

## MKEHLENGANA KA ZULU

18.4.1905

File 61, nbk. 60, pp. 19-24.

Also present: Dinya, Socwatsha, two others

19 Mkehlengana ka Zulu ka Nogandaya arrives with Sokwebula's son.<sup>1</sup>  
Present also: Dinya and Mkehlengana's son. Socwatsha also attends -  
arrived today from Zululand.<sup>2</sup>

My father Zulu's name was Komfiya. Komfiya ka Nogandaya ka Lujabu  
ka Manxeba ka Mnsunsula ka Ndhlovu ka Dubula ka Ncwana. The Ncwanas  
were amaNtungwa.<sup>3</sup> We Ncwanas are a section of the Qwabe tribe. Like  
20 the Zulu tribe we are amaNtungwa. We followed Qwabe. We lived at  
Emabululwini on the south side of the Mhlatuze, slightly below the  
Mpungose (people).

The Mdhlalose and Zulu meet in Ntombela.<sup>4</sup> *'You are making yourself  
out to be a great chief, as great as Dubula ka Ncwana'* - proverb. My  
father said this was because we *formerly used to be of importance*. My  
father said Qwabe and Zulu passed by Ncwana and increased in impor-  
tance.

*The Molosi people are of the abeSutu* across the Isangqu.<sup>5</sup> These are  
of the Ncwana tribe. We are from the Basutos. We for a time built at  
the Ezindumeni near Glencoe Junction.<sup>6</sup> We then came to the Mhlatuze.  
*The Tinta people* now live about Glencoe and are related to us. We do  
not intermarry with them.

Mkehlengana agrees with the account previously given me by Mkotana  
of the circumstances under which Komfiya came to meet Tshaka.<sup>7</sup> He did  
21 not know the story but knows Komfiya *had come under censure among the  
Qwabe people*.

My father, says Mkehlengana, was very awe-inspiring. If called by  
him, one wondered what one had done wrong that one should be wanted.  
If sitting in a hut alone fear would overcome an in-comer, even though  
no words had passed; the very sight of him was enough. And if angry,  
sitting out in the open, catching flies and flinging them down on the  
ground one by one, people gazing at him at a distance would be filled  
with misgiving.

My father died at a good old age. He at one time had as many as 80  
wives. These were afterwards reduced to 46. He had to flee to Pondo-  
land to the Mgazi (river), where he lived some years. He was very dark  
in complexion, and of medium height (*isidhlo dhlo*). His regiment was  
the Mgumanqa.<sup>8</sup> He fought for Tshaka on many occasions, and on none  
without stabbing some of the enemy. As a *youth (insizwa)* he fought  
22 against the Amambateni, from whom *dark-brown (nsundu)* cattle were  
seized. At the same time of life he fought against Macingwane, and the

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Zungu tribe.<sup>9</sup> He fought against the Ndwandwe, but not at Kwa Qori (whatever such name may have referred to) in which Mapita ka Sojiyisa was stabbed in many places.<sup>10</sup>

He was in the famous 'Kisi' battle against the Ndwandwe, a fight which took place in the bright moonlight and in which, whilst engaged stabbing the enemy, Zulu by accident (stabbed) one of his own side, a man Mbanzana (an *inceku*), who, however, failed to give the countersign ('Kisi').<sup>11</sup>

His *section (isigaba)* in the Mgumanqa was the imiYehe.

Two famous *warriors* of Zulu's day were Magaju of the *eNgadini (emaNgadini?)* people and Mvundhlana ka Menziwa.<sup>12</sup>

Another fight my father was in was that in which the Zulus met the Tembus at the Emsonganyati - some way up the Mngeni.<sup>13</sup> The battle began at the river.

23 The names of the Tembu chiefs are: Mabizela ka Mganu ka Nodada ka Ngoza ka Mkubukeli.<sup>14</sup>

My father also fought against Nxaba ka Mbekane of the Mfeka tribe - also against the Qwabes.<sup>15</sup>

He had five wounds - 1. just above knee cap, left leg, assegai, flesh wound, entered on one side and out the other; 2. about eight inches further up on same leg, flesh wound, assegai, in one side, out other; 3. high up outer part of left arm, causing him for time being to lose the use of it; 4. in the small of the back, left side; 5. slight one on the chest. He used to boast that no wound could ever enter his body.

Tshaka once set apart 10 *cows without horns (nsizwakazi)* and 10 calves. He invited any of his heroes to come and take them; such man as did so would be understood as challenging my father, Zulu, and saying they could defeat him. No one came forward to accept the challenge, and my father received the cattle.<sup>16</sup>

24 On another occasion Tshaka caused to be set before him (*stuck in the ground*) a bundle of assegais. He challenged anybody to come and take them. My father did so and they became his. '*Whoever takes the assegais will be challenging Zulu.*'

He fought with *amawaba* assegais.<sup>17</sup>

Another of the Mgumanqa heroes was Nobanda ka Sogatshase.

18.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 1-5.

Also present: Dinya, Socwatsha, two others

1 Mkehlengana says: I am of about the age of the Nokenke regiment.<sup>18</sup>

2 [I reckon he is about 54. He is tall, of bronze colour, *headringed*, with the ring towards the back of the head. Mkotana on the other hand is of medium height and dark - says he might have belonged to the Indhlonhlo regiment. This seems correct, and if so would make him about 67 or 68 years of age.]

Socwatsha reviews what Mkehlengana says. The Ndhlovu, Mdhlalose, Buthelezi, Nzuza, and Ntuli are tribes that I hear came from the north and are amaNtungwa. The Kumalo and amaMbata, especially the former, are amaNtungwa, Kumalos being nowadays addressed as amaNtungwa. I heard the Zulus first built at eNdhlovane, a stream entering the White

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Mfolozi and near Emtontaneni, just below the Pate.

I hear the Qwabe, Mtetwa, Mbonambi, Mpukunyoni, and Dube all *originated in the lower country (ezansi)*. The Qwabe are generally spoken of as *those from down-country (umzansi)*, but I have heard them called ama-Ntungwa. I do not dispute Mkehlengana's statement that the Ncwana are from the Qwabe.

- 3 As regards the bundle of assegais, Tshaka invited any *warrior* to come forward, *giya*, and take the assegais. One man came forward and said, '*Let there come forward men of your people, the Zulu, those who grew up with you. For our part, we should not go forward.*' Zulu *giya'd* and took the assegais. Tshaka had said that anyone taking them would, by so doing, be *challenging* Zulu.

Re '*Kisi*': the *impi* was given instructions before going to battle. Zulu said to T. that.... <sic>

.... <Praises of Zulu kaNogandaya, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 5 '*Obala! Oba-la!*' (was shouted) when he *giya'd* - shields were struck. This was all that was said as he *giya'd*. He *giya'd* till his death. He very often wore his *iziqu*.<sup>19</sup> They were buried with him.

Mbanzana was stabbed in the stomach, the assegai sticking fast in his backbone. (When extracted it was) *bent*.

My father fought with an *iwaba* assegai, also with a *broad-bladed assegai (unhlekwana)*.

Tshaka would not allow people to hunt the elephant with more than two assegais.

'*You up above, you down below; where are you going?*' '*I am going into the darkness.*' Usutu said this - said at night to strangers.

Mpande at Maqongqo.<sup>20</sup>

19.4.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 61, pp. 6-10, 12-15.

Also present: Socwatsha, Mkotana, two others

- 6 Mkehlengana, Socwatsha, Mkotana, Sokwebula's son, and Mkehlengana's son present.

Nogandaya was head of the Ncwana section of the Qwabe. There are, however, one or two other sections of this tribe in Natal. Nogandaya's heir was Voti, but, owing to his great bravery, Komfiya got precedence and accumulated property. There is reason for thinking Ncwana was once of greater importance than either Qwabe or Zulu. It is almost certain that Ncwana belongs to Qwabe and followed Qwabe into Zululand. This 'following' probably took place after a considerable interval, say

- 7 during the times of Chiefs Ndhlovu or Mnsunsula, i.e. long after Qwabe's actual settling in Zululand. It is in accordance with precedent for sections to remain behind and follow on after a lapse of time. When Ncwana did so they went and settled at Emabululweni as already stated, not far above the uNgoye.<sup>21</sup> It is here the graves of Lujabu and Manxeba, the later chiefs, are to be found. As for Nogandaya, this man - my grandfather - is said to have been buried under a *cabbage-tree* in the territory of the Ndwandwe tribe whence he had gone with a section of

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Qwabes who were dissatisfied with action taken relative to a family quarrel in their own tribe (Qwabe).

{The name, Ncwana is certainly spoken of as 'ka Qwabe'. This probably means that it is a section of the Qwabe tribe. And yet Ncwana and Qwabe are each probably the name of persons who actually existed.

8 Qwabe is also spoken of as 'ka Nozidiya', the name of a man or woman.

Qwabe ka Nozidiya, Socwatsha says, is an expression frequently met with. It is strange so much prominence should be given to a woman's name, if Nozidiya was a woman, but, as Mkehlengana remarks, the Mambedwini {people} take their name undoubtedly from Mambedu, a woman.<sup>22</sup>

The Cunus, says Mkehlengana, said through their chief Silwane in Pietermaritzburg a short time ago that in the event of their ceasing to exist the Qwabe would inherit their property.<sup>23</sup> This may be taken as showing the close relationship there is between the tribes.

The following is a proverbial expression, says Mkehlengana, widely prevalent: '*You are now making yourself out to be a chief as great as Dubula ka Ncwana on the sands of the sea*'. We have here Dubula referred to as the son of a man Ncwana, as well as the interesting statement that these people once lived on the sands beside the sea or seashore.

9 Socwatsha inclines to the opinion that this expression arises out of the fact that the Ncwanas at Emabululweni were 'on the seashore' because somewhat near it, or they were lower down once, within the Qwabe lands.

Mkehlengana, however, knows nothing of the section ever having lived closer to the sea than they did at Emabululweni (of course Zulu lived near the Tukela mouth, but that is quite recently), and as the expression refers in the same breath to Dubula ka Ncwana, it must have been in their days that the people lived near or on the sea-sands. Now, as it is probable that Dubula never came to Zululand at all, so he must have lived at some spot on the sea. The question is where? Tradition strongly urges a descent from the north, and this is supported by the fact of their being amaNtungwa and as having '*come down with a grain basket*' (*ehla'd nesilulu*).<sup>24</sup> Had they, like the Mtetwa, been an old coast tribe, they would have been known as '*those from down-country*' (*abasezansi*) like the Mtetwa.

10 Mkehlengana seems to hold the view that the Ncwana may be senior to either the Qwabe or the Zulu. They may be the parent {clan} from which sprang the more notable offshoots. Komfiya himself referred to such possibility on the ground that it commonly happens for seniors to be passed by by juniors.

12 Mkehlengana says the Dumisa people *work* iron. Nikiniki, Saoti's (late) *induna*, is a noted smith - also Ngobozana.<sup>25</sup> They get the iron from Europeans.

Socwatsha: *Umgamunye* is the name of the iron stone used for smelting purposes by the amaCube people.

13 Old tribes in the neighbourhood of Mkehlengana's district - he lives south of the Mkomazi, back to Mkunya mountain, close to Nhla-zuka:<sup>26</sup>

aba kwa Tshobeni - Tshobeni (chief)

aba kwa Tshangase - Mnguni ka Mshiyane ka Tshuku - Ndaleki?<sup>27</sup>

aba kwa Mpofana (not amaMbovane or amaMbovane - see 1883 Blue

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Book - but may be, I think) - Mpofana said to be name of a former chief.

aba kwa Nomandhla

Nomabungka ka Nkowane<sup>28</sup>

amaVangane

aba kwa Gwayi

aba kwa Ndonyela

aba se ba Tshawawini - Mkehlengana knows people of this tribe.

Ngcembe, Nomkantulo - men I know still living.

aba se maNtanjini (amaNtambo)

amaJojo

aba kwa Vundhle

kwa Ntshela - a hill some way up the Ilovu.

aba kwa Sitole - [Is not this right for Amatolo?<sup>29</sup>]

- 14 I never see any Tshobeni people there. Their old large kraal sites are still in evidence. My father settled there when nothing but *buffalo* and *hyenas* were there - unoccupied by people. I know of no Tshobeni people still existing. I heard they went south, becoming amaMfengu.<sup>30</sup>

The aba kwa Mpofana lived above iNgilanyoni hill on the north side of the Mkomazi and in fine, level thorn country.<sup>31</sup> I do not know where these people came from originally. I know of no Mpofana people now, only the name. I understand their chief was Mpofana, but I do not know.

.... <Praises of Zulu kaNogandaya, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 15 Two *izimbongi* - of Tshaka and Matshobana. '*By what bird will they be eaten?*' (Matshobana's *imbongi*). The Matshobana *imbongi* was killed by the Zulu one.

They could not think what would become of them, and wanted the ground to burst open.<sup>32</sup>

21.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 62, pp. 1-6, 22-4.

Also present: Mkotana, Mgqibelo, Socwatsha

- 1 Mkehlengana, Mkotana, Mgqibelo (son of Sokwebula), and Socwatsha.

Socwatsha says: I have frequently heard the expression, '*You are making yourself out to be a chief as great as Dubula ka Ncwana*' - it is used by members of the Zulu tribe as well as other tribes.

Mkehlengana says he hears that Mnsunsula and Lujabu were born in Zululand, and his view (and that of Mkotana) is that Ndhlovu was the man who brought the Ncwana tribe into Zululand to join that of Qwabe. 'We Ncwanas became the *isizinda* of Qwabe and Zulu.'<sup>33</sup>

- 2 Tshaka said to Komfiya when he came to *konza* - when tapping him with his nails on the head - '*Komfiya, approach.*' *In fear my father approached him. Shaka tapped him on the head and said, 'Do not show fear here among us. If you do not fight fiercely your meat will be soaked in water.'*<sup>34</sup> *You will be a close friend, for you are of our people; we originated together with you. We are amaNtungwa together with you.* My father told me this.

*A chief is praised by the people of his place. Amadhlozi are not*

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praised by people of all the houses (districts). Each *dhlozi* is praised at the place of its own people. We, says Mkehlengana, however used to praise the *amadhlozi*. We praise him even nowadays whenever we sacrifice to the *amadhlozi*.

'Pick out the cowards! Pick out the cowards!' is the great chant - sung when his *idhlozi* - Tshaka's - is killed for. His *dhlozi* visits at my kraal. The name of my kraal was given by Tshaka, its name being eTshaseni. My father's *dhlozi* also visits at my kraal.

Etshaseni - Tshaka gave the name, and he nominated my mother as a girl - Gogojwana (name given by Tshaka), real name Maozane (Mauzane).<sup>35</sup>

'Beja is in the Ngome, Beja is in the Ngome', is another chant - sung at the *umkosi* in Tshaka's days. Women and boys sing this. Beja of the Kumalo people had gone into a stronghold. The Zulu descended by means of *zungulu* creepers and went to the *impi* - only one entrance.<sup>36</sup>

3 The men groaned.

'O-oh, Vuma, Ndwanawe! Oh-o-o'; that is, 'Admit, Ndwanawe, that I have defeated you.'

Mkotana says: It is said by the old people that we Ncwanas came down at Kwa Luzipo (I think this is a hill or mountain), i.e. when we came on to the Qwabe. 'This little Ntungwa who came down at Kwa Luzipo' - our mothers swore at us in this way.

Mkotana says his son Lewis once (prior to the late Boer war) took a waggon and oxen in the Orange Free State where he met Basuto women who said, 'There is no more beer at our place; we shall go and drink (*sela*) among the Ncwana.'

Nogandaya was circumcised, and preceding chiefs too. The Basutos practised circumcision.

4 A missionary, before the Zulu war, brought to Imfume Mission Station two Basutos who turned out to be of the royal house of Basutoland.<sup>37</sup> In speaking to these boys reference was made to Ncwana. They, and those with them, were much surprized and said there was a tribe known as Ncwana in Basutoland.

Lewis, above mentioned, said the women he spoke to referred him to large homesteads on the hills as being those of Ncwana people actually residing there.

It is often said that the Zulu came from the *abeSutu* and descended the *Drakensberg*. 'They rolled by means of a grain basket' merely means they came down from up-country.

5 Both Mkehlengana and Mkotana are strongly of opinion that their tribe came from across the *Drakensberg* and probably from Basutoland, where a tribe of actually the same name is, as we have seen, in existence at the present day. To them there seems but little doubt that the Ncwana in Basutoland and the Ncwana of Zululand (now Natal) are one and the same people.

[A remarkable thing about Malandela is that his tribe is unknown.<sup>38</sup> As Mkehlengana and Mkotana incline to speak of the Ncwana, on authority of their father, as being the *isizinda* section of the Zulu as well as the Qwabe (in spite of the fact that the Qwabe wish to speak of themselves as *abeNguni* and not as *amaNtungwa*, which, in fact, they are) so it is quite possible that Malandela's actual tribe will be

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found away in Basutoland.<sup>39</sup> It is by no means improbable that Ncwana is that very tribe from which Mandela came, especially as Dubula ka Ncwane was of such importance as to pass into a proverb, whereas both Qwabe and Zulu must, in those days, have been minor tribes. There is no doubt but that Qwabe came towards the coast first, before Zulu, and was followed at an interval by the Ncwana, who, however, instead of joining Zulu, joined themselves to Qwabe, Mandela's principal son. It would be well to locate exactly where the Ncwana tribe is to which Lewis referred, and then to investigate amongst them, especially concerning the statement of having come from the 'seashore' previously referred to.]

Mkotana says the waggon which Lewis drove went to Emagelekehle (Winburg).

[The hill Luzipo should also be ascertained.]

Mkehlengana says Samuelson questioned him on this matter.<sup>40</sup>

22 Mkehlengana goes on.

'Kisi' battle. The Zulu *impi*, on going to the attack, shouted, 'Here is Mabope!' i.e. on beginning the attack. [Cf. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 372.] When driving off evil with *intelezi medicines* the doctors said, 'Here is *umabope*.' *Umabope* is a red-root plant used as *intelezi medicines* for inspiring the forces.<sup>41</sup> The fight began in the dark, and after a while the moon came out. It was when the moon was out that my father stabbed.

23 The battle at the *Emsonganyati*. When the Zulus were in the water the *abaTembu* hurled a shower of assegais at them. The Zulus merely held up their shields, made their way across, and routed the enemy. My father was the first to stab there. He had a speckled shield (*esimpunga*), like the eggs of the *uqelu* bird (*esi maqanda ka qelu*), on that occasion.

The *Mgumanqa* had red and black shields, or rather white speckled over with red or black spots as the case might be, i.e. *ramba* or *rwanqa* colours, also *maqanda ka qelu*.<sup>42</sup> My father always carried the last-named colour.

The *Nxaba ka Mbekane* campaign. Tshaka sent my father in charge of a regiment to attack this man.<sup>43</sup> They travelled a whole day and night, and got there. My father got tired and lay down to rest in a forest near a sheet of standing water. *Nxaba's imbongi* was then heard declaiming the praises of his chief.

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

24 On hearing this my father jumped up and attacked the *imbongi*, killing him and another. *Nxaba* was defeated and his short red cattle were seized. Tshaka presented my father with 150 head of cattle on account of what he did on this occasion. Although an *induna*, he always dashed straight into the fight, beginning it himself.

Re the small bundle of assegais. *M pangazita ka Mncumbata* came forward and said, 'If we who are newly arrived take up the challenge, what reason will his own people have to fear him?' My father then *giya'd* and carried off the trophy. *M pangazita* came from the *Ndwanwe* tribe to *konz*a T. They arrived already advanced in years.

Re 'Kisi'. The *impi* was being given its instructions beforehand.

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Zulu said, 'If I am not among the first three to kill an enemy, you can kill me.' Tshaka said... <Continued below - eds.>

21.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 63, pp. 1-3, 6-8.

Also present: Mkotana, Mqgibelo, Socwatsha

- 1 ...'Zulu, you are challenging me.' My father said, 'The king won't be there; we'll be alone.' They went into the attack, and my father was the first to fight, before all the other people, so Tshaka could do nothing in the matter. He stabbed two people and it was then that he came upon a small clump of people fighting. He shouted, 'Kisi,' but as Mbanzana, one of his own side, failed to give the countersign agreed on - for in the dark he did not know who he was - he stabbed him. At the same spot he also killed one of the enemy, so in the Kisi battle he killed four in all.

Two *impis* went from Tshaka to the south: (1) the *impi* of the melons (*amabece*), (2) the *impi* for his mother's *ihlambo*, followed by (3) the *Kukulela ngoqo impi* to the Balule.<sup>44</sup>

- 2 The *amabece impi* went forth first. It attacked Hinsa.<sup>45</sup> The *amabece* were eaten when there was no other food to eat. They were eaten uncooked, in Pondoland and beyond. My father went with both these *impis*. He also started forth on the *Kukulela ngoqo impi* to the uBalule but was injured unexpectedly in the foot (right foot). This was reported to Tshaka, so he told him to come back, which he did.

T. sent forth this *impi* to the north because there had been no actual fighting with the Pondos, only a seizure of their cattle.

My father was present in Dukuza kraal with my mother, then a girl, when Tshaka was assassinated.<sup>46</sup> He was still seated in his hut. T. was assassinated early in the day, before the time at which the *assembly* usually went up to the king.

- 3 Mnkabayi, Socwatsha says, said, on being referred to, 'Is the child of Myiyeya's daughter not the child of someone of importance?', referring to Dingane, thereby indicating her decision in the dispute with Mhlangana.<sup>47</sup> D. then *giya'd* and afterwards killed Mhlangana.

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

- 6 Mfokazana<sup>48</sup>  
Sigujana  
Sopane  
Kolekile  
Dingane  
Gqugqu  
Mpande

- 7 Mkehlelengana says the *izinduna* in charge of the two *impis* to the south (abeNguni and amaMpondo) were Mdhlaka ka Ncidi and Klwana ka Ngqengelele. Ngomane ka Mqomboli was also an *induna*, but he would appear not to have gone.

Mfokazana was one of Senzangakona's sons. [Fynn refers to him as

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Mfokazi in Bird's Annals, i, 65.]

Ngozingozi is the name of a hare-brained sort of man (*isilima*) who used to put to death any women of the *isigodhlo* ordered to be killed in Tshaka's day.

Girls who became enceinte by the king were obliged to take drugs prescribed for them by doctors for bringing about abortion. If they neglected to do this they were killed, says Socwatsha.

8 Mkehlengana says: My father told me that Nandi became pregnant prior to marriage with Senzangakona. She was then an *ingodosi*.<sup>49</sup> When pregnant she went off to her home, being conducted thither by special messengers. Tshaka seems always to have lived apart from Senzangakona. Nandi, however, married and bore Nomcoba, but left for some reason, afterwards marrying Gendeyana.<sup>50</sup>

Whilst Tshaka was an infant, the Zulu *indunas* used to send sticks to measure the exact height of the child.

Nandi became pregnant before Senzangakona had been circumcised. Tshaka was therefore *illegitimate* (*o wa se sihlahleni*).

Tshaka did not kill his mother. His mother did attempt to hide a child of Tshaka's - this child was killed. Mkehlengana does not agree with Socwatsha that T. killed his mother and then caused the mourning and prohibited milking, *bearing children*, etc., in order to try and suppress the fact that he had done so.

22.4.1905

File 62, nbk. 63, p. 12.

12 Mkehlengana, Mkotana, Mgqibelo and Nduna leave at 7 a.m. today, 22.4.1905.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Mkehlengana was chief of the Qwabe people in the Alexandra division. He died in July 1906. Extracts from his evidence appear in a Zulu rendition in Stuart's reader, *uBaxoxele*, pp. 85 ff. Zulu kaNogandaya was a well-known warrior in Shaka's time.

<sup>2</sup>Dinya kaZokozwayo and Socwatsha kaPhaphu were others of Stuart's informants.

<sup>3</sup>For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 8 ff, 233 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., *African Societies*, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., *Language and History in Africa*, pp. 120-32; *Stuart Archive*, vols. 1 and 2, indexes.

<sup>4</sup>On the relationship between the Mdlalose, Zulu, and Ntombela clans, cf. Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 37, 53; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 165, vol. 2, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup>I.e. the Orange river.

<sup>6</sup>The eziNdumeni mountain lies some ten kilometres to the south of present-day Dundee.

<sup>7</sup>Mkothana (Mkotana) was another son of Zulu kaNogandaya. His evidence appears in the present volume.

<sup>8</sup>Formed c.1819 of youths born in the late 1790s.

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- <sup>9</sup>Macingwane kaJama (?) was chief of the Chunu.
- <sup>10</sup>'Kwa Qori' may be a reference to KwaGqokli, a hill on the south bank of the White Mfolozi at its junction with the Phathe stream, where, early in his reign, Shaka's Zulu army beat off a Ndwandwe attack. Maphitha kaSojijisa was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house.
- <sup>11</sup>Bryant, Olden Times, p. 194, gives '*Kisi*' as a word used by Shaka, when issuing instructions to his troops before a night-time battle with the Ndwandwe, to denote stealthy movement. According to Baleni kaSilwana, another of Stuart's informants, '*Kisi!*' was a cry used in warfare in former times when contending forces flung assegais at one another: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 17.
- <sup>12</sup>Mvundlana kaMenziwa was chief of the Biyela section of the Zulu.
- <sup>13</sup>Msonganyathi was another name for the Mngeni river.
- <sup>14</sup>The names given are those of the chiefs of the branch of the Thembu which lived on the lower reaches of the Mzinyathi. Mabizela, chief of the Thembu living in the Umsinga division, died in the early 1900s.
- <sup>15</sup>Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 276, 460, gives Nxaba kaMbhekane as chief of the Msane, who were close relatives of the Mfeka or Mfekane people. At the head of a following, he fled northwards from the Zulu kingdom in the early 1820s.
- <sup>16</sup>Cf. the account given by Mandlakazi kaNgini in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 181.
- <sup>17</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 691, gives *iwaba* (pl. *amawaba*) as 'black shield having a white mark at one or both sides'.
- <sup>18</sup>Formed c.1865 of youths born in the mid-1840s.
- <sup>19</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 545, gives *isiqu* (pl. *iziqu*) as 'medicine... worn as a neck-lace or string ornament round the body by a warrior who has killed a man in battle'.
- <sup>20</sup>The two preceding paragraphs appear in the original as insertions in the top margin of the page. 'Usutu' presumably refers to the adherents of Cetshwayo. The amaQongqo hills near present-day Magudu were the scene of a battle between the forces of Mpande and Dingane fought in January 1840.
- <sup>21</sup>The uNgoye is a range of hills to the east of present-day Eshowe.
- <sup>22</sup>Bryant, Olden Times, p. 186, writes, 'The Qwabe were often jocularly referred to by their neighbours as *aba-ka-Nozidiya* (They of Mrs. Long-skin-apron), from the habit among their women of wearing such aprons (*iziDiya*)....', and comments on the confusion arising from the expression '*uQwabe kaNozidiya*'.
- <sup>23</sup>Silwane was chief of the Chunu in the Umsinga division.
- <sup>24</sup>The assertion that the Ntungwa peoples 'came down' (either from across the Drakensberg or from the north) with or by means of or because of a grain basket is a frequently repeated, but inadequately explained, tradition.
- <sup>25</sup>Saoti (Sawoti) was chief of the Duma people in the Alexandra division in the late 19th century.
- <sup>26</sup>Mkhunya mountain is situated on the south bank of the Mkhomazi river some forty kilometres from its mouth. Nhlazatshe mountain (or Mount Misery) is situated on the north bank of the river opposite Mkhunya.
- <sup>27</sup>According to the evidence of Stuart's informant Maziyana kaMahlabeni, Mnguni kaMatshiyana would have been chief of the Ntshangase people in the time of Shaka and Dingane: see Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 268.
- <sup>28</sup>Maziyana gives Nomabunga kaNkowane as chief of the Mpofana people:

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- see Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 275.
- <sup>29</sup>The abakwaSithole and the amaTolo were separate peoples.
- <sup>30</sup>The term amaMfengu refers to refugees who made their way south from what is now Natal into the eastern Cape in the time of Shaka.
- <sup>31</sup>Ngilanyoni hill is situated on the north bank of the Mkhomazi river some thirty kilometres from its mouth.
- <sup>32</sup>Mashobana (Matshobana) kaZikode was chief of a section of the Khumalo people in the early 19th century. A tradition parallel to the one here recorded identifies the combatants as the *izimbongi* of Shaka's successor, Dingane, and of Mashobana's son, Mzilikazi, the founder of the Ndebele kingdom: see Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 318-9; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30. (Bryant's account is based on that given by Stuart in his Zulu reader uTulasizwe, pp. 69 ff.)
- <sup>33</sup>The *isizinda* section of a homestead was that which provided the son who, on his father's death or removal to a new homestead, would remain as chief occupant and formal guardian in his father's stead.
- <sup>34</sup>Cowards were forced to eat meat that had been soaked in cold water.
- <sup>35</sup>This paragraph occurs in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of the page.
- <sup>36</sup>Bheje kaMagawuzi was chief of a section of the Khumalo in Shaka's time. He became famous for his success in resisting Zulu attacks on his stronghold in the Ngome forest. He eventually gave his allegiance to Shaka in 1827, only to be killed by Dingane in 1830. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 595-602; Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 85-95.
- <sup>37</sup>Mfume, some forty kilometres south of present-day Durban, was the site of an American Board mission station.
- <sup>38</sup>In many traditional accounts Malandela is given as the father of Zulu and Qwabe.
- <sup>39</sup>For discussion of the term Nguni see the references as for note 3 above; also Hedges, 'Trade and politics in southern Mozambique and Zululand', pp. 254-7.
- <sup>40</sup>The reference is presumably to S.O. Samuelson, Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1893 to 1909.
- <sup>41</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 372, gives *u-Mabope* (*umabophe*) as 'Certain plant...whose red roots are used as an *inTelezi* or sprinkling-charm against all manner of evil influence, coming dangers, etc....' On p. 620 he gives *i-nTelezi* (*intelezi*) as 'General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil...and gen. administered by a "sprinkling" process....'
- <sup>42</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 273, gives *i-Hwanqa* (*ihwanqa*) as 'bullock..., black with white spots or small patches all over the body - the markings being deeper and more clearly cut than in the *i-mPunga*....' On p. 517 he gives *i-mPunga* as 'a black and white speckled beast'.
- <sup>43</sup>Nxaba kaMbekane was chief of the Msane people (see also note 15 above). At the time of Shaka's attack on him he was, according to Bryant, living near the Mtekwini hill north of the Hluhluwe river: see Olden Times, pp. 278, 460, and map opp. p. 698.
- <sup>44</sup>The first expedition referred to is the one sent by Shaka against the Mpondo in 1824; the second is the one sent against the Mpondo in mid-1828; the third is the one sent against Soshangane, who was living in what is now south-central Mozambique, in the latter part of 1828. *Ihlambo*, literally a washing, here means the purification rituals performed to mark the end of a period of mourning, in this case for Shaka's mother Nandi, who had died in August 1827. *Ukhukhulelangoqo*,

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literally a sweeping up of the rubbish, in the present context refers to a total mobilization of Zulu manpower, including elements who were not normally regarded as physically fit enough to go on campaign. The uBhalule is the Olifants river.

<sup>45</sup>Hintsa, son of Khawuta, was chief of the Gcaleka Xhosa from the late 1790s until his death in 1835.

<sup>46</sup>Shaka's Dukuza *umuzi* was sited near present-day Stanger. He was assassinated there in September 1828.

<sup>47</sup>Some Zulu traditions assert that Mnkabayi, sister of Shaka's father Senzangakhona, was involved in the plot which led to Shaka's assassination by his brothers Dingane and Mhlangana. She played a leading role in determining the outcome of a subsequent dispute over the succession between the two assassins. Myiyeya (Mlilela) of the Qungebeni people was father of Dingane's mother Mphikase.

<sup>48</sup>The names in the list that follows are those of some of Shaka's brothers. It is not made clear in the original which of the persons present at the interview provided this information.

<sup>49</sup>Bryant, Dictionary, p. 188, gives *i-nGoduso* (*ingoduso*) as 'Betrothed girl, who has returned home again after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding'.

<sup>50</sup>There are variant traditions about the paternity of Nandi's daughter Nomcoba, and about Nandi's relationship with Gendeyana. See for example Bryant, Olden Times, p. 63; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 189, vol. 2, p. 247.