

MKEBENI KA DABULAMANZI

12.9.1921

File 57, nbk. 5, p. 37.

- 37 Mkebeni (of the Felapakati regiment) ka Dabulamanzi, Hoye (Dakwaukwesuta regiment) ka Soxalase ka Ngula ka Fukuzele ka Makasa ka Zombe of the Ndhlela people - associated with (lived with) the Ndwandwe tribe - and Maqama ka Mzilikazi of the Mbata people.¹ Maqama is of the Dakwa (Dakwaukwesuta) regiment.

All these arrived at Pietermaritzburg on 10th September (Saturday). I was advised by Shuter of the fact, so went down by train on Monday 12th and met them at Allison and Hime's office. Mkebeni is detained from coming at once, as also Maqama, but Hoye comes up to me by the 5.25 p.m. train. All have been sent by Solomon ka Dinuzulu in accordance with my request of June last.² I want them especially for the Zulu king's eulogies.

16.9.1921. High Brae.

File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 9-12.

- 9 Mkebeni ka Dabulamanzi ka Mpande ka Senzangakona ka Jama ka Ndaba ka Punga ka Mageba ka Ntiti ka Situli ka Nkombane ka Zulu ka Malandela.³ How the Zulu tribe originated. [Part of this piece used in Tulasizwe, p. 90.]⁴

Malandela fathered Qwabe. The mother, Nozidiya, then gave birth to Zulu. This wife, Nozidiya, bought a goat, which she sisa'd to the induna Mpungose. The goat produced increase; she then bought a beast, a white heifer. This beast was Zulu's, who followed Qwabe in age. It produced many offspring, all of them white, at the place of Mpungose.

- One day when the chief was sitting in his assembly he saw a number of white cattle appearing on a hill. He asked where they were from. He was told that they were from the place of Mpungose's people. The chief at this time was Qwabe, for Malandela was dead. He ordered Mpungose to be summoned. He asked, 'Where are those white cattle from?' The induna answered, 'They belong to your younger brother, Zulu. His mother, the wife Nozidiya, bought a goat, which was kept at my place. When it had produced increase, she bought a beast. She said, "These are the cattle of my younger son, Zulu."' The chief exclaimed, 'So, though I am ruling, you are concealing things from me, and setting up Zulu as chief? O! I shall separate from you.'*
- 10

The chief went off to build at the Ngoye hills.⁵ His wife said to the induna, 'You go with the chief; for my part I shall go and die in the wilderness.' The induna, Mpungose, said, 'Nkosikazi, how could I follow the chief when he has told me to go away and separate from him? If I

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followed him he would kill me. I shall go with you; I too shall die in the wilderness, and this young child too.' So they left, and went off to a place called isiHlungu, below a small hill, at eSikume. They built there. Zulu was followed by many people who had left the chief, Qwabe. He ruled over them and became a chief.

It happened that when the chief, Qwabe, went off to the Ngoye, with all his people following him, an umnumzane named Ngema remained behind at the Mfule.⁶ He found a large number of amabece melons growing at the Mfule. All his people stayed and ate up those melons. Then the people who had followed Qwabe asked Ngema and his people why they had remained there. They replied, 'We are still eating little ingadi melons' (Si sadhla sangajana). Their isibongo thereupon became Ngadi.⁷ That is how the Ngadi people originated. Ngema afterwards fathered Madhlokovu among
11 the Ngadi people.⁸ That is all I have to say about the Ngadi.

Zulu proceeded to quarrel with the abanumzana whom he found established there. He made them konza to him, a small group (isifunda) of them. That is how it was in Ndaba's time.

In old times, forces would fight in a strange way. For they would go out to fight at a river, with women and children also going to the attack. On one side of the river the womenfolk would stand behind the men; on the other side would be the other impi, also with its womenfolk behind. They would not approach closely, but would hurl assegais at one another. They would cry, 'Ho! Yaka-yaka!' The men and the women would shout this. If an assegai stuck into a person, then those people were regarded as defeated. There would be a cry, 'See it snarl! See the dog show its gums!' And so they ran away; they were now defeated.

It was in Jama's time that people fought in this way, and also in Senzangakona's. The Zulu manner of fighting - of violent struggle at close quarters - was begun by the great chief Tshaka, who overcame all the chiefs. He overcame Pungatshe of the Butelezi people; he overcame Dhladhlama of the Majola people; he overcame the Qwabe; he overcame the Ndwandwe. Then all the peoples went over to the Zulu.

12 This matter of Mageba's being fathered by Ntiti I heard at oSutu, when Dinuzulu enquired about it from my fathers and from the old men.⁹ (The enquiry took place about 1902.) There were present one of my mothers, Ntonjana ka Mpande, my father Tshingana ka Mpande, my father Sukani ka Mpande, and Ntabata ka Mqundane ka Nobongoza. (Ntabata is dead; he was of the Imboza regiment.) It was these people, then, whom he questioned. They related this matter. I too heard it. I learnt it. It was discussed for four days. While it was being discussed it was being written down by the secretary.¹⁰ I do not know what he did with it. Ntonjana is the one who spoke most. She lives at the place of Sitshwili.¹¹ She had heard the story from old people. She is not so old as Tshingana. She can also declaim praises. She married among the Gazo people; she married Muntuwapansi ka Nobiya.¹²

I think Nkosinkulu may be of the left-hand (ikohlo) side of the Zulu house.¹³ I know nothing of Mbuzi.

.... <Praises of Jama kaNdaba omitted - eds.>

<17.9.1921>

File 55, nbk. 3, pp. 33-43.

Also present for part of interview: Hoye, Qamana

33 Mkebeni. [See my note, p. 37.]

A beast was slaughtered among the eLangeni people, at the home of Tshaka's mother's people. The youths told Tshaka to roast meat for himself at the gate. He did so. He finished by roasting a piece of the intestines. When it had swelled up they told him to bring it to them, carrying it in his hands. He did so while it was still hot. They pricked it with a stick, and the juices flowed out and burnt him. He threw it on the ground and cried, 'If I ever meet up with you when I have grown up, what won't I do to you!' So saying, he left. He took his sticks, and went off to the Mtetwa country to one of Dingiswayo's izinduna.¹⁴ He came and said that he wished to konza. The induna asked him about his birth. He answered that he was a son of Senzangakona. The induna exclaimed, 'How could a person of such rank remain in my umuzi? I shall report to the chief that you have come.' He went off to report Tshaka's arrival to the chief, Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo said, 'Bring him to me, this person of such rank.' He duly came to Dingiswayo, who made him one of his izinceku.

34 He milked the cows from which Dingiswayo got milk.

One day Tshaka heard some of Dingiswayo's people talking about a madman who had finished off the people's cattle. Tshaka asked, 'Why hasn't he been killed?' They replied, 'He has overcome everyone.' Tshaka said, 'If the king would give me four companies (amaviyo) of men to take with me, so that when the madman is near I can emerge and confront him, I should kill him.' Dingiswayo's people strongly opposed him. Eventually they went to Dingiswayo's chief induna (Ngomane ka Mqomboli) and said, 'Take us to the chief and ask for four companies for us, for Tshaka is giving us no rest, saying that he could kill this madman who has overcome the people.' The induna went to the chief, who said, 'I want to hear nothing of this matter.' The people said, 'Go back again and make our request, for Tshaka is giving us no rest.' Tshaka, too, said, 'Go and make my request, for these people are giving me trouble. They are acting out of fear. Has one man alone ever overcome a nation? I shall kill him.'

35 Upon this the chief, Dingiswayo, sent out a party of warriors. They went with Tshaka, who instructed them, 'On no account run away. When the madman is close you will hear me give the order to run away.' They approached the madman. When he saw them he took up his shield and his assegais, and went towards them. He had on his finery, in the form of bird plumes, sewn to long threads, hanging down over his whole body; he flourished his shield as he went. Tshaka commanded, 'Do not run away.' But as the madman approached, the warriors ran away. Tshaka shouted at them, but they fled in earnest. The madman then went back. Tshaka gathered the warriors together and again gave them instructions. They went forward. The madman came out of his house, and again they ran away. Again Tshaka gathered them together. He said, 'If you run away again I shall stab you; I shall be like a madman among you. Do not run away. Wait for my order.' A third time they went forward. Tshaka said, 'Do not run away.' The madman came on. Tshaka said, 'Do not run away.' The madman reached the spot favoured by Tshaka, who said, 'Now run away.' They did so. Tshaka went forward and confronted the madman. Their shields clashed against each other like the clashing of bateleur eagles.

Tshaka stabbed the madman and beat him to the ground. All the Mtetwa warriors came up and stabbed him as he lay. They stabbed even his feet and hands. They were raging over the cattle which the madman had robbed from them. Tshaka gave a loud whistle, and thus became 'the whistler, the lion', and 'the wild one who is in full view of the men'. He was so praised when he returned the cattle of the whole Mtetwa country, those which had been robbed by the madman. They collected cattle and goats and sheep from all the ridges; their dust obscured the sun.

36 The chief, Dingiswayo, expressed amazement. He asked, 'Did he indeed kill this man who defied the Mtetwa people?' He ordered every man to pick out his own cattle and to leave those which were not his. For the cattle had increased in number through breeding over several years. Dingiswayo ordered that those beasts that no longer had owners were to be given to Tshaka.

For a period of some days Tshaka did not milk for the chief, for he had killed in battle. He then returned to his milking duties, now with the feeling in his heart that he could overcome all the Mtetwa. One day when he had finished milking he took up a position at the small gateway to the chief's isigodhlo and prevented the chief's food from being taken through. The girls who were carrying Dingiswayo's food said, 'Let us pass; we are taking the chief's food to him.' Tshaka glared at them, and they ran away to tell the izinceku (girls were not called izinceku). The izinceku were afraid to go to Tshaka. They went to report to the izinduna. The izinduna too were afraid, and went to inform Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo said, 'Go; tell Tshaka to let my food through.' They did so. Tshaka moved off and went to the lower end of the kraal. He gathered together all the carrier-boys of the army and ordered them to bring stones to the cattle enclosure. They were to place them outside, there where the warriors would approach. When they approached, Tshaka flung

37 stones at them and drove them all away.

He continued to behave in this way. Eventually Dingiswayo made a plan. He invited Sensangakona, the father of Tshaka, to an ijadu dance. He said that Sensangakona's people should come so that they could all dance together, for Sensangakona and Dingiswayo were friends. Sensangakona agreed. He called up the Zulu people. Meanwhile Dingiswayo summoned his izinyanga to 'doctor' Tshaka so that he would trample on his own father. [Above piece, i.e. from p. 33 to here, incorporated in 'Tshaka and the madman in the Mtetwa country' in Vusezakiti.¹⁵]

The Zulu danced first. Dingiswayo's warriors were not present, for he had hidden them. The Zulu finished their dance. Dingiswayo was sitting with a few of his men, looking on at the Zulu. They were sitting abreast of Sensangakona. Sensangakona then said, 'Now let your people dance, Dingiswayo.' Dingiswayo sent for his warriors. In charge of them was a single induna, Tshaka. Sensangakona did not recognize him. When the warriors came up they stood in a semicircle. Dingiswayo quietened them and cried out, 'Dance, Nodumehlezi ka Menzi!' Sensangakona was startled. Tshaka accordingly danced, while the warriors shouted, 'Nodumehlezi!', Tshaka's praise-name when giyaying. Then there was silence again. Dingiswayo then called Tshaka forward to where he was sitting with Sensangakona. He approached, and was about to lay down his shield when Dingiswayo checked him, saying, 'Do not put down your shield.' Tshaka stood up. Dingiswayo asked Sensangakona, 'Do you know this person?' Sensangakona answered, 'No.' Dingiswayo said, 'You are

38 his father.' Sensangakona said, 'By what woman did I father him?'

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Dingiswayo answered, 'You fathered him by a girl of the eLangeni people, a daughter of Mbengi.¹⁶ For when your mother gave out that the girl was sick, she was in fact pregnant with Tshaka. Your mother then gave out that this daughter of Mbengi was dead, when in fact she had given birth to Tshaka. Your mother then hid him among his mother's people, the eLangeni. When he grew up he went off and came here to me, for the eLangeni people were bullying him. This man is of great strength; he has killed a madman who had overcome the whole Mtetwa nation.'

There and then Sensangakona was overcome by fear. He became ill that very day. The following day he went off homewards, still ill. When he arrived home, he made an announcement of great importance among the Zulu. He said, 'Zulu people, I am dying. You must abandon the idea of appointing as chief my son whose mother is a woman of Nkobe's people, the son whom I have designated as my successor.'¹⁷ For when I die there will come up the madman who was borne by a woman of Mbengi's people. It happened that my mother hid this girl from me, saying that she was dead when in fact she had given birth to this madman. He is not human. If you argue that he is not a chief he will kill my people, and destroy them. You must make him chief. For he will not be made chief by me; he will make himself chief.'

39 Upon this he died, having left instructions that his death should be reported to Tshaka. Accordingly people went to report to Tshaka that his father was dead. Tshaka came up-country with a great column of Mtetwa. On his arrival he went into the cattle enclosure and formed them into a semicircle. The Zulu people came out, joined the Mtetwa, and formed a semicircle. They chanted *amarubo*.¹⁸ This came to an end. Carrying his war-shield, Tshaka went out into the semicircle. He demanded, 'Where are the cattle for my father's funeral?' They replied, 'Ndabezita, they are here.'¹⁹ He ordered them to be brought at once, which was done. Dhlungwana slaughtered them; he slaughtered them as if destroying the herd.²⁰ That was how he became chief. The Mtetwa *izinduna* said, 'We shall go, now that the matter has been spoken about by you Zulu. We shall tell our chief exactly what has happened.' Thus Tshaka was now chief. The Mtetwa went off. Tshaka apportioned cattle for them to slaughter and eat on their journey.

The real heir to Sensangakona was Sigujana, whose mother was Bibi ka Nkobe. Sigujana was enticed by the words of Dingana, who said, 'This person Tshaka is causing us distress. He is continually making us go out to war, and we cannot eat the new crops in the homes of our mothers. We should kill him, and you should become chief, for you are our father's heir. Tshaka took the chiefship by force.' Sigujana agreed. This was when the army went out to make war at the Balule.²¹

40 Notes of a conversation with Mkebeni, Hoye and Qamana.

Mkebeni is firmly of the opinion that Nandi never actually married Sensangakona. He holds that she was presented (*etula'd*) to him by the Langeni tribe, but, as she got ill with *itshati* (*itshaka*), she went home to the eLangeni country, where she gave birth to Tshaka, though the report sent to Sensangakona was that the alleged illness had brought about her death, without any reference to any child having been born.²² As, however, Tshaka was in fact born, so he was *illegitimate* (*o we sihlahla*). Mkebeni admits that circumcision was still in vogue in those days.

He allows that Nandi afterwards married Gendeyana, but will not

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admit that she ever went with Tshaka to *konza* the Mtetwa chief Dingi-swayo, nor did she ever return to Senzangakona, simply because she had been reported to be dead in order to shield herself as well as her child. She married a commoner, Gendeyana, and by him bore the son Ngwadi.²³

41 Senzangakona's chief wife was Bibi kaNkobe (Sompisi). [See Mangati's evidence on this point.]²⁴ Mkebeni agrees with Mangati as to Bibi being not only the chief wife but *the favourite*, and that the proverb '*You are beautiful like Bibi ka Nkobe, who, whenever the king appeared, was also to be seen*' was, and is, common among the Zulu people. Mhlangana was the son of Bibi, hence Mkebeni's first belief was that he was Senzangakona's chief son.²⁵ He rested in this belief until I stated Sigujana was Bibi's chief son, upon which he retracted and accepted him as chief son. We had a big argument as to whether Tshaka or Dingane put Sigujana to death. I held firmly that Tshaka had done this, and he as stoutly maintained that Dingana had done so, adding further that when Tshaka's last expedition to Sotshangana took place, Sigujana and Dingana turned back after going some way, after Dingane had deceived⁵ him in the way indicated on p. 39.²⁶ He went on to say that Sigujana and Dingana were the two to assassinate Tshaka. I demurred at this, as also Hoye. I asked what had become of Mhlangana, who had the universal reputation of having stabbed Tshaka first. He seemed to be in difficulties about this, and I did not press the point too much.

42 He is of the belief that Nandi went away from Senzangakona when she was reported as having *itshati*, and that she did not return to him again, hence Nomcoba, her daughter, is not by Senzangakona, but by some other wife of Senzangakona.²⁷ Mkebeni's reasoning on this point is that Nomcoba was the daughter of Senzangakona, but by another wife. When, in course of time, Tshaka became king, the men of the tribe allocated the mother of Nomcoba to Nandi's hut, for the express purpose of finding a sister for Tshaka, whereupon Nomcoba became generally known as his sister. This, however, is theory, not fact. But Mkebeni cited a case of the kind in connection with another king of Zululand.

Cetshwayo's dream. [See Zulu version of this given later on by Mkebeni.]

43 Cetshwayo's eldest child was Maseyana (a boy), then another boy (whose name Mkebeni does not recollect), then came a further boy. At this stage, he had a dream. Dingana appeared before him, together with some former king of Zululand, as well as that king's wife. These drew his attention to the fact that, as members of the Zulu royal house were given to killing one another, Cetshwayo would have but one son, and so an end would be put to the slaughter that customarily occurred. The son he would have, i.e. the one who would reign, was *light (mpofu)* in colour. On getting up next morning, Cetshwayo sent at once to have the three children (who had been born) examined to see what colour they respectively were. One was found to be dark (*mnyama*), as also another, whilst the third was *mpofu*, and so corresponded with the colour indicated in the dream. [*This was observed while he was asleep - Socwatsha.*²⁸] This son was originally named Marelana, but in consequence of the dream, the name was changed to Dinuzulu. Manzolwandhle was born just before Cetshwayo's death.²⁹ Cetshwayo's wives all opposed Dinuzulu being appointed to succeed. But Cetshwayo appointed Dabulamanzi guardian to Dinuzulu.³⁰ Opposition arose to Dinuzulu being G.'s succes-

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sor, the idea being that Ndabuko should become the regent until Dinuzulu was old enough to take over.³¹ Other of C.'s brothers supported that plan, and eventually plotted with the Boers to shoot Dabulamanzi, which they did, at the instigation of Ndabuko, getting a reward for having done so.³² Dinuzulu then was taken off by Ndabuko.

Saunders tried to reconcile Dinuzulu and Zibebu at Eshowe.³³ Dinuzulu was told to attend with only his *induna* Mankulumana. He, however, brought Mkebeni, as he looked on him as part of his very person. Zibebu, who had a large number of people at Eshowe, saw Dinuzulu approaching and remarked that if Dinuzulu had reigned in place of Cetshwayo, things would have gone much better with their country than they had done. Later, Zibebu, with two *indunas*, came with Dinuzulu and his two men into Saunders's office, when it was arranged that by-gones should be by-gones and Zibebu go back to *konza* and live at oSutu. Dinuzulu agreed, as also Zibebu. Later, however, when Ziwedu heard what was intended, he strongly objected to the procedure on the ground that Dinuzulu could not again associate intimately with the man who had killed his father.³⁴

<18.9.1921>

File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 6-10.

Also present: Hoye

6 *The birth of Dinuzulu.*

His birth took place under these circumstances. Cetshwayo had three sons. One was born to a daughter of Seketwayo; he was named Maseyana.³⁵ Another was born to a daughter of Madwala; he had not yet been given a name. Another was born to a daughter of Msweli; his name was Marelana (at oNdini).³⁶

The king, Cetshwayo, had a dream. He dreamt that there came two chiefs, together with a third person, a chief's wife. One of the chiefs was Ndaba, while the other was Dingana. We have forgotten the name of the woman. Cetshwayo dreamed that they came to him and said, 'Cetshwayo, we shall give you only one son, for you of the Zulu are always killing one another in disputing the kingship if there are many of you. Here is the child that we give you.' So saying, they showed a child who was light (mpofu) in colour. They said, 'The name which you will give this child is Dinuzulu.'

Cetshwayo was startled out of his sleep. He was struck by fear. He saw that some of his sons were going to die and that only one would remain. The next day he sent envoys to the amakanda where the children had been born. He said, 'Go and see what colour these boy children are.' Dinuzulu had been born at eZinhlendhleni, in the Mahlabatini country on the other side of the Mfolozi. The child of Madwala's daughter had also been born there at eZinhlendhleni. The child of Seketwayo's daughter had been born at eMlambongwenya. The envoys returned, and said, 'We found that the child of Seketwayo's daughter is dark (luhlaza) in colour. The child of Madwala's daughter is also dark (myama) in colour. The child of Msweli's daughter is different; it is light (mpofu) in colour.' The king then saw that the children that would die were the son of Seketwayo's daughter and the son of Madwala's daughter. The child which would be king was the son of Msweli's daughter, the one who was light in colour. He then sent to eZinhlendhleni to report the matter

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(igamu) - [song etc. is also igamu] - which he had dreamt about the child of Msweli's daughter. He said that that child's name should be Dinuzulu. This was done not by Cetshwayo but by old people who have since died. Cetshwayo was acting in conformity with that dream. The other two children then fell ill and died. Cetshwayo had no more sons, for Manzolwandhle was born at the time of his death. Cetshwayo never
8 knew Manzolwandhle, whose name was given to him by the people.

These are Cetshwayo's final words, spoken before he died, to his younger brother, Dabulamanzi, who had been placed next to him in age by his father, Mpande.³⁷ Cetshwayo said, 'Dabulamanzi, there is my child; look after him for me. Bring him up well, for I have no other sons. Dinuzulu is my only son. This is your task, Dabulamanzi, to look after my child.' He said this in the presence of Mnyamana, Ziwedu, Ndabuko and Tshingana.³⁸

Dabulamanzi accordingly took the child and brought him up, as Cetshwayo had said. He instructed him in all the laws which were observed by the Zulu people.

The death of Mpande.³⁹

When Mpande was departing this life, knowing that he was going to die he spoke thus to his izinduna. 'My time is finished; I am going. Send to Mapita, and tell him to pick out an old white ox.⁴⁰ Let him select four men, and let them drive this ox, which is old like me, to go and fetch a cloak for me.' By this he meant the skin of a lion, an old one, one which was now chief among the lions, one which no longer hunted game but had its prey caught for it by others.

9 Mapita sent out an old ox. Mpande had instructed Mapita that when the men came to the forest they should cry out, 'The one of your age-grade is calling you. He wants you to accompany him on his journey.' They did this at a place where lions were very numerous, like the grass, a place where no cattle would go, for the lions would catch them and greedily finish them off. But the lions paid no attention to the beast that had come from Mpande, the old white ox; they did not come near it. It disappeared into the forest, in the iZiyendhle country (there beyond the place where the Mandhlakazi live, near the iNhlenga country).⁴¹ They called out as they had been instructed. The lions roared. As it was getting dark, an old male, old like Mpande, could be heard roaring. It was heard roaring below the forest. Through the night it continued to roar, while coming towards them. As it was getting light they heard it roaring close to them. As the sun rose it approached them. It came right up to them. The ox then lay down. The four men then stood up, and gave praise to the Zulu chiefs. The lion came up to the ox and made a wound on its neck. The ox died, upon which the lion lapped up the blood which
10 was coming from the wound. It then lay down. One of the men cried, 'Bayede!' to the lion. He said, 'Do not take fright; now I am taking you.' Saying this, he flung an assegai at the lion. The lion died. It did not fight.

One of the men then went to report to Mapita, who then hurried off to report to the king. The king had said that the lion should be tied in the skin of the white ox, and that people should bring it quickly, travelling by night and by day. This was duly done, and it was brought to Nodwengu.⁴² Then all the Zulu people came up, chanting amarubo. Mpande said, 'Let it be quickly skinned.' He then said that his grave should be dug, the place where he was to be buried. Both tasks were

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quickly done, the skinning of the lion and the digging of the grave. Then Mpande said, 'When I am gone, when I am dead, wrap me in the skin of the lion and bury me in it.' Then he said, 'Now I am going. Stay well. Cetshwayo will rule my people well, but he will reign for only five years.' Upon this Mpande died. After his death they duly wrapped him in the skin of the lion while it was still fresh, and he was buried in it.

19.9.1921

File 58, nbk. 25, pp. 12-21.

12 Mkebeni speaks.

.... <Praises of Mnyayiza kaNdbukho omitted - eds.>

13 *The affair of the chief son and his younger brother in re Cetshwayo.* [This piece evidently not included in my five readers.⁴³]

In arranging matters in his umuzi, Mpande appointed as his chief wife a daughter of Mbonde, Ngqumbazi.⁴⁴ He then took new wives (abalobokazi) for the house of Mbonde's daughter. He took a daughter of Nsiyane, Zanguza, who became a wife in the house of Ngqumbazi, and he took a daughter of Sonamuzi, Dabeka, who became a wife in the house of Ngqumbazi.⁴⁵ The daughter of Sonamuzi was the great wife in the uhlangoti section at Gqikazi.⁴⁶ The daughter of Mbonde was the chief wife in the main house (isibaya esikulu). The daughter of Nsiyane was a junior wife in the house at Kwa Ntabakayikonjwa.⁴⁷

Cetshwayo was then 'taken from the stomach' of Mbonde's daughter and placed in the stomach of Nsiyane's daughter. He was borne by this woman, the daughter of Nsiyane. Dabulamanzi, whose mother was the daughter of Nsiyane, was placed next in age to Cetshwayo.⁴⁸ Then Mbonde's daughter went out from Mlambongwenya to Gqikazi, to go and rule there. Her house remained with Nsiyane's daughter, who was a junior wife in her house and who had borne Cetshwayo. Nsiyane's daughter remained at Mlambongwenya where she watched over Cetshwayo until he went out to form his own ikanda at oNdini. His mother, Nsiyane's daughter, who had given birth to him, went with him. That is, when Cetshwayo was building his uNdi umuzi, after leaving Mlambongwenya, he went with his mother, Nsiyane's daughter, who became the chief wife at oNdini. Nsiyane's daughter now reported on the affairs of the umuzi of her son, Cetshwayo; she now reported to Mbonde's daughter at Gqikazi the minor matters of the upper part of the umuzi.

When Cetshwayo left off eating with his brothers, his dish, i.e. all his food - meat, beer, everything - was taken to Dabulamanzi, the brother in his house who was next to him in age. Dabulamanzi turned and said, 'What will I do if I invite my elder brother to come and eat in my house?' The izinceku said, 'The king said that we should bring it to you. You can invite him, for the dish is appropriate to your station.' Dabulamanzi replied, 'I have heard. I shall now proceed according to my own wishes. I shall send food to my elder brother's place and shall go and eat there. As younger brother I am afraid to invite an older person.' That, then, is what they did.

On the day that Zibebu came and destroyed oNdini, Nsiyane's daughter escaped from the fighting.⁴⁹ At the Mbangaiya neck she met up with

- 15 *Dabulamanzzi, who was carrying his son Mzingeli on horseback. Mzingeli had trodden on an acacia thorn which had gone through his foot. Dabulamanzzi had encountered Magojela and had said, 'Magojela, get off the horse and save this child of the chief; he can go no further.'* Magojela dismounted and Mzingeli got onto the horse. As they were leaving the spot they came across Nsiyane's daughter, a wife in the royal household. She said, 'Dabulamanzzi, what are you doing here? Where is my son?' (meaning Cetshwayo). Dabulamanzzi answered, 'Wife of the king, I hear that the king has been killed.' Nsiyane's daughter said, 'So what purpose is there in running away now that my child is dead, the child who was fathered by my husband? For me too the time has come to die.' So saying, Nsiyane's daughter turned back to the fighting. She found that the Mandhlakazi forces were now inside the kraal. She cried, 'Kill me, for you have killed my child!' The Mandhlakazi simply looked at her. Then she snatched an assegai from them and began stabbing at them. Upon this the Mandhlakazi killed her; they stabbed her. She did this because she had heard that the child fathered by her husband had died. [Cf. Longinus, On the Sublime, 24, note re what Cleopatra did.]

- Those who were knowledgeable now said that it was Ziwedu who was the senior son in the main house; they said this because Ziwedu was the eldest, being of the age-grade of Cetshwayo. In addition, it was he who was the eldest son in the main house. But Dabulamanzzi was senior to him, for he had been placed next to Cetshwayo in age. So when Cetshwayo was dying at eTshowe, he addressed Dabulamanzzi, saying, 'Dabulamanzzi, take care of this child of mine, Dinuzulu, for me. Dinuzulu is my only son. Bring him up properly. I leave him with you, you who are nearest in my house.'⁵⁰ All the sons of his father were present - Ziwedu, Ndabuko who followed Cetshwayo in age, Tshingana, and all the sons of Mpande of lesser rank.

Sonamuzi's daughter was present at oNdini on the day that the Mandhlakazi impi made its attack. She did not throw herself into the fighting for Ziwedu had escaped.⁵¹ Nsiyane's daughter did so, for though she was the mother of Dabulamanzzi he was now a lesser son. Her chief son was Cetshwayo; it was for him that she felt such pain, for he had been fathered by her husband.

The birth of Shaka.

- I heard it said that a girl of the eLangeni people had become pregnant before she married the chief. The great wife, the mother of Senzangakona, then concealed her, saying that the girl was ill. The girl
17 *duly gave birth. As I heard the story, she did so at the kraal of Senzangakona. When the great wife saw that she had given birth to a boy, she took the girl, together with the child, Tshaka, and hid her among her (the girl's) own people, there where she had been born. The great wife then reported to the chief that the girl was dead; she did not report that the girl had given birth. That was the end of the matter; it was as if she was dead.*

The great wife gave strict instructions to the eLangeni people, saying, 'On no account say that the girl gave birth to this thing, otherwise all of you will die. You will be killed in the Zulu country. When you bring up this child, treat it badly. Do not treat it as one of your own children; treat it as an adopted child.' That, then, is what the eLangeni people did. Tshaka grew up being bullied by them,

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until one day there took place the affair of the slaughtered beast, when Tshaka became enraged because they burnt his hands with a piece of its intestine. He then left, and went off to Dingiswayo in the Mtetwa country, travelling alone.

The donga of Tatiyana - near oSutu - vultures. Mkebeni thinks Dingana tried to fill that donga.⁵²

Nkonjeni (Mpande's kraal) has given its name to the ground there-about. Nongoma (Zwide's kraal) has similarly given its name to the range.⁵³

Zibizendhlela (Tshaka's son) is said to have existed away north of Mzilikazi's country, far up, and to have had descendants there - many still living.⁵⁴ Mkebeni heard of this from a missionary from those parts, as also, in especial, from Lurubu, an umTshopi, the son of Matandeni.

18 'The Boers put a stop to your mischief' - part of Dingana's praises.

Mkebeni speaks.

Dingana made war in Sikwata's country, and there ate up the ubelu cattle (the first lot).⁵⁵ He also took a number of horses. It happened that when the warriors were returning with the cattle a party of Boers appeared and said, 'These cattle are ours.' The warriors replied, 'So they are yours? Where had you placed them?' The Boers then said, 'Where is your king?' The warriors asked, 'Do you think the king is here?' The Boers said, 'Where is he then?' They said, 'He is at home.' The Boers said, 'Who is in command here?' The warriors said, 'The induna.' The Boers said, 'Where is the induna?' The warriors said, 'He is up ahead.' While this conversation was proceeding the warriors did not stop; they spoke while continuing to walk. The Boers went on ahead and asked, 'Where is the induna?' The warriors replied, 'He is there behind.' The Boers went back and asked for the induna. The warriors said, 'He is over there in the main body.' In this way the Boers were foiled.

Eventually the cattle were brought to Mgungundhlovu.⁵⁶ The Boers came, and spoke to Dingana about the cattle. Dingana said, 'I know nothing about your cattle. For my part, I made war in Sikwata's country; I did not make war in your country. I am not one to take the cattle of a man with whom I am not at war.' They said, 'We had sisa'd them.' He said, 'Go and look for your cattle there where you sisa'd them. They are not here.' They then said, 'Give us that horse; it is ours.' Dingana said, 'There is nothing of yours here.' Then Piti said, 'You must give it to me, for I have been put to much trouble in coming here to you.'⁵⁷ Dingana said, 'This is my horse; I like it. You may choose from among the others.' Piti replied, 'There is no horse that I like more than this one.' Dingana said, 'I too, for this is my horse of kingship.' The matter ended there. He gave them cattle to slaughter where they had camped.

I heard that the Boers then went off in connection with cattle that were with Sigonyela, cattle of Dingana's people that had been taken by Sigonyela.⁵⁸ Eventually they returned. On their return they came and tried to surround Dingana's kraal during the night. When it became light this was seen from the hoofmarks of their horses. They did not surround the kraal, for it was too large. They did the same the following night; they again tried to surround the kraal. They took

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20 Dingana's white horse, the one which Piti had asked him for, and which Dingana had refused to give up. Again the hoofmarks were seen where they had tried to surround the kraal. It was seen that the horse was no longer there. Dingana sent off one of his brothers, perhaps Ngqojana. He said, 'Fetch my horse from the Boers, who came to surround me during the night. I see that my horse has been taken by them. If you come across it do not leave it; come back with it.' On his arrival among the Boers he suddenly came upon it. He said to the Boers, 'I have come to fetch this horse of the king's.' The Boers did not refuse. They simply said, 'We think it must have smelt the other horses.' But it was unlikely that the horse would have been attracted by the smell of strange horses and have left the ones with which it was familiar (for there was a small number of horses at Mgungundhlovu).

21 That night Dingana ordered people to keep watch to see that nothing happened. The Boers came. The people saw them. They demanded of them, 'What is going on here?' The Boers replied, 'We are looking for our horses.' The people said, 'Where were the horses which you were looking for during the night, when you were trying to surround the king's kraal? Go away from here.' This, then, is what angered Dingana; he saw that the Boers were hostile and wanted to kill him in the night as he lay asleep. He then deceived them by inviting them to a dance which he held for them. The Boers came, and that is when they were killed.

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File 57, nbk. 5, p. 48.

48 Per Mkebeni, 19.9.1921.

'Are you stabbing me, the king of the earth? You will come to an end through killing one another' - Tshaka's last words.

Notes

¹The uFelaphakathi *ibutho* was formed in 1888 of youths born in the late 1860s. Hoyo kaSoxalase was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in vol. 1 of the Stuart Archive.

²Solomon kaDinuzulu had been recognized by the Union government as chief of the uSuthu section of the Zulu in 1916.

³Mkebeni here indicates his descent, through his grandfather Mpande, from the line of ancestral Zulu chiefs. His list beyond Jama is at variance with versions given by other sources: cf. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 32-3; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 16, 174, vol. 2, p. 210; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 233; Fuze, The Black People, pp. 23, 43.

⁴Stuart's Zulu reader uTulasizwe was published in London in 1923.

⁵The uNgoye is a range of hills to the east-north-east of present-day Eshowe.

⁶The Mfule river joins the middle reaches of the Mhlathuze from the north.

⁷Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 17.

⁸Cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 18.

⁹USuthu (loc. oSuthu) was the principal *umuzi* of Cetshwayo's chief son, Dinuzulu.

¹⁰Presumably A.G. Daniels, an 'exempted' African who served as interpreter and secretary to Dinuzulu during the latter's exile on St.

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- Helena and after his return to Natal in 1898: see Fuze, The Black People, pp. 133, 137, 180-1; Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, p. 254 & n.
- ¹¹ KwaSithwili was a plain near Cetshwayo's uluNdi *umuzi*.
- ¹² The Gazo (Gazu) people are an offshoot of the Sibiya. The Nobiya referred to was probably Nobiya kaSotobe of the Sibiya. Sotobe was a prominent *induna* under Shaka and Dingane.
- ¹³ Some variants of the genealogy of the Zulu royal house give Nkosinkulu as an ancestral chief.
- ¹⁴ Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa.
- ¹⁵ Stuart's Zulu reader uVusezakiti was published in London in 1926.
- ¹⁶ Shaka's mother was Nandi of the Langeni people. Traditions as to her paternity vary.
- ¹⁷ The informant indicates later in this passage that the reference is to Senzangakhona's son Sigujana.
- ¹⁸ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 268, gives *ihubo* (pl. *amahubo*) as 'Tribal song; regimental song', and notes '...This song is treated with great respect by all the members of the clan, possessing as it does a certain sacred sentimentality of character....'
- ¹⁹ '*Ndabezitha!*' was a salute reserved for the reigning Zulu king.
- ²⁰ Dlungwana was one of Tshaka's praise-names.
- ²¹ The commonly accepted tradition is that Sigujana was killed when Shaka acceded to the Zulu chiefship, and that Dingane's accomplice in the plot to assassinate Shaka at the time of the Bhalule campaign (1828) was another brother, Mhlangana.
- ²² Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, give *ishaka* (= *itshati*) as gripes, stomach-ache.
- ²³ Traditions vary as to whether Nandi was formally married to Gendeyana.
- ²⁴ Mangathi kaGodide was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in volume 2 of the Stuart Archive.
- ²⁵ Bryant, Olden Times, p. 52, gives Mhlangana's mother as Mzondwase.
- ²⁶ Shaka's campaign against Soshangana in the latter part of 1828 was commonly known as the uBhalule campaign. See also note 21 above.
- ²⁷ Most traditions give Nomcoba as Nandi's daughter, although they differ as to her paternity.
- ²⁸ Socwatsha kaPhaphu was another of Stuart's informants.
- ²⁹ Manzolwandle was another of Cetshwayo's sons. The latter died in February 1884.
- ³⁰ Dabulamanzi kaMpande, father of the informant Mkhebeni, was one of Cetshwayo's brothers.
- ³¹ Ndabuko kaMpande was a full brother of Cetshwayo.
- ³² Dabulamanzi was killed in 1886: see Binns, Dinuzulu, pp. 86-8.
- ³³ Zibhebhu kaMaphitha of the Mandlakazi, a lineage collateral to the Zulu royal lineage, was one of thirteen chiefs appointed to rule in Zululand after the war of 1879. During the 1880s his supporters, who took the name Mandlakazi, were involved in numerous clashes with the uSuthu supporters of Cetshwayo and his son Dinuzulu. In June 1898, shortly after Dinuzulu's return from exile on St. Helena, Charles Saunders, chief magistrate and civil commissioner for Zululand, tried to reconcile the leaders of the two opposing parties at a meeting held at Eshowe.
- ³⁴ Ziweddu kaMpande was another of Cetshwayo's brothers and a leader of the uSuthu party.
- ³⁵ Sekethwayo kaNhlaka was chief of the Mdlalose.
- ³⁶ Msweli was of the Nzimela people. UluNdi (loc. oNdini) was Cetshwayo's

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- principal *umuzi*.
- ³⁷The original reads '*...E valelisa ku mmawo wake, o wa m elanyiswa uyise uMpande - uDabulamanzi*'. The latter part of this sentence literally translates as '*... Dabulamanzi, who had been caused to follow him (Cetshwayo) in age by his father Mpande*'.
- ³⁸Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi people was one of Cetshwayo's principal *izinduna*. The other three persons named were brothers of Cetshwayo.
- ³⁹Mpande died in 1872.
- ⁴⁰Maphitha kaSojiyisa was head of the Mandlakazi (see note 33 above) until his death in 1872.
- ⁴¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 711, 712, gives *isi-Yendhle (isiyendle, pl. iziyendle)* as a 'Person wearing an *um-yeko*', i.e. 'hair twisted in long strings'. *Inhlenga (inhlwenga)*, literally destitute person, beggar, was a derogatory term applied by the Zulu to the Tsonga and neighbouring peoples living in the region to the north-east of the Zulu kingdom.
- ⁴²Mpande's principal *umuzi*.
- ⁴³Besides uTulasizwe (see note 4 above) and uVusezakiti (see note 15 above), Stuart published uHlangakula and uBaxoxele in 1924 and uKulumetule in 1925.
- ⁴⁴Ngqumbazi kaMbonde of the Zungu people was mother of Cetshwayo.
- ⁴⁵Sanguza (Zanguza) kaNsiyane was the mother of Dabulamanzi; Dabeka kaSonamuzi was the mother of Ziwedu.
- ⁴⁶The term *uhlangothi*, literally 'flank', as used in Stuart's notes is often ambiguous in its connotations. On the one hand it is used to refer to either of the two arcs of huts extending from the *isigodlo* of an *umuzi* to the main gateway; on the other, it is used to refer to a 'house' of the *umuzi* distinct from the main house. KwaGqikazi was one of the Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ⁴⁷We have been unable to establish the location of kwaNtabakayikhonjwa.
- ⁴⁸The original reads, '*Kwat' uDabulamanzi...we lanyiswa no Cetshwayo*', which, literally translated, means 'Dabulamanzi...was caused to follow Cetshwayo in age'.
- ⁴⁹In July 1883 Zibhebhu led a Mandlakazi force in an attack on Cetshwayo's uluNdi (oNndini) *umuzi* and wiped out most of the leaders of the latter's uSuthu following.
- ⁵⁰Cetshwayo died at Eshowe in February 1884. 'I leave him with you, you who are nearest in my house' is our translation of '*"Ngi m tshiya kuwe, wena o imi"*', a literal rendering of which would be, 'I leave him with you, you who are me'.
- ⁵¹Ziwedu was the son of the woman referred to.
- ⁵²I.e. with corpses. Cf. the anecdote on Shaka recorded in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 7.
- ⁵³Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century.
- ⁵⁴Other traditions concerning Zibizendlela are recorded in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 176, vol. 2, p. 80. Mzilikazi kaMashobane was founder of the Ndebele kingdom which, from the early 1840s until its destruction by the forces of the British South Africa Company in the 1890s, was located in what is now south-west Zimbabwe.
- ⁵⁵Sikwata (Sekwati) was chief of the Pedi in what is now the eastern Transvaal from the late 1820s until his death in 1861. On Dingane's raiding of the uBhelu (i.e. Pedi) cattle, cf. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 309. Another well-known Zulu raid on the Pedi was made by Mpande in c.1850.

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⁵⁶UmGungundlovu was Dingane's principal *umazi*.

⁵⁷Piti was the Zulu name for Piet Retief.

⁵⁸Sigonyela (Sekonyela) was chief of the Tlokwa who lived in what is now the north-eastern Orange Free State.