

MTSHAPI KA NORADU

1.4.1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 3-15.

- 3 Mtshapi ka Noradu ka Mazwana ka Yengwayo ka Sibude ka Njinji of the Magwaza tribe, a member of the Kandempemvu regiment, continues.¹

The dispute between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.²

The princes were set on to fight by the king himself, who said, 'Makasana rejoices; let him see his rams butting each other.'³ Then he set them on by cutting war-shields for them from the hide of a slaughtered beast. For Mbuyazi he cut a shield from the side with the wounds in it; for Cetshwayo he cut one from the opposite side.⁴ This made Cetshwayo angry.

Then a hunting-party was called out to go and hunt at eWela, near the bush country where the two Umfolozis meet. The followings of the princes separated, and when the hunting-party returned they pursued each other. Mbuyazi's following separated off and became known as the Iziggoza, and Cetshwayo's separated off and became known as the Usutu. They returned to Nodwengu by two different paths.⁵

- Upon this the king said, 'Wewu! Go, Mbuyazi, cross the river and go to the country of the English. I too was brought to power by them' (Mpande was speaking of himself).⁶ That is what happened. Mbuyazi went forward, with Cetshwayo following him. Mbuyazi went and crossed the river at Dhlokweni.⁷ When he had reached the other side his brother Mantantashiya turned and said, 'Why are you running away from one who is the same age as you? Is it because you listened to your father, who told you to go to the country of the English, saying that he too had been brought to power by the English? Are you going to become king by hiding among the English?' So he turned back, for he listened to the word of Mantantashiya that he was afraid and was running away from his brother, and rejected the advice of his father. He turned back across the Thukela into the Zulu country, and went up the Ndulinde.⁸ As he was going up the Ndulinde Cetshwayo advanced, and early in the morning their forces fought it out.*

- The Izimpisi of Tshonkweni drove them back;⁹ it drove back all the Tlwana, Ngwegwe, and Sangqu, all the regiments, and also the Ndhlo-ndhlo. It put them to flight; Mbuyazi's force drove back that of Cetshwayo. Upon this Cetshwayo ordered forward the Mandhlakazi, and the Zungu, Mfanawendhlela's people.¹⁰ They proceeded to drive back Mbuyazi's force; they routed it, and drove it into the Tukela river. The Tukela was full. Mbuyazi's force was driven into it, and many people were swept away and drowned. The river carried them away as far as the sea.*

Then Cetshwayo caused the *ingomane* to be sounded.¹¹ That was the end; his forces had overcome the enemy. It was not known where Mbuyazi had gone. The men of the *ukuBaza umuzi* were sent out,¹² with orders to go round below and make their way up the *iNyoni*. They did so. Mbuyazi flung himself upon them, and they killed him. His death was reported to Cetshwayo, who hurried to the spot where he had been killed. When he arrived there, he proceeded to jump over the body.¹³

<Stuart indicates that the following two sentences, recorded in the original on p. 7, should be brought in at this point - eds.>

7 He then picked out men to go and bury it there at *ekuBazeni*. He said that a son of the king should not be buried without a covering.

5 After the *ukuBaza* had scattered the opposing *impi*, Cetshwayo's *impi* withdrew, and marched back. When it came to Mpande he reproached it, saying, 'So you have killed my children? 'Why didn't you bring me back something of Mangenendhlovini's (*Mantantashiya*'s)?' That was the end of it. That is how the quarrel between the king and Cetshwayo began, for he had set the princes against each other. The *izinduna*, Masipula and Mfusi,¹⁴ disputed with Mpande, saying, 'What are you saying? For did you not in fact point Cetshwayo out to the white people, and did they not cut a distinguishing mark on his ear?'¹⁵

6 Then the cattle which had been 'eaten up' were taken away. Mpande said, 'I don't want them to come to me here at Nodwengu; I don't even want to see them.' So Cetshwayo took the cattle off.

<Stuart indicates that the anecdote which follows, and which is recorded in the original on pp. 7-9, should come in at this point - eds.>

7 Mpande then asked Manqondo, 'Why, when I told you to cross over with Mbuyazi, did you remain behind?'¹⁶ Manqondo replied, 'What would I have been doing to cross over with Mbuyazi, when the king had given me Songiya (Mpande's mother) to look after? I would have had to disobey the king's word, for he had put Songiya in my charge.' The king then sent to Zweekufa [*Zokufa*] ka Mtsholozza at Nkandhla to say that Manqondo had objected to carrying out the king's order.¹⁷ The king had told him to cross over with Mbuyazi, but he had refused. The king had told Sokufoca of the Xulu people that they should cross over with Mbuyazi, but he had refused.

8 There was a dispute over the cattle of Zweekufa, those of *eNgcotshweni* which had been left behind by Sigananda who had crossed over to the country of the English.¹⁸ The cattle had been eaten up by Ntobolongwana, Zweekufa's brother. Zokufa <sic> became angry, and drove Ntobolongwana away. Ntobolongwana then fled to our place, the place of my 'father' Manqondo. Zokufa's *impi* armed, went out, and fought Manqondo's *impi* at Nkolotshane. It killed our people; they were killed by the *impi* of Zokufa's Cube people. The *impi* killed Mbele, my father's son of the left-hand house. It then ate up the cattle which had been eaten up by Ntobolongwana. It killed Ntobolongwana there. They also stabbed my father Nohadu <sic> as he was going back to Ntobolongwana. He had seen a clump of assegais sticking in Ntobolongwana after they had flung a 'volley' of assegais at him. My father wanted to go and

- pull out the assegais with which they had stabbed Ntobolongwana. My father regained consciousness in the night. That was the end of it. Our impi was scattered. The matter was reported to Mpande. It was reported that Mbele and Ntobolongwana had both been killed. The king exclaimed, 'Serves you right, Manqondo! Now do you know what pain is, now that you have felt what I have felt? Have you now felt the pain that Zokufa has caused you, as I have felt the pain that you caused me? I have no desire to intervene in this matter, for I am grieving for my children. Zokufa has done me a favour, for he has taken my
- 9 revenge on you, Manqondo, for refusing to cross over with my sons.' That was the end of it.
- 6 Cetshwayo sent out a force to go and kill Nomantshali, Mpande's favourite wife. It proceeded to kill one of the king's sons, Maqayingana, of Nomantshali's place. Nomantshali was to be killed because she was the mother of sons who were of the iziGqoza. She was duly put to death. Mtonga escaped, and went off to the Boers up-country.¹⁹ Cetshwayo fetched him back; he fetched him there in the Boer country, and brought him back. After he had brought him back, Mtonga escaped again, this time permanently. He crossed the Tukela, and went and joined his 'mother' Monase among the iziGqoza people in the white man's country.²⁰ Mpande said, 'So you were captured in the Boer country? Who told you to go to the Boers, when I told you to go to the
- 7 English, the people who brought me to power?' Mtonga remained there, and eventually married there.
- 9 The dispute between Qetuka and Mpeyana.²¹
Qetuka became embittered because he saw that all the people were adhering to Mpeyana. Mpeyana was an inceku away there with Mpande. He cut shields for people, many of them. All Manqondo's issue adhered to Mpeyana. The chief son, Qetuka, refused to show people hospitality, so they flocked to join Mpeyana. The matter was taken before Mpande. Qetuka complained that Manqondo was now making Mpeyana his chief son. The king then asked Noradu, 'Do you know anything about this matter, Noradu, this claim that Manqondo is making Mpeyana his chief son?'²²
'No, my father, I know nothing of it.' 'What has he ever said to you about it?' 'No, my father, what he has told me is that his chief son is Qetuka. I know nothing more.' 'So how does this matter arise, then?'
Noradu replied, 'I do not know how it arises, my father.' Mpande then said, 'What I hear said is that Manqondo is now making Mpeyana his chief son.' Noradu answered, 'No, Nkosi. It is not Manqondo who says that. Manqondo has always said that it is Qetuka.' The king then said, 'Weu! It is said that all the people have gone over to Mpeyana.' Noradu replied, 'Yes, Nkosi. The people have grown to like him; he is generous in giving to them.'
- 10 The king then ordered that all the people should come before him. They duly went up and appeared before him. The king asked, 'What is the cause of the dispute?' Qetuka said, 'I see that all the people of our umuzi have gone over to Mpeyana.' The king rejoined, 'Is this a matter for dispute? Noradu, is it a great issue that the people have gone over to Mpeyana?' Noradu answered, 'No, Nkosi. The people have gone over to Mpeyana because he is generous to them. Manqondo has not made him chief son, but has apportioned him a number of houses. Mpeyana refused to allow his father to sleep where it was dirty. When

his father came out of his hut, he would sweep the yard.'

11 The king then said, 'Wo! I have summoned you to put an end to this matter. Never bring it before me again. I was of the opinion that you were also disputing about cattle. For Manqondo said so; he said that Mpeyana builds houses for him even though he is not the chief son.' The king went on, 'Qetuka, the quarrel is with you. Why does Manqondo not oust you when, as chief son, you do not do any work for him, while Mpeyana does work for him?'. That was the end of it. The king ordered, 'Let this matter be brought to an end. Do not raise it again. Let it be taken to Manqondo at his home. Let him put it right; let him decide it.'

So Manqondo proceeded to decide it. He said, 'I am not making Mpeyana my chief son; he is simply my induna. It is Qetuka who has a quarrel against Mpeyana.' Manqondo also ordered that the matter should be closed, as the king had ordered. 'Let the war-shields be put down.' Mpeyana then went off, saying, 'Let me make way for him, for he is the chief son in his father's country. As for me, I shall ask for an abandoned kraal site from the king.' He duly went up to the king's place. The king proceeded to give him a place, saying, 'Yes, Mpeyana, 12 you acted decisively in making way for Qetuka. I now give you the country of Nomazocwana (ka Somsuka, of the Ngecobo tribe).' So Mpeyana went off, and all the people with him. All Manqondo's issue went with Mpeyana. Qetuka said, 'Wo! Let the little feather of the hornbill go to one side.' Mpeyana then went off to build in the country of Nomazocwana. All Manqondo's issue went with him.

Qetuka then became annoyed. Again he rushed off to the king, to say that Mpeyana had gone off with all the people. The king said, 'I will on no account discuss the matter, for was it not you who said that the little feather of the hornbill should go to one side? That is just what has happened.' Qetuka's case was again lost. The king said, 'The quarrel lies with you, Qetuka. For my part, I shall send diviners to call the people together so that there shall be an 13 end to this matter.' And indeed the king sent izinyanga. They were to stir up their medicines when they had called the people together. They summoned them to assemble in one place. Mpeyana too was to return so that all the people should be in one place. The diviners stirred up their medicines. Beasts were brought and slaughtered for them. Mpeyana came back with all the people, as the king had ordered. The people were all assembled together; the Imvula and the Amadhlula were all together. The Imvula were the people of Mpeyana; the Amadhlula were the people of Qetuka. Mpeyana called his people the Imvula yo mdumo, 'the rain that comes with thunder', for he had been thoroughly 'drenched' by the affair, he who had done nothing and was liked by the people. The Amadhlula were so called because they had passed by (ukudhlula) their own chief and sided with Mpeyana.

Smoke comes from Tshaka's mouth.

My father Noradu was an inceku to Tshaka. One day he went to gather green maize for the king. He came back with it to the isigodhlo and 14 gave it to the girls there. The king had been putting people to death in the cattle enclosure. As Noradu turned about, the king was just turning from the enclosure on his way back to his hut. They bumped into each other at the gate. Noradu fell to the ground in fright, exclaiming, 'Bayede!' He turned to look at the king, and saw that

- smoke was coming from Tshaka's mouth. As he turned, Tshaka asked, 'Here now, Noradu! This food of mine, do you people wash before you touch it?' 'Father, indeed we wash. We wash every time we cross a river. If a man needs to urinate, he does so only after putting down the king's food. When he has quite finished urinating he will wash before taking up the king's food.' Tshaka said, 'I ask because no sooner had I eaten the food from your place than I vomited, and vomited and vomited!' He clapped his hands (behind his back) as he uttered the last 'vomited'. 'Who went to gather this food?' 'Nkosi, it was Mlindazwe (an inceku) who went to gather it.' The king said, 15 'Wo! You are saved!' Noradu slipped away. Behind him smoke was still coming from the king's mouth. He turned his back, belched, and went off into the Black Isigodhlo, where entry was prohibited. (It bordered on the White Isigodhlo.)

2.4.1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 15-23.

Mtshapi continues.

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

Magwaza was an ancestor of ours, a man who lived in ancient times. Chiefs of the Magwaza tribe: Maseyana ka Qetuka ka Manqondo ka Mazwana ka Yengwayo ka Sibude ka Mabulu ka Luguloza.²³

.... <Praises of Manqondo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

- 16 Manqondo did the following. One day Dingana called on the regiments that happened to be at Mgungundhlovu to lift a beast whose front and hind legs had been tied.²⁴ One after the other tried without success, until it came to Manqondo's turn. A large herd of cattle was standing near, evidently the prize for anyone lifting the cow. Manqondo spat into his hands, rubbed them together, and, taking the front and the hind legs together, bent down and lifted the beast (a heifer) into the air, and, walking off with it some way, deposited it on the ground. The king said, 'Wo! I am speechless. They are all yours, Manqondo,' and thereupon called him Matwalinkomo.²⁵ The king gave him all the cattle standing by, including the heifer he had lifted. This heifer had a remarkably numerous progeny, which lasted right down to the days of the Zulu war. I myself have seen its descendants. Manqondo divided up his cattle among various kraals. [See Zulu version, p. 18.]
- 17 <Praises of Gcwala kaMazwana, with annotations, and praises of Mpande, with annotations, omitted - eds.>
- 18 Manqondo lifts and runs off with the heifer. [See English version, p. 16.]
One day when the assembly was seated at Mgungundhlovu (I am certain it was at Mgungundhlovu), sitting spread out round the king, he ordered a beast to be caught and tied. 'Tie up that beast (referring to a heifer with a white face and brown markings on its back); tie its front legs and its back legs.' This was done. Then the king said, pointing to a herd of cattle, 'Whoever can lift the heifer and run

with it will get all those cattle.' One man tried, and failed, as did another, and another. They queued up to try, but each one failed. Then Manqondo's turn came. He spat in his hands, rushed at the heifer, lifted it, ran with it, and put it down. The king exclaimed, 'Weu! Do you see this, Zulu people? Now I am speechless. Take them all, Manqondo; they are yours. Untie the heifer and put it with the others.'

19 This was duly done. The cattle were taken to his home, enough for all his kraals. He distributed them among all his kraals, ending with those of Emantandeni, the kraal where he lived.

The heifer turned out to be a prolific breeder. It produced over twenty calves before it ceased to breed. It eventually died at Nkandhla mountain, in the forests at esiBudeni.²⁶

The heifer came back with Manqondo after the Tulwana had been buta'd, but when they were still youths.²⁷ 'Producer of bull calves, who will ever "eat you up"? You are safe.'²⁸ When Manqondo was holding the ukuketa wedding dance, the heifer would be decorated with a crest of feathers tied with a rope made of softened red hide, and would be brought down from the forests. It would have a crest of black ostrich feathers on its head. It would arrive with the women when the ukuketa dance was to be held; it would go ahead of them, and they would encircle it. The ukuketa dance would be held when Manqondo was taking a wife.

20 The skin of this heifer was scraped, and made into skirts for the wives. A song sung about it went like this:

'Here is the impoloba (said because of its lowing being loud and strong)!

The wind which comes from Embuzini.'²⁹

(The king called Manqondo Matwayinkomo after this).

The killing of Dube and the Nyuswa people.³⁰ (Dingana repeats the type of treachery he practised towards Piet Retief.)

Dube of the Ngcobo people was father of Mqawe.³¹ This was when they still lived in the Zulu country, at eGqalabeni, reaching to the pass of Matshisa (near the Tukela, and where Ndube's people live - our tribe³²). Dube was reported by Manqondo to Dingana, the king, for having said, 'So Manqondo is building kraals below me? If my children are accused of an offence (ukunya), how are they going to escape?'³³ Manqondo went off to the king and told him, 'I am overcome by Dube's statement that I am blocking him off below, and that his children will have no way of escape.' The king asked, 'Is that what Dube says?' 'Indeed, father, that is what he says.' The king said, 'Weu! Now what is to be done? For Dube is on the lookout for ways by which his children can escape if they commit an offence.' He went on, 'Let them commit an offence there today.' The izinduna then said, 'Nkosi, there will be fighting. The amaQadi are very numerous. It would be better for the king to leave them alone. Let him send them an order to bring poles here.'

21 They duly brought poles to Mgungundhlovu. It was said, 'No! You are not all present. Fetch the others. Let not even old women remain behind.' More poles were brought, and the numbers of the people grew as even the old women came. As they approached the Cebe (a hill near Mgungundhlovu), the foremost of them were already going in at Mgungundhlovu. They went in and walked round in a circle, laying down the poles. This continued for a good while. Then the king ordered, 'Let

men go out and block off all the gateways.' This was done. When the very last one of the people was safely inside the kraal, the order was given, 'Seize them!' The gate where they had entered was also blocked off. They were then beaten to death, just as had been done to the Boers. (This took place after the Boers had been put to death.)³⁴

22 While this was taking place, a man of the place of Dube's people had remained some distance away at the foot of the hill. When he saw the turmoil and realized that his people were being killed, he made off at top speed to raise the alarm at home. He arrived at Dube's and roused him, but as Dube left his kraal an impi was already pouring into his lands. He ran off into the Nongoxi river (forest), but the impi saw him, surrounded him, and killed him. Upon this all the Qadi people took to flight and crossed over to this side of the river, i.e. into Natal. Dube died on the other side of the Tukela, in the Zulu country. His family crossed over, Mqawe and others. This was reported to the king by Manqondo. It was Manqondo who had related Dube's words to the effect that Manqondo was blocking him off below, and how would his sons be able to escape if they were accused of an offence?

23 From the nature of the complaint, the king supposed Dube had found a way of escaping from Zululand into Natal in case of necessity. [This must have occurred in 1838, i.e. the same year as the killing of Piet Retief and of the destruction of Mgungundhlovu in December 1838.]³⁵

The expression about *ukunya kwazingane* does not mean the defecating of children at all, but some offence or other committed or supposed to have been committed by Dube or his people, and so rendering him and them (as a tribe) liable to being punished by the king. Hence his complaint was that Manqondo lived on the Tukela side of Dube and so cut him off from flight to Natal in case necessity for fleeing should arise from some frivolous complaint or other. That is what Dingana took exception to.

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File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 23-30.

*The breaking of the rope (ukudabuka kwe goda).*³⁶

The breaking of the rope was caused by Matunjana.³⁷ Mpande was to be killed. Dingana sent izinduna to Mpande at eNtolwane to present him with cattle, a hundred young cattle. It was done so that he would have to go up to the king to give praise, upon which he would be seized and put to death. The izinduna who drove the cattle were Nwagwana ka Zivalele of the Zulu and Matunjana ka Sibaca of the Nkwananeni people. On their arrival Mpande provided beer for them. He was told, 'Come on the fifth day to give praise for the cattle.' They then left the isigodhlo. After they had left, Matunjana returned, saying, 'Wo! You isigodhlo of Dingana! I have forgotten my stick.' He went back to fetch his stick. He then told the chief, 'You are told to come on the fifth day so that you can be put to death. Make your escape!'³⁸ That is how the rope came to be broken, by his telling this to Mpande. Mpande informed all his senior men, and broke the rope by crossing over the river to the country of the English.³⁹

A beast was slaughtered at our place, the place of Magolwana ka Mkatini.⁴⁰ Manqondo ordered that it should be slaughtered because 'the rope had broken'. Upon being stabbed it did not die. Although it

was stabbed early in the morning it had not died by this time of day [10.30 a.m.]; it remained standing. So Manqondo took the assegai, but even when he stabbed it, it did not die. It dragged along on its rump out of the gate and died outside as the sun was going down.

- 25 Then there came Nongalaza ka Nondela of the Mthazi people of Nzusa.⁴¹ He had been sent by Mpande to say, 'I have escaped.' He made for the Tukela and crossed over. He asked, 'Why is Manqondo delaying, for the cattle will be seized by the Dhlambedhlu regiment?' Upon this they were taken across the river. They went with Masiwele up the esiDunjini hill.⁴² When they got to esiDunjini, where Mkonto used to live,⁴³ they were taken into a kraal. Then the Dhlambedhlu came up to the Masiwela; it headed off all the cattle. Dingana had ordered, 'Do not go as far as the hill. When you get to it, turn back, before the men on horses approach.' And so the Dhlambedhlu seized the cattle that were down below, and turned back. It crossed over the Tukela, and that was the end of it. The regiment returned with cattle to Dingana. Dingana said, 'Slaughter them all. The Boers are coming; Mpande has fetched them.' So they slaughtered them.

- Ndhlela ka Sompisi was killed at the place of the people of Kwana ka Ngqengelele, in the forests that grow on the Ngome mountain.⁴⁴ The isigodhlo women left Dingana's belongings there among Kwana's people. When the king arrived at the uBombo hills he ordered his warriors to fetch his belongings.⁴⁵ He ordered that the iziToyatoyi, a young lad's regiment, but one which had fought, should remain behind. The regiments went off. The iziToyatoyi remained behind with the Swazi. Dingana had shields made for them. The Swazis surrounded Dingana's place in the night. Dingana heard the noise they were making and came out with his assegais. The Swazis thereupon stabbed him, by throwing assegais at
26 him. They struck him in the thigh. The iziToyatoyi armed and drove off the Swazi, stabbing them. They drove them into the forests; they routed them. By this time day was breaking. At this point the warriors discovered that the king had been wounded. They found him being treated by Ndikili ka Cilo of the Bayi people of Ntombela, and Ndhlebeyemkonto of the Ntombela people. They were unable to stop the flow of blood. At about this time of day [2.30 p.m.] the blood stopped flowing, but as this happened the king died.⁴⁶

Upon this the women of the isigodhlo made their way back; they went to Mpande's place. On their way back they came to the place of Mapita ka Sojijisa.⁴⁷ Mapita divided them up. Some remained at his place. The others proceeded to the king Mpande's place, accompanied by part of the Zulu nation. It was said, 'Here is the rectum of Ndhlela!'⁴⁸ The king came to hear of this. He said, 'These are our people. Why were we fighting? Were we not fighting over people? Now you are pouring contempt on them. Let this talk of "the rectum of Ndhlela" cease. Whoever continues it will be put to death.'

- 'Ndhlela's rectum' referred to those people who had turned back at the uBombo mountains, where Dingana was killed. They were called
27 'Ndhlela's rectum' because Dingana's impi had been defeated. Ndhlela had been in command because he was the great induna. Mpande gave orders that there should be no more talk of 'Ndhlela's rectum', and that instead his warriors should vie with one another in boasting of their military prowess (xox' impi).⁴⁹

.... <Praises of Mpukane kaMbundakazana, with annotations, and praises of the Luthuli people omitted - eds.>

28 Mpukane was a great warrior of the Great Mkulutshane regiment. He was from our place, among the Magwaza people; he died at our place. He was fathered by Mbundakazana ka Ngeje. We went up with Mbundakazana from the eLangeni country.

He was stabbed so that one of his lungs came out in the battle at oBuya.⁵⁰ This place is near Emahlabatini, near the Izimfolozi. He was of medium height, with a shiny skin, dark brown in colour, and wore a headring. He was an *isilomo*, not an *induna*.⁵¹ He was borne by a girl of our place called Ndude. That is why I know him so well.

The feather incident - Tshaka.

It happened when Tshaka was going down the uGcongco, to sweep away the people, when he was still on his way.⁵² He drew up his force into a semi-circle. At that point the king's plume fell to the ground; it came loose from his headband and stuck into the ground, where it stood quivering. Msongane ka Mahlobo of the Nzusa people made to pick it up, but the king had him stabbed for doing so. 'Don't you see that we will stab the enemy?' Indeed his *impi* did so.

29 <Praises of Magwebu kaMlalaziko omitted - eds.>

<At this point in the original Stuart enters a list of questions and points for discussion with Mtshaphi. We reproduce this list below. Entries that have been scored out in the original we place in parentheses - eds.>

Praises. (Mdhaka ka Ncidi - use Socwatsha p. 82 Book of Eulogies.)
Induna of the Kandempemvu. What *ikanda*? When *kleza'd*? Name all *izinduna*.

(Masipula)

Does he know of any good *izimbongi*?

(Nongalaza ka Nondela)

(Mbopa ka Sitayi)

(Cetshwayo)

(Mbuyazi ka Mpande)

(Who were Tshaka's, Dingana's, Mpande's and C.'s *izimbongi*?)

Who is *imbongi* of Magwaza tribe? How to get here?

Who is *imbongi* of Langeni tribe? How to get here?

Who is *imbongi* of Ntombela tribe? How to get here?

Langeni chiefs

(Nandi's *zibongo*)

Riddles

Fables

Proverbs

4.4.1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 30-8.

- 30 <Praises of Funisa kaManqondo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

[I notice that Mtshapi says eHini, not eRini, and gives his own father's name as Nohadu instead of Noradu.]⁵³

- 31 <Praises of Jojo kaSondata, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

(Jojo) was of the amaGovu regiment [alias the uDhlangubo, says Dunjwa⁵⁴]. Big dogs are called *amagovu* - from Pondoland. *The regiment fought on Mpande's side at the Amaqongqo.*⁵⁵ *It drove back Dingana's army below the Amaqongqo hills. It was there that Nozitshada ka Maqoboza stood with his assegai raised, shouting, 'So here are the old men?' He raised his assegai up horizontally, threatening them with it. 'So here are the old men?'*

Nozitshada's regiment was the Dhlambedhlu of Dingana. He was *induna* of this regiment. Nozitshada was on Dingana's side. He saw Mpande's amaGovu regiment and the Umlambongwenya forces. The Dhlambedhlu were terribly cut up by Mpande's men, and defeated. Nozitshada was killed there.

- 32 <Praises of Nozitshada and praises of Mdlaka kaNcidi, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

The big *izinduna* of the Kandempemvu were Nguqa ka Mpundulwana of the Zungu people,⁵⁶ Vumandaba ka Ntete of the eMgazini people, Mkosana ka Mvundhlana of the Biyela people.

- 33 I *kleza'd* at Dukusa, in the Emahlabatini country on the south side of the White Umfolozi. *The Dukusa kraal was re-established, as was the Bulawayo kraal.*⁵⁷

Masipula ka Mamba ka Sidinane of the Ntshangase people.⁵⁸ I do not know his *praises*. I do not know any of Nongalaza ka Nondela's *praises*. I do not know any of Mbopa ka Sitayi's *praises*.⁵⁹

.... <Praises of Cetshwayo and praises of Mkhosi kaMgonqo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

- 35 (Mkosi ka Mgonqo) was of the Umdhlenevu regiment. He was short, quite small. He was not an *induna*; he was an *isilomo*. He lived in our Magwaza tribe. He fought at Ndondakusuka.⁶⁰ *They stabbed him in every finger; they stabbed him as they had done Mpeyana ka Manqondo.*

.... <Praises of Sijulana kaZaxo and of Mbuyazi kaMpande, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

- 36 *Izimbongi*. [See also p. 49 for others.]

Mahlangeni - at Nodwengu; don't know father.

Ndevana of the Butelezi people - don't know father; was a great *imbongi*.

Sondoda ka Gininda of the Ntombela people

Majiya ka Gininda of the Ntombela people

Vumandaba ka Ntete - *declaimed praises at Ndwengu*; also a

great *imbongi*.

Maqayingana ka Lutoludala of the Dhludhla people. He lived near the Mfule river.⁶¹ He was an *imbongi* of Tshaka's day. I saw him in Mpande's reign.

The *izimbongi* declaimed praises when the *izinduna* had done so, when the ancestors were being addressed, and sacrifice being made of cattle. The *izimbongi* continued the praises after the *izinduna* had finished.

Magolwana ka Mkatini was a great *imbongi*.

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

(Magolwana) declaimed praises when the army was going to war and on other state occasions. I never saw him.

37 The king used to compose praises for his great warriors with reference to their prowess in battle, upon which they retained the praises so given. Those of the Magwaza heroes were composed by the king. When a man had distinguished himself in warfare, the king would learn what he had done, and praise him with reference to that particular incident. The man himself, however, might have a lot of previous praises unknown to the king, though known to the man's companions. These would then be recited on other occasions, with the contribution made by the king added thereto. I am referring to Mpande.

.... <Praises of Nandi kaMbengi omitted - eds.>

Songiya ka -- <sic> was mother of Mpande. [She was of the Hlabisa people, says Dunjwa.]

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

38 [See note wrongly written on p. 40; take in here.]
40 (Songiya) was dark brown (*nsundu*) in colour. (She), the queen (*indhlovukazi*), was short, very fat. She did not berate people loudly; she merely reproved them in a low voice, for she was a chief. When a person declaimed her praises she would laugh, and be appeased.

38 <Praises of Qetuka omitted - eds.>

Dinuzulu's regiments

Mbokodwebomvu

Felapakati

Hayelwengwenya

Mavalana

Vukayibambe

Inqabayokucatsha - Solomon's regiment⁶²

Ingubokakundhlase⁶³

6.4.1918, Saturday.

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 38-43, 45, 47-8.

Mtshapi continues.

.... <Praises of Ndube kaManqondo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

39 *The praise-name (isangelo) of Ndube, given him by his mother, was Sodungunya. His wives praised him by this word. Ndube was of the Mxapo regiment. The Umpunga regiment is of the same age as the Mxapo; they were incorporated into one another.*⁶⁴ He fought at Gingindhlovu and Ombane, and finally at Nodwengu.⁶⁵ At the last named place he was hit under the left arm, on the side, the bullet travelling upwards through the top part of the back. It broke one or two ribs. That was the origin of the praise, 'The one who is hampered when lying down; his side is red'. Ndube jumped a corpse at the Ondini fight, only shortly after to be hit badly himself.

*One of the sons of Mpande who was 'killed' is Cetshwayo, who escaped. When he left his home he was soon to die (i.e. Cetshwayo).*⁶⁶

A fight occurred at Mlambongwenya between the Mxapo and the Dhloko regiments.⁶⁷ The Mxapo were ordered to vacate certain huts for the use of the Dhloko, which had just been called up, hence the regimental conflict. On that occasion Ndube, who was of the Mxapo regiment, remained after all of his regiment had run off, hence Makoba ka Mapita praised him as stated.⁶⁸ N. was only wounded in the hands. They hit one another with sticks.

40 *The iNyonikayipumuli.*⁶⁹

*A succession of battles - Sandhlwana, eDudusini (at the stronghold of Rawane), Ombane and Gingindhlovu.*⁷⁰ When Cetshwayo found that these actions had taken place, and so very many of his people killed, and that the European troops had advanced as far as the Imfolozi, he called together his troops at Ondini, including the Kandempemvu, my regiment. He then came into the semi-circle of men and said, 'O, Zulu people, I see that the white people have indeed come. I see that though you blunted them at Sandhlwana, the next day they came on again. Though you blunted them at the stronghold of Rawane, the next day they came on again. Then you came and told me that their army had driven you back and had done you harm. I say now that these oxen (referring to the Inyonikaipumuli oxen, exceedingly numerous) must go as a peace offering to the white people.' Then Matatshile ka Masipula of the Emgazini said, 'No, Nkosi. Is the king beginning to speak thus even though we Kandempemvu are far from finished?'⁷¹ The king replied, 'Matatshila, what do you mean by "far from finished"? Where is Zikode ka Masipula (the chief son of Masipula)? Where is Mhlazana ka Ngoza ka Ludaba of the place of the Butelezi people? Where is Mtshodo ka Ntshingwayo ka Marole? Where is Mahu? Where is Somcuba ka Mapita? So you are far from finished? How is it that you can say that? Where is Gininda ka Masipula?'

When the king had finished speaking, Matatshila answered, 'Is the king afraid? Does he think he will be defeated because those who sit round the eating-mat have been killed?' (He was referring to men who were known to the king and who were izilomo. Izilomo would have a wooden tray of meat laid before them, say at the door of the king's hut or nearby. This tray - or eating-mat - the izilomo would sit round.) Again the king spoke. 'Yeh! Matatshile, if you look up, the sky will be far off; if you prod the ground with your stick, the earth will be hard. If the white men keep advancing when so many of them have been killed, and when so many of us have been killed, what is there to stop them?'

42

That was all. The cattle were taken off. In the afternoon, soon after this had been done, Zibebu went off to investigate what the enemy were doing at the Mfolozi.⁷² He observed some of them swimming in the river. He crept up on them through the bushes and fired on them. At once they set off in hot pursuit of him. They followed closely, firing at him. His pony galloped at top speed, ears drawn back, until near Ndabakawombe.⁷³ There they left off the pursuit and went back. They (Europeans) said, 'You'll see more of us tomorrow!'

- 43 The big battle was fought on the following day. Ndabakawombe, Nodwengu, Ondini, Mlambongwenya, Mdumezulu, and other *amakanda* were all burnt quickly. A thick haze of smoke covered the country. We saw that on that day our country was destroyed.

Towards the conclusion of the battle Matatshile charged the square, (which was) protected by quickly put-up zinc, and as he tried to enter he was bayoneted and killed. The same thing happened to Dumusa ka Sidamba ka Ntshona.

The Kandempemvu followed after the king some way, as he fled from Ondini, but this was countermanded on the ground that it would attract attention to the king and reveal to the enemy his whereabouts. So we desisted from following, and simply scattered.

Matatshile was of the Kandempemvu regiment. He was not an *induna* but an *isilomo*. None of this regiment had put on the headring at that time, nor had Matatshile done so.

The king's meeting with us referred to was quite a short one, and there was nothing much to be said as the Europeans were so close by.

- 45 Per Mtshapi.

During the night the Boers of Piet Retief's party tried to surround Mgungundhlovu. That was when Dingana got the impression that they were really hostile. He then decided to hold a dance for them.

Per Mtshapi.

The king makes up praises for his great warriors, but he himself has praises made up for him by the *izimbongi*.

Magolwana ka Mkatini of the *Jiyana* section of the *Ntshali* people. His kraal was at Nhlazatshe.⁷⁴

Manembe ka -- <sic> of the *Gawensa* people was an *inyanga* of the king.⁷⁵

Was killed in Mpande's reign. Killed, I believe, because he had stolen some of the king's cattle. I don't know if I ever heard him declaim praises.⁷⁶

Magolwana has sons - at Nhlazatshe.

The praises in addition to ones about exploits in battle are made up by his age-mates, those alongside whom he fought. Praises come to serve as a man's name. Every man and young man, and even lads, have his or their praises.

- 47 Per Mtshapi.

Praises are good because even when a man is dead he is remembered by others by means of his praises. Spirits too are praised by means of these.

People die but their praises remain,

Their praises will remain and mourn them where their homes once were.⁷⁷

MTSHAPI

For the child of a man, the child which he has fathered, will declaim his praises, the father's praises. People are remembered by their praises at their old homes; they do not die out. There is no fear about declaiming the praises of the dead; a man who has died will have his praises declaimed by his sons.

Per Mtshapi.

Ntobolongwana ka Somungco ka Dhlaba was of the Cube people.

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

- 48 Many of these great warriors were not praised at any length lest they should desist from fierce fighting. [Compare with note to Mvundhlana ka Menziwa's praises - Mtshapi's version.]⁷⁸ A warrior might feel that his praises were numerous enough, and that he need no longer fight hard.

.... <Praises of Mbango kaMathokolo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

8.4.1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 48-62.

Mtshapi continues.

When troops were called into the cattle enclosure to see the king, for whatever the reason might be, the king might say, 'Dance, So-and-so, son of So-and-so!' and go on to declaim his praises. The king, on his return from captivity,⁷⁹ called on Mahu ka Tokotoko to dance, and then praised him thus, 'Dance, Magwaza who rushes like a lion!' The king (Mpande, Cetshwayo, etc.) would only give one or two lines of the praises, what he happened to know. The man praised might have many others given by men of his own age, i.e. his companions. These were recited as soon as the king had finished and the man had begun to *giya*.

.... <Praises of Mahu, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

- 49 After the king had called on anyone in this way, the man's comrades would proceed to praise him, giving his praises at length.

Even if a man had not taken part in battle his praises would be declaimed.

The king, after washing, would go out into the cattle enclosure, then this various declaiming of praises would take place. When the king was about to emerge from his washing enclosure etc., he would be praised by his own *izimbongi*, viz. Mhlakuva ka Sodondo of the *Emgazini* people, and Nqabeni ka Nondhlovu of the *Nala* people, and Notekwane of the *Buthelezi* people. These three received Mpande at the door of his hut, and placed him in his cart, as often as he went to the men's assembly. These, on such occasions, declaimed praises only to a slight extent. This praising always took place - daily. As soon as people heard these praises they would know the king was about to

- 50 appear. The names of the *izimbongi* just given were Mpande's. Mhlakuva was the best of these. Mpande latterly used to be dragged out to the assembly in a little waggon, being praised all the way until it stopped.

The *imbongi* required on any given day to *declaim praises* would be called in this way, 'Present yourself, Mhlakwa! ('Nang' uMhlakwa bo!'), or whatever his name was. He would answer, 'Mungane!' and then go up and give praise.⁸⁰ As soon as the ordinary people heard this they would get ready to move to the *cattle enclosure*. The king arrived after the assembly had gathered, presenting an appearance of a wall of people.

51 The occasions on which the kings were *praised in extenso* or at full length were when the spirits of departed kings were being sacrificed to. Ten or even 20 oxen might be got together. The *izinduna* would proceed to give praise, and, after praising had continued for some time, the beasts would all be stabbed, one after the other in quick succession. They were stabbed with a huge long-bladed assegai (*isi-jula*) which it was necessary for the man stabbing to hold with both hands in order to stab, each beast giving a groan as stabbed. The *izinduna* would then formally say, 'This is your food!' i.e. to the *amadhlozi*.

The king himself did not partake of such meat, but invariably of *heifers which had not yet calved*. Those were the beasts 'of the mouth' (*zo mlomo*), as they were styled. Such beasts would be kept in their own cattle kraal, and not be present when the praising and sacrifices took place. The colours of the oxen sacrificed were *waba* (from which shields were made), *nkone*, and *black* (*inkumande* - name of the black cattle of the king; these furnished shields for the young troops, the 'black' troops, i.e. because they carried black shields).⁸¹

52 The praising of the ancestors, or *tetaing* as it was called, took place at all the *amakanda*. What happened was this. A large herd of various-coloured oxen would be picked out and driven to Emakosini, i.e. to the kings' graves, where the departed kings would be praised at length, and chants (*amarubo*) sung.⁸² After this the herd would be driven back and then divided up into tens and twenties and sent out in these small lots to the various *amakanda*, where (there would be *tetaing*) and (where they would) be actually sacrificed and slaughtered.

The *izimbongi* were given the *rump* of a beast to eat, i.e. after the limbs etc. had been cut off. They also got the *fourth stomach and a foreleg*. The fatty pieces from the upper part of the legs would be cut out and given to the *amakosikazi* in the *isigodhlo*.

53 Senzangakona, Ndaba, Jama, Dingana, Tshaka. An object (*isitombe*) representing a chief who died away from his own country would be set up next to the graves of the other chiefs. A tree is fetched from the very place where a king was buried (if in a far-off region); the tree taken is one close beside the grave. A tree would have been taken from Tshaka's and Dingana's graves, i.e. dug up and then planted close to the other kings whose bones were actually buried at Emakosini. The trees so dug up were not of any particular variety. These trees would be fetched by senior men of Senzangakona's people, i.e. the great *izinduna*. Moreover a stone would be taken from where the king was buried in a strange land and conveyed to the Makosini district and there put next to the kings' graves.

The carrying of such stone and of the tree constituted the bringing back of the ancestral spirit of the place. Because the king had died in foreign parts, no cattle could be taken there for *tetaing* to be

done. The *izinduna*, on getting to the grave outside the country, would praise the *amadhlozi* there, and then dig up the tree and take a stone, and that would be the only occasion on which praying is done at the grave itself. The *izinduna* would also kill beasts there, and *teta* with them.

54 The spirit is brought back, and is sacrificed to *at home*. In the case of Cetshwayo, too, who was buried at Enkandhla, no *tetaing* is done there but in the Emakosini district where his (Cetshwayo's) *isitombe* has been set up, i.e. tree and stone have been planted. Cetshwayo is *praised and sacrificed to* at Emakosini.

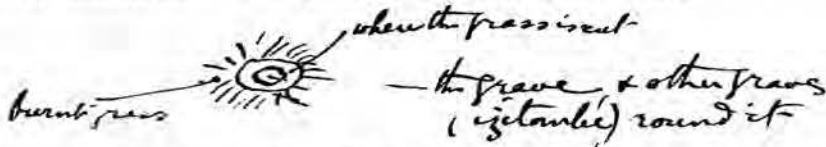
After the herd has been taken to Emakosini and *praised* there to the spirits, it is brought *home*, i.e. to the royal kraal, Nodwengu, Ondini, etc., and the *praising* is repeated there.

These small lots of cattle are sent to various *amakanda*, which of course are known to belong to this or that king, e.g. the Dukuza *ikanda* would receive a lot of cattle with which Tshaka alone would be *sacrificed to and praised* by those associated with that *kanda*, and so to Mlambongwenya - this kraal was *that of Mpande's own people (wa kwabo)*, hence the lot of cattle sent there would be to praise *Senzangakona and Mpande*.

55 The herd that actually went to Emakosini would be divided up among the most important kraals, e.g. Siklebeni (where Langazana was), eMbelebeleni, Kwa Dukuza, Emlambongwenya, Emdumezulu, Nobamba, and Gqikazi (*the place of Cetshwayo's people, the place of Ngqumbazi of the Sidhlahla people*).⁸³ If the cattle were insufficient for all the *amakanda*, the most important, e.g. those mentioned and others, would be served first, and cattle that had not accompanied the others to Emakosini would be detailed and sent to the various other *amakanda*, on order that the spirit of the king of that particular kraal might be *teta'd* there.

The *izitombe* seem all to have been planted or put in the ground round about Ndaba, who is looked on as the greatest spirit. The grave of Ndaba is the biggest and *always has the grass round it burnt*. For instance, in the month of May the grass will be cut all round the grave and then will be *burnt*; this cutting is done to prevent the fire getting over into the cemetery.

Were the fire to get into the cemetery, cattle would be fetched, praises addressed to the spirits, and gall poured out.



56 Mageba's grave is also a big one. Cetshwayo's *isitombe* is near Ndaba's grave. Dingana's *isitombe* is near Mageba's grave. Tshaka's *isitombe* is to the side of Senzangakona's grave. Jama is by himself, though Mpande's grave is near his.⁸⁴ Punga's grave is there in the Emakosini area, on the other side of the Mpembeni stream (north side). Dinuzulu's *isitombe* is to the side of Cetshwayo's, near Ndaba's grave. Dinuzulu's grave is at Kwa Nobamba.

Praises in the case of great warriors were to rouse the army's fighting spirit, i.e. to inspire and infuse the army with wrath. (The

king 'sharpen the heroes'.) That was their object.

When used in connection with the royal graves, they (the praises of kings) brought about a sense of the power of the nation. For among us black people, as a man goes along, and encounters a difficult situation, he will praise his fathers, the difficulties will be diminished, and he will pass by. Otherwise he will only just escape.

The kings' spirits were *teta'd* when something important was about to happen, like war. The spirit would be consulted. It would be seen that the spirit agreed; it would be seen that the past kings agreed that the *impi* should go out. The living king would dream that the past kings had agreed. 'Let the army go forth. The kings have given their agreement to allow it to proceed.' He would then order the great chant to be sung (the great chant of *Senzangakona*, which *Senzangakona* had received from *Jama* and his people). They would be filled with courage as they armed, i.e. as soon as this great national chant is sung the whole army becomes fired with courage, their hearts become enraged, and they thirst for battle.

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

58 There were two ways of getting permission to start hostile proceedings: (a) by the king dreaming that his ancestors agree to their being entered on; (b) by an ox bellowing at night, it may be long after all have gone to sleep.

As regards (a), the king keeps on declaiming the praises of the past kings to himself as he lies down to rest, and during his sleep, one night, the answer may come that the spirits are willing.

As to (b): An ox may bellow quite late in the night. It would be identified, and such ox would be called *Izwandaba* |see both *Colenso* and *Bryant* |,⁸⁵ not a given ox, but any one. On this occurring the king would give the order for the *umpakati* to come into the kraal there and then, where a semi-circle would be formed and the great chant sung, viz. the *uhawu*.⁸⁶ And there and then the king might issue his orders that the *impi* is to go and attack such and such tribe, e.g.

59 the Swazis, whereupon preparations for leaving would at once ensue.

The *impi* that left in *Mpande's* day to attack the Swazis left at night, after an ox had bellowed.⁸⁷ The princes were ordered to return, but they refused to do so. *Cetshwayo* killed a man in the Swazi country. The king ordered the princes not to go, but they did, and *Cetshwayo* succeeded in killing someone there, by shooting him when he was in caves among the rocks, i.e. in among precipitous stones, caves, etc. on the hillside. *Mavumengwana ka Ndhlela* also killed a man there in the same way.⁸⁸

.... <Praises of *Mavumengwana*, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

Mavumengwana was *induna* of the *Tulwana* regiment.

An *impi* sets out only after agreement has been given by the past kings (i.e. the spirits). The king asks permission from them. If he did otherwise, matters would not go well for the *impi*.

60 <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

I have myself been with cattle to give praise at *Emakosini*. I did this in *Mpande's* day, and in *Cetshwayo's*, frequently. My father

Noradu was an *inceku* to Tshaka, to Dingana, and to Mpande. Cetshwayo also promised to make me an *inceku*, on the *izinduna* going to make the request. Cetshwayo said I was not to be made an *induna*, but an *inceku*, for my father had served the king. Owing to the Zulu war I was not appointed. Cetshwayo said to me, 'Go and ask your father about how to conduct yourself in the *isigodhlo*, so you do not sleep with the girls there.' The girls used to sit about in the *isigodhlo* undressed.

61 No man of the Magwaza tribe (our tribe) was ever killed on an accusation of having slept with a girl of the *isigodhlo*. My father warned me. He said, 'Don't allow the heart to become excited over the sight of a girl. Keep your eyes to yourself.'

'So you think a lot of yourselves because you are called the Spoil-nothings (*nina ka noni luto*)?' This remark was addressed to us of the Magwaza tribe by the *isigodhlo* girls, for we never allowed ourselves to get into trouble.

.... <Praises of Mabedla kaManqondo and Muntompofu kaManqondo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

62 (Muntompofu ka Manqondo, seized women of the chiefly house in the Xulu country; they accordingly kissed his arm for not stabbing them. This happened at the Tukela, when Mapeyana ka Mantshingeyana, *induna* of the Izisongo (a section of the Tuluwana regiment), was to be killed. He came to the Tukela river and found it full. He threw himself in, and crossed over. He left the girls of his place behind; he was the only one who crossed the Tukela. He had been reported on by his father's youngest brother, Ngiyakutsho, who said that he had cut short the shaft of an assegai in order to conceal it under his clothing. He had done this with a view to stabbing Cetshwayo. The assegai had been sent by Monase.⁸⁹ So he escaped by crossing the river. Muntompofu ka Manqondo came and seized the girls. His men were about to stab them, but he restrained them. He took the girls to his home. He obtained a large black and white beast from their senior brother in return for giving them up.

9.4.1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 63-76.

63 <Further annotations of praises of Muntompofu kaManqondo given on p. 61 of original omitted - eds.>

On this occasion, Ngiyakutsho was killed. He had hidden in his own place, somewhere else. The king had said Ngiyakutsho was to be killed. 'They are a badly disposed people.'

*The strange thing done by the women of the Ingcugce.*⁹⁰

The king prohibited us from having intercourse with the girls. He said that we were his children (*umvokwe*), and that we were not to have sexual connection with them. If anyone was found doing so he might be seized and put to death. The king then proceeded to give an order that the women of the Ingcugce should take husbands from the men of the *iNdhlonhlo* regiment. The women refused to do so, saying, 'The string of beads does not meet round the neck.' They refused to give up their lovers and take husbands from the *iNdhlonhlo*.

64 Upon this the king became angry. He sent out a force with orders that the women should be put to death. This was done. The women scattered all over the country. The force went about putting them to death. The king then designated the uTiyane as the women with whom the warriors might have sexual connection.⁹¹ For all the Ingcugce women had been killed, and the uTiyane remained. We warriors then had connection with the women of the uTiyane. This was shortly before the war broke out (the Zulu war).⁹²

The Ingcugce cut off their topknots when made to give up their lovers; this was when they said, 'The string of beads does not fit.' The king used this as a reason for intervening, saying, 'So, when I ordered them to take husbands among the inDhlonhlo they cut off their topknots? What are they making themselves out to be? Let them be put to death.'

65 When the iSitimane was given the order to marry, the king (Mpande) summoned all the amaduna of the Zulu country.⁹³ He said, 'Maduna, I have summoned you to tell you that you are not to bother members of the Tulwana regiment with demands for lobolo, for I have not made presentations of cattle to them. Leave them alone.' Matunjana ka Sibaxa replied, 'Hau! Do our daughters not belong to us? If we marry them off to the men of the Tulwana are we not to get lobolo for them? Did we not fight at oBuya? Are we simply to give our daughters away to the Tulwana without getting lobolo for them?' The king answered, 'Wo! I am overcome, Matunjana, for when I said this I hoped that you Zulu people too would see why. I cannot see what they will pay lobolo with. But I am giving these girls the order to marry. Perhaps you people will give each man three cattle and so provide his lobolo for him. But leave them alone; do not bother them.' The men refused, saying, 'Let them too go out to war. We shall not present (etula) our daughters to them.'

66 So the regiment went out; it went to the country of Sambane's people.⁹⁴ They came back with cattle from Sambane's country. The king then presented them with the cattle, and they proceeded to pay lobolo with them. Every man who produced five beasts was regarded as having provided lobolo; he would give it to the father, who would then arrange for the girl's wedding. So the matter was resolved satisfactorily.

The king said, 'He who sees the wives of the men of the Tulwana regiment will rejoice. Why do you take them in such numbers? What are they going to find to eat? Are they going to have to eat their leather skirts?' Indeed there followed a drought and a great famine. A steenbok ran about; it appeared and ran about all over the land, until it disappeared in the country to the north, the country of the Mandhlakazi people, where it had been running about. It ran about the country there.⁹⁵

Classes of girls, Zulu.

My mother was of the Ingcotsho of Muhle - I don't know if this was a man but it was merely a name by which the age-grade was praised. This was ordered to be married off to the Izimpohlo by Dingana.⁹⁶ The Gudhludonga came next, then the Sitimane and the Ingcugce. The Ingcotsho followed in age after the ikwani, which followed in age after -- <sic>.

- 67 Classes of girls I know of.⁹⁷
 uMcekeceke - *it carried imigqogqozo, i.e. big sticks.*
 Ikwani - *butwa'd by Dingana*
 Inzawu - *butwa'd by Dingana*
 iNgotsho of Muhle - *butwa'd by Dingana*
 uGudhlodonga - *butwa'd by Mpande*
 iSitimane - *butwa'd by Mpande*
 Ingcuge - *'the pool which swallowed up the uTiyane', butwa'd*
 by Cetshwayo
 uTiyane - *butwa'd by Cetshwayo*

The Umcekeceke class used to (carry) *imigqogqozo*, i.e. thick sticks about 1½ inches in diameter, and when these girls went to a kraal to *soma*, those in a hut would be surprised to see and hear one of these heavy sticks thrown into the hut through the doorway by a girl. She would have come to where her lover was. She would not say anything when throwing this in. The stick was thrust in at the top of the hut when not in use, and when wanted would be pulled out.

I believe the Umcekeceke girls took husbands in the uNdabenkulu regiment.

[Dunjwa says his mother was of the Isitimane class.]

- Noqongoza ka Rubu of the Mpanza people said to Dingana, 'Is the king now going to give the order permitting us to take wives, now that we are fetching sinew from other nations?'⁹⁸ They had previously put on headrings, and then cut them off. The king ordered them to put on headrings. They duly did so, and then took themselves off to the king again. That is when Noqongoza spoke these words, when the army was preparing for war. The king said, 'You have answered, Noqongoza.'
 68 <Praises of Noqongoza omitted - eds.> 'You have answered. Let the army go out and fetch sinew.' Indeed it went out.

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

- 69 Mtshapi continues. *The ukukulela-ngoqo.*⁹⁹
 The army of the ukukulela-ngoqo was the army that went to the Balule.¹⁰⁰ An ox bellowed, whereupon Tshaka there and then summoned his army in the night. He then gave the order, 'Let it arm, and make for the Balule. Let it fetch the red cattle of the umkandhli (the cattle which were eaten by the women of the isigodhlo when they had washed)'.¹⁰¹ He went on, 'Call up all the riff-raff; let no one remain behind, not even old men with bad knees.' Indeed, that is how the army assembled. Even old men were called up. When the army appeared before Tshaka he said, 'I ordered that not even a man with a bad knee should remain behind. But how far will these old men get? Let them remain here with me.' He then ordered his forces to arm, and to make for the Balule. The old men remained behind as his guard; all the 'white' warriors remained to guard him.

<The evidence in the paragraph that follows has been scored out in Stuart's original - eds.>

He told them, 'Let no one remain behind, not even men with bad

70 knees, for I am going to kill Mpande.' Upon this some of his men spoke up. (Ndhlela spoke up, saying, 'Is Mpande to be put to death? Are there no others of the king's people?' [What does Mtshapi drag in this about Mpande for?])

The army duly went off to the Balule. After travelling a great distance it came to a broad valley, where it camped. It had been marching through open country where there was no wood to be found. It had had to drive its cattle on without being able to slaughter them, for it was a problem to find wood for roasting the meat. Then they came to the valley, where there was abundant wood. But it was wood of the umdhlebe tree.¹⁰² They roasted much meat with the umdhlebe wood. Because of this the whole army was seized with stomach pains. When it arrived, the umdhlebe tree was crying out, 'Meh!' like a goat. As it cried out it exuded blood, like that of a person who is bleeding. The men of the army roasted meat; they were hungry. They had been surviving on umwazibe berries. When they roasted the meat they were all seized with stomach pains. When this happened the advanced section of the army went forward. The rest remained behind where they had made their fires, in their encampment. It looked as if the army was in camp, but in fact the advanced section had gone off. The rest were incapacitated by stomach pains. All of those who had gone into camp had diarrhoea.

71 While matters were in this state the advanced section of the army went off, leaving the rest behind. It captured the red cattle, the unkandhli cattle, and came back with them. It then set out on its return, leaving behind those men who had been incapacitated. In capturing the cattle it had reached a place infested by locusts. It captured the cattle and returned with them. Behind it the locusts swarmed over the land. All those men who had remained in the camp died. They were red locusts, the same colour as the unkandhli cattle that had been captured. The remaining section of the army brought the cattle back to the king. As it arrived the locusts poured into the Zulu country. They finished off the grass and the people's crops.

72 There was no more food to be found.

The king then said, 'Wo! What is to be done on account of this? I hear that there is food to be found in the country of Fabase, in the direction of Sotshangana's.'¹⁰³ Let the army prepare for war, and go and fetch seed from Fabase's country, so that the land can revive at planting time.' The izinduna replied, 'The king is right to give orders for seed to be fetched, for the people have been made weak by hunger; they are very thin. They are even roasting their shields.' The king ordered, 'No! Let the army prepare, and go and fetch seed. The men must shift for themselves. People will not save themselves by simply remaining in their homes without planting.' So the army went off, and fetched seed. The king then ordered, 'Go and search for the cowdung' (to see in what direction a cow was making when it turned back). The army went off, and indeed it found old dung of a beast that had run away from the Zulu country. They searched, and found that the beast had been making off in a certain direction. The army made off at speed, and captured those cattle. The king gave orders, 'On no account leave Fabase alive. Kill him.' (For it was simply a cattle-raiding expedition. There was no one who had committed an offence; the army was on campaign.) The army proceeded to

clean out Fabase's country, the whole of it. It even reaped the amabele crops, for it found that they had not yet been harvested. It formed a great body, carrying the amabele and driving the cattle. It then returned with them, and came to the king. He ordered that planting should take place. Each man was to go off with his own seed to his home, and plant it. This was duly done. He then ordered, 'Leave the womenfolk at home and assemble before me.' Indeed the army did so. When the men arrived at the king's he gave them the cattle and told them, 'Slaughter the beasts. Call up the women to come and carry the meat.' They slaughtered great numbers.

74

By the time that this was finished the crops that had been planted were maturing. The king then ordered, 'Leave your womenfolk.' He called up the army; the whole of it assembled at the king's place. He then ordered it to set out for the Mpondo country.¹⁰⁴ The women were to remain behind at home to eat the new crops (for the maize was now ripening). The army then headed off to the Mpondo country. It fell upon the country, and went about eating up the cattle everywhere. It then came back with the light brown (mdubu) cattle. They were of this colour alone; all were of one colour. The king said, 'Now do you see what I told you? I told you to go to the Mpondo country, where you would find many cattle.' For all those from Fabase's country had been slaughtered, those which warded off famine. When they returned with the mdubu beasts he made them presentations of cattle. After this the land was peaceful. 'Go, take them to your mothers and to your wives.' By now the crops were ripe. Some people ate the new crops, swelled up, and died. They took the cattle to their homes.

75

The Mpondo then followed up their cattle. The army was summoned again and told, 'The Mpondo have come. They have camped in the forests near their place.' Shaka's army then went off and encountered them in the forests. It flung a volley of small assegais at them, assegais which were black on one side and white on the other. The assegais were poisoned, so that even if they did not penetrate, even if they simply cut a person, he would die. They scattered the Mpondo and drove them into the forests. The army returned. The king said, 'Because of this I am now going to give the order permitting you to marry.'

76

I heard this story from my father Noradu, for the Mpondo severed his muscles (upper, outer calf of right leg). [See his praises.]¹⁰⁵ People ran to fetch medicines (ubuhlungu) of the king. He was given them; he ate them, and they were also poured onto the wound. Thus he survived.

Fabase's place is up-country, near the country of Sotshangane.

11.4.1918

File 58, nbk. 17, pp. 79-80.

79 Mtshapi continues.

.... <Praises of Qetuka kaManqondo, with annotations, omitted - eds.>

Qetuka was of the Umdhlenevu regiment (the Ingwegwe). He was taken from that and made an *induna* of the Tulwana when the princes, Cetshwayo, Mbuyazi, Mantantashiya, Tshonkwani, Dabulesinye, Ziwedu, Siteku,

80 Dabulamanzi, and Hamu were in it. He was the *chief son of Manqondo*. He was directed to go to take up *the position of his father Manqondo*. *The princes complained, saying that Qetuka should not go to the old men. Tshonkwenti said, 'Why is it that the king places him over old men when we are here?'*

Cetshwayo married Mfumuta, daughter of Qetuka. She is sworn by by Dunjwa (the policeman);¹⁰⁶ and by her Cetshwayo had Manzolwandhle as issue. Mfumuta was the principal wife.

Qetuka was tall and well built, *dark, shiny brown in colour*. He died at his kraal Kwa Nambita at the Mhlatuze river, at the Mandaba ridge.

The *great induna of the main section (isibaya esikulu)* was Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele.¹⁰⁷ Qetuka was the *great induna of the uhlangoti section*,¹⁰⁸ viz. of the amaXoza and amaBunsumana sections of the Tulwana regiment.

Maseyana (he has *put on the headring*) is Qetuka's chief son. He too is very tall and well built, *like his father*.

The *izinduna* referred to in Qetuka's *praises* held back the *main section (isibaya esikulu)* of the Tulwana.¹⁰⁹ Qetuka refused to go to the *circle* ordered to form up by Mnyamana, and broke away to join up with the Kandempemvu who, led by *spies*, were marching on to attack at Isandhlwana.

7.5.1918

File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 1-9.

1 Per Mtshapi ka Noradu ka Mazwana *of the Magwaza people*.

Kandempemvu regiment (account of). I am a member of this regiment. As *young boys (inkwebane)* we were known as uNgangezwe. I was born a few years before the Tulwana went on the *expedition against the Swazi, the first campaign in which they were engaged*.¹¹⁰ I saw this *impi taking up arms*. I was still *herding young cattle*. When Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fought at Ndongakusuka I was *herding cattle*.¹¹¹ I had, I fancy, *attained puberty* by then. I ran off with our cattle when the battle took place, and took them to Mabengela hill. *We spread them out there, below the hill*. I was already of *carrier-boy (udibi) age*. I had not however begun to *carry*. The Nokenke boys were *carrying* at that time. [This would make him about 11 or 12 years of age in December 1856, and so born, say, in 1846 or 1847.]

I *kleza'd* at Dukusa, which was situated up the Nzololo stream, i.e. higher up than all the *amakanda*.¹¹² The big *induna* at Dukusa then was Magidi ka Menziwa of the *Biyela people*. I think he was of the *Imihaye* regiment, which was incorporated (*tela*) with the *Fasimba*. The *induna of the uhlangoti section* at Dukusa was Majiya ka Gininda of the *Ntombela people*. He too, I think, was of the *Imihaye* regiment. We *kleza'd* for three years; in the fourth we were *buta'd*, and joined to Ndakawombe, situated at the *Majiwana neck*, where red clay is to be found, up the *Mbilane*, where it rises.

2 The uKandempemvu had 49 companies (*amaviyo*).

.... <Praises of the Khandempemvu omitted - eds.>

Ceremonial dressing. On the head we wore a bunch of widow-bird feathers stuck into the headband, which was made of leopard skin.

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Strips of blue-monkey skin hung next to the face. Round the neck was a covering of ox-tails, which hung down the back and over the chest. Our shields were black, with white markings (*amalunga*), while others were brown with white markings (*marwanqa*). We had not yet put on the headring. Cetshwayo mixed our shields with white ones, *ncu* ones, *hemu* ones, and *mtsheko* ones, i.e. black top and bottom, with large white patch running across.¹¹³



The bunches of feathers were of widow-bird feathers. They were fetched up-country, at *eTalen*; others were fetched from the *Mlambo* country, in foreign parts.¹¹⁴ These were about two feet long.

- 3 Our *uhlangoti* section, the *uMtuyisazwe*, wore head-dresses (*amapovela*) of black ox-tails.



Sections (*izigaba*).

- 1 *uMarumane* - the people of *Sitambi ka Masipula*. Ten companies (*amaviyo*). The big *induna* was *Nguqa ka Mpundulwana* of the *Buthelezi* people.
- 2 *uMatsheqe* - they *kleza'd* at *Nodwengu*. Big *induna*: *Zitshana ka Somapunga* of the *Ndwandwe* people.
- 3 *Ingedhle* - they *kleza'd* at *Nodwengu*. They were incorporated (*tela'd*) into the *Matshezulu* section. Big *izinduna*: *Sitambi ka Masipula*, *Ngqalamba ka Lukwazi*.
- 4 *iMpondo* - it was incorporated (*tela'd*) into our section, the *uMarumane*. Big *induna*: *Ngongongo ka Nguqa* of the *Buthelezi* people.
- 5 *uNdingindi* - they *kleza'd* at *eSiklebeni*. Big *induna*: *Ndwandwe ka Mdhaka* of the *Langa* people.
- 6 *uMatshidelana* - they *kleza'd* at *Bulawayo*.
- 7 *iMjindi* - they *kleza'd* at *Embelebeleni*. Big *induna*: *Mapovela ka Mnyamana*.
- 8 *uMahenye* - they *kleza'd* at *Nodwengu* and at *eMlambongwenya*. Big *induna*: *Qwabalanda ka Msongane* of the *Nzuza* people.
- 9 *uMtuyisazwe* - they *kleza'd* at *Nodwengu*. Big *induna*: *Vumandaba ka Ntete*.
- 10 *amaTshaizindhlu* - they *kleza'd* at *Bulawayo*. Big *induna*: *Santingi ka Ngqengelele* of the *Buthelezi* people.
- 11 *amaTshezulu* (*oNqakamatshe*) - they *kleza'd* at *Nodwengu*. Big *induna*: *Sitambi ka Masipula*.
- 12 *iMrulugwane* - they *kleza'd* at *eNgwegweni* (where the *Imdhle-nevu* were brought to). Big *induna*: *Lupongolo ka Mqalana* of the *Biyela* people.

These *izigaba* are here completely given.

The smaller (second-in-command) *izinduna* were:¹¹⁵

- 1 *Zidunge ka Ntshingwayo ka Marole*
- 2 -- <sic>
- 3 -- <sic>

There were two rows of huts at Kandempemvu. There were two izigodhlo there at Kandempemvu, the black one and the white one. The white one was the one to which the izinduna were called, to come and drink beer. I myself entered it, after being summoned. If the izinduna were away, then the impi was taken out by me when there was work to be done, as when it went to cultivate the fields, for the king's fields were cultivated by us, or as when it went to pick torches for the king; these were of sticks peeled clean of their bark. It was the wood of this tree, the ugagane mimosa, that was used for roasting meat for the king, for it did not emit smoke.

- 6 When the regiment was going in at the gate, the aMatshaizindhlu section entered first, followed by the Imrulukwane, then the uDamusecibini, then the uMqandazembe, then the uMtuyisazwe, the main section (isibaya esikulu) of the Mtuyisazwe.¹¹⁹ Then we - the main section (isibaya esikulu) - would enter: the Undindindi, then the uMatshidelana, Marumane, Impondo, Ingedhle, oNqakamatshe (Matshezulu), iMjindi. Then the main section (said because they are the very last to go in), the Mahenye, would enter the enclosure.¹²⁰

In the Zulu country the main section (isibaya esikulu) would not go in the van; it would leave when all the rest of the regiment had left the enclosure.

The impi would leave from the cattle enclosure when it went to cut torches for the king, or to cultivate his fields, or when it was going out on campaign, or when it was going to fetch unklele branches for the isigodhlo - that is, the parade ground. The companies (amaviyo) form up, and the impi goes out company by company, after having begun by forming a semi-circle. The order was continually being given, 'Go out and do such-and-such'. Torches were carried in twos - about 1½ inches in diameter and about three or four feet long.

- 7 The herd of royal cows (izinkomo ze tunga) were called uMnkangala. A cow which had calved was not slaughtered. Of the royal cattle it was heifers which were slaughtered, the imilazelakazi.¹²¹

We Kandempemvu put on the headdress after Cetshwayo had returned from overseas.¹²² Somsewu had ordered that all the nonsense (imfukumfuku) about the regiments should stop.¹²³ 'All the gathering of rubbish (i.e. the regiments) must end. They must no longer come to you to create disturbances. And you must cease harassing people who married girls of the isigodhlo' (i.e. demanding cattle from them). When Cetshwayo arrived back, many men of the Kandempemvu had taken wives.

Kandempemvu - this name was given by Mpande. He did so because he told us to cross over the river to the place of Monase's people, to Mkungo, to the iziGqoza, up at the Msinga.¹²⁴ At that time it was still said that Mbuyazi was alive.

- 8 Mpande said that he was giving to us his surviving son Mkungo. He said that we should go with four hundred cattle and build at the Msinga. Cetshwayo came to hear of this. 'So the order is that the owl which is zibunubuwana, which is sharp at both ends, should drive me out?'¹²⁵ He sent out a force to encircle us at the Kandempemvu kraal. He sent the uNdi, a force raised from all the districts (izifunda); it was not a regiment. He ordered them, 'Do not stab them; simply keep them surrounded. Tell them to scatter from that little kraal of

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theirs and go down-country to oNdini.' He was still the heir (*wmtwana*) at that time. The uNdi then dispersed. We Kandempemvu also dispersed. Those who had been told to go to oNdini did so; those who had been told to go to eZiqwagani did so. (Eziqwagani was situated on this side of the Dhlinsa, at Eshowe, on the Nwaku stream).

A chant sung by the Kandempemvu when entering the gate at oNdini and at Nodwengu:

Haye! Hamu has no dog to eat us!¹²⁶

The old bachelors are covered with dirt (because they are old, and no longer go out to war); Lokuya! Lokuya! Lokuya!

The sticks of the men of the companies were all pointing in one direction when they shouted, 'Lokuya! Lokuya!' (To say, 'Lokuya!' is to point at the enemy.)

9 A chant sung when they were going off to fight: they cried, 'IZulu! IZulu!'

Wars etc. Our first experience of war was at Sandhswana, together with the boys of the iNgobomakosi, and also the uVe. For he left no regiments behind; he sent them out saying that he would fight for one day only. He said he would take a single day (i.e. he would fight but one day and polish all the whites off).

8.5.1918

File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 9-10.

Mtshapi.

Origin of Nandi's name.¹²⁷ She was called Nandi because her mother found matters pleasing (*mmandi*). I do not know her name. [Mfunda?] This is what old people among the eLangeni said. I heard about this from my fathers, who went up there. They said that Tshaka too, as also his grandmother, behaved with propriety when living among us Langeni. I mean that he was pleasing in his manner of speech. There is no other explanation; that is it. Her mother found matters pleasing; this was before Nandi was born. When she was born she was accordingly named Nandi. I heard this story from my fathers Noradu, Manqondo ka Mazwana of the Magwaza people, and Mlalazika ka Cansana of the eLangeni people. I knew them very well. They knew a great deal. They said that Nandi's mother was pleased by everything in the Langeni country, so, when she gave birth, the father said that the child's name would be Nandi, for she was a good-tempered person who did not quarrel with the mother. Later on, Nandi was also known for her good nature in the Zulu country; she was well-liked.

10 In the Zulu country a child, whether it is boy or a girl, is named by its father. The name does not come from the mother, for she might qopa the child's father. (Ukuqopa is to talk at cross purposes, as wives sometimes do).¹²⁸

9.5.1918

File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 10-18.

Remarks concerning praises. [See p. 37 sq.]

Praises are something that make people feel pleasure. In the Zulu country they are what reflects the good life. They were very important in the nation. For even youths who had had no experience of war would confer praises on one another. No sooner had they gone to kleza than they were assembled together, and each one would giya;

each would giya to the accompaniment of his praises. There was no one who would not giya, for they were afraid of being branded as cowards. One who did not giya was called a coward. For praises would cause a person to become roused. He would remember his praises when the battle was on, feeling that he would be worthless if he did not fight fiercely. For it was one's praises that displayed one's popularity (ubulomo) to the king, through the shout of, 'Dance, So-and-so, son of So-and-so!', followed by his praises.

When a man was not praised, when he did not giya, when he did not work himself into a frenzy, as one who was no longer a fierce fighter, then his meat would be soaked in water in a large potsherd for cowards. It would be roasted and roasted and then soaked in cold water. It was then taken out of the water and given to the cowards, while the king urged them on to fight. Upon this they would begin to steel themselves, saying, 'When will there be war, so that I can leave off this meat?' They would no longer giya at all. Not a single person would declaim their praises. If one of them began giyaing, no one would praise him. The people would simply remain silent and not praise him. This was if he had not been stabbed in the armpit (i.e. the foregoing is done if he has escaped being stabbed under the armpit). For Tshaka used to order that a person should be seized, and his arm lifted up; he would then say, 'Give him a taste of the assegai, the thing that he fears so much.' He would then be stabbed as if he were a goat, and killed.

Then, when war broke out, those men who had had their meat soaked in water would fight fiercely; they would throw themselves recklessly into battle. A man would do this in the hope that he could avoid being given the cold meat, the meat that had been soaked in water.

12 When the report on the battle was made to the king, the coward's conduct would also be reported. It would be said, 'Baba! When the fighting started, So-and-so, son of So-and-so, simply threw himself into it. He has left the potsherd of the cowards, Nkosi!' 'What did he do?' They would then describe further how he had fought. The king would then praise him, and say, 'He has now left the potsherd of the cowards. Do not again give him the meat of the cowards; let him eat the meat of the heroes.'

When an ibuto had been buta'd, its members would declaim one another's praises even though it had not yet had experience of war. The king too would ask of a man, 'You are giyaing to these praises. Are you going to fight fiercely?' The man would answer, 'Nkosi! O, I am, Nkosi!' The king would say, 'I say this, because you are giyaing to the praises of a great warrior.'

That is why praises were important, so that it could be known that So-and-so, son of So-and-so, was in the mood for fierce fighting. He would not laugh as he giya'd; he would become enraged to the point of frenzy, as if he wanted war to break out then and there.

13 Cowards would have their meat soaked in water at the great place (komkulu) [Mtshapi says 'komkulu', not 'kwomkulu'], at the place of the king, in the cattle enclosure. The regiment would be summoned, would form a semi-circle, and would sit down. Meat would be placed in a heap. The potsherd would be standing next to the roaring fire which the izinceku had made. Those who had not yet gone to war would not have their meat soaked in water; this was done to those who had gone to war, who had experienced it, but who had not stabbed anyone.

They would then deserve the potsherd. The roasted meat would be taken off the fire, and put on meat-trays; the meat for the cowards would be set aside, and put into the water. This would be done with the king looking on. It was he himself who gave the order, 'Put the cowards' meat in the water!' He would order them to eat the cold meat, while the prime meat would go to the heroes alone.

The cowards were those who had run away, and those who had held back in the heat of the fighting and had not stabbed anyone. Those who had stabbed a man already stabbed by someone else did not have their meat put in the water. Such a person would also be regarded as a warrior, for he had stabbed a man, even if the latter managed to survive. The king would say, 'He is one of my warriors. Next time he will stab a man. He will not eat the meat from the potsherd.'

- 14 Of the ancestors, each one is praised with his own praises. Praises do not die. They survive, and when a man's sons slaughter cattle they declaim his praises, saying, 'Eat, father!', and break into his praises. That is how important they are.

No man who is buta'd has no praises. As soon as he reaches puberty, praises are composed for him. And among the men, all their praises survive even after they are dead (i.e. they remain on earth after the men are dead and buried).

As soon as boys go to kleza they will learn to giya. For the regiments used to have fights on account of giyaing against one another. They would provoke one another by shouting, 'So you come at us as you giya! Do you think you are going to overcome us?' They would then quarrel, saying, 'The men of such-and-such a regiment are provoking us.'

- 15 The giving of praises is a very ancient practice (unkulunkulu); it is as old as the people. In the case of a living person, too, when you salute him you will declaim his praises. Then he will give you food, for you have greatly pleased him by doing so. Your wives too will now hold him in respect, saying, 'Hau! You know him well, this person whom you are praising.' For you give him standing by doing so.

Girls declaim one another's praises when they are out herding the cattle. They herd the cattle when there is an epidemic of fever (umkuhlane) about. They drive it away with singing (ukuklwaza). They take the boys' loin-covers and put them on; similarly with their buttock-covers and front-covers. And indeed the epidemic would die down, even though it had affected not only the boys but all the people.

Women are praised with the praise-names given to them by their mothers. For the mother will give praises to her daughters as well as to her sons. Those praises given by the mother will be separate. All of us have praises with which our mothers used to praise us. A person is not forgotten by his mother. My mother gave me certain praises. And when you marry, your wives will praise you with the praises given to you by your mother, for you will tell your wives what your praises are. You will say, 'My mother gave me such and such praises.'

[For continuation of account of praises, see p. 37 etc.]

.... <Praises of the informant Mtshapi, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 18 Mtshapi says his father Noradu used to carry messages to Pietermaritzburg (Sir T. Shepstone) for Mpande. He on one or more occasions came to get dogs of the *bansa* kind, long tails, for the king.¹²⁹ Noradu was in the Izimpohlo (Fojisa) and, as such, was attached to Dukuza kraal (Stanger). [Is this correct, for Dukuza, after 1828, must have been built in Zululand?] Noradu was one of Tshaka's *izi-nceku*, and that is why he was so well informed on Zulu affairs. Mtshapi learnt from Noradu, as he was for long his mat-bearer. Noradu used to mention Mbuyazi (after whom Mpande's Mbuyazi was named).¹³⁰

<10.5.1918>

File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 23-31.

- 23 *Isiqqumiselo*. (Singing - women.) Form of song. This song is sung by women of a kraal when one of their number receives too much attention from the husband.

O! We Love our husband,

Why does he sleep only in one house?

*Look at the husband who sleeps in one house!*¹³¹

The man, on hearing such singing by the other women, will tie up his mats, leave his favourite, and go to the other women, i.e. those who are stabbing him with words. He will be unable any longer to eat of the food made by his favourite wife.

The *isiqqumiselo* song never fails to make some reference to the husband.

Cetshwayo's brides return the plumes. (*His wives throw down widow-bird feathers.*)

It happened that at oNdini, at the time of the *unkos*i ceremonies, Cetshwayo shared out widow-bird feathers among his younger wives so that they could dress up for the ceremonies. Seketwayo's daughter, the king's bride, received a large share, the others a small share.¹³² Masipula's daughter said, 'For our part we will absolutely not put on these feathers.'¹³³ Let us return them to him.' And indeed they flung

- 24 them down in a great heap at the doorway of his house. They flung them down at his hut, at eSikwateni (name of his hut), (The girls of the *umdhlu*nkulu, and also we regiments, used to make oath thus, 'I swear by Cetshwayo at eSikwateni' [see p. 41].) Cetshwayo then said, 'Since they have refused to take the feathers, let them be given to the *Kandempemvu*.' This was duly done, and the men put on the feathers of the wives. These feathers were of the widow-bird, and were plaited to sticks (about 15 to 18 inches long).

It seemed likely that they would be put to death, but he did not kill them. Nhlamule ka Masipula came under censure; it was she who had first said, 'Let us refuse to accept these feathers; they are not ours. Our share should be the same size as that of Seketwayo's daughter' (referring to another wife). Each wife had her own *umdhlu*nkulu girls. Nhlamule was fined an ox. It was fetched from the place of her people, a black and white one.

The *amakosikazi* of the white *isigodhlo* pleaded with the king on behalf of Nhlamule. They said, 'Let the king simply fine her. That will be the end of it. We see that she has done wrong. She will never do it again.' The king was angry. He said, 'Why did you tell the others to come and throw the feathers in my face?' (For Nhlamule

25 incited the other young wives to do as she did; she made all jealous of Seketwayo's daughter.) Seketwayo's daughter's name is unknown to me. I would not have known Nhlamule's name but for the fact that I took a wife among the Emgazini people.

They say to her, i.e. the one especially liked by the husband, 'Mamekazi, people are clicking in disapproval of you because it is said that you are keeping the husband to yourself. Do you hold him in conversation, then, Mamekazi (or Sister)?' <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

'So-and-so's daughter, who hits right on it' ('Oka bani, o paca pezu kwoto') - another insulting expression used to a woman of whom the husband is especially fond.

'The mouth does not choose; it does not have a beast picked out for it' means that there is no woman who does not like to sleep with a man. 'It is the same with you, lover of swallowing. Swallow, and you will know.' These are sayings of women when they mock a wife who turns her back on her husband when he sleeps in her hut.

Old age.

Bilibana ka Bangela said,¹³⁴ 'Ask Noradu for me whether we who creep on all fours a second time (said because there are many old men that crawl on all fours) will ever again actually rise up on our feet? For when we were still children, and crawling on all fours, we found that we came to stand upright. Ask him for me whether now we shall ever be able to stand?' Noradu replied, 'I too do not know, son of Bangela. For at no time did I see Mazwana ka Yengwayo and others crawling on all fours and then rising up on their feet.'¹³⁵ They did not stand up. That is how they remained; that is how they grew old.'

26 Bilibana replied, 'Wo! Let the king be told that we have failed; we can no longer rise up. For when we first stood upright it was when we were unfastened from our mothers' breasts. We no longer know if we shall ever rise again.'

The king (Mpande) replied, 'You persist with a child's tale. Who is it that you have ever seen rise up again? What people has Bilibana asked about this? For I too am crawling on all fours now. Who is there who knows about these things and has told him? For do we not know that when a man grows old he becomes worn out?'

Bilibana replied, 'No. I said that the king should be informed that I shall no longer make an appearance, for I can no longer rise.' 'So then, now that Bilibana can no longer do this, is the matter to be reported only by word of mouth? Where is the ox that you bring?' So they turned back and fetched one of his oxen, a red and white one (intusi),¹³⁶ with which to report that he could no longer make an appearance. The king said, 'Hau! Look at Bilibana, a man of our house. Do you say that this is not a wives' love charm?' They replied, 'No, Nkosi! It is not.' 'How do you know that it is not? Is it not an ukotetsheni lizard (one that lives in the water)?' He then went on to say, 'Go and make my sorrow known at the place of the son of Bangela. I see that the Dukuza umuzi has suffered great harm, for the men of the umuzi are now dying.'

Bilibana was of the uDhlangezwa (Izigwelegcwele) regiment. My father Noradu was of the uFojisa (Izimpohlo). Bilibana was older than my father.

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The Fojisa (Izimpohlo) - 'the humblers of the youths' (fojis' amajara).¹³⁷ They bend down in order that others may appear. They were called the Fojisa or Fojis' amajara because they called others to fola (foja), i.e. bend right down and allow them (the Fojisa regiment) to come forward.

This 'bending down' was a matter of great importance in the Zulu country. The regiments used to quarrel over their 'rights' to the dew. For if the foremost regiment was overtaken by one from further back, its members would want to start a fight, crying out, 'They are taking our dew!' If another regiment started out when the regiment that marched in front was still in camp, the latter would accuse the former of playing a trick on it. The one in front would be the first to drink the dew. It would be a serious matter if the dew were to be drunk by one of the regiments that marched behind. The foremost regiment would lose prestige in the eyes of the king; they would be regarded as weak-footed. 'Where were you, then, when those from behind came and took your dew? So you were tired out? Had you forgotten that the dew is yours?'

When regiments left on an expedition, the king decided the order of march, viz. what particular regiment was to form the advanced (head of) column, and that order was maintained all the way. This gave that regiment the right of course to the dew, which they 'drank'. If, through delay on the part of this regiment, another marched out first, the former would quarrel, and, later on, bring the matter to the king, who, on inquiry, might accuse them of having been tired out and of having lagged behind, and such accusation, casting a slur on them, caused the regiment to lose prestige and favour in the eyes of the king.

'The white people are artful (abelung ba ng' ompeta)' - said on seeing a flying machine 200 feet above us; i.e. they can do everything.

The trick played on the Izimpohlo regiment by Tshaka. (The Izimpohlo existed in Tshaka's time; they were still fighting - feels sure of this.)

As the sun was going down, Tshaka called out inside the isigodhlo (this was either at Bulawayo or at Dukusa), 'Summon the men of the umpakati; let them put on their finery. Let them dress up, and go and soma.' (A prohibition had been placed on them; they had been made the king's 'wards', or imvokwe.¹³⁸ The order had been given that they should not have connection with the girls.) They put on their finery, and scattered; not one of them remained. They disappeared completely.

Tshaka said, 'Hau! How empty the place is! Where has everyone gone?' 'Au, Nkosi, there is not a single man left.' 'So they went off when they heard my order? So, in spite of my prohibition they still want the girls?' 'Au, Father, there is not one of them left.' 'Wew! Let a force go out to eat them up.' He then summoned the Mbelebele regiment and ordered them to eat up the Izimpohlo. They were to carry away their cattle. 'Put the spade (ifotsholo) in! I saw one at Dukusa. When you arrive, and you see a herd of cattle at a home, drive them all away. Put the spade in!' (Spades were not known in the Zulu country, although they were known to Tshaka, who said that he had seen one at Dukusa.)

My father Noradu said, 'Hau! I was surprised, for Tshaka himself

had given the order permitting the Izimpohlo to put on their finery and to go and soma. He said that they should soma with our mothers, who were girls then.' The force ate up their cattle. After this had happened a man of the Izimpohlo came forward and said, 'Our cattle have been eaten up. We were given the order deliberately; it was he who gave us permission to go and soma. Seeing there are so many, will they all return?' Those who were driving the cattle reported these words to the king. 'A fellow of the Izimpohlo said, "Will they all return? For it was he who gave us permission!"' The king exclaimed, 'Hau! We! Son of Mqomboyi!¹³⁹ They have poured even their ungazi medicines on themselves; they have brought even their witch's cats! No! And their words, "Will they all return?" (holding hands behind back, and bending right down to emphasize the words). My father said that smoke came from his mouth. He went on repeating, 'No! And their words, "Will they all return?"' He went on at this for an hour.

My father told me, 'The man who spoke these words brought us satisfaction.' He said that upon this order being given, large numbers of our cattle were slaughtered. He said, 'Because we had frightened Tshaka, he slaughtered the cattle in great numbers. Even then there was not as much of his meat as there used to be at Mgungundhlovu.'

That was the end of the matter. He did not return the cattle. The king (isilwane) yearned to put the people to death, even though they had been given permission by him to soma.

My father said that the man who had spoken those words came out into the open in haste, and ran off. When he came to the hills he halted and turned about. He called out, 'The destructiveness of the Zulu people has risen against them!¹⁴⁰ So saying he fled. He was not caught. Up to the time of Tshaka's death he had not been seen again. He was like Rubu in hiding himself. [See Book of Stories.]¹⁴¹

Dingane is right, and commonest. My father used it, and said Senzangakona so pronounced it, but even *izinceku* said Dingana sometimes.¹⁴²

11.5.1918

File 58, nbk. 15, pp. 31-42.

The quarrelling of the kings from the world below, Tshaka and Dingana. (It was always said that they quarrelled because one had killed the other in the world above.)¹⁴³

The kings fought each other; they fought at Nodwengu. It was at the time when the amabele were being weeded, when the king was about to 'lick the hoe'.¹⁴⁴ We Kandempemvu were still klezaing; we had assembled at Nodwengu (it was in the season when we assembled). These kings, Dingana and Tshaka fought each other; they chased each other up and down the fence at the door of Masipula's hut, and finally dropped onto the ground in the yard. They began as the sun was getting warm, and continued until midday. They twined round each other, with first one on top and then the other. They were red with blood from biting each other.

32 Then Masipula said, 'Let the king be told.' The king then ordered all the izinduna to go down to look. They fought and fought. Men returned to the king to say, 'Hau! They are still fighting, Nkosi,

even now.' Then he ordered, 'Chase the evil-doer of Mgungundhlovu. Catch it, and burn it, and throw the ashes into the Mfolozi.' The izinduna were trying to intervene in the fight, calling out, 'Our pardon, kings! What is happening?' Then Mpande's order arrived, 'Drive off that evil-doer of Mgungundhlovu. So he is fighting with Tshaka when it was he who finished off the sons of Sensangakona? He used to say that he had killed Tshaka for troubling the people; in fact it was he who finished off the Zulu house.' This was done; they drove Dingana off, and Giba, one of the king's izinyanga with a knowledge of isihlungu medicine, encountered him outside (Giba had gone to look for plants for isihlungu medicine).¹⁴⁵ Giba at once caught him, for when Giba encountered a snake he was able to work his powers over it, catch it, and go and put it in his skin bag. (It was sewn from a skin that had been thoroughly seraped.)

As he put the snake into his hut, a fire started in the Nodwengu umuzi. Some boys had been cooking in a cooking-hut, which caught fire. The flames spread to other huts. The men of the umuzi scattered, shouting, 'The umuzi is on fire!' We Kandempemvu prevented the flames from spreading to the upper end by removing the huts. We uprooted them, for there is no way that such a fire can be beaten out with branches.

When the fire began, assegais were thrust back into the grass of the huts, and the izinduna called on the ancestors to make the fire die down. Earth was dug, and thrown onto the flames, but the fire started up again. It was at this point that we acted to cut it off, for we saw that the king would be caught in it, as it would spread to the isigodhlo. We got the better of it.

The king then ordered that the izinyanga should be consulted as to what had caused the fire. The izinyanga said that it was because of the kings, Tshaka and Dingana, who had been fighting there in the home. Dingana had asked, 'Am I now going to be put to death by the izinyanga?' and Tshaka had asked, 'Why were my wounds not soothed with gall?' The king heard of this. He ordered that Giba (who was of the Xaba people) should fetch an ox and make reparation. He ordered that cattle should also be fetched from Dukuzu. In addition, cattle from Nodwengu were taken to Dukuzu, and others to Bulawayo, to Mbelebeleni, and to Siklebeni. The king ordered that at all the amakanda cattle should be taken and the ancestors praised, in order to placate them.

The king said, 'Hau! Do you see how this crafty fellow has destroyed the umuzi? He is one whose locusts are roasted last (intete zosiwa mwa). For he said to himself, "We shall roast our locusts at home. Let all the locusts be roasted and eaten. Those of other people will be eaten; ours we shall roast at home."¹⁴⁶ That is how Mpande spoke. From this we saw that Dingana had spoken with two tongues, for he had said that he had killed Tshaka for troubling the people when in fact it was he who had finished off the country. He had ordered the house of Sensangakona to be killed off for the vultures, as they were hungry. It was the bewhiskered one from Mgungundhlovu who had killed people off for them. (People used to be killed at Matiwane's and at Kwa Nkosi-nkulu - don't know; there were some dongas there, where people were killed.)¹⁴⁷

The king later released Giba. After 'Dingana' had been caught his fangs were removed and he was then released. It was said that Dingana's

markings were like those of a python. Tshaka's markings were green and white.

The snakes fought at the 'great' side (*kwe si kulu*) of the *umuzi*, at the doorway of the place of Masipula, the chief *induna*. They attacked each other on the screen in front of the hut, there at Masipula's place. (About midway down the left-hand side of Nodwengu, looking towards the gate.)

Giba was an *inyanga* with a knowledge of *isihlungu* medicines. He would work his powers over a snake and make it unable to move, whereupon he would rush at it and seize it. Even a *mamba* would be unable to move. He would then return with it twined round him. He would take it home, remove its fangs, and then blow his anti-venom medicine onto it. The snake would lose its strength; its fangs would lose their potency. It would then be placed with other snakes in his hut. Girls from the *isigodhlo*, together with *amakosikazi*, would come down, saying, 'Let us go and see the snakes at Giba's place.' They would sit down at the doorway, and he would let loose a snake from his bag. The king would hear the women shrieking as they ran away back to the *isigodhlo*, and, there inside the *isigodhlo*, would laugh until his throat was dry.

Giba's hut was among those of the *izinceku*. These were grouped in two places in the *isicamelo* area.¹⁴⁸ His was in the one near the great one's place.

The king would say, 'What were you doing at Giba's? Don't you know that he is a cunning fellow of the first order? Did you not see his "sons"?' The *amakosikazi* would exclaim, 'Hau! Ndabezita! So you have an *umtakati* in your home!' 'The *umtakati* is mine. I shall affect you with it when I have you put inside Giba's hut.'

The fight between the snakes caused a great sensation, for who had ever heard of snakes fighting each other? It was said that they were quarrelling because one had killed the other in the world above.

[In connection with this account read that by Ndukwana in foolscap notebook, pp. 173-174, where additional information will be found.]¹⁴⁹

37 Praises and praise-singers (*izimbongi*). [See pp. 10-15.]

There is no people (*isizwe*) that does not have *izimbongi*. The *imbongi* will be a man of the *isizwe* by birth, who knows the praises of all the people, of all those who have died. He declaims their praises, and eventually he will be fetched by all the *imizi* of his people (*uhlobo*) when cattle are being slaughtered. He is asked to come and declaim the praises of the ancestors. He would go round continually, to all the *imizi*. He would be given the hump of a beast, and return with it. That is how it was among all peoples (*izinhlobo*).

The *izimbongi* of Sigananda were Lurungu, Mbango, and Matokolo; they are dead.¹⁵⁰ Today the position is held by Mjadu.

I am the *imbongi* of Ndube.¹⁵¹ I declaim praises when sacrifices are being made to the ancestors, and when his sons take wives, and when other men take wives.

The *imbongi* of Mpumela is Mtshayankomo ka Magolwana.¹⁵² He bonga's when *ukuketa* dances are taking place. He praises the kings Mpande, Dingane, Tshaka, and perhaps Senzangakona. He knows Mpande's praises very well. He was of the Mbonambi regiment. He lives at the Msukane.

38 The *imbongi* of Mfungelwa is Manzele ka Mbanjana (of the Kandempemvu regiment).¹⁵³ He praises the chiefs of the Ntuli people; he is an

*induna. He praises Ndhlela, Sompisi, and others.*¹⁵⁴

The kings are praised with reference to events with which they were connected. Today people are afraid, for there are no imizi left to praise the kings at the places where they lived. For after all, the praising of the kings was no light matter.

No imbongi has yet emerged at the place of Solomon ka Dinuzulu,¹⁵⁵ where imizi of the kings are still to be found. I do not know who Dinuzulu's imbongi was. We no longer went there very often.

Mtshayapezulu ka Mabedhla, in our tribe, bonga's a bit. He is working at Johannesburg. So also does Dunjwa (the policeman).¹⁵⁶

'Wen' unga teta ne nkomo!' - 'You [J.S.] are so good at eulogies, that you could bonga when a beast is being sacrificed.'

Mpande gives a name to Ekwelamaneni, the umuzi of Noradu.

The umuzi of my father Noradu was given its name by the king himself. Mpande asked, 'Noradu, how big is your umuzi now?' He replied, 'No, father; there is no umuzi. I have none.' The king said, 'You say 39 you have no umuzi? I ask because it was from Tshaka that you first received cattle, by him that you were first presented with them. Then there came Dingane. Again, you were an inceku to him; you were presented with cattle. And now you are still an inceku; you receive cattle. Do you really speak the truth when you say that you have no umuzi?' 'Wo! Father, I speak the truth. I have none.' 'The cattle that you have received - where do they stay?' 'Wo! Father, they do not stay anywhere.' 'Hau! Is this really what happens to younger abanumzana?' My father replied, 'I am younger than they. When I came with cattle, my elder brother, Manqondo, would take them.' The king then said, 'Wo! I shall make difficulties for them.' The gathering then broke up, and people went to their huts.

The very next day my father heard someone continually shouting the name Noradu in nkenenkenenkene fashion. (Nkenenkenenkene means he hears his name being called out by someone, but as the tribal isibongo is not given, he is wondering if he is the Noradu that is wanted, i.e. most probably by the king.) The man who was calling out came towards the great one's place, towards the place of Masipula. There was loud conversation in the hut where they were sitting. Noradu lent an ear to what was being said by people who were standing outside, at the 40 mound of earth near Masipula's hut. He heard one of them say, 'Take heed, Noradu.' He too left the hut, and heard a man shouting, 'Where is Noradu ka Mazwana?' This was as he was leaving the hut. When he got outside he saw a herd of cattle coming down with Mpeyana ka Manqondo; they had been received by him. Noradu had heard his name being continually called out, but had not heard his father's name because there had been a loud noise of talking in the hut. Mpeyana had therefore brought the cattle to him. They passed each other as Noradu was on his way to the king, to go and give praises to him. The king said, 'It is you who will give praises for these cattle. For a long time the kings have been making you presentations of cattle, only for your elder brothers to deprive you of them. These here today, I order that they should go and establish an umuzi of mine. They must not go to the imizi of your elder brothers. I order that they should go and set up an umuzi known as Ekwelamaneni, for you follow the abanumzana in age.'¹⁵⁷

And indeed he went off and set up an umuzi. Since the womenfolk

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(omame) lived within at Emantandweni (the umuzi of Manqondo - his chief umuzi), the younger wives (umhlana) were those who went out to Ekwelamaneni.¹⁵⁸ No sooner had my father arrived with the cattle than the assembly was summoned to hear the king's order. 'I come with these cattle; they are the first 'show' (ingcupo) of the king's 'pregnancy'.¹⁵⁹ He orders that work should begin on building an umuzi

41 called Ekwelamaneni.' My 'father' Manqondo summoned the assembly; he was struck by fear. He ordered, 'Let work begin on building the umuzi of Ekwalamaneni. Make sure that you finish it this day.'

Noradu went off back to the king. The umuzi was begun and finished in a day. He then picked out a bull, red in colour, with a white face, and sent the rib-meat to his brother Manqondo.¹⁶⁰ There remained another bull, which was to run with the cattle of Ekwelamaneni. A portion of these cattle were then taken for setting up another umuzi, which was called oValweni, for he had been struck by fear (uvalo) on hearing a man continually shouting out his name. (A woman of the Xulu people, a daughter of Msweli, was placed there.) He said this was to be the umuzi of his left-hand house. Our people came from the umuzi that had been named by Mpande.

To Mpeyana, the son of Manqondo who had received the cattle, he gave a dun-coloured cow.

(Esikwateni. [See p. 24, top.], Cetshwayo ordered that we imvokwe (those who had been prohibited from somaing with the girls) should use his name in making an oath, saying, 'I swear by Cetshwayo at Sikwateni!' We were to leave off using Mpande's name, for he was an old man. We were ordered to leave off doing so. This was said after Mpande's death. The order was first issued to the Kandempemvu, then to the Mbonambi, the Ngobamakosi, and the Nokenke.

42 Imvokwe were those regiments, whether of young men or of young women, on which a prohibition had been placed. The men were prohibited from having connection with women, and the women from having connection with the men. This began long ago, in Tshaka's time. In Dingane's time there was an imvokwe regiment (not merely a section of a regiment). The war-shields of the imvokwe were grey, speckled with white and red.

The uTiyane, a regiment of girls, became imvokwe from having a prohibition placed on them; we Kandempemvu were prohibited from having connection with them. The inGcugce were available to us; it was seen that they were older girls (amaqikiza).¹⁶¹ The uTiyane girls were taught by us how to soma (i.e. how to lie so they will not become pregnant).

Notes

¹The informant's grandfather, Mazwana, and his forebears were of the line of Magwaza chiefs. The uKhandempemvu *ibutho* was formed in the late 1860s of youths born some twenty years earlier. The word 'continues' implies that Stuart had interviewed Mtshaphi on an earlier occasion. Presumably it is the record of this interview which is referred to in a note, written by Stuart inside the front cover of notebook 17 of File 58, which reads, 'Pages 1 & 2 removed - deal with quite different subject. 8.4.1918.'

- ²Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi were sons of Mpande who were rivals for the succession to the Zulu kingship. Their rivalry came to a head in a battle fought near the mouth of the Thukela in December 1856, in which Cetshwayo's forces were victorious and Mbuyazi was killed.
- ³Makhasane was chief of the Mabhudu Tsonga from early in the nineteenth century until his death in the early 1850s. The succession dispute that followed his death was ended by the intervention of Mpande: see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 305-6. Cf. the anecdote related by Makhuza kaMkomoyi in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 165.
- ⁴Bryant, Dictionary, p. 101, under the entry *i-nDhlelo*, writes that, of the hide of a slaughtered beast, the side with wounds, 'notwithstanding that it contains the assegai holes (and probably just on account of them), is the most prized...'
- ⁵KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.
- ⁶Mpande had come to power in 1840 in alliance with the Boers of Natal. After the British defeat of the Boers in 1842 and their annexation of Natal in 1843, he was recognized as Zulu king by the Natal authorities.
- ⁷A locality near the mouth of the Thukela.
- ⁸A hill near the lower Thukela.
- ⁹Tshonkweni (Shonkweni), another son of Mpande, fought on the side of Mbuyazi.
- ¹⁰The uMandlakazi were the adherents of Maphitha kaSojijiyisa, head of a lineage collateral with the Zulu royal line. Mfanawendlela kaManzini was chief of the Zungu people.
- ¹¹The *ingomane* was the noise made by warriors beating on their shields.
- ¹²The ukuBaza was presumably a force drawn from ekuBazeni, one of Cetshwayo's *imizi*.
- ¹³On a chief's jumping over another whom he had defeated in battle see also Van Warmelo, ed., History of Matiwane, pp. 19n, 105n; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 312, vol. 2, p. 178; Raum, Social Functions, p. 263. The common tradition is that the body of Mbuyazi was never found.
- ¹⁴Masiphula kaMamba of the emGazini people was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*. Mfusi (Mfuzi) kaManyala was chief of the Dletsheni people.
- ¹⁵Traditions record that when Mpande made an alliance with the Boers in Natal against Dingane in 1839, the Boer leaders cut a small piece from one of the ears of the young Cetshwayo, who had allegedly been designated as Mpande's heir, so that they would recognize him in time to come. Cf. the account given by Mangathi kaGodide in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 215-16.
- ¹⁶Manqondo kaMazwana was chief of the Magwaza people.
- ¹⁷Zwekufa (Zokufa) kaMsholoza (? kaDlaba?) was chief of the Cube.
- ¹⁸Sigananda was a son of Zwekufa. He fled to Natal during Mpande's reign: cf. the account given by Manyonyana kaNsungulo in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, pp. 227-8.
- ¹⁹Mthonga, a son of Nomantshali, escaped to the Boers in the Utrecht district when his mother was put to death in March 1861.
- ²⁰Monase kaMntungwa of the Nxumalo people was mother of Mbuyazi.
- ²¹Qethuka and Mpeyana were sons of Manqondo, chief of the Magwaza people.
- ²²Nohadu (Noradu) was father of Stuart's informant, Mtshaphi, and brother of the disputants.
- ²³Maseyana was chief of the Magwaza in the Emtongjaneni division. Cf.

the lists of Magwaza chiefs in the works cited in note 1 above.

²⁴ Mgungundhlovu was Dingane's chief *umuzi*.

²⁵ Mathwalinkomo means 'the one who carries the beast'.

²⁶ EsiBhudeni is a hill to the south-east of the Nkandla forest.

²⁷ This statement is inconsistent with the informant's previous assertion that Manqondo acquired the beast from Dingane, for the uThulwana *ibutho* was formed by Mpande in c.1851.

²⁸ The original reads, 'Ya zal' inkabi: u za dhliwa ubani, wa lunga na?'

²⁹ The original of the song reads,

Nans' impoloba!

uMoy' o pum' embuzini.

³⁰ Dube kaSilwana(e) was chief of the Qadi people, who were an offshoot of the Ngcobo, as were the Nyuswa.

³¹ Other sources give Dube as the grandfather, not father, of Mqawe: see Bryant, *Olden Times*; opp. p. 482; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, pp. 47, 52, vol. 3, p. 32. Mqawe became chief of the Qadi in Natal after Mpande's revolt against Dingane in 1839, and was still ruling the Qadi in the Inanda district, north-west of Durban, in the early 1900s.

³² Ndube kaManqondo was chief of the Magwaza people in the Nkandla district.

³³ *Ukunya* means to defecate. Its connotations as used in the present context are explained by Stuart on p. 23 of the original (see p. 67 of the present volume).

³⁴ Cf. the accounts of Dingane's killing the Qadi in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 494; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, p. 191; Fuze, *Black People*, p. 84.

³⁵ Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 494, gives the date of the massacre of the Qadi as 1837.

³⁶ An expression used to refer to Mpande's secession from the Zulu kingdom in 1839.

³⁷ Mathunjana was one of Dingane's *izinduna*.

³⁸ Cf. the accounts in Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 324-5; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, pp. 200-1.

³⁹ At the time of Mpande's flight Natal was under Boer control: see note 6 above.

⁴⁰ Magolwana kaMkhathini of the Jiyana people later became Mpande's principal *imbongi*.

⁴¹ Nongalaza, who was of the Nyandwini offshoot of the Qwabe people, was an important *induna* under Dingane, and one of Mpande's chief supporters in his secession of 1839.

⁴² EsiDunjini is a locality near the sources of the Thongati river.

⁴³ Mkhonto can possibly be identified as Mkhonto kaMagaye, who was chief of the Cele living south of the lower Thukela in the time of Dingane.

⁴⁴ Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's chief *izinduna*. Klwana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi people was another of Dingane's *izinduna*.

⁴⁵ After being defeated by Mpande's forces in 1840, Dingane fled with a following to the southern end of the Lubombo mountains.

⁴⁶ The common tradition is that Dingane was put to death by the Nyawo people of Sambana kaNhlongaluvalo.

⁴⁷ Maphitha was head of the Mandlakazi people (see also note 10 above). His territory was in the north-east of the Zulu kingdom.

- ⁴⁸*Umdidi ka Ndhlela* in the original. Cf. Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 679.
- ⁴⁹For a description of the practice of *ukuxox' impi* see Mpatshana's account in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, pp. 306-7.
- ⁵⁰We have been unable to identify this engagement.
- ⁵¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 362, gives *isilomo* as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.
- ⁵²The uGcongco is a ridge overlooking the Nsuze river in the Nkandla region: see map in Binns, *Dinuzulu*, p. 209.
- ⁵³In the older Zulu orthography as used here by Stuart, 'r' represents a sound similar to 'g' in Afrikaans *gaan*, or 'ch' in Scottish 'loch'.
- ⁵⁴Dunjwa kaMabedla of the Magwaza people was another of Stuart's informants; his evidence appears in vol. 1 of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ⁵⁵Mpande became king after his forces had defeated those of Dingane at the amaQongqo hills near present-day Magudu in January 1840.
- ⁵⁶Nguqa is later given as of the Buthelezi people: see p. 84 below.
- ⁵⁷The kwaBulawayo *umuzi* was built by Shaka in the country between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni; Dukuza was built by him near what is now Stanger. After his death both *imizi* were re-established by Dingane in the emaHlabathini region about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- ⁵⁸Masiphula is usually given as of the emGazini people.
- ⁵⁹Mbopha kaSithayi of the eGazini people was Shaka's chief personal attendant and one of his assassins.
- ⁶⁰A locality on the north bank of the lower Thukela where the forces of Cetshwayo defeated those of Mbuyazi in 1856. See note 2 above.
- ⁶¹The Mfule river flows into the middle reaches of the Mhlathuze from the north.
- ⁶²Solomon (Maphumuzana, Nkayishana) was a son of Dinuzulu, whom he succeeded in 1916 as chief of the uSuthu.
- ⁶³Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 646, gives this as another name for the uFelaphakathi *ibutho*.
- ⁶⁴Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 646, gives umXhapho and uMpunga as alternative names for the same *ibutho*.
- ⁶⁵The Gingindlovu and Wombane (Ombane) engagements were fought during the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. The 'Nodwengu' battle was presumably the one usually referred to in the literature as that at Ulundi (uluNdi, loc. oNdini).
- ⁶⁶This paragraph presumably refers to the breaking of Cetshwayo's power with the defeat of the Zulu forces at Ulundi in July 1879, and his flight to the northern parts of his kingdom after the battle.
- ⁶⁷Mlambongwenya was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- ⁶⁸In Stuart's annotations of Ndube's praises on p. 38 of the original he indicates that one of these praises was given by Makhoba kaMaphitha.
- ⁶⁹Literally, 'the bird does not rest', the name of a herd of royal cattle.
- ⁷⁰The names are of the scenes of engagements in the war of 1879.
- ⁷¹For Masiphula see note 14 above.
- ⁷²Zibhebhu was chief son of Maphitha kaSojiyisa and head of the Mandlakazi people.
- ⁷³KwaNdabakawombe was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.
- ⁷⁴On Magolwana see note 40 above. Nhlazatshe mountain lies some 30 kilometres west of present-day Mahlabathini village.

- ⁷⁵ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 530-1, and Mangathi kaGodide, in Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 206, both give Manembe as one of Cetshwayo's *izinyanga*.
- ⁷⁶ This paragraph presumably refers to Magolwana, who was a well-known *imbongi*. For an account of his death see Baleni kaSilwana's statement in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 31.
- ⁷⁷ The original reads,
Kuf' abantu ku sal' izibongo,
Izibongo zi yo sala zi ba lilel' emanxwini.
 Zezi was one of Dingane's praise-names.
- ⁷⁸ We have been unable to find any record of Mvundlana's praises as given by Mtshaphi.
- ⁷⁹ The reference is to Cetshwayo's return from exile at the Cape in January 1883.
- ⁸⁰ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 418, writes that '*E! Mngane!* was '...a common word of salutation by a man entering the kraal of another'.
- ⁸¹ Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 691 and 315 respectively, gives *iwaba* as 'Black ox...with a white patch under the belly and running slightly up the flanks or about the stump of the tail', and *inkone* as 'Beast, black or red, having a white patch along the back'.
- ⁸² *Emakhosini* literally means 'at the place of the kings'. The Zulu *emakhosini* was in the vicinity of the Mkhumbane and Mphembeni streams which flow from the south into the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- ⁸³ Langazana kaGubeshe of the Sibiya people was a wife of Senzangakhona. Ngqumbazi kaMbonde was the mother of Cetshwayo; she is usually given as of the Zungu people.
- ⁸⁴ The reference is presumably to Mpande's *isithombe*. Mpande was buried at his kwaNodwengu *umuzi* north of the White Mfolozi. Jama's grave was in the *emakhosini* country to the south of the river; see map in Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, opp. p. 122.
- ⁸⁵ Colenso, Dictionary, p. 713, gives *izwandaba* as 'An ox that "hears a matter", has a presentiment of something about to happen, and comes back to the kraal lowing, to tell the people all about it'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 736, gives the word as meaning 'A thing that perceives a (coming) event - applied to a bull, or other cattle, when it does anything uncommonly strange, as when bellowing during the night, etc., which action is supposed to prognosticate some evil.'
- ⁸⁶ The 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 *umpakati* as 'all the men of a kraal...above the ordinary, common people, people noticed by the chief and indunas, though not specially distinguished....' Bryant, Dictionary, p. 431, 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".
- ⁸⁷The expedition referred to took place in 1852.
- ⁸⁸Mavumengwana was chief of the Ntuli.
- ⁸⁹Monase kaMntungwa of the Nxumalo people was mother of Mbuyazi, Cetshwayo's brother and main rival for the succession to the Zulu kingship until his death in the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856. See also notes 2 and 20 above.
- ⁹⁰The inGcugce was an *ibutho* of girls formed early in Cetshwayo's reign.
- ⁹¹The uThiyane girls' *ibutho* was formed c.1877.
- ⁹²The killing of the girls of the inGcugce *ibutho* took place in 1876. Cf. the account in Binns, *The Last Zulu King*, pp. 85 ff.
- ⁹³The isiTimane was a girls' *ibutho* formed by Mpande in the later 1860s. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 122, gives *iduna* as 'a highest-class *i-nDuna...*'.
- ⁹⁴Sambane kaNhlungalualo was chief of the Nyawo people who occupied territory along the southern Lubombo mountains.
- ⁹⁵For similar anecdotes see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 72-3; Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 43-4.
- ⁹⁶According to Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 646, the inGcotsho *ibutho* was formed in the early 1850s of girls born in the late 1820s and early 1830s. If his dating is correct, these girls would not have been of marriageable age in the reign of Dingane.
- ⁹⁷Cf. the lists of female *amabutho* in Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 645-6; *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, p. 146.
- ⁹⁸'Fetching sinew' meant raiding cattle, the sinews of which were used to sew on headrings.
- ⁹⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 326, gives *ukhukhulelangoqo* as 'A universal driving along or bringing up of the whole common herd, as to the king's kraal at an *um-Kosi*, or for being sent out on the war-path, nobody being left at home but females and children'. Mtshaphi's account of Shaka's *ukhukhulelangoqo* campaign is reproduced in Stuart's Zulu reader, *uHlangakula*, pp. 32-6.
- ¹⁰⁰UBhalule is the Olifants river.
- ¹⁰¹Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 379, give *umkhandlu* as 'group of red cattle'. The word 'washed' in this sentence is our translation of *gezile*, which could also be translated as 'menstruated'.
- ¹⁰²Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 100, gives *umdlebe* as 'Certain bush...the smell of which when in flower is said by the Natives to be fatal to one inhaling it'.
- ¹⁰³Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 605, gives Fabase as possibly being 'Falatshi, son of Ratsebe, chief of the maPhuthing, westward of Swaziland'. Soshangane kaZikode was founder of the Gasa kingdom in what is now south-central Mozambique.
- ¹⁰⁴Shaka is known to have sent two expeditions against the Mpondo, the first in 1824 and the second in 1828.
- ¹⁰⁵We have been unable to find any record of Nohadu's praises in the Stuart Collection.
- ¹⁰⁶For Dunjwa see note 54 above.
- ¹⁰⁷The term *isibaya esikhulu*, literally, great enclosure, is ambiguous in its connotations. On the one hand it is used to refer to the 'great house' (*indlunkulu*) of a royal or chiefly *umuzi*, together with its 'right-hand' or 'supporting' house (*iqadi, inqadi*), i.e. those sections of the household which produced the heir. (See

Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 416-20; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 249-51.) On the other hand, the term 'is one applied to that section of a regiment that belonged to the kraal in which the king or chief lived' (Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 310, evidence of Lunguza kaMpukane). The quarters in a royal *umuzi* occupied by such a section of an *ibutho* were also referred to as *isibaya esikhulu* (see sketch plans accompanying Lunguza's evidence, Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 309, 340, and the sketch plan accompanying Mtshaphi's evidence, on p. 85 of the present volume.) Mtshaphi here appears to be using the term in the second of the senses mentioned. Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi people was one of Cetshwayo's principal *izinduna*.

¹⁰⁸ The 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 one of the two arcs of huts extending from the *isigodlo* of an *umuzi* to the main gateway (see the sketch plan on p. 85 of the present volume); on the other, it is used to refer to a 'house' of the *umuzi* distinct from the main house or *isibaya esikhulu* (see note 107 above). Mtshaphi here appears to be using the term in the first of these two senses.

¹⁰⁹ Qetuka's praises are recorded on p. 79 of the original.

¹¹⁰ Probably a reference to the Zulu expedition against the Swazi in 1852.

¹¹¹ The Ndondakusuka battle (see note 2 above) was fought in 1856.

¹¹² The kwaDukuza *umuzi* was at this time situated in the Zulu heartland south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. See also note 57 above.

¹¹³ We have been unable to determine the meaning of the word *ncu*. Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 228 and 573 respectively, gives *ihemu* as 'Thing dark on one side and light on the other, as an ox black or red on one side of the body and having white patches on the other...'; and *umshekelo* (= *umsheko*) as '...white spot or mark on the back of a black or red beast'.

¹¹⁴ The iThala (loc. eThaleni) mountain lies some twenty kilometres to the south-west of present-day Babanango. We have been unable to ascertain where the Mlambo country is.

¹¹⁵ In the list that follows, the numerals presumably correspond to those in the list of *izigaba* given above. No names are recorded in the original against the numerals 2, 3, and 4.

¹¹⁶ Stuart is here referring to the names of *izinduna* shown on the sketch reproduced below.

¹¹⁷ The amaBedlana hills are situated on the north bank of the White Mfolozi some twenty kilometres south-west of present-day Mahlaba-thini.

¹¹⁸ Ngqumbazi was the mother of Cetshwayo. See note 83 above.

¹¹⁹ Certain of the names given in this sentence appear both in the list of *izigaba* given on p. 3 of the original, and in the sketch on p. 4; others appear only in the sketch. The Mtuyisazwe (Mthuyisazwe) seems to have been the principal *izigaba* on the *uhlangothi* side of the *umuzi* (see note 108 above), and its name used as a general appellation for all the *izigaba* on that side.

¹²⁰ The implication seems to be that the uMahenye was the principal *izigaba* within the main section (*isibaya esikhulu* - see note 107 above) of the *umuzi*.

- ¹²¹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 353, gives *umlazelakazi* (pl. *imilazelakazi*) as, 'Cow, etc., that has missed the proper time for being covered, remaining over for the next season'.
- ¹²²Cetshwayo returned to the Zulu country after more than three years of exile in January 1883.
- ¹²³Somsewu was Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who supervised Cetshwayo's restoration.
- ¹²⁴Monase kaMntungwa of the Nxumalo people (see note 20 above) was one of Mpande's wives, and mother of Mbuyazi and Mkhungo, Cetshwayo's rivals for the succession. The iziGqoza were the supporters of these brothers. The Msinga mountain overlooks the confluence of the Thukela and Mzinyathi (Buffalo) from the north-west.
- ¹²⁵Cetshwayo is here referring to the Khandempemvu *ibutho* by one of its praises. *Izibumubunwana* means 'little buttocks'.
- ¹²⁶The reference is presumably to Hamu kaNzibe, who was the biological son and genealogical nephew of Mpande, and who was one of Cetshwayo's rivals for power.
- ¹²⁷Nandi, a woman of the eLangeni people, was Shaka's mother.
- ¹²⁸Bryant, Dictionary, gives the verb *ukuqopha* as meaning '..."nickname" a person... i.e. 'make derisive or insinuating reference to him in some name or *isi-bongo* whether for himself or for his child...'.
¹²⁹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 23, gives *i-Bantsa (ibhansa)* as 'a grey-hound'.
- ¹³⁰According to tradition, Mpande's son Mbuyazi was named after Henry Francis Fynn senior, whose Zulu name was Mbuyazi.
- ¹³¹The original reads
O! Si ya yi tand' indoda,
Ini ikub' ilale ndhlininye na?
Yek' indod' umalalandhlininye!
- ¹³²Sekethwayo kaNhlaka was chief of the Mdalalose people.
- ¹³³For Masiphula see note 14 above.
- ¹³⁴Bhilibana kaBangela of the Magwaza people is given by Fynney, Zulu Army, unnumbered page, as 'A petty chief under Manqondo' at the time of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ¹³⁵For Mazwana see note 1 above.
- ¹³⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 666, gives *i-nTusi (intusi)* as 'Red ox having patches or spots of white on the upper parts of the legs and beneath the belly'.
- ¹³⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 276, gives *ijaha (ijara)* as 'Man with a fine, robust, stoutly-built body...'.
¹³⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 536, gives *imvoko (=imvokwe)* as 'Person or persons who are not their own masters, ... owned, as it were, by another...'.
¹³⁹These words would presumably have been addressed to Ngomane kaMqomboyi (Mqombolo) of the Dletsheni people, the *induna* under whose protection Shaka had lived in the Mthethwa country, and who later held a privileged place in Shaka's court.
¹⁴⁰The original reads, '*Ku ya lu ba vukile-ke unya lwabo, a ba kwa Zulu!*'
¹⁴¹We have been unable to trace this reference.
¹⁴²The notes in this paragraph occur in the original in the upper margin of p. 30.
¹⁴³The anecdote that follows concerns a fight between two snakes which were regarded as embodiments of the spirits of Shaka and

- Dingane. Cf. the account in Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 672-3.
- ¹⁴⁴The ceremony in which the Zulu king 'licked the hoe' marked the beginning of the planting season. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 509; Lugg, 'Agricultural ceremonies', pp. 360-1; Gluckman, 'Zulu women', p. 259.
- ¹⁴⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 260, gives *isihlungu* as '...medicine supposed to cause that anything struck by a man who takes it, shall experience unusual pain or ill-effects...'.
¹⁴⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 624, writes that *o'ntete z'osiwa 'muva* means 'one whose locusts are roasted last (in the hope that, having partaken of those of his companions, he may find a diminution of the company by the time it comes to the roasting of his own) = a cunning, crafty fellow'.
- ¹⁴⁷KwaMatiwane and kwaNkosinkulu were localities in the vicinity of Mgungundlovu.
- ¹⁴⁸For the position of the *isicamelo* (literally, headrest), see the sketch reproduced on p. 85 of the present volume.
- ¹⁴⁹See pp. 303-4 below.
- ¹⁵⁰Sigananda kaZokufa was chief of the Cube people until his death in 1906. See also note 18 above.
- ¹⁵¹For Ndube see note 32 above.
- ¹⁵²Mphumela kaNdlela was chief of the Ntuli in the Nkandhla division until his death in 1907.
- ¹⁵³Mfungelwa kaMavumengwana was chief of the Ntuli in the Eshowe division.
- ¹⁵⁴For Ndlela and Sompisi see note 44 above.
- ¹⁵⁵For Solomon see note 62 above.
- ¹⁵⁶For Dunjwa see note 54 above.
- ¹⁵⁷The name ekwElamaneni derives from the verb *ukwelama*, to follow in age.
- ¹⁵⁸*Umhlana* or *umhlane* means the back of a person or animal. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 240, writes '*umhlane wakhe*, her back - said by any of the chief or independent wives in a large kraal of a younger wife who has been placed under her in her part of the establishment, by the kraal-head'.
- ¹⁵⁹The implication is presumably that the cattle were soon to be followed by many more.
- ¹⁶⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 655, writes of the rib-meat, or *insonyama*, '...this is considered the prime part of the beast, and the *intsonyama* on that side of the beast that has the assegai-wound...is generally sent as a kind of tribute to the *induna* or headman of the particular district...'.
¹⁶¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 536, gives *iqikiza* as 'Girl, anywhere between the ages of about 16 and 25, but not yet wearing the top-knot...'.