on the north side. He came into conflict with abaTwa at Gilanyoni, defeating them.¹⁶ Formerly the land we now occupy was occupied by amaDebe, i.e. those who cut their faces (e.g. Bacas).¹⁷ Among other tribes living about these parts were those
41 presided over by Sali, Mbonjeni, Sibenya, and Nomagwayi (*of the Zolweni people*). I do not know of Macibise. Mbonjeni lived below the Mbubu.¹⁸ Sali lived near where Bishopstowe is.¹⁹ Sibenya also lived about Pietermaritzburg district. Sali, Mbonjeni and Sibenya were all relatives, all belonging to the amaWutshe tribe. This tribe had come from Pondoland, from their king Mqikela.²⁰

Sambela was a younger own-brother of Zihlandhlo. He *followed him in age*. When S. grew up, he was a man of a temper. He always wanted to be attacking and fighting other tribes. He put to death people, even an *important umumzana* of the Embo tribe. The principal men of the tribe said he had better be put to death. Bambata said to Zihlandhlo, 'Don't do any such thing. If you kill him, other members of your father's house will put you to death.' Upon this Z. *took him out* and gave him
42 a kraal of his own, which was called Emngeneleni. Z. gave S. Umbungu, an *isikulu*. This was one of Z.'s people. He also gave him Zihlangwana. He then told him he could build himself up a tribe of his own if he liked. He did so. He managed to get many people to join him.

Z. then took a herd of oxen and placed them at eMngeneleni, merely to go and stay there and get fat there. Sambela then *slaughtered* them, the whole lot. He then distributed the meat during the night to all the members of his tribe. He ordered his *izinceku* to take it out in various directions, some being taken 15 or more miles. Out of the hides of the cattle he had slaughtered he *cut war-shields*, and then armed his people and directed them to accompany him to his brother Z. The people came. He ordered them to arrange themselves, i.e. 'dress'. He then went with his *impi* to Z. and said, 'Nkosi, I have slaughtered your cattle.'
43 Z. asked, 'Why have you slaughtered them?' He replied, 'I saw that the people did not have war-shields. How will you attack other chiefs if you have no shields? Now things are better.' After this more people flocked to him, especially those to whom he had sent the meat, for he sent it to people belonging to tribes other than his own. He was in the habit of sending out meat to people. They all liked him.

Whenever an assembly took place at Zihlandhlo's kraal, Esimahleni, there would be great heaps of food brought by various important men of his tribe who had brought it *as tribute*. Sambela would then leave the hut, at Z.'s, where he had been seated with *the lesser chiefs (amakosana)*, and then doled the food out to the assembled *impi*. Z. would say that more food was to be fetched for the *umpakati* to eat.²¹
44 Sambela would reply that the whole of the food had been given by him to the people present as they were all hungry. *Then all was well*, i.e. nothing occurred. The big people, i.e. Matshumbele and Zelize, would get angry because the food had all been given to the common crowd. But nothing would come of their anger. After this Sambela became greatly beloved by the people.

When Tshaka set Zihlandhlo and Mtsholoza on to fight each other, he brought *izinduna* to watch. These *izinduna* accompanied the *impi*. Among them were Nsizi and Sikunyana. Sikunyana was sent to Mtsholoza; Nsizi came to Zihlandhlo. Zihlandhlo was of course with Sambela, his

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kinsman. Mtsholoza had with him Gayeni, *his kinsman*. The *impi* was prepared for battle, i.e. that of Z. When this was being done the lesser chiefs and the *izinduna* - the great *induna* was Nomagaga ka Viliza - addressed the *impi*, saying, 'We shall get rid of that thing over there; it is nothing,' referring to Mtsholoza's *impi*. They said, 'We shall also get rid of that other thing,' referring to the *Umngenela of Sambela*. Zihlandhlo then directed that the *Umngenela* troops were not to intermingle with the Simahleni lot, but stand apart outside the cattle kraal. They accordingly remained outside. Z. then took out the *Isimahla* and crossed the *Tugela* with it (for Mtsholoza was on this, the south, side of the *Tugela*). Z. then summoned the *Umngenela*. He prepared them for battle. He then ordered *Sambela* not to allow his men to perform a war-dance. An *isikulu*, of *Sambela's* people, then came and took a pole of the cattle kraal gate and carried it to *Zihlandhlo*. He then placed it on the ground in front of him. He then said, 'You can kill me if I am not the first to capture a man with my hands.' Z. then said, 'Let it go out,' adding, 'I do not know what you will have to complain of, since you are my carrying-skin, the carrying-skin in which I am carried on the back.'

The *impi* then went off and slept at *Enkilingini* (a kraal of Z., up the *Tugela* and on its banks). The *Umngenela* section remained behind. The *Isimahla* crossed the *Tugela* by a lower drift the same day. As the latter crossed, Mtsholoza's *impi* saw them. A large body hid at one spot and the other portion hid about two or three miles away on the other side. Z.'s men had been seen by Mtsholoza's (of the *Nxamalala* tribe), but Z.'s men had not located their enemy. On going forward, M.'s men sprang up on all sides to attack, and stabbed them, taking them at a disadvantage, for some had their shields still rolled up.

They stabbed the *Isimahla* and scattered it. They killed *Nomagaga*, the chief *induna*, and carried off his shield.

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File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 47, 50-68.

After the *Isimahla* had been defeated and dispersed, word was sent to that effect to *Zihlandhlo*. Z. then said, 'Then let the *Mngenela* section be summoned and told to come to me,' for the larger section of the tribe, the *Isimahla*, had been defeated. *Gayeni*, Mtsholoza's *induna*, then said to Mtsholoza, 'Let me go out; I shall overcome him; he is my equal. For you have overcome your equal.' Z. then said to his messengers (sent to call the *Mngenela* lot) to give a message to the *induna* *Kombe*. *Kombe* refused to come as the *Isimahla* had been defeated. Z.'s order was sent to the *Mngenela* when they had already gone forth to attack in accordance with the plan. *Kombe* refused to desist from carrying out the plan, saying, 'Leave me; I too shall die.' Z. sent to *Sambela*, who was with the *Mngenela*. Z. said to S., 'I directed *Kombe* to return with the forces.' S. replied, 'Let them die.' *Kombe* then took the *impi* across the river during the night. He took it to the summit of the hill. Shortly after breakfast time the two bodies came in sight of one another. *Gayeni* was leading, followed by *Mtsholoza*. The armies met. *Kombe* sent out his, throwing out the two horns to move round, i.e. deploy to right and left, whilst the central body, consisting of two groups (*amabandhla*), was to halt. *Kombe* then sent to Z. to say he was to leave his kraal and take up his position on a

hill, Isimungwana, and look towards Esokeni, one of Mtsholozza's own kraals, and *see if it would not be burning by midday.*

51 The two forces now clashed together. Mtsholozza's *impi*, with Gayeni, was driven off. Gayeni's section came on Sambela's lot first, and, being driven back, fell on Mtsholozza's section and the two, meeting, turned and fled. A hero, Godhloza, though a big man, seeing what was happening, directed that the central section was to move to the attack. When Kombe saw this, he struck at them, killing a man, and ordered them to remain where they were as directed. Presently the enemy turned and fled. Kombe, seeing this, was delighted, as the enemy had fled without the central body being engaged. This central body at the same moment sounded *on their shields*, i.e. by beating their shields with sticks, sounding acclamation. Gayeni's *induna*, Gwabimbuya, was *killed*. Tokozwayo, the man who had brought the gate pole to Zihlandhlo, caught a man, Kanyekanye (of the Nxamalala people), and handed him over to be held as a prisoner in order to be delivered by Tokozwayo to the *chief*.

52 After repulsing the *impi*, they were chased some twelve or fifteen miles. *They surrounded Mtsholozza's homestead, Esokeni.* Mtsholozza in the meantime had *escaped*. The kraal was burnt. *They surrounded the homestead at Nguqa*, finding he had deserted from there too. They burnt it. *They attacked Ehlanzenti*, the name of another kraal, burning it and finding (he had) deserted. *They attacked Embungeni*, finding him *fled*. They then burnt it. They then seized all the cattle they could find and then *turned back*.

The chief, on the Isimungwane, saw all that was going (on). '*Look, now his homestead is burning!*' His whole *impi* then returned, to find Nsizi, Tshaka's *induna* had *put on his war-dress*. He had threatened to *set on the impi* on seeing that the greater section of Z.'s *impi* (Isimahla) had been defeated, but Z. said, '*Wait a bit, the carrying-skin has not yet arrived,*' i.e. the Umngenela. So after seeing the 53 Umngenela succeed, Nsizi *set them free*, i.e. refrained from *setting on his impi* and killing off Z.'s people. That was all. The Mngenela returned. The other *induna* of Tshaka's with Mtsholozza, seeing all the cattle had been swept off by Zihlandhlo, returned to Tshaka. That is the story of Mtsholozza's *impi*.

Sambela's *impis*.

In a time of peace Sambela gathered his impi, saying, 'I am going to attack Nomanaka ka Ngeongo' (amaPambuka - their isibongo). He killed him and took over *his people*. These are the people that at this day are so numerous a section of Mqolombeni's kraal. That was all.

54 *He attacked Mandaba of the Vezi people, killed him, and took over his people. It is they who are there with Mqolombeni. He returned. He attacked Mpongo ka Zingelwayo of the Ndhlovu people. They fought and fought until both sides retired. Mpongo then attacked Sambela. They fought. Both retired. There was a period of peace. The next thing that happened was that Sambela attacked Mpongo. He killed him and also his brother Ntiti.*²² He then took over a portion of Mpongo's people.

Next, Sambela attacked *Majiya ka Mapinda of the Emapepeteni people. He seized their cattle and burnt their homesteads.*

Sambela killed *Mziki ka Toza* (I don't know his *sibongo*). He also killed *Mkubane ka Mpoko of the Manyane people.* He also killed *Pakawayo ka Mpoko* (his *sibongo*) of the *Manyane people.*

He killed *Nosongolwayo ka -- <sic> of the Hlele people; he killed*

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55 Nombombo ka -- <sic> of the Hlele people; he killed Zisangwana ka Langana of the Mguli people (his sibongo). He killed Mande ka Dibanhlela of the Cele people.²³

Sambela was a mature man, tall, mpofo (bronze). He was not a member of Tshaka's regiments, for Zihlandhlo had his own regiments, and T. his.

As a boy, when he had his first nocturnal emission and went out away from the homestead, he killed people's goats, 20 of them, and ate them, he being with other boys. Formerly boys attained puberty when big and herding livestock. He used to direct his boys to sharpen their sticks and attack other boys. S. then attacked the other boys. Those attacked would come up with their sticks raised ready to fight, but S. had previously directed his boys to allow the others to come up and, as their opponents began to beat them, to stab at them with the sharpened sticks. This was done and the others chased away.

56 On returning from herding, he would go into the homestead, then take calabashes and destroy them, smash them with his hands by throwing them onto the ground. But nothing would be said, seeing he was ungovernable (uhlanya).

When out in the field he would go to where other people's cattle were, and direct the herdboys to catch a beast and then tell them to stab it, even though an ox or heifer; it was then left where it was, and afterwards skinned on report being made that Sambela had directed it to be killed.

As a man he was inspired with a lust for making war.

57 When Sambela had grown up, Tshaka said to Zihlandhlo, 'I must take him and make him induna of all my amabuto and of yours.' Zihlandhlo demurred. After an interval Tshaka said, 'My younger brother (mnawe), do you see this fellow? His eyes are piercing in their look, as if he wanted to kill you.' Z. replied, 'No. He will never kill me.' That then was the end of that little matter.

After this Sambela became a great and famous fighter, no one greater. In consequence of his eminence, Zihlandhlo made a chief of him, that he should be saluted as one, and hold his own umkosi ceremony. That then is the end of his story.

S. died at eKwaneni; he was killed by Dingana's impi in the charge of Ndhlela ka Sompisi. He died when over 50 years of age. [Can't have been.] He was not as old as Zihlandhlo or Tshaka.

.... <Praises of Sambela, with notes, omitted - eds.>

64 Story relating to Zihlandhlo.

When he grew up, Gcwabe took him out of his homestead. He left with his ikanda. He then ruled and became a chief during his father's lifetime. He was sent out because his father was well on in years. Gcwabe died a very old man.

Tshaka said to Zihlandhlo, 'Shall we hold a dance together?' Z. then collected his people and went to T. who was at Bulawayo. T. directed Z. to sleep there. Next day T. sent a messenger to tell Z. to go to the meeting place (isigcau), i.e. a place on a hill nearby, where dancing was to go on. Z. went to the spot. People then arrived from Tshaka, wearing horns on their heads, like cattle. The people then fought in imitation of bulls fighting. Other people came who went on

all fours, in imitation of dogs; they imitated dogs fighting. Others came carrying *reed pipes*; these they *played by blowing into them*. After
 65 this Tshaka himself *appeared with his men*. He came into the *semicircle* which had been *formed*. The Zulus then *danced*. Tshaka exclaimed after a while, '*This is no meeting place, my mnawe.*' T. then passed on with his troops to search for a *spot where the ground resounded*. On coming to another spot he tried it but said, '*This place too is unsuitable.*' He passed on to another spot, where he again said, '*This is unsuitable.*' And so they went on and on till they had gone some 20 miles or so. He came to a garden of ripe *mabele*. He then *pointed with his stick and gave a loud whistle*. The troops then *took hold of the anabele plants and pulled them out*. *Still carrying the plants, they performed an inkondlo dance*. He then directed them to put them down. The *inkondlo* was then performed in the garden (no longer a garden). T. then said, '*O! My mnawe, I am going to war. I am making war on Sikunyana. He has returned, for I drove out his father.*'²⁴

He then *prepared the army, and went off with it in the night*. That
 66 is, he started straight from there on his expedition. He did not rest till dawn, having walked through the night. In the afternoon he again started forth, making towards Sikunyana's district, I fancy to Mhlongamvula mountain.²⁵ When dawn came he put his *impi* into a forest. The *impi* slept in the forest. He *prepared his impi in the night*. He said, '*As for you, my mnawe, you shall guard me. I'll send the whole of the Zulus to Sikunyana.*' After being *prepared*, the troops left, forming two horns, and *surrounded that mountain*. Before they could surround the mountain *Sikunyana escaped*. T. saw him flee. The two horns met and began stabbing one another, for the people, being very numerous, did not know one another. But they soon discovered, and desisted. Sikunyana himself had escaped, but his *impi* had been hemmed in. '*Kill off every soul,*' said Tshaka, '*women and child.*' He *wanted nothing of Sikunyana's to survive*. The *impi* went in and finished them all off. T. then directed the troops to follow after Sikunyana, but they failed to overtake him. When the troops got back, T. said to Z., '*Some people fell onto their backs; others shuffled round with bent knees,*' referring to many of his own people who had remained behind ill or pretending to be ill. He ordered the warriors to go about and kill all such malingerers. The army then all got to their homes. Z. was told to go to his home.

When Z. returned he *attacked Macingwane in the Cunu country*, but he failed to kill him. He killed, however, Sondonzima (ka Luboko), brother of Macingwane. On returning from there, Z. *attacked Matomela ka Ndhlovu in the Bomvu country*. He *killed his chief, Zipundulu*. He killed also Sotshenge ka Ndhlovu, a man of high birth. Zihlandhlo then *made Nzombane ka Matomela chief*.²⁶ On returning from this, he *attacked Tshitshi near the country of the Pepeteni*. He *killed him, and returned*. He *attacked Nomagaga of the Nadi people, and ate up their cattle*. Dibinyika was Nomagaga's heir, of the Zondi tribe. He next *attacked Dhlaba of the Inadi (Zondi) tribe, and ate up his cattle*. He *attacked Voyizana living higher up, and ate up his cattle*. He *attacked Nguza of the Dhlamini people*. His father was Ngonyama. He *killed him*. He *attacked Bodeyana of the Dhlamini people*. The *anakubalo medicines were eaten by Mmiso of the Kuze people*.²⁷ He *attacked Nzombane ka Matomela*. He *captured him, but did not kill him*. He however seized his stock.

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<Stuart indicates that the following notes, which occur in the original on pp. 72 and 73, under date 7.11.1913, are to be read in conjunction with the passages above - eds.

<7.11.1913>

File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 72-3.

- 72 Zihlandhlo attacked Sali ka Sibenya, and killed him. He attacked Sibenya of the Wutshe people living in the vicinity of Cedara and Mbubu, and killed him. He killed Mbonjeni. He attacked Nomagwayi of the eMazolweni people, and killed him. Z. also killed the isikulu Mmqundu ka Mzaula of the Ndhlovu people. He killed Ngebe ka Mzila of
- 73 the Ngconggo. He killed Madonjeni of the left-hand house, among the Embo people. He caught Nsele ka Gawabe of the Embo people, but did not kill him, for Sambela objected. He ate up his cattle. He killed Ntiti ka Gawabe and took his cattle.

<6.11.1913>

File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 68-71.

- 68 Zihlandhlo was tall, not dark but with a shiny skin. He was murdered by Dingana's order when a man. He had a head-ring. He was a kindly disposed man but was also possessed of a temper.
- 69

There are no marks cut on our bodies, e.g. (as done by) the Bomvus. Children have an incision made on the left little finger. An infant is said to cry and go on crying if the distinguishing mark of its people has not been made. But even quiet infants are treated in this manner. The infants have the incision made in pairs, and the blood of the one is mixed with that of the other on their respective little fingers. I do not know the origin of this custom.

Tshaka used to make Z. a present of blue-monkey and genet skins. He occasionally presented him with cattle.

One day when T. was passing by our tribe, he saw an ox of Zihlandhlo's. He ordered it to be driven off as it would make a good war-shield. He said he wanted to make a shield. He repaid Z. for the loss of his beast with another.

- 70 Z. once sent Matshukumbele to Tshaka to konza there. When Matshukumbele returned after staying some days, Tshaka gave him a present of five heifers. Matshukumbele did not bring the cattle to Z. Zihlandhlo shortly afterwards paid Tshaka a visit. T. said, 'Hau! My brother (mmawe), do you not give praise for what I gave you?' He referred to giving it to Matshukumbele. Z. said, 'Nkosi, I had forgotten.' T. said, 'My brother, did he duly pass the present on to you? It would appear as if he did not give it to you.' Z. said nothing more and there the matter dropped. Had Z. said that Matshukumbele had concealed the matter from him, he would have been put to death forthwith. Z. then went home. On getting home he slept the night. Next day Matshukumbele arrived with the impi of his place. He entered the cattle enclosure. Z. was seated with but a few people. He, M., arrived carrying asegaais. M. said,
- 71 'Let us discuss the thing which it is said you are going to do.' Z. replied, 'No, no, my brother. Sleep, and tomorrow I shall give you blue-monkey skins.' M. then went in to sleep.

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File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 71-83.

Z. then sent a man to Sambela at Mngeneleni. The message was, 'Come quickly, or you will find that Matshukumbele has already killed me. He is here at my place. Come armed.' Sambela too then assembled the impi of his place. As dawn was breaking he arrived. He entered the homestead at its upper end, and came to Z. in the cattle enclosure. Z. rose to go outside. He then asked S. to come with him outside the homestead. S. then loosed his impi on both sides of the kraal, directing it to kill Matshukumbele. Z. then said S. was to tell his men to kill not only M. but all those with him, as well as others who were at the kraal, for they had looked on instead of proceeding to stab Matshukumbele on his threatening Z. Sambela refused, saying, 'We'll kill only
72 Matshukumbele and his son Sibabili, and a few others.' The impi then went in, caught hold of Matshukumbele, and stabbed his son Sibabili. Z. asked M., 'Where have you put the cattle which Tshaka told you to bring to me?' M. replied, 'I was going to bring them; I had not yet done so.' Z replied, 'Tshaka has informed me that the cattle arrived long ago. Kill him!' Upon this he was put to death.²⁸

73 <Praises of Zihlandhlo, with notes, omitted - eds.>

80 When Zihlandhlo had gone to war and gone to eat up the cattle of Voyizana up the Tugela, also those of Baleni up on the Nhlosane, when all the cattle arrived with the troops where Z. had halted, i.e. about Cedara and Mbubu (near Pietermaritzburg), those from whom the cattle had been seized, viz. Mbazwana and Baleni, also came up.²⁹ When the cattle were all standing, Z., in Mbazwana's and many other people's presence, asked Bacwali ka Magaba ka Mbangi ka Kabazele (Bacwali was the great induna over Zihlandhlo's troops), 'Did you have to defend yourself against any attacks?' B. replied, 'No, I did not have to do so. I found the cattle of the chief simply standing by themselves. The people ran away when they saw me; they disappeared into the forests. I then took the cattle.' Bacwali, pointing at Baleni, said, 'There is Baleni; there is Mbazwana,' i.e. referring to the lesser chiefs whose
81 cattle had been seized, i.e. B. reported having come with them. It was well.

Then Mbazwana came forward and pointed to a red and white ox, one with horns curving forward in front of its head,



and with a large red patch on its back, and said that it was Baleni's ingezelo beast. (There was a custom among chiefs that, after washing, a beast would be brought into the enclosure in which the chief was, for it was his body (ngob' i umzimba wake). Such was called ingezelo, the ingezelo of the chief, i.e. an ox, a very fine one - colour as stated.) Zihlandhlo then stood up, took a pair of pincers, and asked, 'Which is it?' Mbazwana then pointed it out, saying, 'It is that one.' Z. said, 'Is it that one?', pointing to it with the pincers. It died. He then put down the pincers, took a switch, and struck the beast with it. It stood up. He ordered them all to be taken off to eSimahlani.

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Baleni and Mbazwana were not killed.

The chiefs of former times used to have certain powers, in the days when they were still fighting one another.

82 In the old days the chiefs of high standing used not to resort to stabbing cattle to kill them. A beast to be killed, having been caught by the regiments and brought to the chief, would be 'struck' by the chief's shadow and then 'fade' - waste away - and, after being driven away, take ill and die without being stabbed.

Death of this kind happened when a man against whom a chief had been fighting had been caught and brought captive to his conqueror, surrounded on all sides with his warriors. On merely beholding the conqueror, the captive would be *overcome with fear* and then succumb.

83 One day Tshaka asked, '*What are the praises of this fellow?*', meaning the Embo chief Sambela. The reply was, '*He is "the one whose fame resounds even while he sits at Mngenela; it resounds among his enemies; it resounds at his home".*' Tshaka said, '*It is I who am "the one whose fame resounds even while he sits; the son of Menzi; the axe which surpasses other axes; the bird which devours others".*' But nothing more was said. Sambela continued to be *praised* in this way. Tshaka got the *praise* from Sambela; it was not his before he heard it used in respect of Sambela.

<In the list that follows we have used parentheses to indicate questions which in the original were scored out by Stuart - eds.>

Questions.

(What about Sikukuku?)

Any fairy tales about origins?

(Names of Mavovo's, Gcwabe's, Zihlandhlo's, Sambela's, Siyingele's and Ngunezi's regiments?)

How were regiments attired? Who were *izinduna*?

Where are the various sections of tribe? Any left in Swaziland?

Name of the very oldest tribes of Natal and Zululand?

Burial customs.

More anecdotes of Sambela and his temper.

Who was Mbokodo's greatest informant? Other informants.

Tribal *imbongi*, is he this? What part of beast does he eat?

Did Tshaka ever visit Zihlandhlo at eSimahleni?

How many wives had Gcwabe, Zihlandhlo, Sambela?

What regiment did Dingana *scatter* the Abembo (Umumbo) with?

Had Zihlandhlo *izigodhlo*? Did he hold an *umkosi* ceremony? The *gourd*. Regiments?

Any connection between Zihlandhlo and Nqeto?

Principal kraals of different chiefs.

Occupations of the people. Folklore.

8.11.1913

File 58, nbk. 23, pp. 83-5.

Regiments. I do not know the names of Mavovo's regiments. Gcwabe's were the Umtshungu, uTshwele, uTiyatiya, Imbisi. Zihlandhlo's were, in addition to the foregoing, uDhliki, Inguqa, Isihlabane, Izimpohlo. Sambela had no regiments; they belonged to Zihlandhlo. Sambela used

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84 *amakanda* troops to fight with, viz. uMngenela, Imbuto, uTata, Amantungwa, Isikebe, uGidinkomo. These were Sambela's *amakanda*, not the names of regiments. Siyingele's were the Isivivane, Izinkuni. He also *buta'd* others, only to *incorporate (tela)* them in the Imbisi and in the Izimpohlo. He then *buta'd* the Amatshayadhlule, short form Amatshadhlule.

Ngunezi's: uMoya, uTshani, Izipiyane.³⁰ He himself belonged to the Amatshadhlule. [IziPisane - added by Mandhlakazi, 2.2.1922.]

Tilonko's: Imamba. He, T., has since been deposed.³¹

Bubula (T.'s successor): I have not heard of Bubula having *buta'd* any. He does not *hold an umkosi ceremony*.

Ngangezwe's: Itshelemali, uGobinhlendhla, uMlilo, Izinyosi.³²

I, Mbokodo, belong to the Izinyosi and am of about the age of the Uve among the Zulu regiments. The older section of the Izinyosi was called uNohemu, their cadetship name. I am of the Nohemu lot.

The very oldest regiment of all is the uMtshungu. This may have been *buta'd* by Mavovo, or Kabazele, or even Gcwabe.

85 There are perhaps solitary members of the Tiyatiya still living; these may be found in the late Tilonko's people (now under Bubula), but none in our tribe. There are still a few of the Izinkuni regiment left.

My great informant was Ngwenyeni, also Sohayi ka Mdhlalose, who came from Zululand. Whilst still a lad I learnt especially from my father, who died when I was a *young man (ibungu)*, say 25 years of age. My father directed me to go to Ngwenyeni and get him to teach me. My father and Ngwenyeni taught me the *praises* I have been reciting.

Sohayi is living; he is of the Izinkuni regiment. He no longer leaves his hut. He never saw Tshaka or Zihlandhlo, being too young. He knew Dingana. He is of the Zulu Tulwane regiment or thereabout. My father was of the Izingulube regiment.³³

9.11.1913

File 58, nbk. 23, 85-95, 98, 100-1.

Also present: Mandhlakazi

86 [I translate pp. 94, 95, ii, Isaacs, Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 1836, to Mbokodo. He is sure that the 'brother of Zihlandhlo' there referred to is Sambela. He then gave me the following account.]

The Zulus did not make a direct attack to begin with, but appeared to be passing by. They halted and *made a fire*. Sambela wondered what they were up to. He got together the troops from two *amakanda* and proceeded to a place called eKwaneni, where there was a place of shelter though not a *stronghold*. He was there hemmed in by the Izinyosi who had come to attack. He succeeded in beating them back. Later the Dhlambedhlu came up and, after besieging the place for three days, took it by assault on the fourth. The Zulus got round the 'shelter' and succeeded in driving Sambela and his people into the open, when they were cut up and Sambela himself killed.

[This affair occurred about April 1830. See what Isaacs says on p. 94, vol. II.]

Better and fuller statement of the above:

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87 At dawn people of the Zulu came to Sambela. They said they had been sent by the king, Dingana. He had a goat caught and presented it to them. They stabbed it with an awl, and then gave praise to the chiefs of the place, Senzangakona and Dingana. But they were spies, come to find out which umuzi he was at. They went off.

At dawn an impi was seen coming towards the umuzi. People went to see where it was going. Wo! They saw it was a Zulu impi. Sambela came out from his home with the men of two of his imizi; he came out with the Mbutweni, and a messenger was sent to eMngeleneni. They went off, followed closely by the Zulu impi. Sambela then halted at ekwaneni and the Zulus came up. The two forces fought. The Zulus fell back, then came on again, and again they fought. Again the Zulus fell back, again they came on, and again they fought. Yet again the Zulus fell back.

88 People at the chief's ikanda, Gidinkomo, heard that he was at ekwaneni. They went off in the night. But before the force arrived, the Zulus had killed the chief, on the fourth day, after he had fought for three days. The Zulus then proceeded to take his cattle. The men of Gidinkomo and others who had come to the chief's place refused to give them up, and the Zulus halted. The men proceeded to stab the cattle. The Zulus said, 'Hau! Where will you find protection, now that you are killing the chief's cattle, now that he is dead?' They carried on stabbing them. The Zulus then left the cattle, and went off and took others. They had not yet killed Zihlandhlo; he had fled to eDimane. [See p. 89.] That is how Sambela met his death in battle.

89 Sambela was stabbed by seven men. His death came about in this way. The Zulus had failed to force their way in in front of his refuge, and had not yet succeeded in killing him. At this stage one of his people deserted, and came and showed the Zulus a way to get into the refuge at the back, where they had been afraid to go. While Sambela was fighting at the front he suddenly saw an enemy force appear behind him. They had secretly got into his refuge by a very difficult way. Sambela's men suddenly saw this force appearing behind them and throwing itself at them. Sambela fought until there was a heap of dead round him, but was finally overwhelmed by the men of the Mbelebele.

<Stuart indicates that the following paragraph, which occurs in the original on pp. 90-1, should be inserted at this point - eds.>

90 When they stabbed Sambela he sank to the ground. He exclaimed, 'Wo! You have stabbed me by taking me unawares, me, "the one of Mngelena whose fame spreads even as he sits". You took me by surprise when my
91 people were away!' Then he died.

89 After his death his people ended their resistance, but refused to give up his cattle, as stated. The Zulus seized the stock of the district, not that at Sambela's kraals. It was the Gidinkomo, and other troops that came to assist, (who) refused to give up the cattle as above stated.

Sambela was buried there at Ekwaneni. The people all scattered.

Zihlandhlo was not buried. It was some time afterwards that he was killed. [See p. 88.] Messengers were sent by Dingana to him to say he had better return to his home and nothing would be done to him. As a

90 matter of fact this was but a ruse, for when they told him this he was outside the kraal, he having been invited out there to hear the 'supposed secret' they had to communicate.

Sambela was a tall man, exceedingly powerful and courageous, of dark bronze colour. I don't know his Zulu regiment. The man who betrayed him was Sikati ka Hlangwana of the *Mguli* people. Sikati was tired of fighting when he turned traitor. The Zulus afterwards informed our tribe that they were about to give up the siege, only Sikati volunteered to show the way in. Sambela's *induna* (Sihoho ka Cejana, Cejana himself having been a great *induna*) then had Sikati put to death. This took place in the Tugela valley, not far above Ntunjambili, when the tribe were all making away into Natal.³⁴ Sihoho, hearing of Sikati's whereabouts and knowing of his treachery, sent for him. He came, not knowing what he was wanted for. On his coming he was immediately stabbed to death for his treachery. [Cf. Lukilimba and H.F. Fynn.]³⁵

91 Once he, Sambela, spoke to his warriors they became intensely eager for war. But so impetuous was he that they would not permit him to come to the front and lead; they tried to keep him in the rear in order to protect him. But he would have nothing of the sort, invariably breaking through in order to be the first to get at the foe.

92 On the occasion of the *Cunu* attack at *eSimahleni*, when Sambela had gone out to attack *Majiya ka Mapinda* of the *emaPepetereni* people, he had not yet reached *Majiya's* place when a messenger arrived to report that an *impi* was attacking *eSimahleni*. He turned back, sending out his spies ahead of him. They came to report that the *impi* had retreated, having taken the cattle of *emaQadini*, a district (*isifunda*) of *Zihlandhlo's*, but that it had not got as far as *Zihlandhlo's* home. The *impi* had taken the cattle and was heading with them towards *Silokomana* (hill). Sambela did not go to his home, but made for *Silokomana*. He sent out spies. They returned to him to say that the *impi* was coming towards *Silokomana* with the cattle. They lay down. At dawn the next day the *impi* was coming on with the cattle. Sambela prepared his men and then the two forces fought. The cattle were among the fighting men; they had been turned loose. The forces were closely packed. They came together and fought it out.

93 One of Sambela's men fought with a man of the *Cunu*; they trampled the grass as they fought. Sambela came up and stabbed the man. His warrior went on and fought with another man. Again Sambela came up and stabbed the man. His warrior went on to fight a third opponent. Again Sambela came up and stabbed him. Sambela took the shield of the dead man and gave it to his warrior. He took the shield of the warrior and threw it away. The warrior returned to the fight. This shield was made of a bull's hide. Sambela said that if the warrior carried the shield of bull's hide he would find it difficult to stab an enemy, who would be 'slippery'.

Sambela defeated the *Cunu* and took the cattle. He took them to *Zihlandhlo*, the chief, and then went to his home.

It was after this that he went to *Mapinda* of the *Emapepeteni* people and killed him.

Description of Zulu ka Nogandaya.³⁶ He was dark-skinned (*ututu*),

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with great broad shoulders. He was tall, and black in colour - ututu or ututuva, i.e. quite dark or black, not shiny black (*umnyama uluhlaza*), which is a different kind of complexion to *ututa* or *tutuva*. I once saw Zulu.

Zulu once stabbed Kokela (ka Mncumbata), an *induna* of Tshaka. They were vying with each other, i.e. a duel.

94 The Embo tribe were an entity and all together in the days of Tshaka and before, i.e. in the vicinity of Nkandhla. I do not know how it is that Natal used to be spoken of as *the country of the Embo*.³⁷ I do not know if this refers to our tribe. I cannot think how Natal came to be so called.

Our present district was selected by Bambata and Gebula simply because a footing appeared possible there by driving out the inhabitants, viz. amaWutshe, amaNzolweni, and abaTwa in the vicinity of Gilanyoni mountain. Msengi (Sambela's eldest son) lived at eFabe hill, not far beyond Edendale.³⁸

95 Bacwali [see pp. 100, 80] and Mtimkulu (Sempunga was his *sibongo*), the sons of Magaba ka Mbangi [see p. 80] ka Kabazele, left Zihlandhlo's tribe in Tshaka's day and settled at esiHlutankungu hill, Ixopo division. [This happened any time between 1822 and 1826. It may have occurred before, for Bacwali did not *konza Fynn* etc. at Port Natal.] Whilst Tshaka was still among the *Mtetswa*, a fight occurred between Zihlandhlo and the *Mtetswa*. Tshaka came face to face with Bacwali, a warrior of Zihlandhlo. They kept stabbing at each other with their assegais. Tshaka fell into a *donga*. Bacwali appeared above him and called out, 'Qope! Jeje!' Tshaka climbed out of the *donga* on the other side. Bacwali then left off pursuing Tshaka, but gave his attention to stabbing other men in the action.

When Tshaka had returned from the *Mtetswa* country and come to power, he continually asked Zihlandhlo, 'Mnawe, tell me who the people of Jeje are.' Zihlandhlo would reply, 'I do not know them, Nkosi.' Tshaka said, 'There is a man who nearly killed me; he made an oath using the name Jeje.' After this Zihlandhlo told Bacwali what had happened and advised him to leave the tribe for fear of being found out and then put to death by Tshaka. [But see piece to be found on p. 100.]

[Mandhlakazi here joins Mbokodo.]

98 Mbokodo. Tshaka used to call himself '*uSikiti, uSikit*' *omnyama*! 'Let there appear the man,' he once exclaimed, 'who will call me Tshaka! Do I shake (*tshakaza*) the gourd of his people?' [I.e. to *tshukuza* a gourd is to shake it up.]

100 [See p. 95.] He was shielding them, meaning that they should move away and distance themselves from Tshaka. Bacwali, in saying, 'Jeje!' used to swear by his sister, whose name was Jeje. Bacwali and Mtimkulu then came and built at Esihlutankungu, though still in Tshaka's country, as Natal then was. Bacwali did not *konza Fynn*, Farewell or any white man. This happened before the white people arrived.

Bacwali [see p. 94 for anecdote re (him); see also p. 80] died at eSihlutankungu. Njane, son of Mtimkulu, also died at the same place. This shows they were not chased out by Tshaka's *impis*. Bangizwe,

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101 Bacwali's great grandson, is still living at the same place. Though living at Esihlutankungu, Bacwali was still a member of Zihlandhlo's tribe. He did not *konza* another tribe. Bacwali went off from Zihlandhlo with a number of families.

10.11.1913

File 59, nbk. 33, pp. 9-16.

9 [Notes about Embo tribe by Mbokodo. Continued from another notebook.]

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

15 Ngangezwe was obliged to refrain from putting people to death, i.e. those referred to above,³⁹ because he no longer had any land, all then belonging to *the white people*. He used therefore to tie offenders up and leave them in the sun and occasionally go to *look at* them and say, 'Pas op! *Soon I shall kill you.*'⁴⁰

(Ngangezwe threatened to wipe out the petty chief Munyu, on the spot. The men with N. demurred on account of the trouble that would arise on account of the white people. Munyu, however, bolted off as hard as he could go, fearing N. might, notwithstanding the Europeans, carry his threat into execution, and the Europeans arrive to find him already dead. This Munyu was *the eldest son of Sambela*, but was really the son of Msengi, Sambela's *eldest son*. He died quite recently. Munyu *fathered* Jamengweni.

16 How the descendants of Zihlandhlo and of Sambela came to occupy the same district in Natal. Our tribe did not have domestic quarrels. This is the reason why all are now living together where they are. Sambela used to *konza* to Zihlandhlo, acknowledging his precedence, so also did Sambela's son Ngangezwe to Siyengele, Zihlandhlo's son. Mqolombeni's tribe is larger than that of Bubula (Tilonko's successor). Bubula does not *hold the umkosi ceremonies*, i.e. *gather his people together to be seen*.

'*There is no good ijwabu as there was in Tilonko's time*' - said in regard to Bubula. It means that the tribe does not regard him with the full affection it did Tilonko.⁴¹

There have been faction fights between the two tribes, but only of a superficial nature, for only youths were concerned. Old men did not interest themselves therein.

The Bacwali lot are under Mabunu ka Njana ka Mtimkulu ka Tshabase. Mabunu is their chief. Strictly speaking they are Tilonko's (i.e. Bubula's).

Notes

¹Cf. the Mkhize or Mbo chiefly genealogies in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 406; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 118, vol. 2, pp. 90, 205, 279.

²Mqolombeni was chief of the Mkhize in the Richmond, Alexandra, Ixopo, and Camperdown divisions. For Sikhukhukhu's place in the Mkhize chiefly genealogy see Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 406.

³The uVe *ibutho* was formed in 1875 of youths born in the mid-1850s.

- ⁴The personages named were all of the Mkhize chiefly house.
- ⁵See Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 194, for a similar account given by Mandlakazi kaNgini.
- ⁶We give the names that follow in column form as they appear in the original. This appears to have been Stuart's method of recording the names of brothers of the same house.
- ⁷For discussion of the term Lala see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7 ff, 232 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, vols. 1 & 2, index.
- ⁸Qudeni mountain overlooks the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi river from the north-east. The Nkandla district lies to the east.
- ⁹The Nsuze river enters the Thukela twenty kilometres north-east of present-day Kranskop village.
- ¹⁰The Matikhulu river enters the sea twenty kilometres north of the Thukela mouth. We have been unable to locate the other sites named.
- ¹¹Shaka campaigned against the Mpondo in 1824 and 1828, and against Sikhunyana of the Ndwandwe in 1826.
- ¹²On *isimanga*, Bryant, Dictionary, p. 376, writes, '...applied chiefly to a certain eruption of the body (possibly from anthrax or other poisoning) popularly attributed to incest, and to the false pregnancy ...of uterine disease in females'.
- ¹³Shaka was assassinated at his Dukuza *umuzi* in September 1828.
- ¹⁴For a similar account, given by Mandlakazi ka Ngini, see Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 191.
- ¹⁵These names appear in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ¹⁶Gilanyoni hill lies twenty kilometres inland from the mouth of the Mkhomazi. AbaTwa (abaThwa) is the Zulu word for San, or 'Bushmen', although in the present context it may refer to Nguni who had taken to a largely hunting way of life. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 696, has an entry for '? abaTwa' in his list of East-Nguni clans and sub-clans.
- ¹⁷For discussion of the term Debe see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 2, 233, 547 ff.
- ¹⁸Mbubu mountain near Pietermaritzburg is also known as Swartkop.
- ¹⁹Bishopstowe is some ten kilometres east of Pietermaritzburg.
- ²⁰For a variant account of Wushe origins see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 369 ff.
- ²¹The precise meaning attributed to the word *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 "counsellors". This is an incorrect interpretation.... "Pakati" simply means "within" - and "Amapakati" is understood to mean those who are at the time "within" the chief's circle' (cited in Bird, Annals, vol. 1, p. 119). Colenso, Dictionary, p. 450, gives *umphakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Dictionary, p. 481, 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"'.

MBOKODO

- ²²For a variant account of Mpongo's death see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 264-5.
- ²³For variant accounts of the death of Mande see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 540-1; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 115-16, vol. 2, pp. 72, 295-6.
- ²⁴Sikhunyana, son of the Ndwandwe chief Zwide, led an attack on the Zulu kingdom in 1826. See the account in Fynn, Diary, pp. 122-8; also Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 60 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 588-94.
- ²⁵A mountain near the Mkhondo river in the south-east of the present-day Transvaal.
- ²⁶Cf. Bryant's account in Olden Times, pp. 411-12, 519-20.
- ²⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 324, writes, 'Amakubalo are always eaten upon the death of one of the family, in order to strengthen against ill-effects that might otherwise follow'.
- ²⁸Cf. Mandlakazi kaNgini's account in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 192-3.
- ²⁹The Nhlosane is a mountain near present-day Mpendle in the Natal midlands. The Baleni referred to may have been Baleni kaNongcama, chief of a section of the Hlangwini people. The Mbazwana referred to may have been Mbazwana kaNondaba, chief of the esiPhahleni section of the Dlamini.
- ³⁰Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406, gives Ngunezi as grandson of Zihlandlo.
- ³¹Tilonko kaNgunezi, chief of the Mkhize in the Umgeni division, was deposed by the Natal government during the disturbances of 1906, found guilty of sedition, and deported to St. Helena. See Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 193-7.
- ³²Ngangezwe was the son of Sambela and the father of the chief Mqolombeni. He died in 1898 (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 406).
- ³³The uThulwana *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s. The izinGulube *ibutho* was formed in the mid-1840s of youths born in the mid-1820s.
- ³⁴Ntunjambili mountain is also known as Kranskop.
- ³⁵On H.F. Fynn's killing of Lukilimba see Fynn, Diary, pp. 198-205; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 57-8.
- ³⁶Zulu kaNogandaya was a well-known warrior in Shaka's time. See Stuart Archive, vol 1, pp. 101-3, vol. 2, pp. 179-83.
- ³⁷Cf. Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 126, 129.
- ³⁸Near Pietermaritzburg. On the word 'abaTwa' see note 16 above.
- ³⁹The reference is to persons mentioned in Ngangezwe's praises.
- ⁴⁰'Pas op!' means 'Take care!' in Afrikaans.
- ⁴¹This paragraph appears in the original as a marginal insertion. *Ijwabu* is a soft outer skin or smooth surface.