

NDUKWANA KA MBENGWANA

<Stuart's notes on his interviews with Ndukwana are to be found in two forms: original rough notes, and transcriptions. We present the original rough notes only when transcriptions do not exist. In presenting the transcriptions, we give cross-references to the rough notes on which they are based, where these latter survive - eds.>

<18.10.1897>

File 74, pp. 134, 135-6.

Native history (chiefly Zulu). (Per Ndukwana, 18.10.1897.)

134

The cutting of holes in Ngqengelele's ears because he did not (hear) comply with a certain order.¹ Ngqengelele was Mnyamana's father.² He was at first literally a hewer of wood and drawer of water to Tshaka's people, also a nurse. This man once rebuked Tshaka for killing Senzangakona's people - Tshaka's killing people to feed the hungry vultures who had also come to *attend the assembly*. Those killed were called *curs*.

Putting on of the headring was sometimes done late in life. The same applied to girls, though not so strictly (in Tshaka's time).³

Tshaka himself took shield and arms and with his own hand killed people.

135

Tshaka's regiments were permitted to carry only one assegai. The reason for this was lest warriors should get into the habit of throwing assegais at the enemy instead of rushing at once to close quarters.

Dingane could call his regiments all up in a single day. He never repeated a summons. A memorable occasion was when a number of Boers arrived near Mgungundhlovu.⁴ Dingane invited them to attend a dance in their honour, secured their guns, and sat with them in the cattle kraal whilst the dancing was on. Upon his moving out of the kraal, the Boers interrogated him, whereupon he asked the question if a man might pass his water. Immediately after this the warriors (in great numbers), who were armed only with short, stout sticks, swooped on the Boers, who vainly endeavoured to defend themselves with long knives. Boers at the waggons were also killed.

A most interesting fact is the following. During Tshaka's reign a certain white man was ship-wrecked somewhere on the Zululand or Natal coast. The man would partake of no other food but milk. He was escorted off to Tshaka. Tshaka wondered where he could have come from.

NDUKWANA

He was anxious to know where such a strange creature, who fed only on milk, could live. An agreement seems to have been arrived at that the white man was to conduct certain envoys or messengers of Tshaka's to the white man's country, with the view to the king acquiring information in regard thereto. It seems a native called Sotobe (and others) was sent off accordingly. They did not return until after a lapse of three years.⁵

Swaziland seems never to have been properly subject to Zululand, although there was a distinct inclination to make it. Usually Swaziland *sought the favour of the Zulu kingdom (beka'd isandhla kwa Zulu)*. Cetshwayo desired to attack the Swazis, with the Tulwane regiment, but the British government interfered.

Tshaka usually accompanied his regiments when out on campaign. He did not accompany the party that went on the Balule campaign [Olifants river, I think]. His staying at home on this occasion was the cause of his death, for advantage was taken of the absent forces.⁶

136 Tshaka used at night to get up and 'cry' with rage and shout out, asking why they had gone to sleep before he had done so. Upon which the whole of the men in the kraal would commence singing, which used sometimes to be kept up late into the night.

Mzilikazi was an *induna* in Zululand. He acquired kingship by killing petty chiefs and appropriating their followers. Cattle were once seized by a Zulu king from Mzilikazi's. Boers afterwards came to claim these, or some of them, as their own.⁷

[All the above particulars from Ndukwana, aged 57.]

<19.10.1897>

File 74, p. 136.

Also present: Mtshodo?

Ndukwana says Makedama, Madwaba, Sikizane and Matiwane could give me information of the times of Dingane and Tshaka, in regard of course both to general history and customs.

In the time of Senzangakona there were many *chiefs*. Each chief was called *inkosi*. Tshaka however brought about unification. Tshaka was called *the great warrior of Dingiswayo*.⁸ It was at Dingiswayo's that he grew up.

It's not known how the name *wmlungu* originated.⁹ Ndukwana and Mtshodo imagine it was a name white persons gave themselves.

Here is an important incident. Ndukwana was present when Mnyamana, the late prime minister, said to Sir Melmoth Osborn, about the time of the Ceza fight of 1888, that he refused to join Dinuzulu and in that way ally himself with the Boers.¹⁰ Tshaka had expressed an intention of going to the white people from whom the white man, who had been cast on the Zululand coast by the sea [vide p. 135], had

come.¹¹ Tshaka having expressed such inclination, Mnyamana felt justified in taking the action he did, i.e. of severing himself from Dinuzulu.

Mpande refused to allow his regiments to *sing songs (raya)* about the white people whom he regarded as his friends.

Umqikileko was a great composer of songs for *raya-ing*.¹² He lived at KwaNdabakawombe, one of Mpande's kraals. Ndukwana knows one of the songs. This song refers to natives (of Natal who fled from Zululand) who have to tear headrings from their heads, put them in a *grass mat*, then carry whale skins, and have also to dip their hands in water etc.

<19.10.1897>

File 74, p. 26.

Also present: Nkamba?

- 26 Circumcision. This is a custom which, Ndukwana says, used to be observed in Zululand *endulo*, that is, anything over a hundred years ago. Nkamba informs me that it used to be practised in the Myeni (Madhlaka's) tribe.¹³ It was dropped after the death of Sobuza, king of Swaziland. Neither Mswazi nor Ludonga practised, or rather, caused it to be practised in Swaziland. Mbandeni tried to revive it.¹⁴ It was considered that it enabled people to live longer than the uncircumcised. Nkamba himself was not *circumcised* because his brother lost his life on account of the operation he underwent. Properly qualified men did the operation. It took place at a river. Care was taken not to cut the small tendon in the lower part of the prepuce. The prepuce was therefore cut in a slanting direction. The instrument used, being blunt, of course caused a great deal of pain. After circumcision, a large cover was worn over the penis and could be seen a long way off. Girls preferred those who had been circumcised to those who had not been. The Myeni tribe would hail it as a good omen if they were directed by the British Government to resume the practice.

It should be borne in mind that the Basutos practice *circumcision* in Nqutu District.¹⁵

[Enquire as to Swazis and circumcision.]

19.10.1897

File 74, pp. 6-8.

Also present: Mtshodo?

- 6 Marital relations. *Lobola*. In Zululand in the times of the kings, Mpande, Dingane, Tshaka.

In the time of Mpande a man was considered to have *lobola'd* sufficiently on paying five beasts, or say six at the outside. The customary number was five or six. It often happened that a man had either no cattle, or only two or three or four cattle available for *lobola*. In this case an agreement had, as in all cases, to be arrived at with the girl's father, whereupon the marriage might take place although only four, three, two, one or no cattle had been delivered. If no cattle had been paid, then the girl's father was entitled to, and did as a rule, take the first girl born of the marriage when it

was about three or four years old. This child was regarded as *lobola* or payment for the mother.

If any cattle short of five or six were paid, then it was understood that should the father get into trouble or need assistance, it was within his right to proceed to his son-in-law (*isigodo so mkwenyana*) and ask for help and expect to get it.¹⁶ The phrase *isigodo so mkwenyana* was used because, in case of necessity, the father could go and *break* or *peel off*, the metaphor being an old log from which one could break or peel off wood or bark whenever he required it for fuel.¹⁷

Having paid up the customary five, it was said, '*U se m ute wá!*', that is, 'He has made a whole hand of her,' i.e. completed the five digits. If six head were paid, it was said on the sixth being paid, '*U se m kupula,*' meaning by that that he was raising the wife. It sometimes happened that the *umkwenyana* or son-in-law wished to pay still more for the girl, but he would never offer the seventh beast unless he had an eighth to give as well. The reason for that was this. The number seven, if the hands and fingers are held up, falls on the first finger on either hand (especially the right). The first finger is the one we point with, and as it is not right to point, a man who wished to give only seven beasts was spoken to thus, 'Son-in-law, you are pointing at us, what makes you do that?' The eighth beast therefore had to be paid to cancel the rudeness that would be plainly indicated by paying seven head.

7 If any beasts paid as *lobola* were in calf at the time of delivery, the calf in the womb was reckoned as equivalent to any other beast on all fours. It was, however, specially designated by the word *umtondo*, literally 'penis'.

Both Ndukwana and Mtshodo refuse to allow that in the days of Mpande *lobola* involved anything else but a definite payment as opposed to a gift from the bridegroom. To prove this, the following points should be looked into. It is an undoubted historical fact that at one time there were few or no cattle in Zululand. If anyone possessed any, it was the king who had seized them from neighbouring peoples. *Lobola* was a practice of the people before they became possessed of cattle. *Brass neckbands (izimbedu)* or *neckrings (imdaka)* or *armrings (amasongo)* were *lobola'd* with, or goats were used for the purpose, or hoes. The said articles and animals were very freely or commonly used throughout Zululand before cattle multiplied. The first three nouns refer to practically the same article, which was a large, heavy brass or bronze ring for wearing round the neck.¹⁸ The *hoes* were made of iron smelted by regular Zulu smiths. Now, the king having cattle, it often happened a man would in some way procure a lump of iron, and proceed with it to the king with the view to bartering it for cattle. Such kind of barter often took place.

It sometimes happened that a girl, having taken a fancy to a particular man, would run off to him although living at a considerable distance from her own home. This might happen when the girls were *jutshwa'd* in a large body to any particular regiment or regiments. The man to whom the girl had come would proceed with a beast to the girl's father's kraal and, standing outside at the gate of the *cattle-enclosure*, would shout out, '*Fumelani neno,*' i.e. 'Make search in this direction' (meaning in his own direction). Immediately after shouting these words, he would strike the beast and drive it into the cattle

8 kraal, and run off because afraid of being beaten by those in the kraal for being the cause of the girl's elopement and their consequent suspense on her behalf, not knowing where she had gone to. It would after this incident be arranged that the girl should return to her father's kraal in order to be *cola'd*, i.e. have a beast killed for her as well as a goat. The gall-bladder of the beast used then to be worn by the girl above her right wrist, whilst the goat's gall-bladder, called *upape*, would be stuck in the hair. In addition to this, the girl would, on going off to the customary marriage ceremony or dance that had now to be held, take with her an *isinqindi*, that is, a knife, doubled-edged, in reality a kind of assegai with the shaft inserted in a piece of wood to be used as a handle. The bride went off also with beads about her neck to the marriage ceremony (*canguza* or *gagaa*). The beads were not made by natives, but as they seemed to come from a northerly direction it is presumed nowadays by more enlightened natives that they might well have come from Delagoa Bay.

[*Lobola* in Natal, Swaziland, Ingwavuma, Tongaland, both in old and modern times, to be gone into, also in Zululand under Cetshwayo, and in Zululand since the British Government took over the country.]

25.10.1897

File 74, pp. 37-8.

Also present: Mtshodo

37 <Customs,> Zululand. Per Ndukwana and Mtshodo, 25.10.1897.

A girl was *caused to choose a husband* (*ganisela'd*) after she had grown up. When *ganisela'd* she used to cease wearing the *girdle* (*mutsha*) and put on merely a *piece of cotton cloth* (*ulembu, igqwangu?*), i.e. at home. If people, strangers, came to the kraal she would put on the *skin skirt* (*isidwaba*) as if married. After being *ganisela'd* she was not permitted to *hlobonga* with anybody except her lover.

38 <Customs,> Swaziland. To *ganisela* children or young girls is common in this country, (says) Ndukwana. The cause of it was principally because fathers were in immediate pecuniary difficulties.

A great number of children were *ganisela'd* in Ingwavuma District during 1896, viz. the year of food scarcity, with the need to get money to buy sacks.

<3.11.1897>

File 74, p. 137.

137 Tshaka once got bullock blood, and sprinkled it himself about the ground inside the kraal. In the morning he would call in witch-doctors and ask them to divine how the blood had come to be there. The witch-doctors made a mistake, whereupon Tshaka had them killed as impostors.

c.15.7.1900, Impendhle.

File 42, item 17, pp. 1-2.

1 *Ukulobola*. Per Ndukwana. Done at Impendhle about July 15, 1900. *Ukulobola is practised so that when a man has fathered a daughter*

he will bring her up with care, so that when she leaves her father's home, cattle will come to him in her place. It is an ancient custom of the country that when the daughter leaves, cattle will come in her place.

It is like the practice of working for money, which is earned by boys and passed on by them to their fathers.

Ukulobola was the equivalent of buying (ukutenga) a woman from her father. If a husband had not given lobolo for his wife, she would say, 'With what did you lobola me? What did my father obtain?'

If a woman had not been lobola'd, her first daughter would be taken by her father. He would receive lobolo for the girl.

At our place, when the order to marry was given, girls would run away to the men; a girl would even run away to one who had no cattle. If her family left her there until she had given birth, the husband would point to her child and say to her people, 'There are your cattle. Take it.' Indeed they would take the child to their place, and it would grow up there. Those who had been wronged did not hold the wedding-dance for the girl.

The practice of referring to ukulobola as buying (ukutenga) has increased, for a wife who has not been lobola'd will say, 'With what did you buy (tenga) me?'

The practice of making oath, too, I do not deny; I fully agree that it takes place. It is apparent in the words of one who says, 'Let me see that the child of our house does well,' (for perhaps she has brothers).

- 2 If a wife does not bear children, the husband will fetch back the cattle from her father, saying, 'What is there to stand in the place of these cattle?' Some families would send another girl as a replacement for the cattle. These words bear witness to the practice of making oath, for it seems that a man would say, 'Let her do well; let me see that she does well.'

Ukulobola is a very ancient custom. It was practised before there were cattle, for lobolaing used to be done with beads and with hoes. Beads have an antiquity as great as that of hoes. We appeared when cattle were already present. (Tina sa vela izinkomo se zi kona.)

Strings of beads - iziwondo. Ihlukuza is a bunch - as bought. Iziwondo are beads done up in a wide belt form and ready to be worn. What girls wear is called isiwondo.

When girls were given the order to marry, a girl would often go off alone to her lover, even if far off. She would make for his chief, asking her way as she went.

A girl could say of a man, 'I don't want him. He is out of his mind' - even if he had cattle. It is clear from this that a father did not simply sell (tengisa) her.

It is very common for the question to be asked (when a lover - man - goes to ask the father's consent), 'Have you come here on account of the girls? Have you come here to me on their account?' This question is asked in order to see that the girl really likes or cares for the applicant. And this question, frequently put, tends to show that the first thing of all to be established in the mind of the father is the trustworthiness of the bridegroom, and the preliminary condition of all is that he should be liked by his daughter.

13.8.1900, Howick.

File 73, p. 77.

77 Doctors (*healers*). Per Ndukwana.

In Zululand there is a well-known waterfall in the pool at the base of which various people with different complaints, and even lunacy, were thrown, after having been bound with strings of which those on the bank continued to have hold whilst the patient (tied) was being 'ducked' in the pond. Many cures were effected in this way.

10.9.1900

File 74, p. 141.

Also present: Johannes Kumalo?

141 <Zulu regiments.> According to Ndukwana, 10.9.1900, Senzangakona's regiments were the Nobamba, Mbelebele, Siklebe. (Amawombe?) Mpande's Dhlambedhlu regiment ate *the flower of the umhlaba aloe*. This regiment was also called the Mdhlenevu.

<11.9.1900>

File 74, p. 141.

Also present: Johannes Kumalo?

141 <Zulu regiments.> Tshaka, according to Ndukwana, once ordered the Jibinqwanga regiment to cut off their *headrings* because they were still so young and had not attained an age of dignity. He said they were to *drink from the udders like boys* again.

'The Ndabakawombe ate a horse'.¹⁹

Ntengo was *induna* of the Dhlambedhlu. He once said, '*Even if the king should kill me, the Dhlambedhlu will still perform great deeds (referring to war)*'. Ntengo had a very long neck.

12.9.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 131-2.

131 Cattle. Per Ndukwana.

Sisa - this is a practice adopted by cattle-owners for several reasons. They do it when they have more cattle than they require for their immediate use, for, as it seems to them, they would be safer scattered at various kraals than all at one place in the event of sickness breaking out, and also because, scattered about, they are likely to increase more rapidly. Nothing is awarded specially to a man for taking care of *sisa* cattle, for he has the use of all milk given by the cows. Ndukwana does not know when it began; it was practised when he was born. These remarks are intended to refer only to Zululand.

One reason for *sisaing*, N. says, may be because men were afraid of having all their property seized should it ever happen that, having done some wrong, the king should order his cattle to be taken. Ndukwana had experience of this as being one, or tending to be one, reason for *sisaing*. Various numbers were *sisa'd*. A man with much stock might take out a lot of his year-old calves and *sisa* them; another might *sisa* five beasts, or even one. It depended on a man's

circumstances. This was a very general practice, and only abstained from when a man happened to have very few or only enough for his own purposes. In the event of famine, a man who had *sisad* would think nothing of going to fetch back a *sisad* beast, even though the person taking care of it would be put to inconvenience. There was no law compelling the people to *sisas*; they did so on their own accord, voluntarily. An *umumsana* having a number of cattle would often *sisas* cattle to members of his tribe in order to assist them when in want, but ordinary people were not actuated by feelings of charity in *sisaing*. *Sisaing* was done to those related by blood or not. Only those who were known were *sisad* to.

The king's cattle were scattered (*sisad*) all over the country. They were *sisad* by the *indunas*. A man would have a certain number *sisad*, generally one or two, and when these increased, even though the birth of a calf was premature (*aborted*), or a calf was still-born, they must at once be reported, when the *indunas* might direct one of the cattle there to be given to some other man (*sisad*) who had no cattle, and the same order would be observed there. A man was held responsible with his life for the king's cattle. If any were stolen or lost or made away and were not reported, or, if reported and the explanation was not satisfactory, he would be killed. By this system every beast belonging to the king was known and recorded in the minds of the *indunas*. No man ever attempted, would dare to attempt, to deceive, for he feared his neighbours would inform against him. When a *sisas* beast died, the hide, tail, and *usinga muscles* would be demanded of the care-taker.

132 It was an unheard of thing for any man to refuse to take charge of cattle *sisad* to him by the king. Dingana and Mpande *sisad* very freely, especially Mpande; Tshaka placed them at *special kraals* (*inhlonhla*), and also with men. It is clear that cattle were *sisad* to men because in Tshaka's day cattle were *jutshwa'd*, i.e. formal permission was given by the king that people to whom they were *sisad* could milk them for their own use. Cattle were *jutshwa'd* year by year by Tshaka at the time when calves left off sucking and new ones were born. It was done in this way, this *jubaing*. When permission was given, the *izinceku* milkboys would come out with *buckets*, holding their mouths upwards, and blow whistles, whereupon the same thing would be done at each of the *amakanda*, and all the country in a day or so would know that permission had been given to milk and use the milk. If, before such permission were given, a man thought it well to relieve a cow by milking it, he would often milk it, not into a *bucket* but on to the ground and afterwards let the calf suck.

[14.10.1900. Look at case recorded on p. 3 (Job Mbata vs. Bizeni Langa) as bearing on the above remarks.]²⁰

15.9.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 13.9.1900>.

File 73, p. 149.

149 Festivals. Per Ndukwana, 13.9.1900. Written out from pencil notes taken during the conversation.

Mkosi. This, the greatest of Zulu festivals, took place once in each year, being preceded by a smaller dance known as the *inyatelo*. It was sometimes called the *great umkosi of the gourd*. The *izinyanga*

used to prepare in good time for the great feast, procure medicines and *gourds* some days before they were actually required by the king. An ordinary Zulu, a commoner, could always tell when this *mkosi* was about to take place, for in the first place it was at the beginning of the new summer season, then by the size of the moon, for the doctors used to watch the moon, and when it got a certain size they would go for the *gourd*. Then he might tell by the dancing (*keta*) of *amabuto*, which always took place just before. It seems the exact day was fixed by the king in consultation with his doctors, though it depended chiefly on the moon, which the king did not ignore.

The great concourse of people would begin arriving from the various *amakanda* between say the hours of four and six in the latter part of the afternoon, and *encamp*. The *mkosi* was invariably characterized by quarrelling and fighting among the different regiments, when *indunas* used to interfere and strike about among them with sticks right and left. About dawn the next morning very early (at first dawn), *amabuto* would go and call the king to strike the *gourd*. The king, having put on a covering of green rushes, would come with the *isigodhlo*; he would come to the *amabuto*, all assembled. He comes with the *gourd* in his own hands, and is accompanied by the *izinyanga* who are doctoring him. He passes through the gate, and, having come up to the *amabuto*, at the instant the first rays of the rising sun are shot forth he spits the medicine at the sun. He then, the *amabuto* having already begun to sing or chant as the king approached, as they continue singing, suddenly throws the small *gourd* he carries up into the air and catches it as it falls, and the great ceremony is over; the *gourd* for that year has been struck.

It is the throwing the *gourd* up and catching it which is called 'striking'. Should the king fail to catch the falling *gourd* - Ndukwana knows of cases in which it has fallen - it is not regarded as an untoward incident. This done, the king immediately goes back to the kraal, whilst all the *amabuto* would disperse and run off to the river or stream to 'wash the *gourd*', and all the women, i.e. principally those of the king's kraal and the *amakanda*, who were looking on, perhaps with some of the common country folk, would likewise go off to the river to wash. It was not usual for the ordinary women from the country to go and wash, nor was it compulsory on the others to wash; they merely went because it was right and seemly to do so.

As the king throws the *gourd* up, the *amabuto* shout, 'Wu! Wu! Wu!' The king takes off his covering of rushes, and the *amabuto* disperse; they go to the river to 'wash the *gourd*'. The women, too, do not remain. The king, in the afternoon of the great day (first), would make his proclamations. It was at *mkosis* that girls were *jutshwa'd* and *amabuto* ordered to put on the *headring*. [Vide also p. 137.]²¹

13.9.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 137.

137 *The jubaing of girls with cattle*. Per Ndukwana, 13.0.1900. Had conversation with N. this afternoon during which I made the following notes.

In Tshaka's time, girls used to be called up like regiments of men when they were grown up; they were then caused to put on the topknot (*kehla*) and, as a body, given a name. Some of these names are Icenyanane,

Inzawu, Imvutwa (short form) or Umvutwamini (long form), Ikwani. After this was done, they would have to wait to be *given the order to marry (jutshwa'd)*, and sometimes this waiting extended to three years. When called up to be told to *kehla*, they would go into the *circle of assembled men, inside*. As men were not permitted to *put on the headring (tunga)* whilst still young, girls were obliged to marry old or elderly men, i.e. they were *jutshwa'd* to them.

Girls in Tshaka's time were not *allowed to choose lovers*; no one was allowed to do so. Young men were not allowed to *hlobonga* (i.e. *soma - hlobonga* is better Zulu). Dingana *juba'd* a number of regiments when the fighting with the Boers took place. The Boers directed that all regiments were to *tunga*.²² They then *tunga'd* all together, viz. the Izimpohlo, Izinyosi, uDhlambedhlu, Inkulutshane, and Ihlaba, but not the Kokoti, as they were still too young.

Girls were *jutshwa'd* in Mpande's time. Ndukwana saw the process many times. Sometimes a man would, as it was called, *ika* a girl (pick one out); he would then *select an ox*, and take it to the king and present it as seeking permission to take a girl not yet *jutshwa'd*. The king would probably give permission, but in Tshaka's time this, Ndukwana thinks, could not be done. In Tshaka's reign, *youths* used to sleep in the old women's huts, as, in those days, there were no such things as *boys' huts*. They were not allowed to speak to a girl. If found *out on the hillside* talking, he would be killed, as the king would want to know what he was saying there away in the veld.

The following noteworthy historial fact occurred. Cetshwayo gave the order for the *Ingcugee* to marry. Some of them were killed for refusing, after they had been told to marry men of the *Indhlonhlo*. They were *contemptuous of the Indhlonhlo*, saying they were too few in numbers. Mpande was, of course, dead when this occurred. An *impi* was sent out and killed the girls with assegais; all *amabuto* were sent out and ate up cattle. Any of these girls found in a kraal were killed.²³

14.9.1900 - <evidence given 13.9.1900>

File 73, p. 137.

14.9.1900, from pencil notes.

Girls were *jutshwa'd* at the annual feast or dance of the first-fruits known as the *mkosi*, when *all the people, in their amakanda and in their amabuto*, were thereat assembled. Ndukwana heard this done during Mpande's reign at the kraal Nodwengu, where the *mkosi* was usually held.²⁴ *Amabuto* were, likewise, *ordered to put on the headring* at an *mkosi*, but not invariably then. When (he was) still a boy, the *mkosi* used to be held at Esiklebeni. This *jubaing* was a proclamation, made in the afternoon of the first day of the great dance, i.e. the day the *gourd* was '*struck*' by the king. [See p. 149 for the *mkosi*.]²⁵ The form of *juba* was this. A man, deputed for the purpose, would step forward, *praise* the king again and again, i.e. at considerable length, and then, still shouting out, say, '*He declares, let such and such a regiment put on the headring.*'

It was at the first *mkosi* held by Cetshwayo, i.e. after Mpande's death, that the noteworthy incident above referred to occurred.²⁶

15.9.1900 - <evidence given 13.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 137-8.

138 The Indhlonhlo regiment was ordered to put on the headring at the *umkosi*, whilst the following year the girls known as the Ingcugce were *jutshwa'd* to the said Indhlonhlo, who had, of course, put on the headring (*tunga'd*) by that time. The Ingcugce girls refused to marry the Indhlonhlo as directed, on the ground that the latter were too few in numbers. The girls were then taken by force and married; others, to escape this, cut off their topknots. Cetshwayo called the Dhlokwe (regiment) in the winter, when cattle were finishing off the stubble, to build the kraal of Olandandhlovu, which of course they had to begin by clearing bush. When they had finished the kraal, they were then directed to *tunga*. 'I am going to give you girls,' he said. 'You go groping about, when there is something which they have placed on the ground.' They *tunga'd* accordingly. When they went to show themselves with their new headrings, an *impi* was sent out to kill the girls of the Ingcugce lot still remaining unmarried. The girls had been misled by the matter of the *amabuto*. They thought he, Cetshwayo, would *tunga* all Mpande's *untunga'd* regiments together, and then form his own. The girls wanted to marry the younger men. 'A new king cannot rule with the previous king's regiments,' they said. The girls saw what had been done by Dingana - he *tunga'd* all those regiments which Tshaka had left *untunga'd*. As for his own, he was in the habit of *tunging* them young, so, when he died, Mpande had none of Dingana's to *tunga*. What caused the girls to resist was the fewness of men in the Indhlonhlo regiment, for they themselves were many in number.

The Dhlokwe regiment fought at Ndondakusuka;²⁷ that was before the Dududu, Mxapo, Mbonambi etc. had been *buta'd*.

[*Buta* does not mean 'enlist'; it means rather, 'conscription'.]

[Checked with pencil notes, 15.9.1900.]

15.9.1900, 2.56 p.m.

File 73, pp. 138-9.

Just finished further conversation with Ndukwana based on the above of 13.9.1900. He says in Dingana's time girls were not specially called up as in Tshaka's day; they used to come to the head kraal, Mgungundhlovu, for the *mkosi*, and would bring food for their brothers. They were not *buta'd*. It was Dingana, not Tshaka, who *juba'd* the Nzawu, Icenyané, Umvutwa, and Ikwani. The Inzawu had to wait until they had grown old; when *juba'd* by Dingana they were so old that some had children and others none at all. The Icenyané were *juba'd* last, i.e. after the others just mentioned, and when fighting with the Boers had begun.

Didiyela ngokoba e se bange nge ntombi e si qinile, that is to say, Dingana no longer went according to custom or method, for when the fighting with the Boers began, Dingana's object was to occupy two countries, i.e. Zululand and Swaziland, so that although the Boers attacked and succeeded in one country, Dingana could still defend and hold the other.²⁸ In order to occupy this other country, it was necessary to cause an extra number of men to marry in order to populate and hold the proposed state. This being so, Dingana caused many youths,

139 who otherwise would not have been permitted, to *tunga*, and *juba'd* girls to them accordingly. Dingana first of all *juba'd* to the Izimpohlo but, before *jubaing*, told them to *obtain sinews* for their headrings. This expression meant fighting against some neighbouring state, and when they had got the *sinews*, i.e. cattle which should furnish the *sinews*, the girls were *jutshwa'd* to them. This *sinew* the Izimpohlo fetched from Mzilikazi, and these cattle (*sinew*) were known as *izinkomo zamarole* because they had *rola'd* or attracted or drawn the Boers.²⁹ The Boers *encountered* the Zulus *on the road*, and claimed the cattle, or some of them, as belonging to themselves. The Zulus, however, refused to give them up, saying that they would take them to the king, before whom the Boers could prefer their claim. So the Boers came to the king (Dingana), and the king not only refused to comply with their demand, but put them to death. This happened at Mgungundhlovu, and these Boers were led by Piet [Retief?] in person. All were slaughtered.³⁰
 [Checked - J.S.]

16.9.1900 - <evidence given 15.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 139-40.

Yesterday's conversation continued from pencil notes.

Mpande did not *tunga* young men. He *juba'd* the girls known as the Inkehlela; these were *jutshwa'd* for *mature men*, not any particular regiment. He also *juba'd* the Ingcotsho girls - these to the Ndabakawombe regiment. After this he *juba'd* the Isitimane girls to the Dhlabedhlu, Izingulube, Amapela and Sangqu regiments, i.e. after their return from the battle of Ndondakusuka. These regiments were then *tunga'd* together. Mpande said he *grieved* because his own children had been killed at Ndondakusuka. After this the Tlwana had *jutshwa'd* to it the Ugudhludonga girls; this occurred in Mpande's reign.

No one was ever allowed to marry without having *tunga'd*. If, however, some man of high standing died and his kraal had to be kept up, special permission would be given to a young man (son or near relative of deceased) to *tunga*, even though he might have been *buta'd* with a regiment not up to that time permitted to *tunga*, and to marry a girl. He would thus be specially *jutshwa'd* for. A *mature man* might sometimes *select an ox* and say, 'I am marrying my wife's sister,' but this man would be one who had already *tunga'd*.³¹

Cetshwayo *juba'd* only the Ingcugce girls; they were *authorized to put on the topknot* after Somsewu [Sir T. Shepstone] had returned to Natal, and the Indhlondhlo regiment was directed to *tunga* just about the same time.³²

Jubaing did not take place every year, but every other year, or even after the lapse of three years, until even younger girls had become of the same size as older ones.

The Ingcugce girls wanted all Mpande's outstanding (*untunga'd*) regiments to *tunga* at one and the same time. As it was, the Ingcugce were *deceived* by Cetshwayo's action; they expected the same procedure to be followed in respect to them that Dingana had observed. Ndukwana does not think this action on the part of the Ingcugce was due primarily to European influence, but he cannot say exactly, for, though Somsewu had installed Cetshwayo, yet Cetshwayo was king in his own right, and ruled and killed off as he liked. Somsewu, however, did

refuse to approve Mpande's waging war, but, though Somsewu had expressed himself thus, the whites had never as a matter of fact governed Zululand. Somsewu had come after the Ndongakusuka battle with his *induna*, Ngoza, to Nodwengu.³³ They had, on that occasion, come, as they said, to fetch Batonyile and Mbuyazi's sisters.³⁴ Mpande was himself ready to hand these girls over, but Cetshwayo said, 'He will take them over my dead body,' and a fight very nearly took place on account of Somsewu's demand.

140 It was no Zulu king's practice to *tunga* and then marry the men off straight away, or to *authorize girls to put on the topknot (kehla)* and then *juba* them at once to a regiment or regiments of men. As a rule several years, two or three, elapsed between giving permission to *tunga* or *kehla* and marry. It has already been said girls were sometimes given to *older men*, i.e. *men of the 'white' regiments*, so spoken of because they had long ago finished *tungaing*, had married wives, got children etc., and were men of middle age.

During Mpande's time it occurred that when any particular lot of girls were *jutshwa'd* to the older men, many would elope to Natal with their sweethearts (younger men), from whence they could not be recovered. The regiments who had sweethearts among the Ingcugce were the Mbonambi, Nokenke and Kandempemvu, also the Ngobamakosi. A noteworthy fact is that Cetshwayo *lobolisa'd* in Natal, i.e. came (sent) to claim *lobola* on girls who had eloped or run off with their lovers. *Lobola* was in numbers of cases paid over and carried off to Zululand, i.e. on account of the Ingcugce girls. The way to Natal was *opened up* by Mpande.³⁵ Many girls and young men ran off to Natal when girls were *jutshwa'd*. What used to happen was this. As soon as any set of girls were *jutshwa'd*, those of them who did not wish to marry men they did not care for would bring their *sleeping mats* to their respective lovers, for the purpose of saying goodbye to them. *She had come to say goodbye to her lover, for she had been ordered to marry, and would now be separated from him.* If a young man wanted to sacrifice the girl's love in preference to undergoing expatriation or banishment (which flying to Natal meant), he would endeavour to evade his sweetheart by, as soon as he heard the order re *jubaing*, proceeding straight to the king's kraal, and staying there and so avoiding a painful parting with his sweetheart. The usual districts through which refugees made their way into Natal were those of Sirayo and Seketwayo.³⁶ Sirayo's people would have no compunction about killing those who ran off in this way, and Seketwayo also killed many. All along the Zulu-Natal boundary they would be killed if caught, for they had, by flying in this way, turned themselves into *vagrants (izigwelegewe)* who could be killed by anyone without the king's permission, *for they were now outlawed persons.*

15.9.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 94.

94 <History.> Per Ndukwana. For what preceded the killing of the Boers at Mgungundhlovu see p. 138.³⁷ I continue here.

It was reported to the king that the Boers who had arrived to claim their cattle had, during the night, tried to surround the king's kraal but, because of paucity of numbers, had failed to do so. It was the night guards who reported; they said they had seen

the Boers endeavour to circle the kraal without success. When Dingana heard of this suspicious act he sent at once to call up his regiments; they were called and arrived in a single day's time. He then told them they would be required to go to Kangela when the moon was low, i.e. 'with a piece broken off' (*hlepekile*), or in its third quarter.³⁸ The *amabuto* then went off home again. No sooner had they departed than Dingana sent for them again when, having placed them in the huts at Mgungundhlovu, cramming every one of them, he asked the Boers to come over. The Boers were then *danced* for, and subsequently the same day were slaughtered by Dingana's order to a man. After these Boers were killed, the following regiments were, all at one time, *authorized to put on the headring* by Dingana: the Jubinqwanga, the one Tshaka had ordered to cut off their headrings as they were so young [vide p. 141, notebook 3],³⁹ the Ngqobolondo, and the Gibabanye. All the available girls were then *juba'd* to these *amabuto*. Regiments of still younger men were *buta'd*, were *authorized to put on the headring*, and also had girls *juba'd* to them, even though many of these girls had only just reached puberty.

After this, Dingana engaged in a regular war with the Boers, who defeated him. He sent word to them that he would *submit to their demands for tribute (tela)*, but this, like the Pate incident with Bongoza, was only a form of deception.⁴⁰ What his intentions really were was to 'build two countries', viz. Zululand and Swaziland (or portion of the latter), and then fight again. Dingana never, in fact, *tela'd*; he *did so simply with his mouth*. On receiving intimation that Dingana was going to *tela* (a word tantamount to submission), the Boers sent back word that all the Zulus were to be made by Dingana to *put on the headring (tunga)*.⁴¹ It was on receiving this message that Dingana ordered so many of his regiments to *tunga*. (Thus it was the Zulus' coming into contact with the Boer (European) power that tended to destroy the rigid system instituted by Tshaka,) though it should be borne in mind that Dingana made the regiments *tunga* not really as a token of submission to the Boers, but only ostensibly so, for [as was set forth on p. 138] his secret purpose was to continue to defy the power he pretended formally to have tendered his submission to. Dingana always felt he had and could *overcome* the Boers; he never really feared them. What he wanted was time and opportunity to increase his fighting forces. In pursuance of the policy above referred to, he dispatched the Mbelebele, Imkulutshane and Nomdayana regiments to the Swazi country, to *oBuya* across the Pongola, to *clear the bush* and build there.

The Nomdayana regiment was *buta'd* by Tshaka; this regiment fought at Endololwane hill against Sikunyana ka Zwide after Sikunyana had returned from up-country.⁴² Endololwane is near Ingcaka mountain and Mhlangamvula. The Ingcaka was at one time built on by Nyamayenja, Zibokwana's father, of Swaziland. [This spot is, I think, in the New Republic near the Pongolo - Paul Pietersdorp.]⁴³

16.9.1900 - <evidence given 15.9.1900>

File 73, p. 95.

Continued from pencil notes.

95 OBuya is near the sources of the Ingwavuma river. One *ikanda* only was built, the name of this being Embelebeleni. The Swazis then *made*

war against the Zulus who had built Mbelebele kraal. The 'whole' country rose to a man (including the abaLondolozu of Sobuza), and drove out the *ikanda of Embelebeleni*.⁴⁴ The Zulus then withdrew from that part, Dingana's design having been frustrated.⁴⁵

15.9.1900

File 74, p. 141.

- 141 <Zulu regiments.> Ndukwana this day mentioned the Nomdayana as another of Tshaka's regiments. [Vide p. 94 of notebook just referred to.]⁴⁶

17.9.1900, 1.25 p.m.

File 73, pp. 95-7.

- 95 <History.> Conversation with Ndukwana about three quarters of an hour ago.

He does not know where the Zulu people originated. He has always heard of them as having occupied that part of the Mahlabatini district which falls within the New Republic and is this side of the Umfolozi river. The district which Moore's store is on is that known as *the country of Makoba*, although also as Mahlabatini. [From what N. says the cradle of the Zulu tribe would be not far from the Boer customs house near the Emtanjaneni, i.e. a little north-west of that and south of the White Umfolozi river.]⁴⁷ He says: *We do not hear of a country where they came from, only of Mahlabatini.*

N. is himself a member of the Mtetwa tribe, being that *in which Tshaka grew up.*

There is no rumour current, as far as N. knows, to the effect that the Zulu tribe *came down with a grain basket (ehla'd nesi lulu)*.⁴⁸ This expression is heard in respect to the Qwabe and Kumalo people, also the Butelezi, and possibly others.

The Zulu people are so named after a man called Zulu, for there must have been such a person, a kinglet, in the Zulu tribe, for he is generally spoken of as Zulu ka Ntombela. Ntombela's father is unknown, and Ndukwana cannot say who Zulu's son was, if, indeed, he had one. Zulu and Ntombela must have lived very many years ago for, as N. says, the Zulu people marry girls of the Ntombela tribe, for there is such a tribe. The Biyela and Mgazini tribes are offshoots of the old Zulu tribe. The well-known man Masipula belongs to the Mgazini tribe.⁴⁹ The Zulu tribe are spoken of as *a ba kwa Ndabezita*.⁵⁰

Further conversation with Ndukwana from 4.35 p.m. to 5.30 p.m., 17.9.1900, and now, 6.55 p.m., 17.9.1900, transcribed from pencil notes made at the time.

Baqulusi is not the name of a regiment but of a people; these people take their name from the name of (the kraal of Mkabayi,) twin sister of Mmama, daughters of the king Jama.⁵¹ Among the *amakanda of the Mbelebeleni regiment* were Guqu, Luzwela, Ntekelo, and Mpangisa. Mpangisa was built by Tshaka, built by the Mtetwa people (Mgudhlane ka Ntuli).

When the Ndwandwe tribe (there was no king of this name) was broken up by Tshaka, Mkosi ka Mgudhlane withdrew, and crossed the Sikwebezi river, and when he got to Ngome he remained there.⁵² He then submitted to Tshaka; *he did so by konzaing, and paid nothing*

(tendered his submission though he in fact paid nothing). Tshaka said, *'They have done well to come, the sons of Mgudhlane.'* He then went down with them to the Black Mfolosi on the far side of Ceza.⁵³

96 Tshaka then built Mpangisweni kraal, saying, *'They have come hurrying (pangisa) to konza; we have poured them together in one place with the Ndwandwe.'* Nquhele ka Mgudhlane was made *induna* of the kraal; he followed in age after Mkosi who was the chief son.

Mnama, twin sister of Mkabayi, built the Esisebeni kraal near Nhlazatshe mountain where Mr Osborn afterwards settled for a time.⁵⁴

The Baqulusi (*a ba se Baqulusini*) are Cetshwayo's followers, for when Mkabayi died, the Baqulusi people came directly under Mpande.

A list of those independent tribes, each with its own chief, which were gathered together by Tshaka and consolidated into one people, with an indication of the localities occupied by each.

Qwabe. This tribe, the name of whose kinglet Ndukwana has forgotten, lived near Kwa Magwaza, *the place of the tall trees*, and extended into Eshowe district, i.e. both sides of the Mhlatuze river.⁵⁵

Mtetwa. Lived on the Mhlatuze. Dingiswayo was the kinglet. Malenda, the present Somkele's father, and his people formerly belonged to Dingiswayo.⁵⁶

Ndwandwe. Occupied where Mapita afterwards lived to Hlabisa, thence to Ezimfabeni.⁵⁷ Zwide ka Langa was their chief or kinglet.

The Mzilikazi ka Matshobana people. N. does not know their *clan-name*, and so called them after Mzilikazi ka Matshobana, their chief. This tribe made off and disappeared up-country in Tshaka's day, N. does not know where.⁵⁸

Kumalo. Were under Beje ka Magaozi. There were three independent sections of this tribe. [See below.]

Kumalo. Lived where Sikwebezi river enters the Mfolozi. Beje, the man just referred to, lived on higher land close by. Donda was kinglet of this section.

Mkosi ka Mgudhlane lived near Ngome and Sikwebezi, *as one comes to the Black Umfolozi.*⁵⁹

Amantshali. This tribe lived below Ntabankulu, in open country on the other side of the Mfolozi;⁶⁰ their chief was Kondhlo.

Aba kwa Zondo. Lived on the high land on and about Ntabankulu. Mnguni was the kinglet.

Aba kwa Butelezi. Built away above Nhlazatshe and near Mpandhlani (Nkandhla).⁶¹ Pungatshe ka Butelezi was their chief.

Aba kwa Zulu. Lived at Mahlabatini. [Vide p. 95.]⁶² Their chief was Senzangakona ka Jama.

Amapisi. Built towards Mhlungwane.⁶³ Luwamba was kinglet of the *Amapiseni* people.

Kumalo. Built at eMangeni above Mpandhlani and between the latter place and Isandhlwana.⁶⁴ Mtezuko was the chief.

97 Aba kwa Jobe. [Aba Tembu tribe.] Round about the Mzinyati river in the country of Mondisa, father of Matshana.⁶⁵

18.9.1900 - <evidence given 17.9.1900>

File 73, p. 97.

Above conversation still continued from pencil notes.

The above is a fairly complete list, N. thinks. Of these the

Ndwandwe tribe ran away under Zwide who fled up-country after having been driven out by Shaka, until he reached Sikwata's country, where he died.⁶⁶ Then Sikunyana came to make war but was again defeated, on this occasion at Endololwane. [For position of Endololwane vide p. 94].⁶⁷ The Amantshali tribe also fled; they went up-country, N. does not know where to, but Hlangabeza, son of Kondhlo, returned and attacked Tshaka.⁶⁸ Hlangabeza was repulsed and put to flight, for by that time Tshaka had welded the remaining tribes into one people. Mzilikazi also fled. Tshaka went to fetch him away over there (fetched him, in hostile sense), and Dingana afterwards also 'fetched' him. Mzilikazi is said to have lived a short time in the district he had come to settle in, and then would conspire against the chief of that place and kill him; then the followers of the deceased would at once konza Mzilikazi. This was his plan, and by pursuing this method he succeeded in getting two countries, and these were the states afterwards destroyed by Dingana.

Senzangakona did not care for, and wanted to kill, Tshaka.

The Mtetwa chiefs are Sokwetshata ka Mlandela ka Mbiya. N. does not know who Mbiya's father was, or what his relationship was to Dingiswayo.⁶⁹ When Mr Osborn [Sir Melmoth] was in Zululand as British Resident, a man Sitimela, purporting or giving himself out to be the son of Somveli, who was son of Dingiswayo, arrived from the north-east, from the Tonga tribes; for Somveli had previously gone away and disappeared up-country. Sitimela was killed by Mr Osborn. He was regarded as an impostor, as he was not known.⁷⁰

The two great chiefs in the old days, just before Tshaka's fusion of the tribes into one nation, were Zwide and Dingiswayo. Zwide killed Dingiswayo, and that is why Tshaka attacked him. The story is that Zwide, by some foul means, got hold of personal effects (*izidwedwe*) of Dingiswayo. Some say Dingiswayo's own men used to steal these articles and take them away to Zwide, who stirred up medicines and washed over them. [For description of *izidwedwe* vide p. 61].⁷¹ It was by following such practice that Zwide is believed to have gained ascendancy over Dingiswayo.

17.9.1900

File 74, p. 140.

140

Zulu kings. Ndukwana this day mentions Zulu as being a son of Ntombela, viz. Zulu ka Ntombela [see p. 95 of my next Native Affairs book],⁷² and these two must precede, he says, Ndaba, Mageba and Punga.⁷³

17.9.1900

File 74, p. 141.

141

<Zulu regiments.> Dingane augmented (*telela'd*) the Mbelebele regiment, probably when he sent it to occupy the lower portion of Swaziland, i.e. he increased its size by putting men who did not formerly belong to it into it.

19.9.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 18.9.1900>.

File 73, p. 155.

155 Symbols of Office. Per Ndukwana, 18.9.1900, at noon. The following from pencil notes taken at the time.

Inkata. [The *inkata* used by the king when he *stirred up medicines* and *washed*, and which was made of grass stolen from the *arcways* of the doors of other kinglets' huts, is described on p. 62.]⁷⁴ There were two *inkatas*, Ndukwana believes, for he knows one of them was called the *inkata of the nation* (*inkata yezwe*) and would probably have been larger and better made than that for *stirring* purposes. The *inkata of the nation* was the 'great *inkata*' or '*inkata of the nation of the kings*'; it remained in the king's quarters and was never brought into public, such as the *assembly*. N. heard the Nokenke and Mpunga regiments accused of having, during the Zulu war of 1879, left Cetshwayo's *inkata yezwe* at Esiklebeni, at which royal kraal the said two regiments were stationed, and that it was subsequently burnt when the whole kraal was set alight by the English forces. The regiments were not *found fault with*, because of course it was in war time that they did this, when an *army* had invaded to *destroy the nation*. It seems this *inkata of the nation* was merely preserved; it never, as far as N. knows, was used on any occasion or any ceremonial. The *izinceku* (king's) would know more on this matter of the *inkata*, both 'great' and 'small'. Cetshwayo's great *inceku* was Sibamu (deceased - killed by Mapita's people).⁷⁵ There were many other *izinceku* besides Sibamu.

[For *izidwedwe* vide pp. 61, 62.]⁷⁶

18.9.1900

File 73, p. 61.

61 <Diviners (*izangoma*, *izanusu*), *whistling spirits* (*imilози*) etc.> Per Ndukwana [vide p. 97].⁷⁷

Izidwedwe. These are things stolen by one kinglet from another, by his own agents or members of his rival's tribe. The things referred to appertain to small or large articles used by the king or kinglet in ordinary life at home, such as mats, skins etc. If the article in use be large, as a skin, it would be sufficient for the rival king's agent to snip off a small piece; if, however, the article were itself small and could be easily taken, it would be removed whole. When the rival kinglet obtained possession of these odds and ends, he would, when he felt disposed, sit on them, *stir up medicines* (*pehla amanzi*), and *wash* over them; and such action, as in the case of Zwide and Dingiswayo [vide p. 97], was believed to give the man doing so ascendancy over the other. If any article were found missing, an ordinary search would be made in every direction, when the matter would be allowed to drop.

1.45 p.m., Per Ndukwana.

No man was allowed to *stir up medicines* as the king did. No one could cause the foam in *izitundu medicines* to *bubble up*;⁷⁸ it was criminal to do this. Many persons were at various times killed for doing this. For the king alone *stirred up water*, i.e. *water of kingship for washing*, with *medicines of the king*. When the king *stirred*

medicines in this way, he acquired the power of foresight, divination or of prophesying future events. An instance of this, as Ndukwana points out, occurred when Cetshwayo foretold that an *army*, i.e. the British forces, was about to attack Zululand. He saw this in the water *stirred* by him, in his water (*the water of kingship*). Everybody else said they could not believe what the king declared would come to pass; he simply said, 'I see in the water that this will be; the *army* is coming.'

62 *Izinyanga stirred up medicines for the king; they did it for him.* Ordinary people were allowed to *stir up medicines* provided their object was to *bring back amadhlozi*. Nothing would be done to anyone *stirring up medicines* under those circumstances, for of course, when so engaged, he would be seated with other members of his family, it was when acting thus alone, or in a stealthy way, that his conduct became criminal. If he *stirred up medicines* alone the *amadhlozi* would go to the relations of the man *stirring* and kill them. And so, as often as a man acted in this way alone, he would be reported by his neighbours, who would say, '*Amadhlozi are being brought by So-and-so; he is stirring up medicines.*'

It was also heard said that a man who *stirred up medicines* cast his '*shadow*' on the king, because the king would not fail to be aware that the man was *stirring medicines*; he would sense it. He would sense it, for if the man approached he would feel a '*heaviness*'. The king would, in his own person, feel that this person also *washed* like the king. The person would create a heavy or oppressive, repellent feeling in the king. [Compare water-finding, and like electricities.]

No *innyanga* was allowed to *stir medicines* alone, but if *treating* a man he might prescribe certain common drugs of the ancestors which the invalid might *stir up* or have *stirred up* for him.

Tshaka, Dingana, Mpande and Cetshwayo were in the habit of *stirring up medicines*, which was done presumably with water drawn for the king's drinking or washing purposes.

Mpande's and Cetshwayo's drinking water was drawn upstream, at eNkonjeni, in the Mbilana stream, and drawn at or near its very source.⁷⁹ As far as N. knows no one was put specially in charge of the spot where the water was drawn. The *izinceku* who went to draw the water would carry *izimpiso* pots, i.e. pots with a small mouth. Should anyone be walking towards the *izinceku* when carrying or going to fetch water for the king, especially when actually carrying, he would, while still at a considerable distance, *turn off the path* and walk afar off until the carriers had passed etc. The water was drawn every day. N. does not know where Cetshwayo drew his water when living at Eshowe.⁸⁰ (Thinks Sibebu did not poison Cetshwayo, because he could hardly have had an opportunity of so doing).⁸¹

The king used to sit right on the *izidwedwe*. In addition to the things above referred to, the king would have a *grass coil (inkata)* which he would also sit on when *doing the stirring*. This *inkata* would have been constructed of grass *plucked* by various *spies* of the king on the occasion of their visits to the huts of other kings etc., i.e. *plucked* from the *archway* of the hut (that grass immediately over the door of the hut). All the grass obtained by these spies would be bound into an *inkata*; this was the *inkata* the king used to sit on when he *stirred*. N. does not know what becomes of the *izidwedwe* when the king dies. The *inkata*, however, is not thrown away, but he does

not know; it would probably be kept for the next king's use. As far as Dingana was concerned, *he left his home, and we don't know what happened to his inkatha; he did not leave one.* [Dingana was killed away from home - J.S.]

[For the inkata of the nation vide p. 155 under 'Symbols of Office'.]⁸²

19.9.1900 - <evidence given 18.9.1900>

File 73, p. 63.

63 Conversation beginning noon yesterday with N. continued.

The king used to *wash in the small enclosure which was situated among the huts of the upper end, an enclosure which was big enough for him to do so.* No one else goes into this enclosure. The small inkata, N. thinks, must have been taken there when the king went to wash or bathe.

19.9.1900 - <evidence given 18.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 97-8.

97 <History.> Per Ndukwana, yesterday.

Dingiswayo may have gone to the Cape, though N. thinks this doubtful. What he does know of is Sotobe being sent by Tshaka to the white people. A ship appears to have been wrecked on the Zululand coast in Tshaka's day; one of the survivors made his way onto land and was taken to the king. The white man, it was found, would eat nothing but milk or *curds*. Struck by this person, Tshaka then wanted to see those people from which this person came, and where they lived, and accordingly dispatched Sotobe in order to gain that information.⁸³ Sotobe went. He returned to find Tshaka had been killed.

98

N. heard of this incident from Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele, the great prime minister.⁸⁴ Ngqengelele was *of the original inhabitants (was 'okudabuka)*. He had not *had his ears pierced*. He *cooked for Mantiya [Mntaniya?]*. This possibly was Tshaka's mother, for she was the wife of Senzangakona.⁸⁵ Tshaka came on the scene after Ngqengelele had already existed. Ngqengelele used to rebuke or remonstrate with Tshaka - about the only person who could do so. He once said, *'Here, boy, why are you finishing off the people of the chief?'* Tshaka once caused Ngqengelele to *have his ears pierced*. His words were, *'Seize that isancute and pierce his ears.'* He was then caught and *had his ears pierced*. Tshaka after this proclaimed that not a single person was to fail to *have his ears pierced* through the length and breadth of the land, as Ngqengelele, *the chief of the land, had had his pierced*. And every soul thereupon *had his or her ears pierced*, not excluding the oldest woman. *Isancute* is a person who had not *had his or her ears pierced*, and therefore, according to Tshaka, could not hear, i.e. dull of apprehension. Ngqengelele was not, like so many others in the days of Tshaka, killed; he died a natural death. Tshaka could not have touched him *because he was of the original inhabitants*. N. never saw Ngqengelele, for Klwana was the great Mbelebele induna when N. was born.⁸⁶ Somfongoza, *the chief son of Ngqengelele*, was killed by the Boers. Klwana was brother of Mnyamana, and was *of the iWombe, the age-group of Mpande and Mapita.*⁸⁷

NDUKWANA

19.9.1900. Per Ndukwana, about 4 p.m. yesterday.
Present tribes of Zululand, their chiefs etc.

Palane ka Mdinwa's tribe. Forgets *the isibongo*.⁸⁸
Abasemangweni. Somopo. Bejana. Dhlemudhlemu. Ndabayake. Mase-
kwana. Lugoloza. The Emangweni kraal was Ngqumbazi's, mother
of Cetshwayo, and so belonged to Cetshwayo.⁸⁹

Mtetwa. Sokwetshata.

Mpukunyoni. Somkele.

Hlabisa. Mbopa (deceased). Mtumbu.

Emdhletsheni. Nkowane ka Mfusi.

Mandhlakazi. Zibebu. This tribe was sprung from the Zulu
through Sojisa who, brother of Senzangakona, was son of Jama.

Mandhlakazi. Tokotoko (brother of Mapita, both being sons of
Sojisa). Tokotoko *followed Mapita in age*. Present chief, Mahu.

Ndwandwe. Mgojane ka Somapunga. Mgojana was killed at Nduwu in
1888.⁹⁰ N. does not know the present *chief son*.

20.9.1900 - <evidence given 18.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 98-9.

Conversation with Ndukwana of 18.9.1900 continued.

Butelezi. Tshanibezwe ka Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele.

Zungu. Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini.

Butelezi. Bantubensumo ka Klwana ka Ngqengelele.

Emgazini. Maboko ka Masipula - (Masipula's) *chief son* Zikote
killed at Isandhlwana.

99

Zulu. Kambi ka Hamu ka Mpande. Live near the Pongolo and Ngoye
(hill); there are some caves in their district in which they
take refuge; their district is beyond Ngome.

- - <sic>. Mtshekula ka Nogwaza ka Ngobe.⁹¹ [Neither N. nor
Socwatsha know his *isibongo*.⁹²]

Zulu. Muntumuni ka Klwana ka Ntshingwayo.

Zulu. Mkanyile ka Zivalele.

Emaqungebeni. Mekeza ka Ntusi.

Emambateni. Manyosi ka Dhlekezele. Manyosi dead; Twakumana
now in charge.

Emambateni. Dilikana ka Hlanganyana.

Biyela. Dumezweni ka Somhlolo [Somopo?] ka Sikala.

Mpungose. Mbango ka [Siyunguza ka] Gaozi ka Silwana.

Ntombela. Mabamba (dead) ka Lukwazi ka Zwane.

Ntombela. Faku ka Ziningo.

Ntombela. Majiya (deceased) ka Gininda. Kamungana was Majiya's
chief son, but was killed at Isandhlwana.

Koza. Ntshingwayo ka Mahole.

Xulu. Msiyana (deceased). Mayibana - killed by Zibebu's people
at Msebe.⁹³ N. does not know present *chief*.

Zulu. Mlandu ka Nkunga ka Sitayi ka Mbuzo. [Is he Mbopa ka
Sitayi's brother? Cf. p. 105.⁹⁴]

- - <sic>. Mekeza ka Mtshido.⁹⁵ Tribe occupies land near or at
source of Black Mfolozi.

Mdhlalose. Seketwayo (deceased - killed at Ondini⁹⁶) ka Nhlaka
ka Dikane.

Jobe. Matshana ka Mondisa.⁹⁷

Emacunwini. Matshana ka Sitshakuza.

NDUKWANA

Magwaza. Qetuka ka Manqondo ka Mezwana.
Biyela. Hatshi ka Ndhlongolwana ka Sobaba.
Tshange. Mgono ka Yamela ka Pangandawo.
Ntuli. Mfungelwa ka Mavumengwana ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi.
Koza. Ntshingwayo ka Sikonyana ka Ngqungqulu.
Ntuli. Mbuzana ka Godide ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi. In Nqutu district.
- - <sic>. Dubankomo ka Majiya ka Tshadu.⁹⁸
Emacubeni. Sigananda ka Zokufa.

Abasosutu. Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo.⁹⁹ Was a 'house' of Cetshwayo when still a prince in Mpande's time. Mgamule is the great induna of *ekuBazeni* (Cetshwayo's kraal). The Mangweni kraal was also built before C. came to the throne. The Usutu (Eku-bazeni) fought at Ndongakusuka at a time when Cetshwayo was still a youth.¹⁰⁰

20.9.1900 - <evidence given 19.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 100-1.

100 Per Ndukwana about 4 p.m., 19.9.1900.

Tondolozu ka Nhlaka has a small tribe, but this is not separate from the other Mdhlalose people above noted.

Lurungu ka Somungcu, *of the Cunu people*, can hardly be dealt with as apart from Sigananda.

[The tribes above are not, I think, complete. Refer to Blue Book for 1898 on Native Affairs for others, i.e. of the present day, and to Annals of Natal (J. Bird) for chiefs (tribes) existing in the early days.¹⁰¹ Sir T. Shepstone prepared a paper on them in the said Annals of Natal; and refer to that 'historic sketch' referred to on p. 89 of my notebook 3 as having been written in 1864 by Sir T.S. (perhaps the two papers are identical),¹⁰² and the History of Natal by H. Brooks.¹⁰³]

Ndukwana adds (19.9.1900): The Qwabe tribe were 'all killed off' by Tshaka.

The Kumalo people, previously under Beje, are now Tshanibezwe's people.¹⁰⁴ The Kumalo, formerly under Donda, now belong to the Usutu people, though Maqandela, *chief son of Donda*, is still living. He has lost all official status and is merely an ordinary person. The Kumalo, under Mtezuka, were attacked and killed by Cetshwayo just after Ndongakusuka, on the ground that they were the people who *had taken* Mkungo (as a boy) across the Tugela into Natal, Mkungo being the brother of Mbuyazi.¹⁰⁵ This section lives in Natal.¹⁰⁶

As for the Mapiseni people, *there are only a few*. They can hardly be said to exist. Baleni, son of their chief Luwamba, *crossed over* after being *driven out* by Cetshwayo *after his return from the white people's country*.¹⁰⁷ The Mapiseni [Kumalo?] were known as iziGqoza (Mbuyazi's party at Ndongakusuka, whereas Cetshwayo's was known as uSutu).

None of the Zondo are left. *I know of none*, N. says.

None of the Amantshali. Their land is now occupied by Mkanyile of the Zulu tribe.

Per Ndukwana, 19.9.1900.

Makasana, king of Tongaland, used to *pay tribute* to the Zulu kings in the form of sending them elephant tusks.¹⁰⁸ No *paying of tribute* was done by Basutoland.

Hlubi was brought by the British government after the war of 1879.¹⁰⁹ He was placed on land occupied up to the outbreak of war by Sirayo's people, *Sirayo having been expelled (citekile)*.¹¹⁰ Hlubi and a number of his followers assisted the British forces during the war, and it was on account of his services that he was given the land. His men took part in the battle of Isandhlwana (22nd January 1879). Hlubi came to settle just about the time Mr Osborn went to Zululand, perhaps a little previous. Cetshwayo was apprehended *in the winter* and the Basutos came *in the planting season*.¹¹¹ Sirayo's people ran off to Emazungeni (a hill), to the Ntombela tribe.¹¹² The Basutos *built on the land given them in Nqutu district in every direction, and mixed with Zulus still living there.*

101 Mtetwa tribe - Chief Sokwetshata ka Myandeya [Mlandela] ka Mbiya. Ndukwana *grew up* at Empangisweni kraal (king's kraal).¹¹³ His, N.'s father was Mbengwana ka Matshotshwana ka Ndaba (not the king of that name). The chief or kinglet of Empangisweni district when the Ndwandwe tribe was *driven out* was Mgudhlana. Tshaka directed that Mkosi, son of Mgudhlana, was to *have tribute paid to him (etulelwa)* by Nquhele ka Mgudhlana. Mpangisweni is at or on the Black Umfolozi and not far from Ceza.

There is no land occupied now by the same tribe or tribes that occupied it as, say, in the days of Tshaka, *as in the old days (endulo)*. Whenever any land, through any cause, was vacated by a tribe, the king would probably cede it to some *isilomo*.¹¹⁴ Should two tribes quarrel with one another, one of the disputants would be taken away whilst his land would be given to an *isilomo* or some other person.

It would no doubt be possible to find out from Sokwetshata's people *about the reign of Dingiswayo*. Dingiswayo had a kraal called Oyengweni, the *induna* of which was Velane, father of Mayanda [Malanda] who was father of the still living Somkele.¹¹⁵ One could therefore obtain information respecting the Mtetwa tribe from the Mpukunyoni people. Dingiswayo had a son called Mgcobo; he was killed by the Usutu after the war of 1879 and before Cetshwayo's death [1884]. Mgcobo, however, was not *the chief son*.

Mgudhlana, already referred to, was Ntuli's son, Ntuli therefore being Mkosi's grandfather. When Tshaka *drove out* the Ndwandwe tribe, and with them Zwide, Mgudhlana was living near land occupied by the Ndwandwe tribe, but he and his people had not up to that time *konza'd* Tshaka. After Zwide's rout he, Mgudhlana, *konza'd*. Tshaka then built the Empangisweni kraal, placed Nquhele in charge, and permitted Mkosi to *rule* [feudatory chief] and, as already remarked, directed that *the rib-meat* was to be *presented* to him.¹¹⁶

20.9.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 14-16.

14 (Marriage.) Per Ndukwana, 20.9.1900.

The bridal party (*umtimba*) will leave home with the bride for the bridegroom's home late in the afternoon so as to reach the bridegroom's kraal after dark. The party are received at the bridegroom's and given a place (hut or huts) to sleep in. They retire to rest. Very early next morning, before day-break, the bridal party will get up and quit the kraal and proceed 'to the river', i.e. into the veldt, where food arriving from their homes is taken to them. The party (*umtimba*) will return to the bridegroom's when the sun is getting warm (some time before 8 a.m.) and, after waiting some time at the kraal, this *umtimba* is summoned, shortly after which dancing (*canguza* or *geagea*) begins.

It is the bridal or *umtimba* party that begins the dance. The bride, shortly before the *canguzaing* begins, is hid from view by her bridesmaids as well as by her party of men, and she remains hid until after the party of men has extended into dancing order (*klela'd*). The first thing done is for the party (*umtimba*) to get into line; then the bride's elder brother will step forward into the open alone, praise the bride's ancestors, and formally exhort the bridegroom's people or party to take care of her. After finishing his address, he will go back to his place, and then a woman's voice will be heard, the first note of the song about to commence and which the whole party will proceed to sing, dancing thereto as they sing. This voice is that of the bride. She will now move from her concealed position, make a semi-circular movement into her position near her elder brothers
15 (behind), and expose herself to the view of all.

The dancing party at this point walk off some little way to put down the shields and assegais they have been carrying. The girls who accompany the bride will not, however, move from their positions, as they carry no shields or assegais. The singing and dancing, having begun under these circumstances, will continue until about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, when, the *umtimba* stopping, the *iketo* (bridegroom's party) will begin. The *iketo* dances usually to sunset, but this depends on the time the *umtimba* finished. It should be said the *umtimba* performs the *inkondhlo*, i.e. dance in a particular way before *klelaing*, and do the *umgqigqo*, going in single file.¹¹⁷ It is when *klelaing* takes place that the bride steps forth. The bridegroom's party too may perform the *inkondhlo*. This *canguzaing*, as it is called, is known as the first day of the wedding.

On the following day a beast is slaughtered by the bridegroom for the bridal party. It is killed very early in the day. The meat is partly partaken of at the bridegroom's, whilst, if the bride's home is within easy distance, a leg, or even two, is carried to the bride's home, the bridegroom finding the necessary carriers. If, however, the distance is too great, then the meat would be taken by the bride's party themselves and consumed on the journey. The meat carried is understood to be for the girl's mother. This practice of carrying the meat, N. says, is very general throughout Zululand. It should be remarked that the parts of this beast are all assigned by custom to various participants at the wedding. The bride's party (*umtimba*), for instance, are invariably given a hind leg or both; the *umtimba* girls receive, for consumption on the spot, the ribs (*umhlubulo*) - this is

roasted; the meat over the ribs (*insonyama*) is cooked for them, and they get also the chest. The bridegroom formally gives away the various parts of the beast, but he does not act counter to custom. And then there is the meat known as the gourd of the child (*isigubu somtwana*); this is made up of the tripe and the liver, and is invariably given to, and eaten by, the bride's grandmothers; her mothers even may not partake of it. The *isigubu* has more care devoted to it than any other portion of the beast; special care is taken in respect to it.

Several points bearing on this beast may here be noted. A girl who, by accident or otherwise, has conceived and borne a child does not have the *canguza* dance done, even though she may have been 'stopped up' (*vimba'd*). A girl is *vimba'd* merely for purposes of *lobola*. If, when the marriage ceremony comes on, the girl is with child by the bridegroom, the bridegroom is directed to *vimba* her, which he does by giving a goat. If such girl is not *vimba'd* by the husband, the girls (*umtimba*) could refuse to partake of the beast usually slaughtered on such occasions. What the husband is required to do is to present the mother of the bride with a goat, which is killed, eaten and perhaps part of it taken away, by the mother and the party with her. The killing of the goat is then held to be a 'cleansing' of the large beast.

It sometimes happens that the ceremony is over in two days and the bridal party go home, but the rest of the ceremony often takes place on what is known as the third day. The three days may be named as follows: (a) *that of the canguza dancing*, (b) *that of the slaughtering of the beast*, (c) *that of the first sexual connection*.

21.9.1900 - <evidence given 20.9.1900>

File 73, p. 16.

The incidents of the third day are these. During the night of the second day the bride will sleep with the bridegroom, who will have carnal knowledge of her. This sexual intercourse is known as *mekezisa*, that is, to *penetrate what was closed*. On the morning of the third day, the bride and her bridesmaids will go 'to the river', not to the river actually but in the direction of. Later on they will return to the kraal singing the song known as *the isimekezo*, and the bride will come carrying an assegai. The assegai in possession of the bride has been taken from the kraal. The girls would take any assegai they might find about the kraal, no matter whose it was, and hide it until required. This assegai, an indispensable attribute to a wedding, is afterwards broken in two and carried back by the elder brothers to the girl's home; it is then *rehafted* and becomes one of the elder brothers' property and is used by him like an ordinary assegai.

If, on return from the river, no assegai can be found, the girls would apply to the bridegroom for one. If the assegai of someone who does not live in or belong to the bridegroom's kraal is appropriated and used by the bride, it is not reclaimed by the owner; he, in that event, would ask the bridegroom to compensate him for its loss, and the matter would be settled by the bridegroom. This assegai used by the bride bears no special name. The girls go to the river not to wash but simply in accordance with custom; *they come singing the*

isimekezo song from the river. As soon as the men, young and old, hear this singing, they leave their huts, or wherever they may be, and proceed to the cattle-kraal, inside or outside it and there sit down. *The umcanguzo dance is performed once*, then the ceremony known as *the washing (gezisa)* takes place.

22.9.1900 - <evidence given 20.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 16-17.

Conversation of 20.9.1900 continued.

The *gezisa* proceeds thus. A spoon is taken by the *bride*; into this spoon a *string* or *strings of beads* is placed (i.e. small sections of beads), and water is poured over the beads. The bride then proceeds to where the men are sitting, and before each of them she spills the water and beads on the ground if the men be elderly, or if a young man, he may be splashed with the water or have it thrown over him. This is known as *gezisa*, and the process is repeated until all the people at the kraal, children, girls as well as boys, have been dealt with, but it is done only to those who belong to the bridegroom.

17 *Gezisa* is a custom observed, N. says, not only in one tribe, but all over the country. It is spoken of as *the washing with beads*. After *the gezisa* is over, the girls are released (*kumuka*) and go inside.¹¹⁸

The girls *rise* early, immediately after *the first sexual connection* has occurred, and go off to *collect firewood*. Before leaving, a goat is killed for them by the *bridegroom*, which, as they go off to *collect wood*, is being prepared for cooking and being put on the fire. It is understood that this goat belongs to the girls of the bridal party. As soon as the girls return from *collecting wood*, an occupation that may have extended over several hours, the *untimba* eat the goat, by that time cooked, after which the *untimba* will leave for their homes. This would be some time in the afternoon. After the slaughter and consumption of the goat, it will then become proper for the bride to partake of the food of her husband's kraal, which would be for the first time.

A woman who has been married or seduced does not *have the geagca and canguza dances performed*.¹¹⁹

13.10.1900 - <evidence given 21.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 104-5.

104 <History.> From full pencil notes of conversation with Ndukwana, 21.9.1900.

Cetshwayo, when still a prince, used to live at Mangweni kraal.¹²⁰ In Mpande's time Ondini kraal was said to be Kwa Tulwana.¹²¹ Cetshwayo's Undi kraal was near where Zibebu was detained (Bekumteto), and also where Mkungu was allowed to live.¹²² When the battle of Ulundi was about to begin,¹²³ the Zulus said of the approaching English forces, 'They have been brought to us by Punga and Mageba to kill,' i.e. delivered into our hands, etc. Just before this battle occurred, Cetshwayo was in the act of sending a large number of cattle (oxen) to the white people in token of submission, but the Kandempenvu (the regiment of that name) *headed them off* and asked, 'Why submit when there are still some of us left?' At this time Cetshwayo was at the Emlambongwenya kraal - a small kraal close to Ondini - *on the other side*. And so the oxen were never delivered.

NDUKWANA

The Zulu tribe *hlananipa'd*, i.e. were naturally smart and cunning, so much so that they managed to *overcome large nations*. The tribe was not as big as either the Mtetwa or Ndwandwe. The Ndwandwe tribe was the last to be conquered. Beje's people *held out in a stronghold in the eNgome. Tshaka eventually left them alone; they successfully resisted him*. They were subsequently routed by Dingana, who *besieged* them and so starved them out.¹²⁴ This place was a great natural fortress; the gate or entrance was completely closed in, so much so that the attacking forces did not know where it was. When the besieged surrendered, the position of this gate was discovered, and only then; it turned out to be 'on top', 'above'.

105 The largest tribe of Zululand was the Ndwandwe, followed by the Mtetwa and the Qwabe. The Kumalo people were divided up into several tribes. The Amantshalu also seem to have been a large tribe. The Zulu was very small. Senzangakona was not a formidable chieftain. Ndukwana can call to mind no *attacking (hlaselaing)* done by the Zulu tribe, and so he concludes the tribe cannot have been a large one.

Indulo ya i ngenzi luto, i.e. the people of olden times were not actively inclined. *They would throw assegais at one another and afterwards visit one another*; i.e. when a quarrel arose the two sides would arm and, as soon as they got within range, would throw their assegais at one another, and after the battle, such as it was, had been concluded, the two parties would forget their differences and be on visiting terms as before. The fighting moreover used to take place in one locality; *there was no pursuit. Stabbing was introduced by Tshaka*. In view of this mode of existence, fighting etc., it became easy for even a small tribe, like the Zulu, to retain its autonomy.

The Mtetwa *made war over the whole country*, and the Ndwandwe too. At first Dingiswayo *defeated all the country*. It was said he was *sided with* by womenkind, because his mode of conquest or warfare was to go, then halt, and so on and on by degrees, following or driving his enemy for many miles; in consequence of this perpetual pursuit the women would 'get tired' and return, whereupon the fleeing people, on account of their women, would be forced to surrender.

22.9.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 21.9.1900>.

File 73, p. 157.

157 Customs in connection with the kings' graves. Conversation with Ndukwana, 21.9.1900, about 4.40' p.m. to 6 p.m.

[On p. 102 occur several extracts from a Blue Book. It will there appear that a man called Umayikana pointed out the graves of the Zulu kinglets.]¹²⁵ Ndukwana says he was not present with the boundary commission when they visited Makosini, but remembers the commission leaving to inspect the district, for, the day previous, he had arrived from Eshowe with a letter.¹²⁶ He did not then see Mayikana but he knows the man well. Mayikana lives, he says, in the Makosini district, and near where Tshingana lived before that chief was turned away by the Boers.¹²⁷ Mayikana is an *old man*, and belongs to the Nobamba kraal; he is, or was, *induna* of the Amapela regiment at Nobamba (Senzangakona's kraal). He may be as old as members of the Isangqu regiment. At Nobamba there used to be many very old men.

Mayikana therefore is likely to have got first-rate knowledge. Besides Mayikana, the people at the late Nomabunge's kraal would have good information. Indeed N. mentioned Nomabunge before I had mentioned Mayikana to him.

N. proceeds. The grass round about the kings' graves was never burnt. What used to be done was, year by year, for the regiments of Siklebe (Senzangakona's), Dukuza (Tshaka's - not at Stanger),¹²⁸ Dhlambedhlu (Mpande), and Nobamba (Senzangakona) to be called up, when the grass at a distance from the graves would be burnt in such a way as to preserve the old, old, old *accumulation of grass* of the area - and it is extensive - occupied by the graves, from being burnt. The burning of the grass over the graves would be tantamount to burning the kings.

No person who had occasion to pass over the area of ground occupied by the graves might *touch the ground* with (his) stick. Those in charge there would beat him, saying, 'What do you mean by stabbing him?' This rule was a great and well-known one.

Cetshwayo, when still *up-country* at Kwa Mqaleki (a hill), used to go and *burn off* the grass with the regiments. He was, I think, still a prince in those days.

23.9.1900 - <evidence given 21.9.1900>

File 73, pp. 157-8.

Conversation with Ndukwana of 21.9.1900 continued.

158 Formal visits were for several reasons occasionally made by the king and people to the graves at Makosini. The chief account perhaps would be when there was a drought in the country, and the reason for making what may in a sense be called a pilgrimage to these graves was to propitiate the departed royal spirits by sacrifice, solemn chanting and dancing (in their honour), and formal invocation to send the required rain. The king would go, attended as a rule by *all the men from up-country*, with only representative men from the south, more distant, part of the country (*izinduna from down-country - ezansi*). This pilgrimage would be for the purpose, as expressed by natives, of *making entreaties to the ancestral chiefs*. Something like 30 large oxen would be driven with the party to the area in which the graves were situate. On arrival at the graves, the oxen would be kept still in one spot whilst the various ceremonies were gone through. It should be noted that all those who have come have put on their ornamental (not necessarily warlike) dress; they *put on their finery (vunula)*. The people then *dance (guba, sina or keta)*,¹²⁹ and as they do so sing *the great and ancient anthems (amarubo) of the Zulu*. Then they would *guba and guba* over and over again. The spirits of the departed kings are then *praised and entreated*, saying, 'The people is in great trouble.' Those who *praised and entreated* were Ntshingwayo, Nguqa, Mundula, Melelisi, among others; *it was the old men who did so.*¹³⁰

The oxen referred to are of the nature of a sacrifice to the royal spirits; they however were not slaughtered at or near the graves but, when the ceremonies were over, would be driven off to the two great kraals of Nobamba and Siklebeni, and it is there that they would be killed. It seems those were the only two kraals to which they were taken. Only oxen were offered as a sacrifice because

bulls or cows would not be worthy of such occasion, only the largest and the best being required. Thus it is only oxen that were ever offered. All the oxen taken to the graves would be slaughtered and eaten by the *assemblies of men (amabandhla)*.

24.9.1900 - <evidence given 21.9.1900>

File 73, p. 158.

Conversation with Ndukwana of 21.9.1900 continued.

These oxen were called *those of the ancestors, those used for addressing them*. After the meat had been cooked, it would be shouted out, '*Let the umpakati come up,*'¹³¹ when all the assembled company (*amabandhla*) would move to the cattle kraal and there sit down. The meat is all *taken off the fire*; it is brought into the cattle kraal where it is *surrounded* by those present and then eaten. The natives from neighbouring *amakanda* could come and partake of the meat if they liked.

Mpande was in the habit of visiting the graves frequently, especially in his younger days when he could walk. At first Mpande lived at Siklebeni but latterly at Nodwengu; he, however, used to visit the other *amakanda*. Mpande did not always visit the graves in a severely formal manner. When at emaBedhlana he did not visit frequently.¹³²

When there was any distress of a national character it seems the graves of the kings were visited in a formal manner; for instance such a visit was made immediately previous to the battle of Isandhlwana, for the regiments - and N. was with them - slept at Siklebeni, killed cattle during the night, and ate them, whilst, on the day following, a visit was paid to the graves, when *gubaing* was done and *the great and ancient anthems (amarubo)* were sung.

22.9.1900, 4.10 p.m.

File 73, pp. 105-6.

105 <History.> Conversation with Ndukwana, 22.9.1900, 4.10 p.m.

Mbuyazi ka (Mpande) *was named after the white man Mbuyazwe, who was wrecked in Tshaka's day.*¹³³ N. is uncertain as to how this white man came to Zululand. One may say Mbuyazi or Mbuyazwe.

Tshaka killed his mother Nandi. [Vide p. 106 at bottom, and p. 89.]¹³⁴ When Tshaka was stabbed in Zululand, the assegai did not enter - *it was not a full thrust.*¹³⁵ He said it was *Qwabe evil-doers* who wanted to put him to death.

It was Mbopa ka Sitayi (his body servant) who killed Tshaka, assisted by Mhlangana and Dingana. (There was a man Nkunga ka Sitayi; he was succeeded by Mlandu, who now lives at Ntabankulu.) Tshaka was, when assassinated, concerned in getting some crane feathers.¹³⁶ Mbopa actually stabbed Tshaka; Mhlangana also was said to have stabbed. Mbopa hid Tshaka's assegais before killing him. He, Mbopa, belonged to the *eGazini clan (uhlobo)*; *it was a bad clan, an intemperate one*. Mbopa was put to death for having killed the king. A discussion arose as to who should succeed, Dingana or Mhlangana. This discussion took place before Ngqengelele, *the first man (unkulunkulu) of the Zulu country*. Nomcoba, sister of Tshaka, as also Mkabayi, another sister of Tshaka, were present.¹³⁷ The result of this inquiry was that Mhlangana was not allowed to reign, on the ground, as stated by

106

Nomcoba and Mkabayi, *a man may not rule with a red assegai, one which has stabbed a king*. Dingana was declared king, for it was found that, though participating in the assassination, he had not used a lethal weapon, but merely laid hold of Tshaka. Mhlangana was killed, i.e. by Nomcoba and Mkabayi together (by their order).

Simoyi ka Nkabana ka Sitayi lives near the White Umfolozi drift, on the left hand side of road and the north side of river.

Ndukwana says Mnyamana (who belonged to the Imkulutshane regiment) came, just before the battle of Ceza, to see Mr Osborn (as he then was) at Nkonjeni.¹³⁸ By doing this he separated himself from the Zulus and gave his allegiance to the British government. Ndukwana was present on this occasion [1888].

Mnyamana had an interview with the resident commissioner and chief magistrate, Mr Osborn, at which he spoke as follows, 'The Usutu leaders say we must go to the Boers because the British killed the king. I refuse to go. We fought against the British and, as we were conquered by them, we cannot now take the country and cede it to the Boers. At first came Mbuyazwe and white people, who were *saved from the sea*. When Tshaka saw them he found they refused food of various kinds; they partook of milk only. Tshaka, seeing this, said, "I would like to go and see these men, i.e. the nation of which these are specimens."' Mnyamana said he remarked to Dinuzulu, etc, 'These (English) are *friends of Tshaka, the master (umini) of this land.*'

Tshaka, at the time when the Sotshangana *impi* (afterwards killed by dysentery(?) - *imbo*) left, sent Sotobe because he wanted to see where these people who did not eat came from.¹³⁹ He sent Sotobe, intending himself soon to follow. The country would not in that event have come to this pass. Tshaka wanted to go himself to the British government and conduct his negotiations with them in person. Sotobe had not returned when Tshaka was put to death.¹⁴⁰ 'We, for our part, cannot desert them,' Mnyamana continued, 'for they were friends of Tshaka's. We cannot now turn to the Boers.'

Mnyamana said he did not intend to say much on that occasion. What he preferred was to deliver his address in the presence of *the men, while we were all sitting together*,

14.10.1900 - <evidence given 22.9.1900>

File 73, p. 106.

106

<History.> Per Ndukwana, 22.9.1900. [Vide p. 89.]¹⁴¹

Tshaka killed his mother. [How could this be, seeing N. remembers Nandi's death, he being just about 60 and Tshaka died 1828? - vide p. 105. For the fight between the Ngobamakosi and Tulwana regiments, and the part played by Hamu on that occasion, see pp. 145-146.]¹⁴²

14.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 22.9.1900>.

File 73, p. 89.

89

<Death and burial.> Per Ndukwana, 22.9.1900, 4.10 p.m.

At the death of Tshaka's mother Nandi, everybody had to cry, and in order to pretend to be crying many used to put snuff into their eyes.¹⁴³ There was a *burial (umqibo)* for Nandi. A number of people

were killed, three *old women*, three women, *izinceku*, as well as girls, to cook for her down below. They were included in the burial, for Nandi or persons of her rank cannot die alone. Whom would she be with down below? Tshaka killed his mother. When Nandi died dirges were chanted. At night an *ubaqa* appeared in the sky. [I fancy this means a comet appeared.]¹⁴⁴ People took *pieces of burning wood and threw them at it*. N. has a slight recollection of it; he was still very young, say five or six years old. This must have been in Dingana's time, N. thinks, before Mpande's accession. [How could T. have killed Nandi during Dingana's reign?]

[See p. 82, *Annals of Natal*, as to what occurred in the way of mourning when an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Tshaka (written by Fynn).]¹⁴⁵

[See pp. 19, 20, notebook 3, for death of Nquhele owing to his not attending ceremony in connection with death of Nandi.]¹⁴⁶

14.10.1900 - <evidence given 22.9.1900> File 73, p. 154.

154 <Zulu idiom.> Per Ndukwana, 22.9.1900. Ndukwana says he saw the comet (*baqa*) at the time of Nandi's death; he has a slight recollection if it. [See p. 89.]

14.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 25.9.1900-29.9.1900>. File 73, p. 161.

161 <Circumcision.> Per Ndukwana on 25.9.1900 or otherwise before 29.9.1900. From full pencil notes.

He hears that *circumcision* used to go on or be practised all over Zululand. Mkokoko is the name of a hill, near Mpangisweni, where circumcising was done.¹⁴⁷ *They stayed there until their wounds had healed. They built temporary shelters there.* Food used to be taken to them there. No circumcision now goes on in Zululand amongst the Zulus.

25.9.1900-29.9.1900, Ladysmith. File 73, p. 176.

176 Succession, inheritance etc. Per Ndukwana on some day between 25.9.1900 and 29.9.1900, from pencil notes.

Among our people, a man who has not yet become king does not father a king. For instance Dinuzulu would not have been the king.¹⁴⁸ As it was, Ndabuko spoke out,¹⁴⁹ saying he was not the king, for Cetshwayo was only *hlobongaing* with a girl of inferior status, who became pregnant. Dinuzulu's mother was seized at Ndondakusuka along with others of Mbuyazi's girls, i.e. belonging to his *impi*.¹⁵⁰ They became girls of the *isigodhlo*. It was said Cetshwayo desired Dinuzulu to be king; later on, however, it was asked who was present when Cetshwayo said this.

26.9.1900

File 74, p. 141.

Also present: Ezra Msimango?

<Zulu regiments.>

- 141 Ndukwana says that Dingana *buta'd* the Dhlambedhlu first, then the Inhlekane, which he *incorporated (tela'd)* into the Dhlambedhlu, so that regiment might be looked on as *the Little Dhlambedhlu*.

29.9.1900

File 73, p. 109.

<Contact with civilized races - Europeans.>

- 109 Ndukwana tells me of the following case. Mtini, a native living at the junction of the Usutu and Pongolo rivers, and several hundred yards from Wissell and Finetti's store near that spot, since I left Ingwavuma [November 1897],¹⁵¹ and before the Boer War [October 1899], found one of his wives having connection with a white man in a bush close both to his kraal and the store. The white man, as all the evidence tended to show - Ndukwana heard it, as the whole case was inquired into by B. Colenbrander, acting magistrate - was actually on top of the woman, and in the act of carnally knowing her, when Mtini violently assaulted both him and his wife with some stick at the end of which was an iron nut or head. The white man's arm, one of them, was broken by Mtini, and he so severely assaulted his wife on the head and elsewhere that, although she did not there succumb to her injuries, she soon did so at Mtini's kraal. Mtini appears to have taken off the white man's boots, which he could have brought as evidence against him, had his wife not died, but as the woman died, Mtini eloped for Barberton where, unsubstantiated rumour says, he died. The story goes that when Mtini went to the white man and his wife, he saw a Boer standing by near the bush, with the object, as N. thinks, of himself carnally knowing the woman. When assaulted, the woman cried out. A native moved forward to help, but was prevented by the Boer, who had a sjambok, from rendering any assistance.

14.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 29.9.1900, 5.20 p.m.>

File 73, pp. 145-6.

- 145 Lethal weapons, sticks etc., regulations respecting. Per Ndukwana, 29.9.1900, 5.20 p.m.

No one was allowed to use an assegai when fighting against their tribesmen, i.e. in faction fighting or fighting between individuals. This was a regulation observed in Tshaka's as well as Dingana's and Mpande's reigns. It was thoroughly well-known and never infringed. If men were fighting and one, holding assegais, were to break his stick on his opponent, he would warn him that he had no stick but only assegais left. He would ask him for one of his sticks with which to continue the fight; if no stick were given the man might use his assegais to ward off the blows. By warding off in this way, his opponent might be wounded in the arm, but the man with the assegais might not use them to stab with, for the right of using the assegai belongs to the king. [Compare this with European duelling.]

[Read in this connection p. 173, where the great *idhlozi* could

not be killed with sticks, only assegais, by throwing at it.]¹⁵²

But in Cetshwayo's day a notable infringement of this well-known rule took place. It occurred in connection with the Tulwana and Ngobamakosi regiments in front of the kraal at Ondini, at the river. It happened at the time of Cetshwayo's last great *umkosi* before the Zulu War. Hamu was the immediate cause.¹⁵³ He said, 'They are now in great trouble,' i.e. the Tulwana regiment. The king was in the habit of going out with the Ngobamakosi to go to Nodwengu. On the *umkosi* in question, Cetshwayo left alone for Nodwengu. The Ngobamakosi had done wrong in not accompanying the king. After the king had gone off, the *indunas* said, 'Let the iNgobamakosi arm!' Gwelegcwele then said, 'They are still eating.'¹⁵⁴ The Undi (Tulwana) then armed, danced about in the kraal, and then went out and proceeded to go off to Nodwengu. The Ngobamakosi, at the same moment, armed as the *uhlangoti* of the Tulwana was going out.¹⁵⁵ When the *isicamelo* (or *izisongo*) of the *isibaya esikulu* went out,¹⁵⁶ then the Uve left. The Indhlyengwe then left in companies, a company of Uve and then of Indhlyengwe, alternately. Ndukwana himself had gone off to Nodwengu.

A fight then took place between the Indhlyengwe and Uve (the Uve is part of the Ngobamakosi - the vanguard (*ikala*) of the Ngobamakosi). The Indhlyengwe came from the *isibaya esikulu*, near the gate of the kraal, and was part of the Tulwana because incorporated (*telwa'd*) into it at Ondini. The Ngobamakosi then fought with the *isibaya esikulu* of the Tulwana inside the kraal. The Tulwana was beaten. The Ngobamakosi then crossed over to Sitshwili, a stretch of open country.¹⁵⁷ The *uhlangoti* of the Tulwana which had first gone out then turned and came back to the kraal. At this stage, the Tulwana was directed by Hamu to take assegais and stab the Ngobamakosi because, he said, 'Now we are in trouble.' The Ngobamakosi had no assegais with them; they had no *umuzi* of their own; they were called and assembled at the place of the king. They had not brought their assegais; no one going to the *umkosi* ever carries an assegai. Many of the Ngobamakosi were killed and wounded. None of the Tulwana were killed; they could not have been killed because it was known that the order had been given by Hamu. The Ngobamakosi, moreover, were fined a beast all round. Gwelegcwele [Gwelegcwele? - p. 145] ka Mhlekehleke, the *induna*, was also fined. N. knows of no subsequent using of assegais.

146

The incident just described created a great sensation. The whole Zulu country sided with uHamu; they said the king had done it, for (how) could so many boys be brought in on top of the large numbers of men already there? As he saw the fight, Cetshwayo said, 'My boys are being finished off!' N. looked on at the fight, for at Nodwengu, where N. was, one could see clearly what was going on. The cause of this grave fighting seems to have been because Cetshwayo had not built a separate kraal for the Ngobamakosi. The Uve was incorporated (*telwa'd*) at oLandandhlovu; the Indhlyengwe was *telwa'd* at Ondi. The Ngobamakosi were many in number. They were liked by the king; he used to call them up and let them put up in Undi kraal as best they could with the Tulwana and other regiments.

[With the above incident compare the use of the assegai, shields etc. in the war between Zibebu and Cetshwayo.¹⁵⁸ See also circumstances under which the expression, 'A man may not rule with a red assegai, one which has stabbed a king,' was used; vide pp. 105,

106.¹⁵⁹ See p. 157 where a man *touching the ground with a stick near kings' graves* was said to 'stab' him.]¹⁶⁰

14.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 30.9.1900?, 2.30 p.m.>

File 73, pp. 84-5.

84 Per Ndukwana, at 2.30 p.m. on, I think, 30.9.1900, from full notes.

Amalala were blacksmiths. [Cf. Bryant under iLala - 23.2.1923.]¹⁶¹ They used to *manufacture hoes, assegais, axes and izinqindi* (a two-edged knife, razor). *Wire rings (ubusenga)* were bought in Tongaland. *One of the great izinnyanga among the blacksmiths* was Mlaba at Kwa Nsimbi (so called because iron was smelted and worked there).¹⁶² Mlaba lived at the junction of the Vuna and Mfolozi rivers, where Ndungunya, son of Mlaba, is now living. Ndungunya was a messenger (*isitunywa*), of the Sutu.¹⁶³ Ndukwana went to Mlaba's many times. *Hoes* were bought there. N. saw Mlaba, but does not know what regiment he belonged to, *for he no longer konza'd; he was continually at his work*. Two assegais could be bought with a goat (*she-goat*). *A hoe was bought with cattle*. N. never bought assegais. He bought five hoes with a heifer that had been covered; they were not hafted. The shanks of the hoes were long, very long. If a hoe were stuck in the ground, sufficiently to cause it to stand upright, it would be about two feet eight inches in height [height exactly indicated by N.]. A single goat would buy a small hoe; a sheep would buy a large one.

No eating dishes or utensils were ever *manufactured*.¹⁶⁴ N. does not know about metal beads (*izindondo*); when he was born they were not worn much. When a girl married, *izindondo would go with her; they would be her umbeko or [vide p. 3].*¹⁶⁵ *Izimbedu beads* (for neck) and *amasongo* (bracelets) - N. never saw these being made.

Mahloko used to *made ingxota armbands*; he is one of Mapita's people;¹⁶⁶ he is dead but his children are living. Mahloko lived down the Nongoma ridge and near the Black Umfolozi. He used to use *bracelets* and *neckbands*, both of the same metal, to make armbands of. N. saw this done. N. saw Mahloko when he was manufacturing in the Mahlabatini country.¹⁶⁷ Mahloko was also an *ilala* (blacksmith). The armband was made and finished (after some days work) at the great place of the king. The armbands always had to be made at the royal kraal. The smith, when the king wanted armbands, would be sent for by the king; on his arrival he would put up at the king's kraal, live there until he had completed his job, and would be rewarded by the king for his services. The armbands were distributed by the king to men of high standing, but not as a reward for anything special. N. does not know what the king gave the smith. No order was ever issued, N. thinks, to smiths to make assegais. They used to arrive periodically at the king's kraal, carrying quantities (bundles) of assegais, and the king, as often as these bundles arrived, would give them to *izinduna* to distribute to regiments that required them.

85

The process of smelting iron was somewhat after this fashion: The smiths used to prepare charcoal by going into the bush and *chopping piles of wood into small pieces*. Many trees would be cut down. The pieces would be bound up and burnt at some spot other than that at which the smelting is done; they would be burnt and become charcoal. Then they would dig out the rock from which iron was obtained, for

which purpose children would be largely employed, or anyone else who might be available to carry the iron-stone. <Linguistic note omitted - eds.> The charcoal is then used with a bellows to smelt and prepare the iron.

There were not many *smiths who made assegais*, but there was a considerable number of *smiths who made hoes*. Those who made *assegais* and *armbands*, especially the latter, were men of higher position than other *smiths (those who made hoes)*. Sometimes *amazese axes* and *izimbemba axes* were made, but not many.¹⁶⁸ *Hoes* were the largest things made of iron. These blacksmiths were called *amalala* because of their craft (*ngo bu nnyanga*), not because that was their clan-name (*sibongo*).¹⁶⁹ A man belonging to any tribe would be called an *ilala* if he became a blacksmith.

14.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 30.9.1900?>.

File 73, pp. 6-8.

- 6 *Isibongo* and *konza*. Per Ndukwana, conversation on, I think, 30.9.1900. From full notes.

The isibongo identifies all people according to their tribes. It is the name which indicates the origin (ukudabuka) of people. People are all known by their isibongo, and they retain this even though they may be living at a kraal with people of a different isibongo. The word is connected with bonga, meaning to praise, because when one is praised, one is praised by means of it. It indicates one's clan (uhlobo) of origin - So-and-so, of such-and-such a people. There was no person but he or she had an isibongo. In the case of the Zulu, otherwise the Ndabezita, the word 'Zulu' is the isibongo. The people belonging to any particular tribe are not necessarily all of one isibongo. If a man of another isibongo konza's a chief, the chief will like him, for he is an outsider, and treat him in exactly the same way as other members of his tribe; they would not be more favoured. He (chief) would repose greater confidence in him as time goes on and as he perceives that he is a man of good character. All chiefs, without exception, have, as members of their tribe, persons of different isibongo. If a chief, having persons of various isibongo in his tribe, marries a woman of his tribe of isibongo different to his own, children of the marriage would bear the father's isibongo and, if one of these children is a girl and marries, she will not lose her isibongo, but her children will bear their father's and not their mother's.

People go by the customs obtaining not to the tribe to which they belong, save (when) such (tribe) is the original one from which they derive their *isibongo*. And so, under a single chief there may be many sections of people with *isibongos* differing from his own, and who will not all act in unison (or uniformly) as far as the various customs are concerned. *They have their ancient customs; those remain with them.*

A chief places a rapidly growing confidence in foreigners who attach themselves to his tribe, for the reason that those of his own original tribe contend, and would like to depose him. It is, therefore, for diplomatic reasons that a chief treats aliens well, for he will rely on them for support, or to check the dispute of members of his own tribe.

There are various reasons for people quitting a tribe to join another. Among these may be mentioned *quarrelling* and disputes of all kinds, and *smellings-out*. These are the chief causes for accessions to a tribe; no one leaves his home for another place without a cause. The main cause is that people are in a state of unhappiness when they leave their own old tribes for others. There may of course be other causes; the chief is dissatisfaction with the conditions.

7 *People became scattered* when Tshaka formed the nation (*qoqa'd izwe*); that is, they went to *konza* various tribes in an indiscriminate manner. Again, people *dispersed* when Dingana left Zululand, and when he was killed many *konza'd* at the uBombo and lived anywhere but in their own tribal lands.¹⁷⁰

A foreigner is not regarded with suspicion, and is treated with kindness and consideration, so much so that even if his own tribe desires to have him back he is never, or rarely, in a hurry to leave his newly found home. Whenever *strangers* arrived in Zululand with the view to *konzaing*, they would be taken to the king, who would make *much* of them, as if they were great treasures, the reason for which would be because they had come from afar. *They had made for the king to come and konza him.*

This occurred in the case of Mbilini, son of Sobuza (of Swaziland), who was treated with great consideration and with such respect as became his position as a prince of Swaziland.¹⁷¹ Tekwane also came to Zululand from Swaziland, and was treated in accordance with the rank he held in his own country; he only returned to Swaziland after Cetshwayo's capture.¹⁷² Malambule ka Sobuza, another refugee of high rank, was, however, put to death in Zululand by Mpande because of a complaint made against him by some of his own people (countrymen) who had taken up their abode in Zululand.¹⁷³ He was put to death because of Sidubela ka Sobuza, who died, and whose death, so Sidubela's people said, had been compassed by Malambule. The case was *tried* and, as serious accusations were *made* by Sidubela's people, Malambule was put to death. They said he had gone to the uBombo, *dug up Dingana's body, rendered down the fat, and smeared himself with it.* This was the accusation which caused him to be put to death. The Zulus were very indignant at his having *smeared* himself with the fat of their late king, and daring after that to come and tender them his allegiance. Sidubela's people were resolved in some way or another to *overthrow* or *destroy* Malambule.

No Tongas ever came to *konza* in Zululand, i.e. *konza* the kings. Mbilini, Malambule, and Tekwane all ran away from Swaziland because of the *succession dispute* there; they were afraid of Mswazi.

8 A man in trouble would come to *konza* a chief. The chief would then *afford him protection*; after this the chief would send for his *live-stock* and, if the former chief would not give them up, a *case* would be *heard* by the king. No matter how objectionable or disreputable a man's character was, he would not be given up by his new chief. The chief would say, 'I shall not believe that this man's character is as bad as you make it out to be, that he is unworthy of my protection, merely on your own assertions. I propose to see and decide for myself.' And such a line would be pursued even though the applicant had, as it was believed, killed someone with *medicine*. Murder by means of an *assegai* was so rare and unusual an occurrence that we need make no special reference to such eventuality.

1.10.1900

File 73, p. 8.

Per Ndukwana, 4.50 p.m., 1.10.1900.

Those who, of one *isibongo*, have *konza'd* those of another will gradually forget their language, dialect and, to some extent, their customs, modifying them by those of the people they live among. One finds many Swazis in Natal who have forgotten their dialect and speak only pure Zulu. Nukani, *induna* at Ladysmith, is an instance, also Mhlopekazi; then there are the Basutos in Nqutu district, Zululand.

15.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 1.10.1900>.

File 73, p. 19.

19 Husband and wife (attitude of one to the other). Per Ndukwana, 1.10.1900. From full notes.

When a husband desires to have sexual intercourse, *he pleads with her*. He says, '*Come over this side; indeed, come.*' He does not compel her; he speaks to her gently. Even when the woman has stepped over on to the husband's side of the hut, she will at first face the other way. The husband will say, '*Hau! What are you doing? Turn round.*' There may be some reason for her refusing; she may be menstruating, or she may be ill. The husband does not show ardour exactly, but quite a lengthy conversation might take place between the two before the woman will consent. Native husbands are perfectly well aware how often, and when, menstruation occurs, and so, if a woman refuses on the ground that she is still having her courses, and the man feels she has no valid excuse on that ground, he *persists*. A woman always pretends not to want to have sexual intercourse for fear of being thought she is sensually inclined.

A woman has her side of the hut, and if she has passed the night with her husband she will very early *move over* on to her side of the hut, and there sit up. She *gets up at daybreak*; she *puts on her skirt*, and *kindles the fire on the hearth*.

Zulus do not cohabit with a woman who is still menstruating. That is a well known understanding. *Discharges are cause for abstention (ukuzila); it would be because she is menstruating*. A woman, when having her courses, refuses to cohabit. One might have connection with a girl (externally, of course) when menstruating, but never with a woman. The woman *vunula's*, i.e. places something over her private parts to arrest or stop the bleeding.

15.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 1.10.1900>.

File 73, p. 21.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 1-2 - eds.>

21 Men and girls, relations between. Per Ndukwana, 1.10.1900, from full notes.

A girl is not *penetrated*. She crosses her legs and tightens them as she feels the man is about to spend, and the man spends on the

girl's thighs. At the beginning, she will allow a man to put his penis a little way in and, as she feels he is just about to spend, withdraw, tighten her legs, and the emitted semen will run off her. If the man has *ejaculated incorrectly*, she will point it out at the time in case she becomes pregnant.

It was a common thing for a girl to have three *lovers (sokas)*, each belonging to a different regiment. She would give one *lover* one month, another the next month, and so on. *Cases of pregnancy* were not reported to the king. When a girl was *made pregnant*, one could easily find out what *lover* she was with on the month preceding that in which her courses stopped. The girl's relatives, finding out her state, would then go to the young man's kraal, but, as it was not allowed that men should have sexual intercourse with girls (*full intercourse*), the young man, afraid of being beaten, would run away to the hills, leaving the aggrieved persons to come to the kraal and 'eat up' *cattle*, perhaps all of them. After this the *young man's* people will enlist the good offices of some neighbour, and give him directions after he has consented to go and fetch their cattle back. They will specify one beast which he is to *pick out* and present to the girl's relatives. This man would go then and point out the beast, which would be killed the same day. If this beast were pointed out when the cattle were in the field, it would be driven home and stabbed at the kraal. The girls would not eat this beast as it is *associated with improper behaviour, a beast of reparation*; it would be eaten by the *married women and men*. The *gall-bladder* would not be used or put on. After this incident, active steps will be taken to marry off the girl to some other man. She could not, of course, marry the lover who had *made her pregnant*, for, having no heading, he was prohibited by law from marrying her. It, however, often happened that a young man, when he had been allowed to *put on the heading*, would go to his former sweetheart's husband and demand his child.

<1.10.1900>

File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 2-6.

- 2 The child, boy or girl, would then be *lobola'd* with four or even five head of cattle. Some men would refuse to *lobola*, saying to the *young man*, 'You formerly denied being the father.' This resistance, however, would generally be broken through, even though at first the young man had denied all knowledge, and he would receive his *lobola*.

5.50 p.m., per Ndukwana.

Mnyamana refused to be one of Sir G. Wolseley's kinglets.¹⁷⁴ He said, 'My chiefship is dead. I was a chief in the Zulu country. I shall not now go and "hold the feather" of the white man's government, which has taken chiefship away from me.' The king's relatives (Ndabuko etc.) sided with him.¹⁷⁵ He therefore never became a kinglet. He had a large extent of land.¹⁷⁶ This was divided up among Mfanawendhlela, Hamu and Ntshingwayo ka Mahole.¹⁷⁷ Hamu got the largest part.

Tshaka's *induna* was Ngqengelele. Dingana's was Ndhlela, father of Godide (*the chief son*) and Mavumengwana. Mpande's was Mbilini (father of Mayindi), and after him Masipula ka Mamba of the *Mgazini* people.

Cetshwayo's was Mnyamana.

It was evident during Mpande's reign, to ordinary people even, that Mnyamana was not of inferior status to Masipula. For instance, he used to pass beer to Masipula by one hand, hold one arm out with the *pot*, and this *pot*, which Masipula or Mnyamana, as the case might be, <sic> would sometimes fall or break.¹⁷⁸

Mbilini died suddenly - under suspicious circumstances. Masipula also died just after Mr Shepstone had installed Cetshwayo,¹⁷⁹ i.e. after drinking beer. Ndukwana says people were not allowed to go out and work because he had died (i.e. not that day).

- 4 Mnyamana had a *chant (irubo)* sung by his people when they were performing the *ukuketa* dance.¹⁸⁰ They would end with it. It ran thus:

Men sing,

'They know this, that it was we who were given protection in ancient times.'

Women sing,

'I remained in the yard even though the place formerly belonged to our fathers; now we sit at the doorkay.'¹⁸¹

Mpande said when he heard this, 'Who is it that says that Mnyamana is sitting at the doorway? So who is it, who, here in the house, is sitting at the back part?' He said the song was not to be sung again.¹⁸²

- Mpande's first regiment, which included his own children, was the Tulwana, and in this were Cetshwayo, Ziweddu, Mbuyazwe, Mantantashiya, Tshonkweni, Soklawana, and Hamu. Siteku (of the Nkonkoni regiment) was also put into the Tulwana regiment. Mpande said he could find no
5 person of whom the Tulwana would stand in awe. He could only think of Mnyamana, *for authority belonged to him by birth (waye ngo wo ku salwa)*, and he accordingly became *induna*. The *inkosikazi* in charge was Nomcobo ka Senzangakona (the king).

Mbuyazwe or Mbuyazi - both pronunciations common. N. says Mbuyazwe (and he was an isiGqoza) was *fathered* for Tshaka.¹⁸³ This was a custom among kings, to *father children* for their brothers. Hamu was *fathered* for Nziba ka Senzangakona. Nziba *followed Mpande in age*. Tshonkweni was *fathered* for Dingana. Cetshwayo was his own. Mpande, when questioned, said that Cetshwayo was his *chief son*, as a man (*ngi ngu muntu*),¹⁸⁴ but the *chief of the land* was Mbuyazwe. People questioned because Mpande had reported to the Boers that C. was his heir etc. Mpande said, 'Is not Mbuyazi the son of Tshaka, the king of the earth?'

- 6 Dingana had no children, nor did Tshaka. Cetshwayo had Dinuzulu; he was not *fathered* for anyone. Manzolwandle was not *fathered* for anyone.¹⁸⁵ Cetshwayo died just after Manzolwandle's birth.

Hamu went to Mfemfe kraal (this belonged to Nziba) as if to his own kraal, as if he was really Nziba's heir. These men said to be *fathered* were only *fathered* for kings who had had no children of their own.

14.10.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 171-3.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 6-12 - eds.>

171 *Amadhlozi, Mvelinqangi* etc.¹⁸⁶ Conversation with Ndukwana, beginning 6.27 a.m. this morning, to about 8.15 a.m. From copious notes taken at the time.

We say that *all things were created (datshulwa) by Mvelinqangi*. We however do not know for certain. *Mvelinqangi* is a personality. No one knows where he lives. It is merely an *expression (isiga)*, this, of saying, '*Mvelinqangi created all things*' - a common saying or proverb. All say he *did the creating*. There is nothing understood among the Zulus about *Mvelinqangi* living in the sky, on or in the earth, or anywhere. Nothing is declared of him but that he created all things. It is not known who created him. Only today (recently) do we hear of an *inkosi*, that he lives in heaven, and that his name is Jesus. There was no definiteness about our knowledge of *Mvelinqangi*. We never used to apply the word *Nkulunkulu* to the creator;¹⁸⁷ that has been imported by missionaries and *kolwas*.

We believe in the existence of *amadhlozi*; we accept them. *People before us believed in the existence of amadhlozi*. We become assured of the existence of *amadhlozi* in this way. Some person may suddenly be overtaken by a serious illness, and he would become unconscious. His friends or relations would then go off to *izinnyanga*. He (the *innyanga*) would say, '*The idhlozi wants something to eat.*' Indeed, says Ndukwana, *that is how we see that the idhlozi exists*, for soon after people had left to consult the doctor, the invalid would be found to have come to again. The doctors (*those consulted*) would say who the *idhlozi* was. The consultants would come back and find the sick person sitting up and eating food. Some doctors would say, '*They want such-and-such a beast*', specifying as they spoke the precise colour of the beast in the kraal. This is the evidence which creates or brings about conviction as to the existence of *amadhlozi*. When consultants return from the doctor they *address the idhlozi; they give praise to it with a beast* etc. A person getting a sudden and alarming seizure would be splashed with water on his eyes, also on and about the head; if such treatment was not successful in restoring him, men would go and consult a doctor. It frequently occurs that after the consultants have been away such time as would admit of their reaching the doctor, the invalid would *recover consciousness and sit up*, which events would coincide in time with the naming of the *idhlozi* by the doctor. The naming might be particular, or somewhat indefinite. The actual name might be given, or the *idhlozi* might be said to be simply the sick man's 'father' or 'mother' or 'grandfather' or 'grandmother' etc.

172 The *idhlozi* is what gives a man his vital force (*hambisa's umuntu*). The reality of the existence of *amadhlozi* is perceived when a sudden severe illness overtakes a person.

It sometimes happens that a dog will run up on to a hut; it might then be beaten and caused to come down. After coming down, people at the kraal might beat it again and cut its ear. If, at some later time, even after they had *let pass* days, weeks or months, there was a repetition of this action on the part of the dog, *they would go to consult the innyanga*. The doctor would say, '*On the former occasion when the dog acted thus, it was driven by an idhlozi to do as it did because you people had been neglecting the idhlozi.*'

These snakes are known among us; they visit the kraals, and people will know by sight who such-and-such a snake is. That is to say,

amadhlozi are these snakes - not every snake but particular ones. The *mhlwazi* snake, a snake of the veld - if you keep a look-out you may see it - is an *idhlozi* snake. It does not bite, though it looks as if it would do so. An *idhlozi* does not bite a man; if it came along and a person sat still it might even pass right over his foot. The large snakes are easily seen. These are the departed kings. One sees them accompanied by other snakes, of a smaller description and which are understood by natives to be *izinceku* or servants of the large one. This greater snake might perhaps go to the cattle kraal, and stay there possibly for several days, and the *izinceku* would stay too. They would not remain with the large one but be at some little distance from it, and not necessarily be together but in different places. The being at some distance tends to show they treat the large snake with respect. They do treat it respectfully. If such an occurrence took place at a man's kraal, he would go and report it (the great *idhlozi*) at the king's kraal. After this, people in the neighbourhood of the kraal where the large snake appeared, and also those belonging to the neighbouring *amakanda*, would assemble at this said kraal. They would then stand in a row outside the fence and perform the *ukuguba* and *ukuketa* dances. Beasts would have to be provided for slaughter purposes by the owner of the kraal. The dancing is said to be done for, and in honour of, the great *idhlozi*.

People believe that when a person dies a snake at once appears which is the deceased's *idhlozi*. The body may be buried but the snake remains. The great *amadhlozi* were always known by sight. Tshaka's *idhlozi* for instance was known; people would say, 'That is Tshaka!'

We did not know or speak of *Nkulunkulu*; we heard of him only when the *kolwas* came. We had *diviners* (*izanusu*). It was said, 'He is going to be initiated as an *innyanga*.' A person would sometimes get very ill and go through a long, wasting illness, be reduced to a skeleton. A reference of the case to an *innyanga* might elicit the reply, 'He wants to become one of us.' This person would then be taken to the *izinnyanga* who would *tasisa* him, i.e. initiate him as an *isanusi*. The regular *isanusi* would treat him, give him their *izihlazi* medicines.¹⁸⁸ He would wail or cry and gradually recover; he would begin to practise *divining* (*bulaing*), and *diagnose* here and there, and ultimately qualify.

All live with the *amadhlozi* of their own people. *Amadhlozi*, like men, are created (*dala'd*) by *Mvelinqangi*. They are not messengers of *Mvelinqangi* or anyone, but merely different manifestations of his power. *Amadhlozi* are sometimes said to be sent by their fathers or grandfathers (deceased), i.e. sent by the older *amadhlozi*. Any person's *idhlozi* might be said to have been sent by that man's father or grandfather, referring of course to their *amadhlozi*, but nothing is ever said about *Mvelinqangi* sending them. He merely creates them.

A remarkable incident in connection with the great *amadhlozi* occurred during Mpande's reign, of which Ndukwana speaks from personal knowledge. Two snakes came to Nodwengu and there fought. These two snakes were 'Tshaka' and 'Dingana', i.e. those kings' *amadhlozi*. 'Tshaka' was overcome by 'Dingana'. Mpande then said (the men of Nodwengu were) to arm and kill 'uDingana', for, it was said, 'Here is the evil-doer who killed the king.' The snake was accordingly hunted by the regiments all about the fence, its retreat cut off here then

there, until at last it was killed. It was not killed with sticks, straight or knobbed, but with assegais, for no one would dare to use a stick, no one dared approach it too closely, not for fear of being bitten, but out of respect. These great snakes were *treated with great respect*. 'Dingana' (snake) was then taken away to a spot below the present waggon-drift on the White Umfolozi and there burnt. N. was not present when the burning took place. People say the ashes of 'Dingana' did not *get taken away by the water*, for the ashes were cast into the water. They said *the ashes were* in a mass, round, globular in shape, and floated back to the bank of the river. N. was above 20 and not 32 when this incident occurred. He remarks that in spite of this killing and burning of 'Dingana', 'Dingana' still exists in the same form as before, i.e. as an *idhlozi*. 'Do *amadhlozi* ever die?' he asks doubtfully. 'Tshaka' was not actually killed; though *overcome* by 'Dingana', the snake got away. People saw that Dingana yet again was bent on killing the *king*. N. heard no reference to Mhlangana on this occasion.¹⁸⁹ Cattle were provided, *addressing of the amadhlozi* was done, and they were *praised*, and cattle slaughtered and consumed.

15.10.1900, 12.10 p.m.

File 73, p. 174.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 13-15 - eds.>

174 Per Ndukwana, 12.10 p.m., 15.10.1900. From full notes.

We say that an *idhlozi* is not only the spirit which is in the snake, but the snake itself, its body and spirit together as one being. When a person dies and is buried, it is then that the *idhlozi* forms (*bumbana's*). We never speak of a soul (*umoya*), but I think (that) what is called the 'soul' (*umoya*) is what makes (*bumba's*) the *idhlozi* after a person is dead. It is *bumba'd* of the flesh of the dead person. For, it happens that a man dies with a wound; this same wound will appear in the *idhlozi*, and the *idhlozi* will be seen to be a particular person by the wound seen on it, which the deceased was known to have.

N. says he saw 'Tshaka' (that is Tshaka's *idhlozi*) at Umlambo-
ngwenya,¹⁹⁰ first of all when he was still a *mat-bearer boy* (*udibi*), but he saw 'him' again afterwards at Nodwengu when he, 'Tshaka', fought with 'Dingana', as above noticed. N. did not see Dingana when he was still an *udibi*. As for 'Tshaka's description, he was *green, a large snake which would form a large mass of coils. It was marked with black and green spots* (indefinite). It would be preceded by *imhlwazi* snakes, which were *the izinceku that accompanied it*. We were very much afraid. No one would *approach and look closely*. Especially was this the case with boys (who were naturally inquisitive); they would never be allowed to approach too close. A boy might see the snake *on top of the fence, coiled up*. N. never noticed if there was any wound or scar on 'Tshaka'. 'Dingana' was also *like that; they were not different. 'Dingana' was the larger. It was green in colour*. N. never noticed particularly because afraid to *approach the fence. The old men used to say which snake was 'Tshaka' and which 'Dingana'*. When 'Tshaka' was seen at Emlambongwenya the order

was given to arm and do the ukuketa dance for the king. Whenever any of these great amadhlozi appeared, a report would be made at once to the king, who would probably direct the amakanda in the neighbourhood of the kraal at which the idhlozi appeared to be called up to dance (keta). There was never any occasion when N. was born to consult the izinnyanga to ascertain whose idhlozi such and such a snake was, i.e. the great ones, whatever might have occurred previously. It had become common knowledge who 'Tshaka' was and who 'Dingana' was.

<15.10.1900>

File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 15-20.

15 N. saw 'Mpande' when Cetshwayo had become king. It was said, 'The king has come to oNdini,' by which was meant 'Mpande'. N. was at his place, at Kwa Gqikazi, at the time of the unyatelo ceremonies, when
 16 this announcement was made.¹⁹¹ We went to oNdini. We entered and made salutation to Cetshwayo. Then an inceku announced (the inceku who spoke was Bejana ka Nomageje), 'You have been summoned, for the "king" is down there in the great enclosure, near Mnyamana's quarters. You too must see him. Go out there, and perform the ukuguba dance.'¹⁹² Indeed we went out to the place. We saw 'him' on the outer fence; we stood about 35 yards off. We performed an isiqubulo dance.¹⁹³ When we had finished, we sang a chant (irubo).

At that point the Kandempemvu regiment approached, passing below us, as the Mbonambi regiment was about to go in at the gate. The Ingobamakosi had not yet performed the isiqubulo dance, and was still waiting. At that point a fight broke out at the gate. The Kandempemvu and the Mbonambi fought at the entrance. It was drizzling, and the shields made little noise. Then Mahlapahlapa (the induna of Nombobo)
 17 came up to me and said, 'There is trouble here. Go and see what is happening, so that we do not take fright if they come on top of us.' I then ran towards the gate, until I could see what was going on there. Matters were serious. There was no reason for this fight, as so often was the case among Zulu regiments - even though no quarrel of any kind.

Nothing was done, no fine etc. They did not fight with assegais. No one had assegais, for when taking up arms was above referred to, only sticks and small shields were (used). The Ngobamakosi wanted to join in, but were restrained. The king had gone outside to watch. Whilst the fighting went on, 'Mpande' remained still in the fence. Nqodi ka Dilikana, Betshu ka Sondoda, and Mgidhlana ka Mpande went
 18 out by the small opening, above where 'Mpande' was. N. saw the very snake itself; it was very similar to 'Tshaka' and 'Dingana'. N. has never seen 'Cetshwayo'.

N. was not present when Nandi died; she was killed by Tshaka; he stabbed her. When the comet appeared was when Mawa (a woman of the royal house, sister of Gqugqu ka Senzangakona) <sic>. Mawa was there fore half-sister to Tshaka because (borne) by a different mother.¹⁹⁴

Izihlazi are decoctions of miscellaneous drugs, or merely the drugs themselves. A man never went up into the isigodhlo when stirring up of medicines was being done, for fear lest he should become affected by

NDUKWANA

the power that makes a person into a diviner. Izihlazi are not carried by herbalists (*izinnyanga zo kwelapa*), only by diviners (*izangoma* or *izanusisi*).

.... <Bibliographical notes on freemasonry etc. omitted - eds.>

19 3.40 p.m., 15.10.1900. Ndukwana.

I never saw Senzangakona's, Jama's, or any other king's *idhlozi*, nor Dingiswayo's. *Dingiswayo's idhlozi did not come to the Zulu country*; it would not come. It would be known by members of Dingiswayo's tribe where they lived.

Amadhlozi follow kraals from place to place, even if (the kraal-head) had gone off far, built across a river etc., for even though a man has crossed many rivers it has been known for an *idhlozi* to turn up. People would say, '*So-and-so has come.*'

I do not know what would happen if a great *idhlozi* was seen out in the open, out in uninhabited areas. I never heard of anyone so finding it. It was more than 14 or 15 feet in length, about as thick as just above the wrist but not where the arm is thickest near the elbow.

It used to be said that 'Jama' had come, and that it had had *tribute given to it*.

20 I heard that a snake came to oLandandhlovu just before the Zulu war. It was identified by the *izinnyanga* who went with Mbuyazi. *Why had he not been accorded appropriate treatment by having praises addressed to him? It was because it had not become known that he had died at Ndondakusuka.* (We did not hear distinctly.) We were in the outlying districts. This is hearsay. This was where we originally heard that Mbuyazi had died, for it had always been said that he was alive.

'Jama's' was said to have come to Embelebeleni when Ndukwana was grown up - over 30.

23.10.1900 - <evidence given 15.10.1900>

File 73, pp. 11-12.

<The passage which follows was written up by Stuart at a point in his transcribed notes that makes it appear as part of the record of an interview which he had with Ndukwana on 22.10.1900. However, the original rough notes (which are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 20-1) clearly fall under date 15.10.1900: we therefore insert our rendering of Stuart's transcription at this point - eds.>

<The assembly (*ibandhla*).>

11 N. says he remembers seeing four to six elderly men of great position seated at the lower end of the cattle enclosure, but inside, close to one another and probably discussing some great affair in secret. Anyone passing would be so struck that *his body would go*

12 *limp*, and (he would) say to himself, '*The great men are talking among themselves.*' N. saw such men once at Ondini when sent from Gqikazi with a message. He formed the opinion that they were discussing great matters, arranging the affairs of the Zulu country, putting things right, setting matters straight. And such secret - because inaudible - discussions would take place (but in the open) even if the affairs of the country were in an apparently quiet and satisfactory condition. Among the members of such conclave might be mentioned Mnyamana,

Ntshingwayo ka Marole, Godide, Seketwayo, Mbopa ka Wolizibi and Mvundhlana.¹⁹⁵ Hamu, though a man of high standing, would have been too young to take part in such councils as these. No word would be spoken which would be kept from Zibebu.¹⁹⁶ Zibebu has a very intimate knowledge of old Zulu affairs. N. has frequently heard him speaking. N. has never been able to hear exactly what nature of affairs the small conclaves referred to discussed, so cannot say - as he did not attend even the *men's assemblies (amabandhla)* - what kinds of subjects were generally referred to the smaller and larger councils.

16.10.1900, 1 p.m.

File 59, nbk. 34, p. 21.

- 21 Ngwadi ka Ngendeyana was killed by Dingana after Tshaka's death.¹⁹⁷ He was killed because he was a *close relative of Tshaka (kwabo ka Tshaka)*. All Senzangakona's children were killed by Dingana. Tshaka never killed his father Senzangakona's children.

16.10.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 159.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 21-22 - eds.>

- 159 *The pukula custom.*¹⁹⁸ Per Ndukwana, 16.10.1900, 1 p.m., from full notes, sometimes verbatim.

This is a custom. Beer would be made for the *nkosazana*.¹⁹⁹ A person would go to *pukula*; she would go to her mother's home and get some *amabele*. It would be said that she was going to *pukula*; it would be a girl who went. The *amabele* would be ground at the girl's home, and made into beer. It was said that it was the beer of *Nomkubulwana*, the *inkosazana*. We do not know her. We know her name, but we do not know who she is. Grain for the beer will not be ground in large quantities, but all the huts in a kraal will grind, here a little, there a little. This will take place in a number of kraals in the neighbourhood and, in whatever kraals the custom is observed, all the huts in that kraal would take part and contribute. When the beer has been made, the girls will put on the boys' best loin-covers (*imitsha*), and go out to herd the cattle. They would take the cattle and go out with them. The cattle would then come back and be milked by those who ordinarily do the milking. They would place a pot at the gate and look for a cow with a white udder. It would be milked. All the milk would be put into the pot, and they would cook *isitubi* porridge. They would stir it, and stir it, and stir it. They would then carry it away.

18.10.1900 - <evidence given 16.10.1900>

File 73, p. 159.

In the afternoon they would again take the cattle out to graze. They would carry the porridge with them; they would go and eat it out in the open. The same with the *pukula* beer; they would take calabashes of it and go off and drink beer in the veld and eat *isitubi* porridge. They would take their eating vessels. The beer that remained at home

would also be drunk.

That is all there is to be said about *pukula*. They put on the boys' loin-covers and go out to herd in them. Some say this is done to keep away fever (*umkuhlane*); others say the *inkosazana* comes down; it is the beer of the *inkosazana*, who comes from the sky. It is not known what she is like. No one has seen her. Large tracts of country would carry on this practice, i.e. there might be a regular movement or wave over a large portion of the country whenever people began celebrating the custom. Many kraals might combine and institute the celebrations on one and the same day. One would hear such expressions as these: 'The girls of such-and-such a place are out herding cattle; I came across the girls out herding'. The ceremony or custom is observed generally throughout Zululand. Grown-up girls go out with the cattle; small ones act in the same spirit as the big ones but go out with the calves. The observance takes place once in any given year but not annually; a whole year might elapse without its being held.

18.10.1900

File 73, pp. 159-60, 162.

Per Ndukwana, chiefly in answer to questions put by me to him, 18.10.1900.

I do not know when the *pukula* custom started; it is one which existed long before I was born. There were people who are said to have made Nomkubulwana. A child (girl) has the *pukula* done for it by its mother; it is done at the mother's home. No person's name is associated with this custom, only Nomkubulwana, a mythical being. We never heard of the Nomkubulwana ceremonies being performed at the *amakanda*. I never heard of a princess of the royal family taking part in *pukula*; the practice is observed in the country districts. The time when *pukula* is done is when weeding is over and when autumn begins. Only virgins take part in *pukula*. No girl who has been deflowered or made pregnant may take part. A young bride may not join; she is debarred by the fact of having married, even though she may not have become pregnant. Barren women, like all married women, are debarred.

The owner of the beer made is the *kraal-head* (*ummini muzi*), that is to say, what remains after the girls have taken the little they require. At home there is a large pot of beer. If there is a lot of beer made, this pot stands at the upper end of the *kraal*. Each hut will contribute, if plenty of beer has been made, a fairly large potful; this will all be poured into the big pot. The *kraal-head* owns this large pot, and any beer which may have remained over likewise belongs to him. The girls take only very little beer with them. When, at home, the beer is drunk, there is no ceremony, no declaiming of praises. Visitors who have had beer would of course express their thanks to the *kraal-head* on going away, in the ordinary manner. No beer is reserved for Nomkubulwana, or in any way dedicated to her. The girls will sing their songs. I do not know what, and cannot even give the general sense of what they sing; it does not appear to be of any special importance.

Pukula is done in Swaziland. I saw it also done in Ingwavuma district in chief Mkakwa's tribe.²⁰⁰ And it would be observed in Natal too, though I have not actually witnessed it. This custom is

not in any way connected with *amadhlozi*. No definite purpose appears to be served by *pukula*; there seems to be no special object in view. It is alleged that the *inkosazana* came down to the district (*isifunda*) a long time ago, and came from above (sky), but the district is never specified. No one knows anything positively about the matter. Girls do not pay or give anything for the *amabele* they ask for; they are not bought. They say, 'We have come to *pukula*', and are thereupon presented with the *amabele*, even though it be merely a couple of handfuls (i.e. two hands-ful). The Nomkubulwana ceremonies are performed with *amabele* from the home of the mother. Another name for Nomkubulwana is Nomdede.

Those at the mother's home will sometimes come and ask for beer, but people where the beer is made may deny having any, whereupon the others say, 'Was it not of us you *pukula*'d the *amabele* with which you have made this beer?' They will be given beer. I do not know why girls go to the mother's and not to the father's home. I know of no asking for *amabele* at the father's home in connection with this or any other custom. A girl goes to her own mother's home, but if her own mother's kraal is very far off, she may go to her stepmother's (if she has a stepmother) and *pukula* there. The (grain for the) beer is ground by girls because there is so little of it, but there would be no objection to a married woman doing this.

162 I do not know who it is who initiates the observance of this practice whenever it comes on, for it seems quite certain no order ever comes from the king, nor is any permission to hold it ever asked of him or any *induna*. It seems as if any person may (at the proper season) observe the custom upon their own initiative. It must be remembered this custom is a young people's affair. It is necessary for a girl, when she goes to ask at her maternal grandmother's, to say, 'I have come to *pukula*,' or she will not be given any *amabele*. Even if there is very little food, if the very meal being prepared is the last, the girl will be provided for. When there is very little to eat, a mere mealie cob (unshelled and taken, say, from the roof of the hut) may be given. No girl ever goes empty away.

Ndukwana agrees with me that the girls are practically emissaries on behalf of Nomkubulwana, the *inkosazana*. Nominally they come from her and resemble royal envoys (*amanxusa*) and, therefore, are endowed with a certain amount of authority and importance. The *mpukulo* is that which is given when there has been *pukula*. Girls may go in a body to the mother's home if they are children of one mother, or, if some of their mothers or one or other of them live far away, these girls may then go one by one to the huts in a kraal, but no girl to more than one hut (or more than one to any one woman's hut).

The practice is observed all over Zululand, in every direction. One will hear often, 'I came across uNomdede (Nomkubulwana) at the place of So-and-so. I found no beer at the place of So-and-so; it had been spilt.' There are no formalities observed on the evening of the drinking of the beer. The loin-covers (*imitsha*) are taken from the brothers where girls live; the kraal-head's (*umunzana's*) is not taken. The *imitsha* are never injured; they are taken off in the afternoon. Herdboys follow the girls and eat with them, but do not herd, for the responsibility rests on the girls. I do not know why a white-uddered cow is taken. The *isitubi* porridge is made of *amabele* meal; it is well stirred. The fever (*mkuhlane*) is kept away

from no one in particular - merely a figure of speech, though there may be a bearing on fever.

The girls play about when *herding*. They play as they like; they will *dance (giya)* for their own amusement. *The calves* will be herded separately from the big cattle. No report is made to anyone that the practice has been observed. *Jutshwa'd* girls do not *pukula*, in the first place because, as a rule, they are married off at once. I have seen this custom observed many, many times. As a rule no quarrelling or fighting occurs; it does sometimes take place among the *youths*, but would not be anything serious, for when the young men go out *into the veld* to court the girls, as they are permitted to do, the girls' elder brothers go too. All ask for beer, and the elder brothers preserve order. Girls leave their own *imitsha* at home. Men, on the day in question, *wear* their everyday *imitsha*; it is their 'dress' *imitsha* that have been carried off by the girls.

18.10.1900

File 73, p. 174.

174 <Amadhlozi, Mvelinqangi etc.> Per Ndukwana, 18.10.1900. Beer is sometimes set apart for *amadhlozi*.

<19.10.1900?>

File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 37-40.

37 *Prohibitions.*²⁰¹

*Large blankets, with markings, which we used to call osembatwanqapi.*²⁰²

Umncaaka beads - reddish beads.

Loury feathers.

Whiskers of leopards

Lion claws.

When a lion was killed it was kept, while the fact was being reported. *Izinyanga* would come. When they came, they would doctor it, take pieces of it (what they cut off) to take to the king, and get the fat. Then the carcass would be burnt, and the ashes swept into the river, for that is where the burning would take place.

38 *Ingxota armbands were distributed by the king.* No man could get one and put it on; he could not make one for himself even if he had the metal.

The imqubula dancing dress - made of the skins of animals, twisted in strips, meeting on the hips. These were distributed by the king.

The rib-meat was only given to his ummunzane.

A man of standing would make a presentation of a beast to one of the great men (isikulu) of the kingdom, to last over many years.

Elephant tusks came from another country. The king sent them on to Europeans.

Animal skins came from another country.

Beads of a certain colour (light-brownish - called imfibinga) were put on by the princesses (amakosazana).

At first leopard skins were not put on; they were distributed to children of an isikulu. When killed they would go to the ummunzana.

39 *No one killing a leopard would keep it for his own use.*

Izindondo metal beads were freely worn. They were used when girls

were married off. When *ingxota* armbands were manufactured, *izindondo* were put in.

Isibuda - red stone (mercury?) for women's hair.

Not allowed to have same name as the king. Not formally prohibited (*nqunyiselwa'd*).

The anthem (*ingqoma*) of the king - the king's song. It was first sung in the month of the *inyatelo* ceremony, and last sung in the month of the *umkosi* ceremony, after which a person could no longer sing it.²⁰³ It was an old song; it had no spoken words.

The gourd.

Bunches of feathers for wearing as a sign of royalty.

Crane feathers were distributed to a regiment that had put on the headring. They were bought with royal cattle from the *amakanda*. A bundle or two would be given, but not sufficient. Ostrich feathers would be given out the same way - bought with the king's cattle. Two small ostrich feathers were enough. No one could buy on his own account.

40

Tshaka and Dingana prohibited sexual relations between girls and youths; they were not to *hlobonga*. This was relaxed in Mpende's time.

Cetshwayo also said (by proclamation) that girls were not to be *hlobonga'd* with. It was proclaimed, but failed, because girls and boys slept out in the open by stealth. It had an effect for only one year. After this girls at the king's place went to the youths.

Bowls for washing the hands were made of *undongwe* clay.

20.10.1900, Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 124-5.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 40-2 - eds.>

124

Land and land tenure. Per Ndukwana, 3.10 p.m., 20.10.1900.

The land of Zululand belongs to Tshaka, he who *unified* all of it. Tshaka would take a fancy to a man and then, having conquered some *chief's* land, would say this man might go and build at any spot he (Tshaka) might indicate. Men used to be given land by Tshaka, and a man might be given permission to occupy land even though other people might be living on it at the time. The old resident would not be called on to quit. If, later on, a quarrel were to arise, it might end in the two going to Tshaka, who would generally cause the old resident to move to some other locality which would be indicated to him. The land at all times, all of it, belonged to the king, i.e. since Tshaka's federating or unifying the small, previously existing *amakosi*. Any man who speaks of land as belonging to him means it is his because given him by the king. Those who were conquered were not required to ask permission to remain. There was no necessity; they merely continued to occupy as before. If, in any particular locality chosen by the king for some man to live in, there should happen to be a man, say an *isilomo*,²⁰⁴ with half a dozen kraals of followers, such person and followers would not be turned off to make room for the new arrivals, but simply left alone; nor would he be required to *konza* the new man, even though he might be of greater standing.

In Zululand some land was set apart for the special use of the

king's *izilomo*; it resembled Crown Land, which in fact it was. The *izilomo* are those 'made' by the king (*ezenziwe inkosi*). For instance the country at Kwa Ndabenkulu, down the Black Mfolozi, behind Zibebu, this side of the Hluhluwe, where it flows into the Mfolozi, was land so set apart for Crown purposes. And again the land about Mpapala was similarly set apart and did not belong either to Ndhlela (father of Mavumengwana) or Zinti, for the *izilomo* or headmen Manyosi, Nhlebo, Sisinde, Ngqojana (ka Senzangakona) and others lived there.²⁰⁵ Ndukwana knows only of these two pieces of land set apart for Crown purposes. When given permission to reside on such land, an *izilomo* might take his followers with him, and other *izilomo* might do likewise. In Tshaka's and Dingana's times any man might, without obtaining special permission, go and live on this land; nor would he in doing so be obliged to *konza* any of the *izilomo*, for the land was the king's. This making of boundaries (*imncelencele*) began in Mpande's time. These two tracts of country had no *umumzana* in charge, either one tract or the other. The *izilomo* were in charge of it all.

125 If at any place people quarrelled, the king could direct a man and his following to go and build where the king saw fit. No one would object to this man's coming to live near and about him, for, in the first place, the man was told by the king to move to the place and, secondly, because all the land belonged to the king.

21.10.1900 - <evidence given 20.10.1900>

File 73, pp. 125-9.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 42-9 - eds.>

Same conversation continued.

No tax was paid for the privilege of living on Crown Land. A man who had had permission granted him would often *take a beast and go and give praises to the king*. He would take this beast and present it to the king, i.e. to express gratitude for being permitted to live on the land.

A man arriving from beyond the boundaries of the state would be required to *do so through the medium of someone, to place himself under someone*, that is, he would be required to be introduced by some man of standing in the country to the king. Such man could not, like regular subjects, go and reside without permission on Crown Land.

The land roundabout the various *amakanda* was not specially described in any way. The land across (north of) the White Mfolozi is called *the country of Makoba*, and is in the neighbourhood of *amakanda*. It is still occupied by the *abakaLuridane* and the *abaka-Joko*, which peoples lived on it *before the country had been unified (hlanganiswa) by Tshaka*.

No man might squat on land known as *Emakosini* except such as might be specially appointed to reside there to guard the royal graves.²⁰⁶ This land of 'Emakosini', however, *had amakanda built in it, viz. Siklebe, Nobamba (this kraal being among the graves of the chiefs), Engwegweni (the DhLambedhlu of Mpande), Mgungundhlovu, also Dukuza*.

Applicants wishing to build kraals would go to the *umumzana* who would, if he felt so disposed, indicate the spot to be built on,

i.e. within his recognized boundaries. A person with half a dozen followers might come and ask an *umnumzana* for permission, and have pointed out to him some locality or definite ridge or ridges. If at that part there appeared to be unoccupied land, some single individual subsequently applying to build might be allowed to live there without the *mnunzana* consulting the wishes of the person and his followers who had previously sought and obtained a similar permission. Nor would this single kraal have to *konza* to the bigger man, though as a matter of convenience he would probably be required to report all occurrences to, and have cases tried by, the man in that neighbourhood specially deputed for that purpose, and such man would communicate with the *mnunzana* or chief as he may deem necessary. This single individual, though having in this way to submit to the authority of the man appointed, would not *give tribute (etula)* to him because, of course, he had been specially placed on the land by the *mnunzana*, and did not go there on his own account. (*The mnunzana put him there*). A commoner, when a spot is pointed out to him by the *umnumzana*, is understood to be, and himself understands, that he is presented with a kraal site, grazing ground and garden lands.

126

There were no restrictions as to where cattle might graze, for there was no such thing as a *boundary*. They could go by, or even through, other peoples' gardens so long as the standing crops were in no way damaged, and provided there was someone present to look after them carefully. Not only did the whole land belong to the king, but the whole of the cattle as well.

Sites for gardens were not specially indicated; it was understood that a man knowing where he might build would look about and find garden land there. *No tax for land was paid to anyone (izwe la li nga telelwa muntu)*, and no chief (*mnunzana*) could exact or levy a land tax from any of his subordinates. Service used to be required. As far as the king was concerned, people might be called out merely for getting *umklele* branches for building the *isigodhlo*, or for cutting trees for the *cattle enclosure* and *outer fence*.

As a rule, old gardens were not asked for by new arrivals because, of course, they were being used by the resident kraals. A man might ask permission from his neighbour to make a garden on his land. The limits of any given kraal's land were determined chiefly by physical conditions, hills, streams etc., and not by actual distance or measurement. And any man who had had assigned to him some particular locality might shift about to various spots, always cultivating the same gardens.

It would occur at times that a man would be dissatisfied about something. The king might then give him permission or direct him to go and live at some other place.

Food or crops were not contributed by the various kraals to their *umnumzana*, though it frequently happened, when plenty of beer had been *brewed*, for some of this to be presented to the *umnumzana* by some of his followers. There was no obligation about the matter; people could please themselves. No man who did not wish to move was ever moved. Boundary disputes sometimes arose; these would be inquired into and settled. No woman was ever given land to live on; such applications were unknown.

Paths, private or public, slightly used and greatly used, traversed the country in all directions. There were no such things as *roads*, for

there were no waggons. In no place could a man be said to be trespassing; there was freedom or right of way in all directions. In respect, however, to the *amakanda*, no one was allowed to *walk behind the umuzi*, i.e. *an ikanda of the king*. This rule of course did not
 127 apply to ordinary men's kraals. The rule, as touching *amakanda*, was made because *the women of the isigodhlo go out that way* - that is the way they go when going to relieve nature. Among this *isigodhlo* are the royal family (members of). Travellers, however, were allowed to go behind if they walked at a sufficient distance. Such rule was prompted possibly by fear of being *takata'd*.

People coming from countries like Tongaland proceeded along the main and well-known paths. All paths ultimately found their way to the king's kraal. Not even where the kings' graves were was a person forbidden to travel, though, in traversing that particular locality, he [as may be seen under 'Kings' Graves' etc.]²⁰⁷ had to comply with certain customs.

Hunting of buck etc. could be done anywhere and everywhere; and anyone who chose to hunt could do so. In the event of a hunt having been organized for a particular locality by a set of men, those living in the locality in question would, if they wished, join the party and hunt with them or refrain just as they liked. No objection would be raised as to the right of the party to hunt there.

Any man might *burn off* the grass roundabout his kraal to protect it from grass fires; he might also burn grass on his own land for his own requirements as he saw fit, for winter grazing etc. Hunting parties too might set alight to grass provided no damage was done. If by setting grass alight kraals were burnt, there would be an inquiry (*indaba*) to ascertain who had set the grass alight. Such inquiry, being matter of a small description, would be held by the *mmuzana*.

People living in the coast districts, as about Emangweni kraal etc.,²⁰⁸ enjoyed the same privileges as people in other parts of Zululand. Greater liberties were not accorded them; they were controlled by the same system.

The only people who, though subject to Zululand, were allowed to continue their own ways of land occupation without interference by the kings, were Sambana, Sipike (Mkakwa), Mbikiza, Memezi (Ndhlaleni, Madhlaka) and Mtshelekwana.²⁰⁹ These tribes never *assembled at the king's place*. They were known as Mapita's *amankengana*,²¹⁰ and any matter of sufficient importance that might be reported to Mapita would be carried on to the king, otherwise Mapita settled it. All the rest of the country *would assemble at the king's place*.

If two neighbours had a dispute about land such was settled either by themselves or by referring same to their *mmuzana*.

128 *Clay* might be *taken* by anyone without asking for permission of the man on whose land the *clay* was; and this would apply to people coming any distance.

In Tshaka and Dingana's times there were no such landmarks as *boundary pegs (izikonkwane)*; land was *divided* and defined by means of streams, hills etc.; nor were stone beacons used, or trees, as defining boundaries. There were no stone beacons in Mpande's reign. People used to be sent by the king Mpande if a dispute arose and these, after conducting an inquiry on the spot, would *make a determination (nquma)* by a river or hill as the case might be. The holding of such inquiry involved no payment of fees of any kind. Mpande, like his predecessors,

allocated land to his people. He too would take a man from one place and make him live at another. What Mpande sometimes did, which neither Tshaka nor Dingana had been in the habit of doing, was, when in any particular locality people got crowded, to define or lay out boundaries; and this would be occasioned by some *mmuzana* coming to beg for more land, as what he had was not sufficient. Cetshwayo too followed this procedure. He too ordered men off land and directed them to build on other land. Land, however, was never on any occasion alienated; any man lived on it at the king's pleasure and might be ordered away whenever the king saw fit.

Red ochre (*isibuda*) and iron could be dug out and taken without permission; and anyone could cut what wood he wanted anywhere he liked, *wattles*, poles etc., for forests came under no restrictive law. The land of the kingdom was under no restrictive law (*izwe la li nge na mteto*). (Everything [in theory], belonged to the king. Men used to go to *konza* at the various *amakanda* in large numbers.

Abanuzana could not exact the services of men living under them, though when *carrying* or shifting his kraal he would expect them to assist, and they would do so. They would do such work as cut the necessary wood for, and build, his new kraal.

All the people belonged to the king like the land they occupied. [Vide p. 76.]²¹¹

The boundaries of Zululand were the Incombe river on the north-west to where it enters the Mzinyati, from there along the Mzinyati to the Tugela, then along the Tugela to the sea; on the north-east the Pongola was the boundary (it was the first boundary in Tshaka's and Dingana's reigns, but it was afterwards crossed at the Ngcaka, Mhlongamvula hill, and near the Swaziland 'Makosini'),²¹² thence to the uBombo along the Pongolo, and then, on the east of the uBombo, the Mkuze river to the sea was the boundary; the sea was the eastern boundary. The territory of Zululand was carried across the Pongolo when Sidubela ka Sobuza came to *konza* the king in Mpande's time.²¹³ The Baqulusini also crossed and built near Makosini (Swaziland).²¹⁴ Masipula drove the Swazis back and planted his kraal at Mkwakweni. (To this day Sitambi ka Masipula lives there; he *konza's* the Zulu kings.) Tekwane also belonged to Masipula, but he afterwards re-*konza'd* the Swaziland king.²¹⁵

129

The Boers in the neighbourhood of the Hlobane and Zungeni mountains *disputed* with Cetshwayo as to the boundary line of Zululand.²¹⁶ They said Mpande had conceded to them certain territory there, but Cetshwayo resisted as he knew of no such cession.

21.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 20.10.1900>.

File 73, p. 76.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 47-8 - eds.>

76

King and people, relations between. Per Ndukwana, 20.10.1900.

All people, like the land they lived on [pp. 124-128],²¹⁷ belonged to the king. If any man got seriously ill, his illness would be notified to the *mmuzana*, who would instantly report the fact to the *izinduna* and they to the king. The king would then most

NDUKWANA

likely give the order to *consult diviners* so as to discover the nature and cause of his illness. A sick man in Zululand was always an object of great importance.

21.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 20.10.1900> File 73, p. 75.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, p. 48 - eds.>

75 Architecture. Per Ndukwana, 20.10.1900.

The wood used for the *posts* of the *isigodhlo* enclosure was *mtoboti*, both because it was hard and durable, and because it had a pleasant smell. The plant which furnished *mklele* branches for the *isigodhlo* is called *mqandane*.

<20.10.1900> File 59, nbk. 34, p. 49.

49 Fire was *made by rubbing fire-sticks together*. They were got from forests and *from the bush country*.

21.10.1900 File 73, p. 129.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, p. 49 - eds.>

129 <Land and land tenure.> Per Ndukwana.

The boundaries of the country were determined by the *izizwe* (tribes) *defeated*, i.e. the lands occupied by them. Tshaka defined no boundaries, for the territories he conquered and whose occupants tendered their allegiance to him were already sufficiently defined and known.

22.10.1900 - <evidence given 21.10.1900> File 73, p. 163.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 49, 52 - eds.>

163 <History.> Per Ndukwana, 21.10.1900.

Dingana's *indunas* were Ndhlela (father of Mavumengwana though the *chief son* was Godide), also Nzobo (father of Mgamule), commonly known as Dambuza.²¹⁸

Tshaka, Mapita, and Mpande were all of an age - *amaWombe*. [Who *buta'd?*]

[On p. 184, *Annals of Natal*, Bird, occurs 'Chaka is about 38 years of age'. This appears to have been written in 1825 by Lieutenant King.]²¹⁹

Cetshwayo *made laws when he was still a prince*, hardly at all when he became king. The only reason why he could not be called *king* was because he had no authority to *hold the umkosi ceremony*. [An illu-

stration of his power to rule is seen in the regulation in connection with what is known as 'A stick belongs to the one who cuts it' (*induku yo mgawuli*). Vide 'Marriage'.]²²⁰

21.10.1900

File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 49-53.

- 49 *Imilozi* - never saw any.²²¹ There were some about; they were *diviners (izanusu)*. A person would be entered by the *idhlozi* of an *imilozi*.
- 50 (There would be) no *bulaing*; (it would) merely *speak*. It could bring forth a thing concealed. The *idhlozi* speaks; everything lost is found and brought out into the open. It was good because it brought things forth; (there were) not many *diviners* who did this.
- There were not many *diviners* in old times; there would be one here, one there. *Tshaka* refused to allow that there should be *diviners*. Nowadays (there are) many. (There was) no *smelling-out* done in *Tshaka's* day. He said they *smelt out the people*.
- He once took the blood of a slaughtered beast of the royal herds and he told them to sprinkle this inside the *isigodhlo*. The next day people were astounded, finding it blood-red inside the *isigodhlo*. They were then called to *bula*. Certain of them came forward and *smelt out people*, saying people had come to kill the king. There was one that *bula'd* and *bula'd*, and said he could not see, and fancied that it had been done by the heavens above, i.e. the king.²²² T. then had all these who had done the *smelling-out* killed off. After this (there was) no *initiating of diviners*, and no *running about crying*. Women put on the topknot, and men put on the *headring*, and they became ordinary people. *Ngqengelele* said nothing.²²³ This was done at Kwa Bulawayo.
- 51

Cetshwayo. Marriage. While he was still heir to the succession, he made the law that 'a stick belongs to the one who cuts it' (*induku yomgawuli*). When a woman's husband died she would go and marry, and her issue could be claimed. A woman becoming barren would then be fetched by (her) previous sons, and all her children at the new husband's would be got too. If there were many children, one might be left with the second husband. If there were, say, three, the lot would be taken, and a beast with a calf would be *picked out*.

- This was done when (he was) still a prince. Down-country near *Eshowe* people *disputed* with C. about this. He said no man would allow his children to be taken. He said she was to become the second man's wife, and he was to own the children. C. said that it seemed women who had lost husbands would no longer marry for fear of their children being taken by the original husband's heirs. This obtained for a number of years, and was repealed whilst C. was still a prince.
- 52

Mpande was called the *little fool (isitutana)*, and escaped being killed on that account. He ran off to Natal, and was brought back by white people, probably Boers, for he returned with Boers. Land occupied by *Ntshingwayo* (Koza tribe) was built over by *Mpande*. It was called *Nqakavini* (at *Emlambongwenya*).²²⁴

Mpande was given a herd of young cattle so he might go to *Mgungundhlovu*, and, whilst on the way there to *give praise*, would be killed.

The cattle were driven by Ncagwana and Matunjana, and he was warned by Matunjana ka Sibaxa. Matunjana forgot his stick purposely in the entrance-screen before the hut. He went back, and seized the opportunity of bolting. Mpande at this time was at Mlambongwenya (his prince's home). Dingana wanted to put these men (his brothers) out of the way for fear of their killing him as Mhlangana and he had done Tshaka.

[This shows Zulus are not naturally bloodthirsty but have to take precautions for their own safety.]

23.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 22.10.1900>.

File 73, p. 11.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 53-4 - eds.>

11 *The assembly (ibandhla)*. Per Ndukwana, 5.41 p.m., 22.10.1900.

The *ibandhla* used to be called up by the great *induna*, the one in authority. When Mbilini died,²²⁵ Masipula was the one who, in Mpande's reign, summoned the *ibandhla*, though these great *indunas* would receive their instructions to do so from the king. The position held by Mapita was a very high one; he stood next to the king, and was practically his chief adviser and shared the duties of governing to a certain extent. *Mapita was a great chief*. The king would inform the great *induna* as to the subject he desired the meeting to discuss, whereupon it would assemble and *conduct discussion until a decision was reached (bumba izwi)*, which decision, when arrived at, would be conveyed by the *great induna* to the king.

Amongst the greatest who were summoned to the *ibandhla* in order to discuss national affairs were the following, excepting Mapita who, because of his high status, could not be classed with ordinary members of the *ibandhla*: Mbilini (the great *induna*) ka-- <sic>, Lukwazi ka Zwana of the Ntombela people, Mnyamana, Masipula ka Mamba of the Emgazini people (afterwards great *induna*), Ntshingwayo ka Marole, Mbopa ka Wolizibi of the Hlabisa people, Godide, Seketwayo ka Nhlaka, Mvundhlana ka Menziwa of the Biyela people and Gaozi ka Silwane.²²⁶ These were the principal members [one might say the cabinet] in Mpande's day. There were, however, other men of great if slightly inferior importance to those given. Somapunga ka Zwide of the Ndwandwe people (father of Mankulumana) might be mentioned among these.

Such men as the above-named would be the first and probably the only ones to be summoned. They would accordingly come together, discuss the subject before them, and arrive at a decision respecting it. It might often happen that they would desire the matter to be discussed at a larger meeting, and such larger meeting [including of course themselves] would include *izinduna* of the *amakanda*. Such *izinduna* could not be called *great men of the nation (izikulu zezwe)*. From each *ikanda* would be taken the *induna of the main section*,²²⁷ also the *induna of the uhlangoti section*,²²⁸ and probably also the two *izindunas* of each *isicamelo (of the main section and of the uhlangoti section)*,²²⁹ for in a *kanda* there were only four *indunas* of importance. Ndukwana never attended any of these *amabandhla*. He was called, however, when matters between individuals were adjudicated upon and when

NDUKWANA

the *consultation with diviners* known as the *ingoboco* was held. [See 'Administration of Justice', p. 72.]²³⁰

23.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 22.10.1900>.

File 73, p. 72.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 54-5 - eds.>

72 Administration of Justice. Per Ndukwana, about 6 p.m., 22.10.1900. In the event of two persons of high standing having a quarrel, or where it might be necessary to *call in diviners to bula* in respect to some great man, a large gathering of persons was called together to deal with the matter. To such inquiries Ndukwana sometimes went. The quarrel would be at first inquired into and, it might be decided, if no satisfactory decision could be come to, to hold a *bulaing session* (*umhlahlo*) to settle the matter. The gathering met together would then disperse to reassemble say some three or four days later, when the necessary *izangoma* or *izanusu* had been summoned. The *izinyanga* would have to *bula* at the head kraal where the inquiry was being held. An *umhlahlo* of this kind would be known by the name of *ingoboco*.

27.10.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 22.10.1900>.

File 73, pp. 72-3.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 55-7 - eds.>

Same continued, 27.10.1900.

The three or four days postponement is occasioned by the doctors having to be fetched from their respective kraals, sometimes at a considerable distance. The meeting would reassemble as soon as the *izangoma* had been got. Five doctors is about the number required for the *ingoboco*. They, on the day appointed, would not come up to the king's kraal at once where the meeting was assembled, but would station themselves at various and separate spots, ranging from say half a mile to three and four miles from the place at which the *bulaing* had to be done, and wait. As soon as the necessary arrangements had been completed, one of the *izangoma* would come up at a time; he would *bula, bula and bula*, and then *turn back* and go off in a direction different to that in which the other *izangoma* had stationed themselves with their respective followers, for each doctor brings a body of armed followers with him. After the first man had *bula'd*, the others, with their respective followers, would come up one by one, and the last to *bula* would be the greatest, who would hold his investigation and conclude it just about sunset. The doctor's followers will come up with him and be in attendance on him whilst he *bula's*; *they come armed with shields and assegais*. Before the *bulaing* begins, those two parties between whom there is the dispute will be taken off and conducted by the concourse of spectators, possibly in different directions, to *wash at the river*, where not only the principals will wash but their adherents as well. After having washed and having pro-

cured green sticks which they pulled off by force (i.e. sticks for bulaing with), they all return to the kraal. They place their own ordinary sticks at some spot fairly distant from where they are to sit, and thereupon take up their position in the open space, where they all sit down. At the *ingoboco* great *izinduna* are present, also men from all over the Zulu country, i.e. the great assembly. They sit in an assembly; they half encircle the disputants. <Continued below - eds.>

<22.10.1900>

File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 57-8.

57 The doctor comes with his own people, and is armed. He rushes at the two parties before him and brandishes his assegais, shouting, 'Strike, friend! Agree, friend! Strike, friend!' ('Tshaya wetu! Vuma wetu! Tshaya wetu!') He will threaten with his assegai, but not actually touch them, and then leap backwards, and then forwards again, within the circle of those who accompany him. These are all armed and standing, for they stand as a guard over the doctor, who might be killed by either of the disputants when the bulaing goes on.

Bantubensumo of Klwana's people (the Buthelezi people) said, 'I shall no longer summon him,' i.e. N. and Ndongeni, because when 58 Mkokwana was killed we left, and fled.²³¹ Mnyamana said to the assembled Zulu people, 'Kill him! Kill him!' i.e. Mkokwana. He was C.'s great *induna* when C. was a prince. He was killed because jealousy would arise. His daughter was C.'s lover (*isiklebe*), and was accused of taking C.'s personal articles (*izidwedwe*) and giving them to her father, who sent them to Mkungu in Natal.²³²

27.10.1900

File 59, nbk. 34, pp. 58-9.

Fokoti ka Mgulugulu and Dundu ka Sondizase were killed for having sexual relations with women of the *isigodhlo*, i.e. *hlobongaing* with the *abantwana* (princesses).

Mpande would not allow any white man (English) to be touched. He said, 'They are our people' (*ku kwetu*). He would not let them *raya* or chant war songs.²³³ [Mitchell Innes incident, also Qusted.]

When we praise the *amadhlozi* we ask for prosperity (*inhlala kahle*), and ask them to take care of us. It is a well known principle this, that the *idhlozi* makes demands. Beer is sometimes made for praising purposes.

Wearing feathers of the paradise fly-catcher (bird) is prohibited; its feather is put on by the king alone. No one was made a presentation of these feathers, or given them.

59 We used to ask our *idhlozi* not to live in another house. There is no *idhlozi* of a house that has ever gone to another house, because at another kraal the *idhlozi* would be insulted, and it would not be known who it is. 'They will insult you by saying, "You simply come to kill us. Who are you?"' It would be regarded simply as a snake. (There is) only one *idhlozi* to a kraal; it looks after the *umnunsana* and his people. Women are looked after by the same *idhlozi*. But a man of another tribe has his own *idhlozi* if living at the same kraal.

When a doctor says, 'The *idhlozi* wants such and such,' this may be

NDUKWANA

done even though no snake (*idhlozi*) has actually made its appearance at the kraal. The doctor may perhaps say, 'It has been sent by So-and-so,' i.e. some smaller *idhlozi* has been sent by a bigger one.

Even though there was no illness, *dhlozis* were addressed with praises, e.g. when a beast was killed. *Dhlozis* are not addressed every time a beast is killed.

31.10.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, p. 1.

Per Ndukwana.

- 1 Mbopa ka Wolizibi, Somfula, Lumbe ka Wolizibi, Mfusi ka Manyala (the *induna* of the *uhlangoti* section at Emlambongwenya) - these were the great *amaduna*.²³⁴ The king used to say, 'How are matters in Mapita's country?' Mapita had charge of all the northern part of the country, and he used to locate heads on land. Mapita ruled for the king, i.e. the land. Tokotoko and Domba were Mapita's brothers, sons of Sojisa too, and had land of their own but under Mapita.

1.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 80-2, 86.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 1-10 - eds.>

- 80 *Impepo* (burnt offering, with incense). Per Ndukwana, 6.20 a.m., from full pencil notes.

Impepo is a plant (small shrub, about 12 inches high) usually found in the reeds near water. It is used by Zulus as a scent. Women pick it; they dry it, grind it up, and make a perfume of it. It is yellowish in colour, with small leaves here and there up the stalks. The plant is put to two uses, (a) as an ordinary scent, (b) as a medicine used by *izangoma*. The latter plait it and put it round their necks. If a *sangoma* can *bula well* (i.e. a clever diviner - recognized by others as such) it is said of him, 'He has eaten *impepo*'. When a beast is killed some *impepo* is taken and a small piece of the meat is burnt together with the *impepo*. Among our people the bones are collected up. If a man comes to the place (the kraal at which the beast is sacrificed), he is served with meat, but only given that which is not on a bone. The bones will all be put together and afterwards taken inside the cattle kraal, to the top end, and there burnt. They are burnt with *impepo*. It is also used when the beast is not for the *amadhlozi*. If a beast is not for the *amadhlozi*, the bones are not gathered but left alone and thrown away. The reason why the bones are collected and the stomach contents scooped up is because of *abatakati*.

We would sometimes say, 'The *idhlozi* has been wronged,' because, though *bulaing* is done, evil remains in the home. After repeated *bulaing* without bringing about any good result, the *izinyanga* would say, 'The *idhlozi* has been wronged; you must placate it.' It is said, 'Someone has taken a bone,' meaning a bone belonging to a beast formerly killed for (sacrificed for) *amadhlozi*. The *idhlozi* must be brought back (*buyisa'd*). The way to set about this is for a man to call his brothers together, even though living some distance off,

and have them present when he sacrifices (kills) a beast, for if they are not present, the *idhlozi* would harm them (be an *umtakati*). The inimical *idhlozi* would visit those who did not attend. What would be done is this. A white goat would be found. An *innyanga* is then called to do his work. He will take a vessel about this large [about 12 inches high], and stir up the water, having put certain drugs or medicines into the vessel. He stirs up white medicine which they will wash themselves with. They do the stirring in the cattle enclosure; as they stir they call out praises, and continue praising as long as the stirring is done. They ask, 'Why have you come to your home with evil intent (*ngo bubi*)? Why have you come to do harm?' They praise all their *amadhlozi*. 'Come to your home with good intent; if you destroy us, to what place shall you repair? What food offerings will be made you? In the event of your going to others, they will say, "This is a snake," because they will not know it to be you.'

81 The white goat is killed and the gall is poured in (slightly), and especially round about the stirred water, and as he sprinkles he gives praise. The gall is poured by the owner of the goat, the senior man (*kraalhead*). The doctor stirs and then gives the head of the *kraal* (the medicine) to stir; he will then praise the *amadhlozi* of his people.

In these ceremonies the *impepo* is not forgotten, for it is the great medicine. After a beast has been killed specially for the *amadhlozi*, the meat will all be brought into the hut and there be heaped up. When it is all there, there will be more praising, in addition to what took place in the *kraal*, saying, 'Eat, now. Here is food for you.' After the praising is done, a small fire is kindled near the meat which, when brought into the hut, was put at the back. The meat has been laid on one half of the skin; it is then covered over by the other half of the skin when the fire is made. The fire is a very small one, made merely of a few short twigs and refuse. When the refuse and twigs, with the *impepo* (also mere twig or twigs), burst into a small flame or flames, it is just then when the smoke rises that a small piece of meat (of the beast slaughtered) is put on. It is then burnt or singed in the fire. After this all those in the hut will go outside, whereupon the hut is shut up, the meat is left covered up with the skin, and no one is allowed to enter.

Whilst the meat is being cut off the beast, the men of the *kraal* may eat of the beast, even though this be before the *impepo* ceremony, and other men from neighbouring *kraals* who may be present may partake too. As soon as the skinning is over, the limbs (*izito*) may be taken and given to the men. The stomach contents are scattered about and not permitted to be in a heap.

The hut will be opened after about an hour or hour and a half has elapsed, when various portions of the beast are taken to be cooked, viz. the foreleg, the hump, pieces from inside, with the kidneys, also the meat on the ribs, the intestines, and the first stomach and the balance is left in the hut, which is not entered. The women have put on their finery; they have on head decorations; they have on their best apparel, large, beautiful leather skirts. Women do not go to the hut where the meat (for praising) has been placed, nor do they pass in front of the door of the hut (except at a considerable distance). The *kraal* head's wives in particular keep well away from the hut, for his ancestors (*amadhlozi*) have been praised; nor will

they (women) go where the meat is being cooked. In the hut where the meat has been put, only *small boys* will sleep, and the meat will still remain in the hut throughout the night. The *rib-meat (mhlubulo)* above referred to is *roasted by the women*. The foregoing particulars are observed only in connection with a *beast for the amadhlozi*, not beasts killed for ordinary food purposes.

82 All the bones of the *amadhlozi* beast are carefully collected, and when the flesh of the beast has all been consumed they will be burnt in the cattle kraal, burnt by an *old woman*, who may do this alone. She will put *impepo* in among the bones, having first prepared an ordinary wood fire on which the bones are placed. The bones, whilst the beast is being consumed, are gradually collected and put into the same hut as the meat was put in, and only burnt when the beast has been entirely consumed.

The *impepo* is burnt at the back of the hut on the floor; the fire is big enough only that the meat, which is about so big,



may be burnt. This meat may be cut from any part of the beast. The *impepo* burnt is of small sticks. The meat and *impepo* are burnt in the flame and make an odour.

The *impepo* plant (shrub) has small flowers on it, and blossoms on top.

Continued per Ndukwana, 4 p.m., 1.11.1900.

The plaited *impepo* is put round the *isangoma's* neck, generally quite loosely so that it hangs onto his chest. The expression, '*He has eaten impepo,*' may arise from the *izangoma's* practice of *treating* themselves with *impepo* smoke or fumes. They put *impepo* on a *sherd* and live coals on it, and when the smoke rises put their faces in it, also the ears, turning the head so that the smoke may catch first one ear then the other. The fire is kindled *at the back of the hut* either by the kraalhead or his mother. The *scent* that arises is *produced for the amadhlozi*.

The white goat is slaughtered usually after the beast has been killed, though sometimes it may be killed on the same day the beast is killed. Its flesh is likewise placed in the hut where the beast's is put, *for it (the goat too) is for the amadhlozi*. Every one is familiar with *the amadhlozi of their place*, so if another person's *idhlozi* came to a kraal it would be seen at once to be a stranger. Moreover, when *amadhlozi* are cross, they may *change* and become ordinary snakes, so that its living relations will be quite unable to recognize it.

It is not essential that the meat should be placed on its skin. If, for instance, the skin is a well-marked one, it may be taken by the men to be cut at once into *shields*, for if left with the meat there is a chance of it *rotting*. If the skin is taken and cut up, leaves will be put on the floor of the hut and the meat put on them; the meat, when leaves are used, is not covered. The covering of the meat seems to be intended as a mark of respect to the spirits. No beast is, or is ever, said to be eaten on the day of its being killed but on the day following.

86 The ashes of the *impepo* and meat burnt at the back of the hut are cleared and thrown away; no significance is attached to this. Whilst the meat is in the hut, i.e. after the *impepo* ceremony and when the hut is closed, the expression, 'Those to whom the meat belongs are still eating,' ('Ba sadhl' abaniniyo') is used. If beer has been brewed some is placed in a good-sized pot with the meat and shut in. Women may not drink of this beer, i.e. the wives may not touch it, though the kraal head's mother and other old women may drink it. The stomach contents are thrown out of the hut and as he throws he gives praise. (They are) also trampled into the dung in the cattle enclosure, for there is fear lest they should be taken by *abatakati* and used to harm the *amadhlozi*. The old women may also dig in the dung and put the stomach contents there.

The *isinyaka* is the coil of meat formed by the intestines.

Gqogqa is the word used in connection with the dressing of women's hair, putting on *ochre* etc.; for men's hairdressing use the word *cwala*.

The wives may not enter the hut so long as there is meat in it or until all the meat has been consumed. The first day is the killing, the second is the eating of the meat, the third the eating of the lower part of the legs (*amanqina*), the fourth the burning of the bones; that is the order followed. The fourth stomach, as soon as it is taken out of the beast, is taken to the women, who will eat it raw. They may eat it before the *impepo* ceremony. The meat is carried into the hut by males. The blood of the carcass is also placed in the hut. The beast must all of it have been consumed before the bones are burnt. Part of this meat may be given by the kraal head to his brother or brothers, even though it contains bone; these or such bones are not sent back to be burnt. The rib-meat (*insonyama*) does not get taken into the hut, but is carried off at once and presented to the *umnumzana*.

For the *impepo* ceremony a big piece of meat is never burnt, only a piece of the size indicated [on p. 82]. The small piece may or may not be completely burnt; it is immaterial. Whilst meat is in the hut we say *amadhlozi* are eating, even though no way in can be seen (detected) by the eye where they are eating.

The goat is killed in connection with the beast. The doctor is present at the slaughter of both; he must be there for he has duties to perform. He is given some of the meat, which he consumes at the kraal. The goat, after it has been in the hut, may be eaten by anyone. I do not know, says N., what effect the *gall* is supposed to bring about; it is merely an observance. The *amadhlozi* are believed to be eating whilst the hut is shut; the shutting is done in the ordinary way with a pole etc. The bone ashes are not dealt with in any way; they are left in the cattle kraal. The *gall bladder* of the *amadhlozi* beast may be put on by the mother of the kraal head, round her wrist. It is well to give this to his mother, for if a man wears it himself the *amadhlozi* will quarrel. If there are no elderly women, the *gall bladder* is sometimes given to a young girl to wear, but then the *amadhlozi* would gain an influence over her, and cases are known in which some time afterwards the girl has died, which is possibly caused by her having put on the *bladder*. The *bladder* is not worn by

just anybody; there are risks. The goat *bladder is inflated and always worn on the head* by the kraal head.

1.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, p. 63.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, p. 8 - eds.>

- 63 <Izangoma, izanusi, imilozu etc.> Per Ndukwana, 1.11.1900.
 When a person goes to *consult a diviner*, he most commonly, almost always, gets the advice that the *idhlozi* is the cause, and that it wants food. The person consulting will return and, as he sees fit, either kill or merely *bring forward* a beast and *address praises to the amadhlozi* by means of that. The beast *brought forward* is not killed. If, after the ceremonies in connection with either of these beasts, there is no improvement, further recourse is had to the diviner, and more *divining* is done. There is no necessity for the man *consulting the diviner* to say anything; the doctor will ascertain all that has taken place, and he will gain such information by feeling it (sensation). He will speak of the *amadhlozi* as 'my friends' ('*abangane bami*'). He will indicate the courses followed to check the evil, draw attention to incidents of an unsatisfactory nature which may have occurred, such as in connection with a dog having climbed up onto a hut, or such as the taking of a former *amadhlozi* beast's bone or bones by an *untakati* or its *stomach contents* being similarly taken [vide pp. 80-82 and 86],²³⁵ and what not; and, marking the unsuccess of the expedients followed, which he is able to enumerate fully and accurately, will observe, 'But I say ...,' etc., etc., giving his advice as to the course to be followed. He will say then that *the idhlozi has been wronged* [vide p. 80], and upbraid the person *consulting him* with being obstinate and contumacious.

3.11.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 10-11.

<The originals of the passages that follow include notes that are so abbreviated as to make editing and interpretation difficult. These we reproduce without emendation - eds.>

- 10 Accustomed to - custom, rite.
Unfounded, nonsensical statements (amawukwuku).
Amabuto.
 People did not know of *matters pertaining to the times of Dingiswayo and Tshaka*.²³⁶ They only narrated war stories, not customs etc.
 [Truth not defeated by error. The Zulu idea is a truth. How comes it to be defeated by what is not truth? What defeats one may defeat the other, and thus the truth may be found.]
 Maqeda ka Mahele of Empangisweni (dead) - killed as *an old man* by Hamu's people.²³⁷
- 11 Madubana ka Mnyangwana, of Empangisweni - old men - dead. These men used to talk on great subjects. There were no real philosophers

NDUKWANA

in Zululand; there was a talk but not much speculation.

People said *the country had been destroyed by the man of the Mtetwa*, i.e. Dingiswayo, for he killed *all the nations*. He finished them off and brought Tshaka to power. D. fought like us; he would go and go, and then remain still, etc. The Mtetwa were overcome by the Ndwandwe. Personal articles (*izidwedwe*) were taken from Dingiswayo and given to the Ndwandwe.

Tshaka did not scatter the nations; he unified (*qoqa'd*) them.

Ndukwana's grandmother (maternal) was of the Ntshali people of the place of Kondhlo,²³⁸ who said the country was destroyed by the Mtetwa, chiefly by (their) method of warfare.

[Name of grandmother?] Sonyumba ka Ndingotshe; mother Nomloya.²³⁹

14.11.1900 - <evidence given 3.11.1900>

File 74, pp. 19-20.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 11-16 - eds.>

19 The life of Ndukwana ka Mbengwana of the Masondo people of the Mtetwa (my chief informant). Per Ndukwana, 3.11.1900. From full pencil notes taken at the time.

At the death of Dingana *I was a child being carried on the back*.²⁴⁰ My father's name is Mbengwana ka Matshotswana. My mother's is Nomloya ka Maxalangxa or ka Mpitikele. My father was born in the Mtetwa country, possibly whilst Jobe was reigning.²⁴¹ Mgudhlana ka Ntuli went up-country and my (N.'s) father went with him. This man also belonged to the Mtetwa tribe. He built at the place afterwards called Empangisweni.²⁴² That country originally belonged to Mgudhlana. Mgudhlana then became my father's chief. I do not know why Mgudhlana left the main body of the tribe. After Mgudhlana died, Mkosi, his son, took charge of the tribe; this was still before Tshaka's day.

Mbengwana was killed by Sikota when Dingana was king. Sikota was the son of Nquhele, adopted (*tola'd*) by him. Nquhele followed Mkosi in age; they were in the house of the wife Sonenese. When Tshaka defeated the Ndwandwe, Mkosi wanted to join the Ndwandwe.²⁴³ Mkosi actually left Empangisweni with the view to fleeing with the Ndwandwe tribe, but when Mkosi had got as far as Entumbane (*at the source of the Mkuze river*) he, Mkosi, halted; and when the Ndwandwe people were driven on, it was then that Mkosi sent Nquhele to Tshaka, who was with his impi. Nquhele was directed to tender Mkosi's allegiance. After delivering this message, Tshaka said Mkosi was to appear before him in person, and ordered Nquhele to instruct him accordingly. Nquhele went and returned with Mkosi, whereupon Mkosi went off with Tshaka. When they came to where the kraal Empangisweni was afterwards built, and had gone a little beyond the sites, T. said, '*Let the Impangiso umuzi be built here, for the sons of Mgudhlana hurried (pangisa) to come and konaa*. For we were still pursuing the Ndwandwe to whom we thought Mkosi belonged.' [This kraal, says Socwatsha, is up the Black Mfolozi.²⁴⁴] Mkosi was then ordered to re-occupy his kraal-sites. Tshaka gave Mkosi a certain amount of autonomy, and Nquhele was placed by T: in charge of Empangisweni kraal (which was not Mkosi's but Tshaka's kraal). Mkosi now re-occupied his old kraals, which were

in the vicinity of Empangisweni kraal.

My father was with Mkosi during these occurrences; he was one of his *senior men*. I do not know when my grandfather Matshotshwana died. He was not put to death. He died in Mkosi's time; *he was not driven out*.

20 My father had about 10 wives. My own mother died when the criminal case Regina vs. Mhlutshukwa (Mhlutyukwa) was being tried at Eshowe [about 1892]. I do not know my step-mothers. All our kraal was *killed off*. Nquhele died *at the time of the mourning for Nandi*.²⁴⁵ He was killed by Tobela, *the induna of Embelebeleni*. It was said he was part of *the group of people buried when the inkosikazi was buried*. Sikota *escaped death*; he was then a *mat-bearer for Nquhele*. After this Tshaka asked where Nquhele was; he was told the man was dead. Nquhele *had been slow in coming to the mourning for Nandi*. Tobela said as Nquhele had not put in an appearance, *men (amabuto) were to go and lie in wait for him at the Mhlatuze*, because he would most probably *come down the Nkwenkwe* on his way to Bulawayo. Tshaka one day asked, 'Where is that little dark boy who used to come here sometimes? Was he killed, or is he still alive?' They said he was still living, and so Sikota was appointed.

My father's death at Sikota's hands occurred after Tshaka's death and when Dingana was king.²⁴⁶ Sikota *informed against the whole house of Mgudhlana, saying that they were weeping for Tshaka*, for he used to *present them with large numbers of izimbedu beads*. After this Dingana said Sikota was to put these people to death. It was in that way that my father's death came about. All the Impangiso people were taken and *were all thrown over the cliff at Kwa Nganga*. (There are two hills opposite one another and on opposite sides of a stream that enters *the Black Mfolozi*. One hill is called Nganga, the other is Barwana.) My father was thrown over the Nganga precipice.

18.11.1900 - <evidence given 3.11.1900>

File 74, pp. 20-3.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 16-23 - eds.>

Same interview continued.

21 My maternal uncle, Gijimi by name, ran away with my mother, and came to the *umuzi*, Esebeni, at the Nhlazatshe mountain.²⁴⁷ Esebeni was Mmama's kraal - Mmama ka Jama (father of Senzangakona). Mmama was a twin sister to Mkabayi of *ebaQulusini*.²⁴⁸ The reason why Gijimi went off with my mother was because Sikota was *full of self-importance*, too much overweening pride, and did not treat those by whom he had become great with sufficient respect and consideration. Gijimi saw that, Mkosi and Nquhele being dead, he could no longer stay where he was, so he decided to go and *konza in the Zulu country*. He accordingly went to Mmama. My mother took me with her and a younger brother of mine called Nside, still sucking at the breast. Gijimi asked my mother to carry his things for him; he, at the time, was still *an unmarried man (insizwa)*, belonging to the Nomdayana regiment. Gijimi was my mother's younger own-brother. He is dead now; he died before the Zulu war. He fought at Ndondakusuka and escaped. I used often to *carry* (his things for him).

My mother never married again. My mother's last son was Nside. She had four children - first two girls. Nomaqele died as an old married woman. The other girl was Nomahlati; she is still living. I follow her in age. Only we two are living, of my own mother's children. Nside died young, say about five years of age. I do not know the cause of his death. He died at *my maternal uncle's*.

I know our old kraal site at Empangisweni; the kraal's name was Emakepeceni. I know because Mpande later sought out the sons of Mgudhlana, i.e. the sons of Mkosi. He asked if no one had remained. Mkosi had four children, who were taken by Klwana ka Ngqengelele. Klwana was the *induna of Embelebeleni after Tobela had died*. They were fetched from Klwana's place. As for Nquhele's issue, they were got from my uncle Gijimi, for they had scattered when the killing took place, and found their way to my uncle, calling him father. There were two of these boys; I do not know about the girls. Mpande knew Magujwa ka Nquhele, one of these two boys, well. Magujwa belonged to the Ndabakawombe regiment. The other boy was Mzanywa ka Nquhele; he is, I believe, still alive and belongs to the Ingulube regiment. Magujwa was a Siggoza and was killed at Ndondakusuka.²⁴⁹ There was a third boy called Njwakumbana, son of Nquhele, who also lived with my uncle, but he *crossed over* and came to Natal. I do not know if he is still alive. Of Mkosi's children, the *chief son* was Mzobo (of the Dhlambedhlu regiment); he was therefore *chief son* over Nquhele's issue. Mkosi's four children (sons) were Mzobo, Ngqoko, Bafaniso, and Makubalo.

Mnyamana and Sikota had a quarrel, whereupon Sikota left and crossed into Natal to live under Pakade of the Cunu people. [Chief now I believe is Silwana - see p. 163 of Native Affairs book.]²⁵⁰ He lived there until the Ndondakusuka battle when he left on a visit to Mpande; he gave as his excuse for leaving that he wanted to see the king. When he got to Mpande the latter ordered him to stop, and sent a message to Somsewu (Sir T. Shepstone) to state that he was restoring Sikota. Sikota was then again placed in charge of Mpangisweni kraal, where, at a later time, he was put to death.

Mpande desired to return Mkosi's and Nquhele's sons to Empangisweni and place them in charge, but Mnyamana objected to such appointment although they were the sons of the original *indunas*, and was of opinion that some *senior man* and not mere *boys* should be placed in charge of the district. When the Ndondakusuka was fought, some of these seven men were killed, viz. Mzobo, Bafaniso and Magujwa. They had by that time returned to Empangisweni. I had returned with them as their *mat-bearer*, viz. Magujwa's, with ten head of cattle given them by Mpande. The cattle were given to Mzobo, Magujwa, Ngqoko and Bafaniso. They then went to Empangisweni. Majiya ka Gininda of the
22 Ntombela people was appointed the *induna* of the Mpangisweni section, and was told that Mkosi's and Nquhele's surviving sons were his 'younger brothers'. The four who came to Mpande were summoned shortly after the *umkosi ceremonies* at Esiklebeni and after Mpande had gone to Nobamba.²⁵¹ It was at Nobamba that he saw them. After they had gone off and had received the ten head of cattle, they returned to give praise, whereupon Mpande gave them a further ten head. The other three sons were of course living then, but had not come up.

I went to Nobamba with my uncle in company with them. We went along with Mpande when he went to Nobamba. I was then carrying mats etc.

for my uncle. When the four returned to give thanks I came with them; I was then carrying Magujwa's mats. *We went in a body to eMahlabati-tini; we went down the Mhlahlane stream, and slept at Ovalweni (the place of the people of Nkabana ka Sitayi).* The next day we went on to Kwa Bulawayo, as we heard the King had come down from Nobamba and was on his way to Nodwengu. We heard he had not arrived at Bulawayo but was at Sibata, a kraal of Tshonkwani's.²⁵² We accordingly went to Sibata, where it was we saw Mpande. The second 10 head of cattle referred to were given then, also three girls which we were instructed to fetch from Nodwengu. Of these three girls, two were my half-sisters; their brothers were all dead. The third girl was a daughter of Bagaya's. This man, like my father, had been killed off, when his daughter, being *isizi*, was taken to the king, and the king afterwards presented her to Mzobo.²⁵³ My half-brother, i.e. own-brother to the two girls referred to, was living *at the place of Mapita's people*. The two girls were named Qubata and Nomadebe, the elder brothers being Madhlikivane and Matshana (those both living at Mapita's). These two brothers *went up-country* and came to Empangisweni.

<18.11.1900 - evidence given 4.11.1900>

File 74, pp. 22-3.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 23-4 - eds.>

Per Ndukwana. Continued conversation, 7.45 a.m., 4.11.1900.

The name of my uncle's kraal at Enhlazatshe was Ekukumbuleni, so named because he 'remembered' his own relations and friends at Empangisweni.²⁵⁴ As a boy I used to herd calves, then cattle; this was at Ekukumbuleni, which kraal we left to go to Empangisweni when I was about 12 or 13 years of age. I also used to carry mats etc. for Gijimi.

The first journey I ever went with him was to Olambongwenya kraal, this being from Empangisweni. I remember I was on that occasion too small and weak to carry the bundle given me all the way, so was frequently *allowed to rest* along the route. It is from the fact of having been *allowed to rest* so frequently that I come to think I must have been about 12 or 13. The Mlambongwenya was Mpande's kraal. At this kraal, I remember, as boys, we used to run to the huts near the gate of the kraal when we heard the king coming, and peep out of the doors to have a look at him as he passed by.

23 My younger days were chiefly passed in herding (calves) in front of our kraal, and, when I got older, cattle, but I did not have to do as much herding as other boys, for I used to go to Mlambongwenya or Kwa Ndabakawombe kraal (afterwards, in 1879, burnt by the English). When I went to Kwa Ndabakawombe it would be when accompanying Magujwa there.

14.11.1900 - <evidence given c.9.11.1900>

File 73, pp. 163-4.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 24-6 - eds.>

163 History. Per Ndukwana, about 9.11.1900.

Tshaka was *taken up-country* and *installed as king* on the death of Senzangakona by the Mtetwa tribe under Dingiswayo; *they made him king*. Tshaka killed none of his relations, only his mother, and this was only because his *mlobokazi* had given birth to a child which T.'s mother helped to conceal.²⁵⁵ One day T. saw his mother with the child; he asked whose child it was, and thereafter had his mother put to death. N. does not know the *mlobokazi's* name; both the child and its mother were killed as well.

164 Tshaka was *made chief* after he had distinguished himself as a *great warrior* [emeritus?], and so must have been a young man. It seems Senzangakona built Siklebeni kraal for Tshaka and Sojisa.²⁵⁶ They *went out* then and this kraal was built at Mahlabatini. When Tshaka was at Siklebeni it was then that Senzangakona wanted to put him to death, as it was said, '*He is a scoundrel (itshinga); he does all sorts of unacceptable things*' - N. does not know what. Tshaka ran off to the Mtetwa tribe and *konza'd* Dingiswayo. At this time he must have been a young man, for he had, of course, *left the home of his mother's people*. His boyhood and childhood was passed *in the Quabe country, at the home of his mother's people*.²⁵⁷ Sojisa was not put to death by Senzangakona, as it was said Tshaka had *got away by means of their strength (amandhla)*,²⁵⁸ and therefore, though S. was originally to have been killed, he escaped because T. had succeeded in getting away. Hence the origin of the name of Zibebu's people, Mandhlakazi.²⁵⁹

Tshaka first *attached the Ntshali people*. His *induna* at this time was Mdhlaka. (After this man came the *induna* Mqamama.) He routed them. It was on that occasion that Kondhlo died.²⁶⁰ After this, Hlangabeza, *the chief son of Kondhlo, left and went up-country; he was pursued by Tshaka*. T. must have killed them, for H. could not have gone far up-country; *the land was still in a bad state (izwe la li nga ka lungi)*. Subsequently to this, T. *made war on all the small chiefs, and forced them all to submit*. When he had conquered and *subordinated* the various tribes, Dingiswayo was killed by Zwide.²⁶¹

T. must have *ruled* a considerable number of years if we judge from his *amabuto*, the best criterion. *Giving tribute (telaing)*, in its wider and more important sense, occurred only under Tshaka, though, previous to his time, one chief was tributary to another and *tela'd*. After coming from Dingiswayo, on Senzangakona's death, T. returned to Siklebeni kraal, shortly afterwards, however, building *the Kwa Bulawayo kraal*. Nobamba is Senzangakona's oldest kraal, and Mbelebele the oldest regiment. Dingiswayo *made war on various tribes before* Tshaka came to the throne and whilst T. was still with him as a warrior, and D. then adopted those tactics of warfare I have previously described [p.105].²⁶² He was called (*in praise*) '*Godongwana of the Yengo*', 'Yengo' probably being the name of his kraal.²⁶³

11.11.1900

File 74, p. 142.

<On p. 142 of File 74 of the Stuart Collection, under date 11.11.1900, appears a list, headed 'Regiments (Zulu)', which Stuart compiled from information supplied by a number of informants. Although he originally compiled the list under date 11.11.1900, he subsequently

made additions and annotations over a period of many years. One of the contributors was Ndukwana, but since the list is a composite one, his testimony, along with that of the other contributors, will be published as an addendum in the final volume of the Stuart Archive - eds.>

12.11.1900

File 73, pp. 164-5.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 26-7 - eds.>

164 <History.> Per Ndukwana, 12.11.1900.

Amagova and Izibawu are the names of two of Tshaka's older regiments, older than the Izimpohlo.

It is very generally admitted that Tshaka *learnt* his *cunning* (*ubuqiliqili*) from Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo was killed by the Ndwandwe (Zwide) and buried at Oyengweni. The immediate cause of his death was that *personal articles of his were taken to be put in the izintelezi medicines of the army.* [Vide p. 63 for *izintelezi*.]²⁶⁴ It would seem that the whole of Dingiswayo's *impi* was engaged with that of Zwide on the day D. was killed. D. was on a hill some way off, watching the fight, when a small force despatched by Zwide attacked him from the rear and killed him.²⁶⁵

Oyengweni kraal site is near the old Lower Umfolozi magistracy (Dondota), about five or six miles off it, and on the south side of the river Umfolozi. N. has been shown the site.

The *Qwabe* country was where Tshaka's mother came from. He grew up there. *They poured curds into his cupped hands.* He, T., said *they had destroyed his bull*, i.e. the Qwabe, when he was a boy and living among them. This refers to his having played, as boys do, at making sham cattle kraals and putting stones inside to represent cattle, and a larger stone (with points for horns) to represent a bull; it was such a *bull* that T. accused the Qwabe tribe with having destroyed.

165

N. thinks *Matiwana* must have been Sotshangana's father. *Matiwana*, *Mzilikazi*, *Zwide*, *Pungatshe* (of the *Butelezi* tribe), and *Hlangabeza* (ka *Kondhlo*) were among those who ran away from Tshaka and Dingana.²⁶⁶ Not certain about *Pungatshe*. [How about *Nqaba*? Vide p. 54, notebook 6, and slip of note paper attached thereto.]²⁶⁷

Mbayimbayi is the name of the *isicamelo* of the *uhlangoti* section of the *iziNyosi*.²⁶⁸ *Mvundhlana* was the great *induna* of the *iziNyosi* regiment. [For more historical information, see 'The Life of Ndukwana', p. 19 *et seq.*, notebook 3, Native Affairs.]²⁶⁹

14.11.1900 - <evidence given 12.11.1900>

File 73, p. 63.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, p. 27 - eds.>

63 <*Izangoma*, *isanusi*, *imilosi* etc.> Per Ndukwana, 12.11.1900.

Izintelezi are medicines pounded up by *izinnyanga*, and when the army, called out on active service, has been drawn up in the *circle* (*mkumbi*) formation, the *medicines*, which have been carried to the place in a *basket* standing some 15 inches in height, are *stirred up*

NDUKWANA

by the *izinnyanga* and *sprinkled* over the army, in front and behind, i.e. inside and outside of the *mkumbi*. A *basket* is always carried along with the army with the *medicines* in it.

13.11.1900. Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 121-2.

- 121 <Contact with civilized races - Europeans.> Per Ndukwana, 13.11.1900.
 Natives object to Europeans exacting taxes higher than those claimed by the *monarch*. They, Europeans (farmers), are merely *abamanzana*, and ought to receive rates far lower than those they at present get. There would be no objection to the *monarch* claiming higher taxes, as high as these rents. The land is the *monarch's*, and he or she has placed the farmers or Europeans there. They have borrowed the land. Why should mere borrowers, people themselves there on sufferance, claim so exorbitantly? Natives are forced to see in this action that *the monarch enriches the white people*, and encourages them to claim high rentals in order to cause the oppressed natives to
- 122 take up arms. This evidently appears to be the queen's desire; it is manifest that *she has abandoned them*, and that *they are suffering*. At this point, *their loyalty is thin (inkonzo i ba ncinyane)*; they do not *konza enthusiastically*. What natives of Natal feel most is this question of rents; their sorest grievance is here.

16.11.1900, 4 p.m.

File 73, p. 165.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 28, 33-4 - eds.>

- 165 <History.> Per Ndukwana, 16.11.1900, at 4 p.m.
 Sojisa was older than Tshaka, being the son of Jama.²⁷⁰ Although older, and his 'father', he yet *went out from home (puma'd)* with him and Siklebeni was built for them both. In those days *the territory was still small*; all Senzangakona's people (relations) lived at Nobamba, hence Sojisa's *going out* late in life. N. does not know the regiment to which Sojisa belonged.
- No doubt the reason why Tshaka fled for refuge to Dingiswayo instead of to his mother's people, the Qwabe tribe,²⁷¹ was because the latter *destroyed the bull in his collection of play-stones*, and *poured hot curds into his cupped hands*. Tshaka therefore *held a grudge against* them.
- Nqaba was one of those who fled when Tshaka attacked the various tribes of Zululand; *Tshaka's impi pursued him*.²⁷² Nqaba's father was Mbekane. Zikali was another man of note who fled - northwards - in Tshaka's day.²⁷³
- Mawa, a woman of note, was the first to leave Zululand and *cross* into Natal; this happened when N. was still a small boy.²⁷⁴ N. used to hear it said at the time, *'She has crossed the Tugela to the white man's country' (esilungwini)*. She *crossed* in Mpande's reign. She went off with a number of followers and left because of being killed. N. does not know why she was to have been killed. This happened when *ubaqa* (comet) appeared in the sky. There seems to have

been no other *crossing* into Natal of any importance after this until just after the battle of Ndongakusuka when many *crossed*,²⁷⁵ several being *large communities (izizwe)*, e.g. Mazungeni (of the Kumalo tribe) ka Mtezuka, Dikida ka Mgabatshe, Tobolongwana ka Sobuco, and others, the names of which N. for the present forgets. Mazungeni *crossed* because afraid of being killed, seeing he was accused of having *caused Mkungo* (not Mkungu) *to cross* into Natal, which in fact he did do, for Mkungo *had been put in his charge by the king (Mpande)*.²⁷⁶ He, Mazungeni, *was cast out by Sirayo*.²⁷⁷

16.11.1900, 4 p.m.

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 28-32.

28 *Lobola.*

A man asks for a girl. If the father approves, and gives consent, he says, 'Bring the cattle.' This happens before marriage. *He goes to 'gather' (ukuka) her, before she has been jutshwa'd. He calls her. She is a mature woman (iqikiza), but has not put on the topknot. The man would pick out a beast. This is known as 'gathering' (ukuka), choosing. The beast is taken to the king. The man will begin by taking the beast for the putting on of the topknot, and then he begins to lobola, after the king's consent has been granted.*

29 *Men act with cunning when they 'gather' a girl. They say, 'She is my wife's sister (unlam' wami)'; they say this to the king when going to ask for her. . . . <Linguistic note omitted - eds.> Girls are ibuto of the king, for they are not yet jutshwa'd. No men without headrings (izinsizwa) would ever be married, even if old. Only mature men (amadoda), those with headrings, could take a girl. Only in exceptional cases, to raise up seed in a big kraal, the king might specially give a man without a headring (permission) to put on the headring and marry. No lobola could begin before the king's sanction had been granted.*

Young girls - young amabutho could become engaged to (qomisa) them, but when the girls grew up they would be jutshwa'd to older men. Girls would often take their sleeping mats to their lovers - heaps of them.

The Imidhlenevu regiment became the Nsewane (those who kleza'd in Dingana's time.

30 *The jubaing of girls began with Tshaka in Zululand. In Senzangakona's time there were no such rules about marriage. Girls could take their own lovers. (Ndukwana) hears nothing of jubaing (among) Dingiswayo's people.*

The men of Zwide's Amapela regiment had not put on the headring; they were 'youths' of mature age, i.e. they were not married. I don't know if girls were jutshwa'd by Zwide.

The Zulus did not like this rule of jubaing, hence the running away. Fights would have broken out. The men of the Izimpohlo had taken izingodosi (girls who had not yet been through the marriage ceremonies), but Tshaka said that they had not yet grown up, and said that the girls must go away and leave them. They were married to mature men, even though many were pregnant, and the Izimpohlo were told to cut off their headrings, and they therefore became 'youths'.

*The Ingwegwe, Ingulube, Isangqu, and Amapela (regiments) were not authorized to put on the headring until after Ndongakusuka.*²⁷⁸ They

were then all *authorized to do so* together, as Mpande was angry. *The girls guqa'd*; this means they (the girls) were 'stolen' - *there was no iketo wedding dance*. This was when Nomavovo *crossed over* and came
 31 to Natal - (Nomavovo) ka Nyamayenja, a man. After this the four regiments *put on the headdress*. They *remained* for some time, then the Nomavovo *impi went out*. After this the regiments came back and took their girls without special leave, and these girls were said to *guqa*. There was no *marriage festival (umsindo)* and no *marriage dance (ketaing)*. There was usually an *umsindo* at the kraals, to which outsiders came, but on this occasion the marriage was finished all in one day. *There was a little dancing on the part of the bride's party, but no bridegroom's party came to dance*, and a beast was killed the same day.

They did this because the king had not given permission. For men were afraid that if there was an *umsindo*, and there was fighting and men were killed, the king would want to know who gave permission. *Among our people a case would be heard if men fought at an umsindo, if they fought when giyaing was going on*. The king authorized the
 32 *umsindo* by *jubaing* girls, so no special permission was necessary in any case. No *permission to hold the umsindo* was asked for once they had been *juba'd*.

No *hlobongaing* could be done in Tshaka's time, and no *choosing of lovers*. *Hlobonga and lobola* are very old customs.

19.11.1900, Ladysmith - <evidence given 16.11.1900>.

File 74, p. 31.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 32-3 - eds.>

31 Days of the week and months, names of. Per Ndukwana, 16.11.1900, about 4 p.m.

Names of days of the week came into use after Ndondakusuka, and long after missionaries had entered the country. In the earlier part of Mpande's reign no names of days were in vogue, i.e. about the time when Ndukwana was *buta'd*. There had previously been no division of time into weeks, no such thing as a *week (isonto)*. N. knew nothing of words like *msombuluko* or *mqqibelo*.²⁷⁹ Time was divided into days and months, the moon being the basis of calculation. Men reckoned so many days after the moon's first appearance, so many before full moon, and so many after. There was no division of time into seven-day periods. Nor, as all days were alike, was there any day of rest or Sunday - *it was unknown*.

As regards months, the *month of the umkosi ceremonies* was Masingana, and others follow thus, in order, Nhlolanja, uNdasa (or uNdaza), Mbasa, uNhlaba. At this point there is dispute; some say *the Little uNhlangu* and others *the Great uNhlangu*, i.e. *the uNhlangu which strips the trees of their leaves*. Then follow Maquba (or *the Great uLutuli*), uNcwaba, uMandulo, uMfumfu, uLwezi, uZibandhlela, uMpangazana, the last being succeeded, of course, by Masingana, the first named.²⁸⁰ There were twelve months in our year [not 13?]. Zulus, however, cannot be said to be familiar with the names of the months. When we *konza'd*, for instance, we counted our

stay by the number of moons, not by their actual names. Those who were in the habit of growing crops, hoeing etc., knew the names of months far better than those who did not cultivate.

<16.11.1900>

File 58, nbk. 19, p. 33.

- 33 *Maize originated together with all types of food. In ancient times (endulo) too, it was present - maize and amabele. The white people's maize is the white type; our maize is reddish (umtubi), whiteish and small (we call it libasa), and other kinds.*

<16.11.1900>

File 58, nbk. 19, p. 34.

- 34 The Zulus never believed they could be beaten by us; they thought they were invincible.

17.11.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 34-40.

People went of their own accord to *konza*. *Amabuto* were called to do work. No one was called to *konza*. A person who had come to *konza* did nothing. He might attend *the assembly* if the men of the *ikanda* to which he belonged were summoned, even though he was not invited. They did not draw rations but had their own food. There were a large number of *people who came to konza*. They would come and *make salutation*, shouting out. After *the united salutation*, the king may come out or not, or merely an *inceku*, who would give directions about *where they were to put up*. '*Let such and such a beast be caught.*' A beast is then killed, i.e. after they had *put up*.

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

'*Here, So-and-so!*' ('*Nanguy' ubani bo!*'), giving the name, the *inceku* (would shout), running through the cattle kraal, *inside*. The answer would be, '*Mgane!*', also shouted out in a loud voice.²⁸¹

People were not obliged to *konza*. *We were competing for favours (ubulomo) from the king.*

*The great induna is near the gate of the kraal, the great kraal of the main section (sa kwesikulu).*²⁸²

- 35 Mhlohlanga was the name of the division of the Dhloko (regiment) to which N. belonged. The *Izinsundu was a division (isigaba) of the Dhloko*. EnGwegweni, Nobamba.

*Siklebeni,*²⁸³ *Of those who kleza'd at Esiklebeni, in the great kraal of the uhlangoti section,*²⁸⁴ *the induna was Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini. Of the great kraal of the main section (kwesikulu)*²⁸⁵ *the induna was Ntshingwayo ka Marole; in those days he was the chief induna of the kraal. These kleza'd at Emlambongwenya,*²⁸⁶ *i.e. Ntshingwayo's lot, and these, when one beast had been killed, the meat of the chest would be eaten by them <sic>.*

Mhlohlanga [see above] put up at Gqikazi, Imiqude (Mfinyeli) -

the *isicamelo* of the *uhlangoti* section Izinsundu are those who *kleza'd* at *Esiklebeni* Mhlohla²⁸⁷ *kleza'd* at *Mbelebeleni*.

Below us Mhlohla²⁸⁸ at Gqikazi were the *Amaraqabezi*, a division (*isigaba*) of the *uDhloko*, who had *kleza'd* at *Kwa Ndabakawombe*, and at *Kwa Zwangendaba*, and at *ekuWeleni*, an *ikanda* of Mpande - where Mbuyazi lived (the place of his people, where his mother Monase lived). They had *kleza'd* also at *Kwa Mfemfe* (the place of Hamu's people), also at *Kwa Gqikazi*. Finally, some had *kleza'd* at *Emlambo-ngwenya*, viz. the *Imidukumana* (division).

36 The great kraal of the main section (*kwesikulu*)²⁸⁹ - that is where the great *induna*, *Ntshingwayo*, was, i.e. at *Kwa Gqikazi*. *Ntshingwayo* did not stay at *Siklebeni* but at *Kwa Gqikazi*. The great *induna* of *Siklebeni* was *Ngqakwana ka Manyosi*.

The *Amakwentu* were joined with us *Dhloko* by Mpande. They were of the age-group (*intanga*) of the *Indhluengwe*.

The *Mkwenkwe* were broken up; they were added, *ikanda* by *ikanda*, to the *Mbelebele*.

The *Nqakamatshe* - it was they who were the first of the *ukandempemvu*.²⁹⁰

The *Indhluengwe* was incorporated into the *Tulwana*. *Ntshingwayo ka Sikonyana* is this age.²⁹¹

They were still *inkwebane* - boys who are *klezaing*, who have not yet been formed into a regiment. They drank milk from the udders.

The *Dhlambedhlu*, when still *klezaing* in *Dingana's* time, were called *Insewane*.

Mpande expressed astonishment, and said, 'Where is the assembly which has been called together?', i.e. when the *Amakwentu*, *Nqakamatshe*, and other lots came up. *Mfusi ka Manyala* reproved him and said,²⁹²

37 'There are no people left. They are dead. For here are these *izangoma* who stay here with you in your home, and when we are asleep we hear *bulaing* going on outside in the bushes, and they are continually smelling us out. Cut shields for this *impi* of yours, and let it arm; it will fill up with these people who are being killed off every day.'

After this Mpande sent out an *impi* to 'eat up' the *izangoma*, viz. their cattle, for the king had not authorized them to smell out. Mpande said an *umuzi* was to be built for *izangoma*. This was built as a temporary kraal, and the *izangoma* directed to go there. Boys were collected and were called the *Nqakamatshe*, and afterwards formed the nucleus of the *Kandempemvu*, and cattle were gathered and placed in this kraal (temporary), which had no name.

Boys used to go of their own accord to the *amakanda* and *kleza* there, even though their fathers refused and said they must still herd cattle. They would not be called; they would go on seeing that their elder brothers, whom they had seen *klezaing*, had been *buta'd*, i.e. turned into a regiment. Boys drank milk from the udders, and got no food brought them from home. When I was an *inkwebane* at *Mbelebeleni* we had food at the upper end, for there was a lot of food. We drank whey, and the next day we would drink the *mpehlo*,²⁹³ and have meat. There was a lot of food at *Mbelebeleni*. With small calves, we used to milk into calabashes and then drink, but with larger calves, with horns coming, we used to drink from the udders.

Moya was *inceku* of our place at *Embelebeleni*. He said I was from

Emavaneni when asked by one of the king's wives. She said to Moya to drain out some whey for me. The wife was Mabonqela ka Madhlokovu. She said, 'Here, then, is my boy, who will wash the milk buckets.' She said that they were to show me the gourd for drinking-water, for when the cattle returned at daybreak I was to go off and draw water in the stream flowing from the Isigwegwe. I did not herd cattle at Embelebeleni. I washed the milk buckets and stuck them on a line of posts; I washed calabashes etc., and went again and drew water. The *izinceku* did the milking. When the order for milking was given (*zi jubekile*), i.e. when milking was about to begin, the *inceku* would hold the bucket up with arm outstretched above his head - all would do this, and proceed to milk. I would wash the buckets after the milking was over.

39 We would weary one another with rivalry over *konzaing*. We were vying for positions as *izilomo*, over food, for *izilomo* had privileges; they were called by *izinduna* to partake of food, beer that might have been brought, and meat etc.²⁹⁴

Boys *klesa'd* for two or three years. They were called *inkwebane*. After three years they would then be *butwa'd* to Nodwengu. The Dhloko was formed by Mpande the year he *buta'd* us to Nodwengu; we were put in (*telwa'd*) at *Kwa Gqikazi*. That was when I left Embelebeleni, and other boys then came in.

We were told to disperse before we had been *buta'd* at Embelebeleni, but the *inkosikazi* Mabonqela refused to allow me to go until the autumn. The *inkwebane* boys dispersed as a rule at the time of the *umkosi* ceremonies. The following year we returned to Mbelebele, and when the *umkosi* was coming on, Mpande called us to Nodwengu. We gathered at Nodwengu just before the *umkosi*, but when the people
40 were assembling. We stayed at Nodwengu about seven days. We then dispersed. Some were told to go to Gqikazi, others to build a temporary kraal at Emhodi (near Boer custom house).

Mpande again called us when the *amabele* were ripe to pick *umklele* bushes for the *isigodhlo* at Nodwengu. We assembled, i.e. the *inkwebane* boys of all the *amakanda*. Dabulamanzi ka Mpande and Dolo ka Mpande were with us; also Sikota ka Mpande of the *uhlangoti* section who was of the *Insundu* division; and Dabulesinye ka Mpande - he was of the *Mqude* division in the *isicamelo* of the *uhlangoti* section of those who *klesa'd* at *Kwa Dukuza*.²⁹⁵

18.11.1900, 7.20 p.m.

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 40-4.

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

People would eat medicines and remain at home. They would give girls as tribute. They would perform ceremonies (*cacamba*) to bring the *idhlozi* back to the kraal, and give it meat to eat in private (*yobuza*) - it would eat the meat set aside for it. This was the bringing back of the *idhlozi*. It would be said that the ceremonies were performed to bring it into view, to make matters right for it, so that it should come back properly to the home. [Transfiguration? Resurrection?]

41 Hlobonga. This was an ancient custom. The girls of the *isigodhlo*

were forbidden to practise it, but they did *hlobonga* nevertheless, and were frequently killed, as in Dingana's reign. How can this custom be discontinued, for it has become one which people have thoroughly accepted? If that is bad, then marriage itself is bad. Relations between the sexes are like this. A woman leaves if a man does not go to her. If a man has three or four girls, one of these may say, 'You are rejecting me; go and court another.' Among our people both sexes equally want it, boys and men - women wish it and men wish it (to *hlobonga*). 'Don't your girls *hlobonga*?'

No *hlobongaing* was done in Tshaka's day, i.e. only among young men. The girls used to *hlobonga* among grown-up men. It was an offence in Tshaka's time, and so like among the English, who make it a wrong. The girls did not leave off *hlobongaing* in T.'s day. In Senzanga-
 42 kona's day, and before, from ancient days, there was *hlobongaing*. My grandmother told me that they *hlobonga'd*. She said, 'We became indignant because we had only one lover. How would a young man know whether or not he liked a girl if there were no others? It would not be clear which one he preferred. In Mpande's time a girl would have three lovers.' She wished a girl to have three or four lovers. This was done by the Tulwana (regiment). They said, 'This girl, she is ours; she is not mine, for there are two of us' (referring to her other lover). Girls then had only one man. It was in connection with this that N.'s grandmother spoke.

'Will a girl leave off having several lovers when she is a married woman? Will she have only one husband?' The Tulwana would say to a girl that she could not have two lovers. She was to leave the lover (possibly of another regiment) if she wanted him, for she could not
 43 be two persons' sweetheart at one and the same time. I do not know who said this among the Tulwana. When a girl chose a member of the Imboza regiment he would be her only lover.²⁹⁶ Among the Tulwana regiment were many princes.

My grandmother (of the Amantshali tribe, under Kondhlo) died of great age, near 100. She spoke of *gxaba*, meaning *hlobonga*. This word *gxaba* was a pure word and meant just what *hlobonga* does. *Hlobonga* is a later word.

Cetshwayo killed many girls of the *isigodhlo* off for climbing over the fence to *hlobonga* with young men, and killed those who *hlobonga'd* with them. Then others would do exactly the same thing, only to be killed again. They said C. would finish them off, for they would not leave off, as they wanted to, and liked to, *hlobonga*, and asked if, when a prince, he also did not like to *hlobonga*.

As soon as a girl menstruates she has a desire to *hlobonga*. A man
 44 begins intercourse just within the vagina, the girl having her legs crossed, and when he feels he is going to pass semen, he draws away and passes on the girl's thighs.

Cetshwayo gave J.D. girls to begin with.²⁹⁷

Ntabata, a man of the Tulwana regiment, used no longer to go to Ondini because he *hlobonga'd* with girls of the *isigodhlo*. The girls were the lovers (*iziklebe*) of the princes (*abantwana*).

Cetshwayo failed to produce many offspring because he was always having connection with the girls of the *isigodhlo*, and only rarely invited his young wives.

The girls served his food. There were 100-150 girls at Ondini. At each *ikanda* there was an *isigodhlo*. Its members were married off by

degrees to men with cattle when they had got old and *flabby* in the cheeks.

[How do generals (Zulu) plan attacks etc. - by consultation with staff or all officers? How is the army officered? What is the discipline?

Isihlamba, isihlamvu? - anus.

Get full account of J. Dunn's position etc.]

<20.11.1900>

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 45-8.

- 45 Amusements. Older people had none.
Catch; hide and seek.

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

People would take skirts of new skin (*amabaru*) and rub them and beat them. *Amabaru* are skins that have been scraped, for skirts; they were gnawed.

They would sit and dress one another's hair.

Some would play the *ugubu* instrument, others the *uwabe* (like the *ugubu*, but long, and was held horizontally). The *uwabe* has a larger resonator; it has about it strings made of skin (*uqoto*).²⁹⁸

The *untshingo* reed pipe would never have been played at this time of year. The *ukunyatela* ceremonies had to be held first.²⁹⁹ (A person) would not cut a reed before these ceremonies had been held.

Even if he had an old *untshingo* he would not blow it. *Imizi* grass was not cut before the king had performed the *ukunyatela* ceremonies (the little *umkosi*). The king would do so after planting had finished, when weeding was being done.

- 46 *Amavenge* reed whistles would be made with one reed put into another, longer one, and blown by putting against the mouth one end as one does to make a key whistle.

Girls would very often play on the *ugubu*, and no grown-up person (woman) would do so. A man would play on the *igubu*; he would have his own *ugubu*. Only married women did not play it. A married woman, when on a visit home, might sometimes do so, but not frequently. A woman refrained from playing the *ugubu* for fear of offending her husband. 'As she is playing the *ugubu*, is she then about to take a lover?' To see a married woman do this, people would be surprised.

Horns were used in the country overlooking the Swazi country. *Impalampala* was the horn - name given by the amaSwazi.

Singing accompanied playing on both the *ugubu* and the *uwabe*.

The *isiqubulo* dance of the regiments would be performed at the *umkosi* ceremonies. The *umwayo* dance is performed by youths when girls have come, and could take place in the boys' hut etc.³⁰⁰

Youths would play the *unomzimana* game, standing in a line outside, as when doing the *canguza* dance.³⁰¹ Young men would come in a body to where the girls were, and stand in a line. A stick would be

- 47 stuck in the ground, upright, by those belonging to the kraal where the girls are. The *cwaya* dance would then take place. The young men, whilst the girls are standing still, would go two by two to the stick, and grasp it. If a girl wants to choose one of them, she will

come up, and, whilst the young man has hold of the stick, she will take hold of it above where he has hold, and thus signify that she has *chosen* him; or she may take whatever he may chance to be wearing, say a *widow-bird* feather, or *ostrich* feather, or a *strip of skin* of which it is possible he may have many on. The stick, the thickness of which would be about one and a half inches in diameter - good-sized wattle - would be about eight feet or eight foot six inches high.

48 After *choosing* a number of *young men*, the girls might not *choose* any more. Even though there may be girls and young men left, girls will say, '*There are none left*,' referring to *the young men*. Girls on such occasion will *choose a young man* for fun, although not intending to *soma* with the man accepted, for it is a *game (idili)*; *it is the unomzimana*. Girls will be chaffed by their onlookers, mothers, etc. (who) say, '*When will it be?*' And the men not accepted will be laughed at and told to go and wash.

There is no previous arrangement. Young men will *put the idea to one another*, and go in a body to a particular kraal, whereupon girls will come up from the neighbouring kraals. The girls *on their own send to inform one another*, and come together, saying '*There is going to be an unomzimana*.'

John Dunn. He stayed long in Zululand, and would have become acquainted with Zulu affairs, but chiefly from a political point of view. Cetshwayo accused him of being a spy once. It happened that C. had, without J.D.'s knowledge, built an *unsizi hut to one side*, which J.D. was seen coming from.³⁰² C. asked, 'Where are you coming from? Are you a spy, then?'

J.D. came at Ndongakusuka time; he was an isiGqoza. I saw him at the battle. After this C. gave him a place.

25.11.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, p. 49.

49 Our government is right, but does not want them to die out but to be allowed to continue.³⁰³

Dingana and his *impi went off in a body* and fought at Maqongqo near Emagudu. They fought with Mpande's *impi*, and it was shortly after that that D. was killed at the uBombo.³⁰⁴

The Dhloko (regiment) was too old for N. *His age-group* was in the Dududu (regiment).³⁰⁵ When Dingana ran off, N. was a baby, perhaps 10-14 months old, as he believes he could walk a little then.

White people will make a *law that we do not know about; it will be enforced*, though all the time we *complain about it*.

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

If a man is ill from *abatakati*, and *bulaing* is done on his account, the *innyanga* will sometimes say, '*He is being protected (ukumelwa) by So-and-so*,' mentioning the *idhlozi*.

2.12.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, p. 50.

50 Per Ndukwana, 7.20.

The Zulus *complained about* Cetshwayo and would have killed him. The cause for complaint was his settling large matters with Sirayo and the *izinceku*, Zembekwela.³⁰⁶ The Zulus were of the opinion that Sirayo should be caught and handed over to the Europeans to do as they liked with him. '*Shall the nation be destroyed on account of this fellow?*' Hamu, Mnyamana and Zibebu made this remark. Hamu said, 'I am a prince, and even though I am of the royal house the ruin of the country shall never take place on my account.'³⁰⁷ C. was always with favourites, practically ignoring the greater men. Ntshingwayo ka Marole, Mbopa ka Wolizibi, Godide, Lumbi ka Wolizibi, and other *izikulu* were killed by Zibebu at Ondini.³⁰⁸

*Sirayo was full of self-importance (waye kukumele), though he was not an isikulu under Cetshwayo. Gaozi was a great favourite of Cetshwayo, and also self-important.*³⁰⁹

10.12.1900

File 71, p. 10.

Also present: John Kumalo

10 <Contact with civilized races.> Per Ndukwana, in presence of John Kumalo, 10.12.1900.

Some days ago, say 10-14, I, Ndukwana says, and Qalizwe were going along the street in Ladysmith towards our quarters when soldiers (Europeans) came to each of us, and offered us 10s. each, saying they *wanted jigijigi*. I was horrified when I discovered what they wanted, and so was Qalizwe. We referred them to some brothels which we indicated, and went off. We were accosted after dark but quite early in the evening. I never take the same route again after dark has set in.

J.K. remarks that his children, where N. is staying, say natives themselves are to blame for this. Once a soldier accosted one of them, believing her to be a prostitute, but when informed that she was not a prostitute, they not only went away but the next time the soldier met her in the street he touched his hat to her, and humbly said, 'Good-day, ma'm'. Soldiers are attracted by dissolute women and, being unable to distinguish, will go up to respectable native women, thinking all are inclined to loose living.

10.12.1900

File 73, p. 63.

63 Per Ndukwana, 10.12.1900.

Izangoma never sat in the *assembly* or took part in the debates; they remained outside.

10.12.1900

File 73, p. 161.

161 <Circumcision.> Per Ndukwana, 10.12.1900.

At Mgudhlana's, Mkosi and Nquhele *were circumcised*.³¹⁰ Young men, so report goes, used to stay away from their homes for three months, until they got well. I know nothing of girls *being circumcised*, though report says they do among Basutos. As far as boys were con-

cerned, the prepuce of the penis is what was cut.

12.12.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 51-2.

51 Per Ndukwana.

As soon as Cetshwayo was caught, strong rumours went about the country to the effect that all would revert to their old conditions of living.³¹¹ Those formerly chiefs would continue so, and they were to rule one another according to their own laws and customs. It was by virtue of this supposed instruction that Memezi attempted to return to his old kraal sites in possession of Mbikiza, though he (deceased) or his son Madhlaka never to this day succeeded in doing so.³¹² We could never tell if these rumours took their origin from a reliable source.

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

The doctor who guessed who sprinkled the blood, viz. Tshaka himself, was not put to death; all the others were.³¹³ The one who guessed, '*It has been done by the heavens above*' (i.e. Tshaka himself), had been to the sea to drink its water. Tshaka gave orders that *bulaing* was to be discontinued in Zululand as so many people owed their death to its influence.

Doctors do treat wounds on the head, and if bone is broken, mend it. They in this instance go in for surgery - *they open up the head and remove the clot of blood which is causing harm*. But no other operations than this are performed.

An iqwala is an infected swelling, an abscess, on the chest.

52 Our doctors cannot exactly localize illness. They say, '*It is in the chest,*' etc., whereas a white doctor says where exactly on lung or spleen or heart etc.

19.12.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 52.

Burial.

All the kings were buried together except Mpande. Mpande was buried at Nodwengu and not with his fathers. Tshaka was buried at Dukuza, and Dingana was buried in Hlatikulu.³¹⁴ The Nyawo people know Dingane's grave. Malambule ka Sobuza was killed by the Zulu people because of Dingana.³¹⁵

The grave is below the camp (police) at Kwayiweni at the Ubombo. He is buried in the forest (Hlatikulu) - about a mile or so from the camp. The grave is overlooking the stream and on that side of it which is nearest the court house.³¹⁶

Silwana was buried at home (Esisusweni, up the Vuna river) - *datshulwa'd isibaya fuzwa amahlahla pakati* dug then and then *bi-ya'd*.³¹⁷ S., son of Mpande, was followed in age by Ndabuko, of Dududu regiment.

19.12.1900, 11.50 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.,
Ladysmith.

File 73, pp. 89-90.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 52-4 - eds.>

89 <Death and burial.> Per Ndukwana, 11.50 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.,
19.12.1900.

As regards those living *nga senhla* (up-country), every kraal head (*umnumzana*) is buried in his own kraal, his grave being dug immediately opposite the main or *indhlu* hut, and outside of, but close up to, the fence of the cattle kraal. A man living in the kraal may be, and is usually, buried outside the kraal altogether; all owners of kraals are buried inside them as stated. *An umnumzana is buried by the men of his place*; his *induna* will bury him. He is buried by his mothers, *old women*, if any, assisted by the *induna*, who will enter the grave with them. If there are no *old women* then the *induna*, assisted by the said *men*, will bury, for his own wives may not take part in the way of handling the corpse. Three or four persons will go down into the grave with the corpse; they will place various articles belonging to the deceased in the grave and about the body.

90 When a man dies he is tied up, his legs being drawn up and his arms and hands being put into position whilst he is still warm. The old women will tie him up assisted by the younger women of the kraal. The corpse, having been drawn up into a sitting posture, is tightly bound round with cords of plaited grass. Most probably a beast is slaughtered to enable its skin to be used as a covering for the deceased; he will be tied up in the skin. His hands, shut, will be placed at or about the chin, both together. The cords will run round the body and legs (when in sitting posture), and then round chest and arms, being tightly drawn and fastened. The body, when ready for burial, is placed against a *post* of the hut in which the deceased died, i.e. *the post at the back*.

The grave is dug as soon as it is light enough to see and if, on account of the serious condition of the deceased, neighbours have not congregated and been with the deceased at the time of his death in accordance with custom, word will be sent to them and they will come to the kraal and be present at the funeral. The *formal lamentation (isililo)* begins usually when the deceased is being taken out of the hut to the grave. As soon as the corpse comes into the open the women will begin their crying and lamentations; the men however will *check* them, calling on them to restrain their grief until after the body has been buried. When such a man dies, not the women only but all the men will cry and shed tears, though men would not cry under other conditions where women might do, as for instance when a child is being buried. All those who have come to attend the obsequies, women, men, girls etc., will *bring stones* for the grave, to be used to *close it* with, and place them close to the grave to be in readiness when wanted. The *lamentation* consists of nothing but a shouting out of such expressions as, '*Maye babo!*' and '*Maye!*'.

Nothing is said to or about *amadhlozi*; this only takes place when the *kutshulwa* ceremony takes place, some four or five months after the funeral.³¹⁸ Women of the kraal go at once into mourning

(zila); they cut off all their back hair quite short; they put a band of leather (*iqele lesidwaba*) over their forehead, and another round their waist. When they come out of mourning they will throw away the leather skirts they have been using. After some time what is known as *ihlambo* is called, i.e. a hunting party. A hunt will take place and it is when this occurs that the women cut their top-knots short, although no ochre is put on. When later on, the *kutshulwa* ceremony takes place, the women will smear fat over their bodies, take off the old skirts and put ochre on. Until the *ihlambo* has been called out, no singing has taken place; at the *ihlambo*, of course, there is singing. The *kutshulwa* ceremony takes place some time after the *ihlambo*.

24.12.1900

File 58, nbk. 19, pp. 54-6.

54 Linguistic notes omitted - eds.

55 An *umjadu* dance was held, with *ukugida* dancing taking place. We competed with the Mbonambi regiment; we vied with them. When we had finished, the uNdi and Nodwengu regiments began. This was done in Cetshwayo's time but not in Mpande's time, i.e. *amabuto*, but others did <sic>. It was done in Dingana's (time). In Mpande's time only the *isiqubulo* dance was performed.

Mbuyazi and Hamu were however ordered to dance together (*sinelana*) by Mpande, to hold an *ijadu* dance.

In the *umjadu* dance there is the *isisuso*, i.e. clapping of hands by girls as in the *iketo* dance. The girls stand behind the row of men and, whilst clapping, sing, and the men dance.

The isisuso dance and the clapping of hands.

Girls

*I shall do as the abeSutu do,
Who call for rain; let them hear,*

Men

*The Zulu are making war, we shall be off,
We shall be off; hear!*

Unmarried men

*I ya uhu uhu huhu; hear!*³¹⁹

Mpande would not allow the *umjadu* dance after the death of Mbuyazi at Ndondakusuka.³²⁰

Then Cetshwayo and Hayiyana danced together, Zibebu being then too young or he would have been selected.³²¹

56 The eBatweni *umuzi* was disputed over by Hayiyana (who was of the Mboza regiment) and Zibebu. The latter, after being summoned twice, came and asked, 'Who has given this report to you, when this *umuzi* is mine?' With that the matter collapsed. Cetshwayo was afraid and did nothing. The same kind of thing happened with Tokotoko's kraal.³²² C. said, 'You cast me down. You come up here and you look me in the face; you do it to insult me.' That case too was not heard and did not reach a conclusion. Zibebu said that the kraal was his and no one had the right to interfere. Thus it is seen that Zibebu was in

NDUKWANA

conflict with Cetshwayo before the war of 1879, and practically looked upon himself as his equal.

26.12.1900

File 74, p. 76.

76 <Taboo.>

Ndukwana tells me this morning that a *widow-bird* (*sakabuli*) is not eaten in daylight or by any other light, only in the dark, so much so, that, were one to come upon others eating meat (of any kind) in the dark, the first question might be: 'Are you eating *widow-birds*?' [This I think is not 'taboo' but 'custom' - or 'superstition'? This last note entered in book of proverbs, p. 89.]

23.12.1901, Monday - <evidence given
22.12.1901>

File 70, p. 1.

1 Historical notes on Zululand. 23.12.1901, Monday. The following is the substance of a conversation I yesterday afternoon had with Ndukwana.

Dingana sent the Mbelebele regiment to oBuya on the borders of Swaziland where they *built* but did not *make war*, the object being to take Swaziland, and occupy it, making the inhabitants *konza*.³²³ The Swazis at once perceived aggression in the act, and attacked. A battle was fought which lasted to nightfall. Dingana after this sent the uNomdayana regiment to the Mbelebele, also the Imkulutshane, and dispatched the Dhlambedhlu and Izinnyosi regiments to inspect the battlefield, see what effect the battle had had on the Mbelebele, etc. The regiments went and arrived at their destination. Klwana, the son of the famous Ngqengelele, was in command of the Mbelebele (or Mbeyebeye).³²⁴ His forces were numerically smaller than those of the Swazis. His plan was to allow the Swazis fairly to surround him and come to close quarters. He did this because his force was smaller, and then of a sudden he gave his orders to various sections of his warriors, saying, '*Let such-and-such a section go out and attack there,*' indicating with outstretched arm.

Now after the regiments had gone forward to see where the Mbeyebeye had fought, Mpande cleared out (*kucula'd*), i.e. he collected all the older men of the nation (*uZul' omhlope*) and crossed over with them, with women and children. He crossed the Tugela. (*Zul' omhlope* means the head-ringed men as opposed to the youths (*izinsizwa*), u *Zul' omnyama*). They came to *konza* to the Boers. [Vide p. 536, Annals of Natal, volume i, where the Volksraad's Minutes of Interview of Mpande with the Council are dated 15 October 1839.]³²⁵

27.12.1901 - <evidence given 22.12.1901>

File 70, pp. 1-2.

Same continued, 27.12.1901.

Mpande was running away because of the report that came with Matunjana ka Sibaxa, this man's praise (part of) being '*the head-load of the hole of Piti's people*'.³²⁶

Dingana, after the Mbelebele had gone and built (before the battle

with the Swazis), sent 100 heifers to Mpande. These were brought by Matunjana and Ncagwana. They brought the heifers to him at the Nqakavini kraal. (Mpande's mother Songiya lived at the Nqakavini kraal; when Mpande became king, Songiya and the inmates of the kraal left to build the Mlambongwenya kraal.) The two messengers gave him the heifers. Matunjana and Ncagwana were given a beast the next day. They ate this. It seems that after Mpande had been talking to the messengers, Matunjana purposely left his *stick behind the hut-screen*. After leaving the king's presence with Ncagwana, he said to him, 'Oh! I have forgotten my stick!' He thereupon went back alone, met Mpande, and told him he was not to *go up*, i.e. go to the king in order to *give praise* for the present sent him, for the intention was to put him to death. Matunjana was an *inceku* of Dingana and could not keep a secret; he always blurted out everything. Dingana had killed off all Senzangakona's sons except Mpande. Mpande did not go and *give praise*. The next thing Dingana heard was that Mpande had *crossed over*. That is where 'the rope snapped.'³²⁷ No sooner did Dingana hear of what Mpande had done, than he went off to join his own forces *for matters were now seriously upset*. The regiments put to him the question, 'What brings you here?' He told them that Mpande had *crossed over with all the Zulu, their cattle, and everything*. They then *went down with him to Empangisweni on the Black Mfolozi*. The *impi* was then *sent out*, and started after Mpande. They hurried on after the fugitives as far as the Umgeni, raiding cattle and killing stragglers, and when the Boers interfered, retreated, according to instructions, back into Zululand. Dingana then went and built the Mgungundhlovu kraal about three miles from the Ivuna river, south side, and close to where the waggon road runs now.³²⁸

27.12.1901 - evidence given 26.12.1901

File 70, pp. 2-5.

Per Ndukwana, 26.12.1901, written up 27.12.1901.

Ukugqabuka kwe goda is spoken of thus, also *ukudabuka kwe goda*; *igoda* is a rope, and the word is used metaphorically in each expression.³²⁹

Mpande was looked on by Dingana as something of a fool - '*an idiot (isitutana) who has done nothing to you*'. Dingana killed all his father's children, Mpande excepted; Tshaka, on the other hand, killed none.

Mbopa, Tshaka's *inceku*, was also known as Tumelisa, his father being Sitayi.³³⁰

After Tshaka had been assassinated, reference was made to Ngqengelele and Mkabayi, who ruled, in respect to Mhlangana, '*The one with the red assegai shall not rule*.'³³¹ Dingana was excused and allowed to govern because, though he had assisted in the assassination, he had not actually used an assegai; he merely caught hold of his brother whilst the others stabbed him.

This man Ngqengelele was an *inkulelwana of the mdabuko of the Zulu country*.³³² Ngqengelele died and was buried at his kraal Ensukaze. With, and almost as important as, Ngqengelele, was Mtshana; they were both *izinceku* and *cooked* for the *inkosikazi* Nandi. Mtshana was the father of Mmqandi who was the father of Sitshishili, a chief now living at Eteleni in the Nkandhla division.³³³

Dingana went off towards the Swazi frontier after Mpande had left for Natal, but he met his *amabuto* between Empangisweni and where the late Mnyamana's district is. Dingana sent out his *impi* at once; it followed Mpande into Natal as far as the Umgeni, killed a number of Mpande's followers and, after seizing numbers of cattle, withdrew into Zululand. The Imkulutshane regiment crossed at Ntunjamibili, whereas the Dhlambedhlu entered at Esiweni sa manqa, and the Izinyosi entered below, possibly via Ndulinde.³³⁴ Dingana directed that if they encountered European resistance they were to withdraw.

Dingana destroyed the Mgungundhlovu and Nomdayana kraals with the *isigodhlos* for *hlobongaing with men*. People have always been killed for *having intercourse with girls of the isigodhlo*. The *isigodhlo* which Ndukwana saw most of was that at the Gqikazi kraal (Mpande's); *it was as large as a regiment*. The *isigodhlo enclosure* was always at the upper end of the kraal and always fenced in. There was a *white section of the isigodhlo*, where the *indhlunkulu women* were, and a *black section*, where the king was.

The reasons why Mpande succeeded in getting so large a body of Zulus to follow him into Natal were (a) because people were tired of fighting against the Boers, very many persons having been killed, and (b) because of the killing of the *isigodhlo women*. They were afraid that Mpande would get the Boer *impi* and kill them.

Dingana never made war on the Boers. The Boers themselves came to Dingana, their object being to get back from the Zulus cattle and sheep of theirs which the Zulus had lately seized from Mzilikazi, who in his turn had taken them from the Boers.³³⁵ These cattle were called '*the cattle of the amahole*' because they dragged in (*hola'd*) the Boers (*the white people*). The Zulus had captured these *amahole* cattle from two nations.

4 [It is worthy of note that the aborigines of Matabeleland are known as Amahole, that this word means 'slaves', and that it seems to have come into use when Mzilikazi conquered the country. See conversation with C.T. Stuart.³³⁶]

Dingana's *impi* had at first refused to give these cattle up, so the Boers appealed to Dingana. Dingana took the cattle from Mzilikazi at the place of Ngoboka, a man from down-country (*ezansi*).³³⁷ On this famous expedition one of the regiments, viz. the uDhlambedhlu, got astray from the main body, and all the forces, losing their way, had to be guided by the sun.

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

Mzilikazi's *imbongi* declaimed his praises to Dingana's forces, standing some distance off, then flung an assegai at the forces. The Izimpohlo regiment took the assegai and threw it back at him.

The Boers made their appearance before Dingana after this expedition of the Zulus to Mzilikazi.³³⁸

The Boers, when they came to Mgungundhlovu, stayed at the Emkumbane (stream). The night police (*ogqayinyanga*) one night saw the Boers trying to see if they could encircle the kraal but failing. This incident was reported to Dingana and no doubt greatly roused his suspicions. The *ogqayinyanga* had their huts at the top end of the *umuzi*. They were so called because at dawn they would be staring (*gqaya*) at the moon (*inyanga*). They always received a front leg to

NDUKWANA

eat, whether from the cattle of the *isigodhlo* or from those of the *izigaba* (*umpakati*).³³⁹

'So you ate up so many of his cattle, without leaving him any, even for ritual purposes (*ukudhla imiti*)?' Dingana said this to his regiments when they returned from the Mzilikazi expedition.

Matiwana, who fled from Zululand in the early days, came back in the end to Zululand and said to Dingana, 'I have got to the end of my clothing, I mean followers.'³⁴⁰ But Dingana killed him, and the spot where he was killed was named after him and became a place for
5 general execution.

28.12.1901

File 70, p. 5.

Per Ndukwana.

The chief Somkele is the son of Mayanda (Malanda), who was son of Veyane (Velane), and this Veyane was the great Dingiswayo's *induna*.³⁴¹ The present chief Sokwetshata is the son of Myandeya (Mlandela), son of Mbiya, son of Tshangana.³⁴² Sokwetshata's tribe is the Mtetwa, to which Ndukwana belongs, though his father went to live in another part of Zululand. Sokwetshata is of the Mxapo regiment, of the age-group of *Zibebu*.

Ndukwana fancies the Mtetwa tribe was about the first to settle in Zululand. Ngqengelele and Mtshana came without (had no) *people*; they had no *imizi*.³⁴³ The Ndwandwe tribe was the last to *konza*. The Ndwandwe tribe was caused to move from the Umhlatuze to a spot further north. A *praise* of an Umtetwa man would be '*Wena was' ezansi*', 'You of the south or low-lying country'. The seat of the tribe was originally just below the junction of the White and Black Umfolozis, and on the south side, at a spot spoken of as Eziganwini.

There is no legend among the members of the tribe as to '*rolling down with a grain basket*'.³⁴⁴ They speak of themselves as merely *those from down-country* (*aba sezansi*), meaning the spot above indicated.

The abakwaZondo people, on the other hand, who built at Ntabankulu, came from *up-country* (*enhla*).³⁴⁵ They say they came down with a *grain-basket*. The abaseMangweni are people who came down from *up-country with a grain-basket*, and speak in that way. The abaseMantshalini (*Kondhlo's people*) also speak of coming down with a *grain basket*.

The Mtetwa were *amaTonga from down-country* (*a se zansi*), and are about as ancient as the Tongas. There is an impression about the tribe, N. says, of very long residence in the district they still occupy.

N. does not know where the abaseMambateni came from; they live about the Nhlazatshe and in other parts of Zululand.³⁴⁶

The Kumalo tribe came from *up-country* too.

In the old days, kraals were differently constructed. One kraal had several *cattle enclosures*, and the cattle belonging to such 'village' were not brought for the night into a single *enclosure*, but their respective ones. The cattle of each *enclosure* too grazed apart.

c. July 1902

File 60, nbk. 10, pp. 1-10.

<In the original, many of the notes which we reproduce below are more than usually abbreviated, and are so inadequately punctuated that we cannot always be confident of the accuracy of our renderings. We have retained passages that have been scored out in the original but which do not appear elsewhere in Stuart's record of Ndukwana's testimony. These are prefaced with an asterisk - eds.>

1 [Ndukwana appears to be the informant here. About July 1902.]

Divinership.

Taking a husband.

Polygyny.

Bevy of girls (king's).

Authorizing girls to marry.

Only big people went to ask with a beast - '*to marry my wife's sister*'. No commoner would go; he would wait till *authorized to marry*.

The Inkehlela-mncwedeni (women's regiment) was *jutshwa'd* merely to *older men (amadoda)*.

The Ingcotsho (women's regiment) was *jutshwa'd* to the Ndabaka-wombe and others (men).

The announcement would be made at the umkosi. Girls were not specially called up. They remained with their elder brothers.

Their izembe; their izixuku.³⁴⁷

The Gudhludonga (women) were *authorized to marry men of the Dhlambedhlu, Izingulube, Isangqu, and Amapela.*

The Isitimane (women) were authorized to marry men of the Tulwana.

Ingcugce (women) were killed by Cetshwayo. They were authorized to marry men of the Indhlondhlo. They were given to the Indhlondhlo.

It would be announced at the umkosi that they were to put on the topknot.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

2 At first only took two. Later took as many as six or eight, grabbing. Only (men with) headrings got girls.

[Is it a positive fact that all girls had to be *jutshwa'd* before they could marry? Did this apply to the *isigodhlo*? What was the *isigodhlo*? Gardiner.]

Not existing in Swaziland. Doubtful in Sobuza's time, but *the male regiments were jutshwa'd* possibly - not girls.

Not existing in Tongaland. *Girls were married off* when small, and *lobola'd*.

If she became pregnant she would be married off to any mature man. The young man who denied would have to forfeit a beast.

Not a girl could marry.

**They were buta'd.* Tshaka's time.

*Ikwani, Inzawu, iCenyane, Umvutwamini - in Tshaka's <sic> - some of these.

The Inkehlela was formed by Mpande when Dingana died. They put on the topknot and married at the same time.

**Izingodosi* girls not proclaimed that they can marry men of the

*Izimpohlo regiment.*³⁴⁸

3 *Izingulube, Dhlambedhlu, Isangqu, Amapela - they married girls not authorized. They took by stealth. They said, 'They are guqing,' because they had not obtained formal authority.³⁴⁹

*The *izingodosi* were in Tshaka's reign. He (told) the Izimpohlo to take *izingodosi*, but not marry. Many Izimpohlo, Ndabenkulu, Gibabanye, Jibingqwangu. Gibabanye not given (not *headringed*) *izingodosi*. The others were told to give up the girls. The Jubingqwanga (regiment) was so called because told to cut off *their headrings*.³⁵⁰ They were told to go and *kleza*. Cattle were collected for them, and they were sent to cattle posts. They *kleza'd*. Tshaka said, 'Let them grow into strong men, let them recruit their strength.' They did not put on the *headring* again. Ndukwana does not know of a regiment authorized to put on the *headring* by Dingana. He so authorized them all together when he fought against the Boers.

**Izingodosi* were not *lobola'd*; nor did they hold the wedding dance (*geagea*).

4 There were no *izingodosi* in Mpande's time. Those that made the customary flight to their intended husbands (*guqa'd*) were similar to the *izingodosi*, for regiments helped themselves, each man for himself, after the nation had been destroyed (re Ndongakusuka).³⁵¹ The girls were not *lobola'd*. [The regiments that took are mentioned above.] After the customary running away went on some time, they took husbands. The girls were all authorized to put on the topknot. Mpande said he was in mourning, and left things to Masipula.³⁵²

The Ikwani (women) (of Tshaka's reign) married in Dingana's time. They were old girls, and D. married them off.

Mpande found girls grown up. He said, 'Let them go away,' i.e. the Inkehléla (women).

There was no *jubaing* in the *isigodhlo*. The girls would be married off to men having cattle; they would be taken off, and the man would give the *lobolo* to the king.

The Dududu (regiment) was of young men; they followed the men of the *Dhlokwe* regiment in age. They were told with others to marry off by Sir T. Shepstone on the capture of Cetshwayo.³⁵³ All were to marry; there were to be no regiments, and people were to work for money, but this would have come about of itself, the king being caught.

A man took lovers in two or three lots of girls, each lot being *jutshwa'd*.

5 Girls never assembled in their age-groups, but were simply given a name by the king. They would come up with their elder brothers, fathers etc. at the *umkosi*, and, congregating into companies (*iviyo*), come into the cattle enclosure.

When the *umkosi* ceremonies are going to come to an end - the day of dispersal - the regiments performed the *isiqubulo* dance, and remained - all meet in the cattle enclosure, and sing songs of the old kings, and the king would come in. Mbilini and Masipula made announcements to the circle of men. All then were to disperse.

The girls were the *izita* of the king. Zibeka *inkosi unlomo wayo*.³⁵⁴

After putting on the topknot, (women were) not to marry.

The Ingcuge (women) did not remain for long.

When the Tulwana (had put on the *headring*), the bull was caught

by the Ndhlonhlo regiment. The bull was caught in the afternoon. Those catching were ready. The Indhlonhlo did the catching in Mpande's time, after the Tulwana had put on the headring, the Dhlambedhlu used to do the catching <sic>. ³⁵⁵

- 6 Cetshwayo authorized the Indhlonhlo regiment to put on the headring just after he had become king. In the same year he ordered girls to put on the topknot. The bull was caught by the Mbonambi, a red one. At the *umkosi* the Indhlonhlo did not catch the bull, for they caught in Mpande's reign. One cannot catch for two kings. They were told to put on the headring in the same *umkosi*. At the next *umkosi* they were authorized to marry.

The *umkosi* began when the moon was about to die. Some arrived when the moon was already dead. The month in which the *umkosi* is held is Masingana. It was held when the moon was about to die. Those far off would get back after the moon had vanished.

They have come with their food.

The sun would burst forth.

A hundred or more head of cattle were given the day before breaking up.

The *umkosi* (was held) every year; no year passed by.

Sometimes one, two or three feasts would pass without announcing anything about girls or men.

Men would be authorized to put on the headring at one *umkosi*, and would be authorized to marry at another, and not necessarily the next.

- 7 All girls delayed marrying, except the Ingcuge, which Cetshwayo married to the Ndhlonhlo, as he wanted to get rid of (*susa*) them as they had caught the bull for Mpande. He gave (the task of catching) to the Mbonambi.

A bull was caught at all *umkosi* ceremonies.

Dingana authorized Tshaka's girls to marry, and that is why he was called Malamulela. ³⁵⁶

The Inzawu (women) bore children fathered by other men. ³⁵⁷

Dingana killed girls of the *isigodhlo* for *hlobongaing* - at Mgungundhlovu. They pointed out their lovers, and they too were killed. It was an *idili*, i.e. there were many.

[Who was to know which girl received permission to marry, and which not? How did the order control girls who never assembled at headquarters, and were therefore never known?]

Grievances. 1. Taxes. 2. Spirit of equality - precedence not recognized. 3. Creating chiefs. No one can build just where he likes. 8 Location system. 'Go away; this place was given to me.' 4. No control of children; the country is being destroyed. 5. Facility of divorce.

Matunjana's case. His wife ran away, was divorced. He said to Saunders, 'How can I go and eat with my mouth what I used to eat with my penis?', meaning the cattle to be got from the new husband as *lobolo*. ³⁵⁸ He accordingly did not accept any cattle. Ndukwana was present.

Boys don't go home because of prostitutes (*umondindwa*). The word *umondindwa* is not known in Zululand, nor even what the word indicates. 'Isifebe' is said of flirts with two or three lovers; it does not mean prostitute.

The uTiyane (women). 'Let the Ingcuge women put on the topknot,

and the uTiyane remain.'

Ukudwala - when hlobongas - vimbela'd, kept at soka's, food cooked - eat isihya.³⁵⁹

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

9 The custom would never have died out.

Cetshwayo and the Ngcugce girls. They wished to marry (men of the) Dududu, Mxapo, and Mbonambi. They were killed to impress custom.³⁶⁰ The Dududu said, 'We will soon put on the headring.'

The mature men (amadoda) fought in battle. The young men (amabuto) were kept hidden, and followed up cattle.

So long as there were regiments so long would there be girls jutshwa'd.

[Rider Haggard and his complaint about Cetshwayo and the girls.]³⁶¹

The uBemba was that section of the Ndhlonhlo that kleza'd at Kwa Nodwengu. The Embebeleni were called the uPata, their induna being Mkokwana.

Dhlozi and mbidhli.³⁶²

The imvuma beast.³⁶³

Buying (tenga) of wives. The father gets lobolo at two places. This shows clearly there was no buying.

'The stick belongs to the one who cuts it' - said by Cetshwayo when referred to, i.e. a widow married to another man, who gave lobolo of course, could be taken back, when she had ceased bearing, by those of her former marriage, but the children were to remain with the second husband.³⁶⁴ There was uncertainty before the promise to pay lobola - now that rinderpes has carried off cattle, it cannot be sustained in a law court.³⁶⁵ This shows the original intent of lobola.

6.7.1902

File 60, nbk. 10, pp. 11-12.

11 Ndukwana informs.

Tshaka went as a youth to Dingiswayo, after being butwa'd by Senzangakona as (one of the iWombe regiment).

Mzilikazi had the iziMpangele regiment.

Mnyamana's girls came to our kraal. A girl (married) had come. Ndukwana knows this case. Mbopa's people.³⁶⁶

Emahlabaneni.

12 A mock hunt - just before the Ndondakusuka battle - because they cut large shields (imbumbuluzo).³⁶⁷

6.7.1902

File 73, pp. 21-2.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 60, nbk. 10, pp. 11-12 - eds.>

21 <Men and girls, relations between.>

The custom of *hlobonga* was universally followed in Zululand except in the days of Tshaka, who to some extent controlled it. Regiments directed not to *hlobonga* were known as *imvoko*, and any given class or classes of girls were similarly spoken of.³⁶⁸ All headringed men were of course allowed to *hlobonga*. There were no *amalawu* or boys' huts in Tshaka's reign.

It has been said above that girls go by the month in the matter of *hlobonga*. This is to enable (a girl) to decide at once what lover caused her pregnancy, which inquiry is prosecuted as soon as she, her mother or girl friends find she has not *geza'd*, i.e. had her courses. This being so, if during any month she has *hlobonga'd* with any man, she will not hide the fact, but state it at once to any other lover who may want to *hlobonga* with her. One lover will *hlobonga* two or more times during the same month. An *isifebe* is one who, during the same month, *hlobonga's* with more than one man. An *isirobo* is a girl who has been *deflowered* (*mekezisa'd*) or raped. Rape was not *reported to the king*; the same applied to *hlobongaing* against the girl's consent. Such offences were family affairs. As a matter of fact, rape was not of frequent occurrence. A man who *made a girl pregnant* was fined a beast.

There was no such thing in Zululand as a prostitute. No girl prostituted herself for hire. For instance, to offer beads or any small or large present would be an unheard of proceeding, and no girl would be a party to it. A man who could not get a girl to *hlobonga* with would sometimes use force, for which he would be soundly beaten by the girl's relatives, and be liable to pay a beast in the event of the girl becoming pregnant. *Hlobonga* was a universal custom, but it was one which must go on in secret. Every girl's mother, father and brothers knew of the custom, and that she probably acted in accordance with it, but woe betide her if she were caught by her elder brothers, who were *big fellows with fierce tempers*. Girls often made appointments with their lovers. They would leave by stealth at night, proceed to the lover, *hlobonga*, and return again before daybreak. If caught they would be beaten.

Dhlozi, the other day, asserted that a *lover* was allowed to *hlobonga* at the girl's home, a hut being even set apart for the couple's use. N., however, entirely dissents, and asserts the rule was never to allow the *lover* to spend the night at the kraal.

To show that there were no prostitutes, N. asks where they could have lived. There was no place where they could carry on such a calling.

Girls were sometimes spoken of as *izifebe* by their mothers, *lovers* and other people. To call a girl *isirobo*, or hint it, was a very great insult. [On which point refer to pp. 73, 74.]³⁶⁹

6.7.1902. Durban.

File 73, pp. 73-4.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based part of the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 60, nbk. 10, p. 12 - eds.>

73 <Administration of justice.> Per Ndukwana, Durban.

The defamation of a girl's character, i.e. as touching her chastity, was followed up by a procedure somewhat on the following lines. We will suppose some man has maliciously charged a girl to her face with being a prostitute (*isirobo*, i.e. one who has been *mekezisa'd* or deflowered), or (has spat) insultingly in her presence, hinting she is leading an immoral life. Such a girl will communicate the fact to other girls, i.e. her relatives and friends, and they will, in a body - having divested themselves of every shred of covering - proceed to the kraal where the person who insulted her lives. They go naked because they have been insulted. They will ask for the person in question. One of several alternatives will happen. If he comes they will state the complaint they have against him, and if he acknowledges himself to blame, having spoken hastily in anger, he will proceed to give them a goat, not necessarily a large one. This goat they will then take off and kill, cleansing themselves with its *stomach contents*, and then washing at the stream. They will not eat such goat, but leave it to be consumed by the old women. The quarrel will then be at an end. Or it may happen, when people at the kraal see the naked girls, they will take thick switches and chase them away from the kraal into the veldt. The girls, in that event, for the people at the kraal are treating them with contempt, will then go into the herd of cattle and, selecting a beast (small or large), kill it and cleanse themselves with the *stomach contents*, leaving the flesh to be eaten by others. Or they will go to a mealie or *amabele* garden and destroy it by uprooting the plants, this being considered tantamount to cleansing themselves.

What may not be done is this: to fail to come to the kraal where the person who made the insulting remark lives, and at the same time to go and kill one of the cattle belonging to such kraal. This latter case is clearly illustrated in the following affair which happened during Mpande's reign (not long after the battle of Ndongakusuka),³⁷⁰ and in which Ndukwana, then without a heading, was a principal witness. One day Ndukwana was at a kraal in Mnyamana's district when he entered a hut and saw a girl (*married*) who had just finished cooking some pumpkin.³⁷¹ She invited N. to partake of it, which he did, taking a piece of pumpkin in each hand, with his stick held under his left arm. He, eating, left the hut with the girl. As he finished, he wiped his hands on some *msingizane* grass and then took hold of a small horn snuff box in the girl's ear (she was walking in front of him) and said, 'Here, give me some snuff from this snuff box (*isigqobelana*).' She at that time was with her companion, a younger girl, who at once remonstrated with the elder one for continuing to talk to people who had insulted them. N. at once asked what she meant, as he had heard of no insult at that kraal. She then accused Ntanjana of having used opprobrious expressions in regard to them.³⁷² N. expressed surprise, and his surprise was heightened when he learnt that the offensive words were not said to the girls themselves but to some boy who was

74 not where the girls or any of them were. N. did his best to induce the girls to return and speak to Ntanjana and ask for an explanation of his conduct, but they refused to do so. N. persisted to stand in front of them until a man, who then came in sight, wanted to know why he could not allow people to go on their way. He then desisted and the girls went off.

Nothing happened the next day or the two following that, but on the fourth N. was startled by hearing sounds of talking and some such remark as, '*The cattle are being finished off.*' It then transpired that a body of girls, coming from (where the allegedly) insulted girl came from, had driven a small cow out of the cattle belonging to the kraal, and stabbed it to death with the assegai they carried, and thereupon 'cleansed' themselves with the *stomach contents*, afterwards going home.

So striking a contravention of custom was not permitted to pass unnoticed. The matter formed the subject of a formal complaint before Mnyamana himself at his Emahlabaneni kraal. Men on both sides assembled. Ntanjana came, and all other witnesses. N. too was present, though for some reason his own party withheld him from giving evidence as long as possible. He had however to give his evidence. In deciding the matter, Mnyamana said the girls had departed from custom. Girls insulted by their mothers, he reminded the litigants, cry out and call other girls to their assistance to meet there and then the false accusation made against them. In this case it was shown that N., who belonged to the very kraal at which Ntanjana lived, had not only invited, but pressed, the girls to complain on the spot at Ntanjana's misconduct. They had failed to do this, and Mnyamana could not see on what ground they went and killed the beast as it were behind the owner's back. Judgment was given in favour of Ntanjana for one beast, which the father of the girl in question accordingly paid. It remains to add that in their extremity the defendant's party accused N. himself of having insulted them by calling them *izigqobelana*. N., before the assembled company, stated exactly the circumstances under which he used this word, above set forth. He took his own *snuff box* out of his ear and said, 'What, men, is this but an *isigqobelana*? How therefore can it be contended I meant to insult the girls?'

12.10.1902

File 70, pp. 31-2.

- 31 <Historical notes on Zululand.> Conversation with Ndukwana.
 Sitimela is the son of Somveli ka Dingiswayo.³⁷³ This man came to Zululand on a visit about the end of 1880 (just before the Majuba battle was fought).³⁷⁴ A number of the older men saw and believed Sitimela was the son of Somveli who, in the days of Tshaka, had been obliged to flee northwards into Ngungunyana's (Sotshangana's) country, beyond Delagoa Bay.³⁷⁵ Other old members, however, of the Mletwa tribe refused to recognise Sitimela. A number of people killed beasts for the newcomer and welcomed him back again. After remaining about a month, Sitimela went off to Natal. In his absence Myandeya (Mlandela), son of Mbiya (brother of Sitimela's great grandfather), punished those who had presented beasts to Sitimela by seizing their cattle.³⁷⁶ In a very short time (several weeks) Sitimela returned. People flocked to him in considerable numbers. He attacked Myandeya,

killing Sokwetshata's mother, and seizing large numbers of cattle.³⁷⁷ For safety, Myandeya and many people fled to John Dunn across the Mhlatuze.³⁷⁸

The matter was reported to Sir M. Osborn, then in tents in the Emtontaneni district.³⁷⁹ Sir M.O. sent for Sitimela. S. came up, followed by a considerable number of armed men. Ndukwana was told to go and prevent the greater part of the men from coming up to where Sir M.O. was. N. did this as the people made their appearance on the hills, but Sitimela continued nevertheless to be followed by a goodly number. On approaching nearer Sir M.O., he was directed to leave behind the principal portion of those then with him. He did so, advancing with ten men to have an interview with the British Resident. Sir M.O. asked what he meant by coming into the country without reporting his arrival and obtaining the Resident's consent. S. replied that he had notified the fact of his arrival to Sotondose, Sir M.O.'s *induna*. Sotondose admitted this, adding that the notification came in Sir M.O.'s absence, and that Sotondose had warned Sitimela to wait and see Sir M.O., who would shortly arrive. To this Sitimela made no reply. It should be remarked here that Sitimela had presented Sir M.O. with four oxen, which were slaughtered, N. partaking thereof, and Sotondose too was presented with three. The policeman, moreover, sent to call Sitimela was given a beast as well. This took place after the seizure of Myandeya's cattle. Sir M.O. then told Sitimela that he was going on to the Nhlazatshe, and that he wanted to speak to him there in the presence of Myandeya, who would be sent for. S. then went away.

32

Sir M.O. then dispatched Ndukwana with a letter to John Dunn. Such was evidently to summon Dunn, for he went to see Sir M.O., and no sooner did D. get back than an attack was made by Myandeya (assisted by Dunn and other Europeans who fired guns) on Sitimela, then at his new large kraal, called, after Dingiswayo's famous kraal, Oyengweni, but also with the further significant name of Pindumbone.³⁸⁰ Myandeya was completely successful. No sooner did the assailants advance on the kraal and the Europeans open fire, than the inmates turned and fled towards the Mfolozi, a number being slain. The kraal was burnt. Sitimela himself escaped. Toyana (Tolana) [a policeman of mine at Ingwavuma] was an adherent of Sitimela's at the time, and he was one of those who fled.³⁸¹ Mtateni, the present chief in Lower Umfolosi district, was also an adherent of Sitimela.³⁸² It is not known where S. ran off to, but it is believed he is in Natal, as he was last heard of there.

N. adds that he was a tall, dark man, *without a headring (an insizwa)*; he spoke unfortunately in the Tonga tongue, and would be about the age of the Mbonambi regiment, or the Nokenke.³⁸³ When he saw Sir M.O. he had on a leopard skin *loin cover* with large *medicinal charms (imponso ye miti)* sticking out around his neck. On the occasion of his second coming, he was about two months in the country before he was routed. He spoke of Myandeya as 'father'. Myandeya died some time before Cetshwayo.³⁸⁴ After the rout, Myandeya resumed occupation of his old land. N. says that, though speaking a foreign dialect, S. was beginning to assume the appearance of a chief or man of rank. It was due to European action (through Sir M.O.) that he was turned out; in former times, the man having come back as he did, would have come to stay. Mgcobo and Cakijana are two sons of Dingiswayo whom N. knows of; both however are now dead. They did not fly north like Somveli.

27.10.1900

File 60, nbk. 4, pp. 17-18.

17 Land tenure.

All the land belonged to the king. As each king came to the throne, he found people living on plots given them by preceding kings, and these men were not disturbed by a later king in their occupation unless for some grave offence. Individuals might be removed for *takataing*.

There are tribes in Zululand who have continuously occupied certain lands from the days of Tshaka, viz. the Biyela people, the Butelezi, and the Mapita.³⁸⁵ The Biyela are near the Ntambanana stream, downwards towards the Mfolozi. The Butelezi live near *the pass of Mayiwana*, from Nkonjeni northwards.³⁸⁶

Mbopa's people quarrelled with Mapita *re ivory*.³⁸⁷

18 Dilikana ka Hlakanyana owned land about Nhlazatshe to Izinhlalo.³⁸⁸ Mapita resisted subsequent kings when they wanted to place men on his land - held by him as a gift from Tshaka in trust for his people.

Somkele is on his own land, originally given to Mayanda ka Velane.³⁸⁹ Velane was an *induna of Dingiswayo's at Oyengweni*. When Dingiswayo scattered these people,³⁹⁰ they *konza'd* and Mayanda was *apportioned land* by Tshaka.

Izilomo were sometimes given land.³⁹¹

Somfula was turned out by Mbopa. Mbopa killed some of Somfula's people. Somfula then *went off*, being a boy at the time. Somfula ka Ngoja was the *chief*, but young, and used to live at Mbopa's.³⁹²

Mapita gave Somfula land by Mpande's direction.

28.10.1902

File 60, nbk. 4, pp. 18-24.

18 The kings gave lands. *They pointed out the old kraal sites of their fathers*. The king would give land to *izilomo*.

19 *The great men (izikulu)* are separate from *izinduna*. *Izikulu* are far more important than *izinduna*.

Sirayo ka Xongo was not an *izikulu* but an *induna*.³⁹³ He got land.

Izikulu in the Zulu country were:³⁹⁴

Seketwayo

Mvundhlana

Godide ka Ndhlela

Somapunga ka Zwide - Somapunga is father of Mankulumana

Mnyamana

Somkele and Mayanda

Sokwetskata and Myandeya

(Mapita was not an *izikulu* but of the family of the king - *mtanenkosi*.)

Mkanyeli } also said to be *izikulu* - were princes (*abantwana*)

Mataka } *in the Zulu royal house*

Maqoboza - Mqundane ka Nobongoza

These men were ruled by no one but the king.

Mnqandi ka Mtshana was given only a small following.³⁹⁵ He was also an *izikulu*. He was reduced practically to being an *izilomo*.

Ntshingwayo ka Marole.³⁹⁶

Mtshana and Ngqengelele were *menials (iziqqila)*: when taken into

service (*tola'd*), they cooked.³⁹⁷

- 20 All these had large followings. The *izilomo* have followings too, and *izikulu* would have as their followers many of the *izilomo*, the latter presenting tribute (*etulaing*) to an *izikulu*. (Each of) these men has his people dance (i.e. his personal followers) when dances (festivals) are on, or hunts.

Manqondo ka Mazwana was an *izikulu*.³⁹⁸ Mangengce ka Joko was also an *izikulu*. Masipula was an *izikulu*.³⁹⁹

Ntshingwayo ka Marole - N. used to be sent to him. (He had) land about Nqutu, on the upper part of the Black Mfолоzi, not far from Ceza.

The great men (*izikulu*) were hereditary, i.e. the lords of the country. Even high rank would not make a man an *izikulu* if he was not himself a competent fellow.

Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini was an *izikulu*.⁴⁰⁰

- 21 All the country might be said to belong to the *izikulu*. Only such land as was in actual occupation by a king's kraal was spoken of as the king's land, e.g. Mpangisweni was a king's kraal. All that district (*isigodo*) would be said to belong to the king, e.g. the Baqulusini were people of the king. Siwangu, the man in charge, was only an *induna*. They were the king's people.

Those belonging to the king's kraal, e.g. Ndukwana who belonged to Mpangisweni, did not present tribute (*etula*) anywhere. They were not *etula'd* to. The *izinduna* at the king's kraals were not *etula'd* to - only with a vessel of beer.

The king authorized the *izikulu* to rule the land.⁴⁰¹ It would devolve on them to report to the king all that went wrong in the land.

- 22 If a man had slaughtered a beast he would *etula* to his immediate chief, who had authority to deal with certain minor matters, referring greater ones to the *izikulu*, who, in turn, would send on to the king. Thus, then, an *izikulu* might have numbers of important men under him, who themselves had kraals, say even a couple of companies of men (*amaviyo*) under him.

The king used to give people permission to live on land although it belonged to an *izikulu*. But the usual way was to send the man to the *izikulu* with a direction to give him land. And when land was given, there would be no order as to the boundaries.

The king never sent a man with a large following to live in a district, i.e. under an *izikulu*, for to do so would necessitate the making of boundary lines. The *izikulu* used to stand up for their rights before the king.

- 23 There were *izikulu* in Mapita's country, whose land adjoined his brother Tokotoko's and Domba's. Both these were, like Mapita, sons of Sojisa, their mother being Bandile. Bandile was also Mapita's mother. Mapita was the larger one. The *izikulu* at Mapita's would be *izikulu* for that portion of the country only which came under Mapita, and not of course rank with other *izikulu*, though they might also be *izilomo* and be known at headquarters by the king.

Somapunga was a great *izikulu*, but still he had to report to headquarters through Mapita, for Mapita was a prince of the royal house.⁴⁰²

Ludiyane and Nogwaza were *izikulu*, but of inferior rank to the others. They had their own land.

If an *umunzana* has a new man coming to him to *konza*, he reports

the fact of his arrival to the *isikulu*, to prevent its being asked, perhaps, at a later time, should any matter arise respecting the new arrival, where So-and-so came from.

- 24 And if a man should come direct to the *isikulu* to *konsa*, he might, and usually did, refer him to some of his *abanwazana*, sending a messenger along with him with an instruction to the effect that the man in question was to be given a piece of land to live on. The *umwuzana* might reply to the *isikulu*, 'I do not know where I shall put him as the land is all taken up,' when the *isikulu* might then reply, 'Oh, put him over there *at the place of the people of So-and-so*,' which would be done, and there would be an end to the matter.

An *umwuzana's* followers would *dispute* about gardens, such quarrels being settled by the *umwuzana*. A matter of this kind might also be referred to the *isikulu*. People had a right of appeal to the *isikulu*. Such matters, however, would not go in appeal to the king.

<7.11.1902>

File 70, p. 34.

Also present: Ndhlovu ka Timuni?

<Historical notes on Zululand.>

- 34 Ndukwana, this afternoon, gave a long account of Mpande's relations (with) Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi. The latter had been practically nominated king. He *took medicine from the potsherd* immediately after the king, and received the *shield made of the hide of the side with the stab-wound* whilst Cetshwayo got the other, etc. It seems Mbuyazi was given what are now the Eshowe and Mlalazi districts to occupy. Mapita and Mnyamana supported Cetshwayo, and when Mbuyazi went to build as told by Mpande he might do, Mapita advised immediate attack. Mpande sent Ntshingwayo ka Marole to tell Mbuyazi to take refuge in Natal. Mbuyazi might have done this, and would probably have done so, but for the influence of Mantantashiya.⁴⁰³ Tshonkwani resisted Mantantashiya, but the latter's counsels prevailed.⁴⁰⁴ Had he desired to escape, Mbuyazi might have done so by the lower Tugela drift, but Mantantashiya called him a cur to leave, seeing only the Usutu people would fight, whereas, as it turned out, the whole Zulu people took up arms against the iziGqoza.⁴⁰⁵ Mantantashiya was killed. Ntshingwayo was intercepted before he could deliver Mpande's message.

Mpande also *fathered for* Dingana and Nzibe.⁴⁰⁶ Tshonkwani became the heir of the former.⁴⁰⁷

There was an *iLala innyanga who could perform strange feats (e ne mlingo)* called Nembe [Manembe?] attached to Mpande's court who played a part in these stirring times.

It is not unusual in Zululand for a younger brother to take a wife, and declare the son by her to be the heir of his elder brother who died without issue, but such practice often gave rise to serious quarrels.

NDUKWANA

18.1.1903

File 60, nbk. 12, pp. 6-7.

6 Per Ndukwana.

Isidhli - an overgrown area, with trees, e.g. in which kings have been buried, and (which is) never burnt.

7 If a buck ran into the *isidhli* of the king it was not chased or hunted there - it was a sanctuary. The same applied to men running there for refuge, e.g. when the Undi (Tulwana) fought the Ngobamakosi and Uve, the latter regiment (which was of the *uhlangoti* section,⁴⁰⁸ and was in the habit of leading or being in the van of the Ngobamakosi) approached the spot where Mpande's grave and *isidhli* were, and were not pursued further.⁴⁰⁹

And where Mkabayi was buried - *below Kwa Gqikazi* (Mpande's kraal) - people might also fly for refuge.⁴¹⁰ In the case of a king giving the order that any man was to be killed, and this man escaping into the king's graveyard, he would not be followed up but be told to return to his home and not be molested further. Nor would the king give a further order that he was to be pursued and killed. It was moreover an understood thing that the king's order applied only to that day or occasion on which it was given. If the subject of it succeeded in eluding his pursuers, even though he hid himself in some forest or hills, he would not be further followed up but allowed to return to his kraal. The king would direct him to return, and the man would himself get a beast and with it go in person and tender his thanks to the king.

30.3.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 14-17.

14 Talk with Ndukwana, 30.3.1903.

Mtewa.

'You of the place of the *isiganu* trees.'

'You of the place of the pans and lakes.'⁴¹¹

15 *Below the Barwana* hill there is a grove of trees spoken of as *uNtuli*, *Ntuli* being *Mgudhlana's* ancestor.⁴¹² *Mgudhlana* was head over that section of the *Mtewa* which left the coast and went north to where the *Impangiso* kraal was built, because they *hurried* (*pangisa'd*) and *konza'd* on the occasion of *Tshaka* attacking *Zwide*. *Mgudhlana's* father was *Ntuli ka Ngonyama ka Langa*. *Mgudhlana* had the sons *Mkosi* and *Nquhele*. *Mkosi* was the chief of this section, and *Nquhele* was made *induna* by *Tshaka* at *Empangisweni*. *Nquhele* was so extraordinarily good-looking that *T.* used to get him to come out of the *Mbelebele* regiment and stand to be looked at; he would be told to turn in different ways to be examined. *Tshaka* expressed the opinion that so handsome a person ought never to have been born a man at all, but a woman.

Ngonyama was buried at the foot of the hill *uBarwana*. I knew where he was buried. I do not know where *Langa* was buried, but fancy it was where the main body of the *Mtewa* tribe lived on the coast.

Sikota killed off the whole of *Mgudhlana's* kraals in *Dingana's* day by reporting to *Dingana* that the people complained, saying that in *Tshaka's* day the grievances they suffered from did not exist. *D.* then caused the whole of the followers of *Mgudhlana*, including women, to be

put to death.

The Mtetwa people originated (*dabukela'd*) down-country (*ezansi*).
 16 They are praised thus: 'Mtetwa ka Nyambose, you of the lowlands (*ezansi*), you of the place of the lakes'. I think they must have originated in the part of the country they are still in.

My grandmother was married to Chief Mgudhlana. The Mtetwa lived on the Black Mfolozi, high up, but the main body lived on the coast in Sokwetshata's and Somkele's districts.⁴¹³ The principal section, however, lived south of the two Umfolozis, and had as their boundary the Mhlatuze. Dingiswayo would have reigned over this tract of country.

Sokwetshata is a son of Mlandela ka Mbiya ka Tshangana.

Somkele ka Mayanda ka Velane. Mayanda's *isibongo* was Mkwanzazi. Velane was merely an *induma* of Dingiswayo's.

I do not know how it is that Sokwetshata does not connect with Dingiswayo, but he is regarded nevertheless as the true successor.⁴¹⁴

They are not known as *abaNguni*, nor are they *amaNtungwa*.⁴¹⁵

17 Somveli, Dingiswayo's heir, ran off north towards Sotshangana's in Tshaka's day.⁴¹⁶ At a much later time Sitimela returned and startled the people.⁴¹⁷ Hlangabeza also ran north in Tshaka's day - he belonged to the Amantshali tribe.⁴¹⁸

Dingiswayo's kraal was called oYengweni.

[His praises. His regiments.]

D. died in the Ndwandwe people.

Dingiswayo's *impi* attacked everywhere.

My grandmother - of the Amantshali - told me of D. attacking in all directions. He would go a long way, and remain. D. said, 'The matter will be decided by the women, for they will get tired of living in the hills and return to the sites of their kraals.' They are the ones who scattered the peoples. He made war everywhere, but refrained from killing the various chiefs. This resembled European modes of warfare. We build as if we are not going away again, and by such policy tire people out.⁴¹⁹

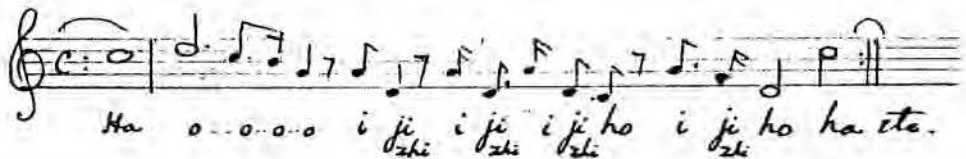
4.4.1903

File 73, p. 150.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 19-21 - eds.>

150 <Festivals.> Per Ndukwana, assisted in the music by B.M.S.⁴²⁰

The following is the chant (*irubo*) for the ancestral spirit (*umzimu*) - sung when the meat, having all been cooked, is about to be consumed.



It is a very well-known Zulu chant or chorus, popular, and often sung at the same time as the famous anthem of the king (*ingoma ye*

nkosi) at the festival of *the umkosi* (first fruits). The *umzimu* cattle are those killed when a king's *idhlozi* has visited at the royal kraal or one of the *amakanda*. They are invariably oxen (largest size), running from five to twenty in number, according to the people who are to consume them. Other parts accompany the main air above set forth. The syllables mean nothing at all. Cows are never killed as *umzimu* cattle, the feast being regarded as of great importance.

Once Songiya's (mother of Mpande) *idhlozi* - which by the way was an iguana, the person being a woman - came to a kraal of Cetshwayo's called Bangizwe. This kraal had emanated from the ekuBazeni one. Ndukwana himself was sent to Cetshwayo to report the fact of this visit. After delivering the message to C. at Emangweni, C. said, 'Let cattle be taken at ekuBazeni, and praises be addressed to the ancestors.' He directed there were to be five, and that they were to be got from ekuBazeni because Bangizwe (situated close to Ezimfabeni and Ceza) was a new kraal and had no cattle to speak of.⁴²¹ After the cattle had been slaughtered and consumed, after observance of the necessary rites, one Goje, alias Ntwana, an elderly man, went down to Cetshwayo at eMangweni to give praise.

Umzimu cattle are killed in the afternoon. The *ububende blood* may be eaten the same day, but the rest of the beast is not partaken of until the following day. *Izinduna* will praise the ancestral kings with the small leather skirts of girls (not women) thrown over their shoulders. [Cf. my 'History of Zululand, Notes On', foolscap notebook, p. 104.]⁴²² The *amadhlozi* will be well praised, and songs like the above sung. The cattle are also known as '*those of Hawo*', referring to the first two syllables of the well-known chant above given. The cattle would never be eaten unless the *ancestral kings* had been praised.

These cattle were apportioned thus: *the head to izinduna of the lower part of the umuzi (ezigabeni); the udders to izinceku; and the hindquarters to those who praised the spirits. The hindquarters would, besides the hind part, include that meat which lies heavy on the hind legs at the back, upper part of leg. This meat is known, with many other pieces, as icwiyo, i.e. a choice (piece) or tit-bit.*

If the king has no cattle at the kraal visited by the *idhlozi*, he will send and fetch from places they have been *sisad* to.

4.4.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 18-19.

18 *The ijadu* - a dance at which shields are not carried.

There was no adorning of oneself with plumes of feathers, ostrich feathers, feathers, tails of beasts, head bands, amabeqe flaps (blue monkey skins cut in flaps to be put on shoulders or sides of face).

An anthem (*ingoma*) of the king.

Ba ya m zonda,

Ba ya m loyisa,

Izizwe zonke,

Ba zond' inkosi.

and other expressions.

They bear him hatred,

Call down curses on his head,

And this, in every state
They loathe the king.

[Translation made 16.8.1912 for Sir Rider Haggard.]

This is an ancient tradition (umsebenzi) of the place. It is sung out by the inyanga of the king. People can sing the ingoma of the king.

No *irubo* - would be sung in the circle of men after the *amarubo*.

This is the *ingoma* of the Zulu.⁴²³

- 19 Somapunga ka Zwide (Ndwandwe), Myandeya (Mtetwa), Msicwa ka Pungatshe and Mtshubane ka Pungatshe (Butelezi) - none of these sang their *ingoma*, nor did they hold their *umkosi* according to previous custom, for it would be said they wished to make kings of themselves.⁴²⁴ They were not allowed to *buta* people; they became mere *abanumsana* of the king.

Only the Zulus retained their old laws and customs. Other tribes were made to relinquish many old customs by the Zulus.

No man was allowed to *wash inside the cattle enclosure*.

The country was not ruled according to kings, but by reducing all to levels of ordinary persons.⁴²⁵ The right of appeal was to the king.

If a man got ill, and if not at once reported, the chief would get into trouble, even though he was originally king over him, for after their defeat all people became the king's subjects.

5.4.1903

File 60, nbk. 17, pp. 21-4.

- 21 We dispute very much about the months.⁴²⁶ Some, for instance, call Masingana Nhlolanja, whereas I maintain that Nhlolanja follows Masingana, i.e. is the next month, i.e. Ngcela.

Dispute arises about the *uNhlangu* and *Little uNhlangu* months. Some say there is a *Little uNhlangu*; others say that there is only the *Great uNhlangu*. Some say there is a *Little uLutuli*. Then comes the *Great uLutuli*; it ends when the *uNcwaba* month begins. They say the *Great uLutuli* carries a reed from one place to another. A reed is taken up in a whirlwind (a whirlwind of *ukolo*); it ascends right up and is carried to another part. *Kolo* or *nhloyile* is a hawk. [Full name, according to Colenso and Ndukwana, is *nhloyile* or *kolo ka Mgubana*.]⁴²⁷ People will begin to *cultivate* as soon as the *kolo* is reported as having been seen.

- 22 I say Nhlaba, *Little Nhlangu*, *Great Nhlangu*, *Lutuli* or *Maquba* or *Ntulikazi*, *Ncwaba*.

Some say there is a small *uluTuli*. I deny this. We are quite divided on this point, many on each side. During the beginning of *Ncwaba* the remaining grass is burnt off and the *ukolo* hawk swoops at grasshoppers.

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

Uhlelenjwayo is food made of crushed *amabele* stalks that have not borne fruit.

- 23 The *Mandulo* (month) is so called because people begin working in their gardens (*isife*, *izivande*) of maize. The white *inkhanyela* (i.e. *amabele*) comes out later and it is then that the fields (*amasimu*) are started, i.e. during *Mfumfu*. There are fields (*amasimu*) of

NDUKWANA

mealies only. When *the uLwezi month ends, the fields of maize only will be hoed*. The first plots (*izife*) would only at that time be weeded.

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

I think Nhlolanja is the same as Ngcela - and not Masingana. It is not common to speak of the month as Ngcela; it was uNhlolanja, when dogs went from kraal to kraal *sniffing (hlolaing)* one another and *copulating (pingaing)*.

Tshaka's government.

- 24 He killed all their *chiefs, and gathered all the peoples under him*. They became his people and *were ruled (patwa'd)* by his nominees. Even ordinary people may be made *izinduna* who will *follow his policy (ukondo)*. People will forget their old customs and find Tshaka's government good.

18.4.1903

File 72, pp. 153-4.

<The rough notes on which Stuart based the transcription which we present below are to be found in File 60, nbk. 18, pp. 14-22. Ndukwana's testimony on *ukuhlonipha* observances should be read in conjunction with that of Nombango, which will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive - eds.>

Also present: Nombango

- 153 *Hlonipa*, act with propriety (propriety of behaviour), Per Ndukwana and Nombango alias Topsy.

It is the custom among the Zulus for a mother-in-law to act with propriety towards her daughter's husband, and for a wife to *hlonipa* or act with propriety towards her husband's father and his brothers. This acting with propriety is incumbent on mothers-in-law or wives in so far as the names of the son-in-law (*mkwenyana*) and father-in-law (*ninazala*) respectively (are concerned), as well as when they are themselves, respectively, in the presence of these persons. As regards the names, the mothers-in-law (*abakwekazi*) do not call the *son-in-law* by his proper name, nor, in the same way, does a wife speak of her father-in-law by his right name. In each case, the close relation which the one bears to the other demands the observance of a certain propriety, and this is shown either by considerably modifying, or substituting, an altogether new word in place thereof.

This, however, is not all. Suppose the man, towards whom this propriety or respect or modesty has to be shown, has such a name as Ndabankulu, then not only will the name be modified to say Mbutshonkulu, but as often as the person *hlonipa'ing* has occasion to use the word *ndaba* in ordinary, everyday conversation, she will be obliged to invent or employ some other to take its place. In this instance it might be *mbutsho*, and so when asked, '*Where have you been?*', she would say, not, '*I have been to the indaba,*'⁴²⁸ but, '*I have been to the mbutsho,*' the person spoken to being put to the trouble of discovering what is meant by this fictitious term. Let us

suppose that Ndabankulu's father is a man named Moya, then, as often as the person *hlonipa'ing* has occasion to use the common noun *moya* (air, wind, spirit), etc., she will have to use such words as *ihle-ngetwa*, *umpukana*, etc., either of which, of course, may be used in the place of *moya* when the proper name of the person it applies to is required.

154 Now as to behaviour when in the presence of the person being *hlonipa'd*. A mother-in-law will instantly cover herself, bringing the blanket or skin well up under her neck so as completely to hide her breasts. In addition, she will tie what is known as an *umcwazi* round her head near the base of that portion of her hair which has been done up. All the wife's mothers will *hlonipa* the son-in-law, not only the wife's own mother; nor will the latter's *hlonipa'ing* be more accentuated than that of her fellow wives. The *umcwazi* is said to be worn on the head. This *umcwazi* is really a headband (*iqele*), although it differs inasmuch as the *iqele* is regarded as an ornament, whilst the former must be worn in obedience to a general custom. The *umcwazi* is usually a string of beads, but may be a strip of cloth or hide (*idwitshi*) or, indeed, anything, so long as it is put on (tied round) the head at the place named. A blade or two of grass, long for preference (*umsingizana* or other kinds), will do if the mother-in-law should happen suddenly to meet the son-in-law in the field or veldt. She will also of course cover herself as much as possible as referred to.

The principal persons *hlonipa'd* have been mentioned, but there are others as well. A wife, in addition to having to act with propriety towards her father-in-law, must do the same towards all his brothers, also towards her husband's brothers. The latter, in their turn, will not call her by name, but simply say Uma--, supplying the father's name.

This custom is observed almost entirely by women, but that men *hlonipa* their mothers-in-law is shown by the following illustration. Dhlozi (Nombango's, alias Topsy's, husband) has a mother-in-law still living, whose name is Nyangambili. Having occasion to use the word *nyanga*, especially when the moon (*inyanga*) waxes, he decided to purchase from Nyangambili the privilege of perpetually using that word and thereby free himself of the necessity of *hlonipa'ing* her. He accordingly paid her the sum of 1s. and consequently, in that particular respect, holds himself as exonerated.

If a man does not wish any of his wives to take anything, say snuff, he says, 'Whoever takes this would be taking her father-in-law' (i.e. having connection with him). If he has caused them to swear not to do some particular thing (as to take snuff which is his or in his keeping), the taboo is removable, but only by the person placing it allowing them to *hlawula*, i.e. pay a forfeit. When the forfeit is paid over, the oath made is then regarded as no longer binding.

<18.4.1903>

File 60, nbk. 18, pp. 15-20.

Also present: Nombango?

15 Girls also demand recompense (*hlawula*) - when a man or woman says

to her, 'Mkaninazala'.⁴²⁹ A girl to whom this is said would go away and inform many of her companions, then they would proceed and kill a beast when they leave if no *recompense* was paid. They would take the *stomach contents* out, wash with it and leave the meat to be eaten by *old women*. This arises from being *insulted* by a reference to a thing they *hlonipa*, viz. the *ninazala*.

The wife will not *hlonipa* her husband, as her mothers are obliged to do, but her husband's father or (her) father-in-law whom she called *mamezala* or *mezala*.

16 The wife's mothers do not *hlonipa* her father-in-law whom they speak of as *usebele* - because his son has married their daughter.

17 The *mother-in-law* would never eat and, as natives say, *chew food in the presence of her son-in-law*. Nor will the *son-in-law* eat whilst the *mother-in-law* is present. If the *mother-in-law* had just put a mouthful of food into her mouth, and the *son-in-law* entered suddenly, she would at once spit it out or into her hand, and throw it away.

A wife does not *hlonipa* her husband's name. She calls him by his proper name. But yet it may often happen she will not give the name when asked, not because she *hlonipa's* it but because she objects to being *hasty with (gabulaing)* it and owes him a certain amount of natural respect, just as he would not, under similar circumstances, speak out hers to others.⁴³⁰ If a girl married one Ndabankulu, her mothers might speak of Ndabankulu as Mbutshonkulu.

18 A wife, if asked whom she married, would mention her husband's name. If asked whose son he was, she would have three alternatives. (a) In the case where the interrogator is a relation, she would say, 'I married the son of the man who is the father of --,' giving the name of another and better known son of her husband's father. (b) In the case where the questioner is a stranger, she would say, 'I married the man of --,' giving his *isibongo*. (c) (She would) give a word which is at least a considerable modification of the true name, e.g. Mbutshonkulu for Ndabankulu. If a woman in conversation with a stranger were to be asked to give the name of her father-in-law, she would at first refuse. If pressed to do so on the ground that the speaker was an entire stranger, she might just mention the name and, turning instantly to one side, pretend to spit something out of her mouth, thereby indicating that she had touched something she ought not to have touched.

19 Then instead of the word *ndaba*, the common noun, the word *mbutsho* might always be substituted. 'Where have you been?' 'I have been to the *umbutsho*.'

And this *hlonipaing* has extended to almost every object in the country, for the names of people are greatly diversified. Not only does the wife *hlonipa* her father-in-law, but she *hlonipa's* all those belonging to his house. E.g., let us suppose Ndabankulu is her husband and Moya is her husband's father, then she will not only *hlonipa* Moya but all his brothers. The wife will say 'great child' (*mtwan' omkulu*) to Moya's own sisters. Ndabankulu's sisters will speak of the wife as *younger sister (ummawa)* because she has married their *elder brother (ummewabo)*.

20 The word used as *hlonipa* for the common noun *moya* may be *ihlengetwa*. The *hlonipa* will vary - *moya* will be varied thus: *ihlengetwa, umpukana,*

and other terms.

We see then that *hlonipa* has a very far-reaching effect, and is apt to cause difficulty and perplexity where a man or woman is at a kraal where he is not familiar with the various families in connection with it.

2.5.1903 - <evidence given c.29.4.1903>

File 40, item 22, p. 5.

5 *Mdidi ka Ndhlela*: this refers to that section of the Zulu people who remained in Zululand when in 1839 Mpande and his followers crossed over into Natal.⁴³¹ Ndhlela, son of Sompisi ka Nkobe, was one of the principal *indunas* of Dingana. The above expression does not apply merely to the Ntuli tribe, over which Ndhlela and afterwards Mavumengwana were chiefs, but to the whole of those people that remained.⁴³²

It seems Mavumengwana at first crossed over into Natal with Mpande, but the people he was with quickly returned to rejoin Dingana. Mavumengwana belonged to the Amapela regiment, and was of the same age as Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi. Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, however, were kept back from joining their proper regiment by Mpande, which accounts for their belonging to the Tulwana regiment.⁴³³ Mavumengwana was a great man and subordinate only to Mnyamana.⁴³⁴ He was *induna* of the major section of the Tulwana regiment, and an associate of the king, Cetshwayo. Mfungelwa succeeded to the chieftainship over the Ntuli tribe on the death of his father some ten years ago.⁴³⁵

[Per Ndukwana - about three days ago.]

1.5.1903

File 9, item 14, p. 1.

1 Ndukwana.

'By the father-in-law of my sisters!' - an oath. Unmarried girls who have arrived at the years of discretion act similarly as their married sisters - they *hlonipa* those she *hlonipa*'s. They make oath by her father-in-law.

'It will be snuffed by my father!' She would never take it - snuff, food. She would never take either snuff or food on account of which she had so made oath - unheard of. When she uses her father-in-law's name it is in anger. In the event of a woman, in spite of such prohibition, taking snuff or food, the only course would be to cause her to pay a forfeit (*hlaula*) in some heavy manner.

A woman does not make oath by her son-in-law's name; she does so by her father-in-law's. A man will swear by his mother-in-law. No one makes oath by the son-in-law.

Women may swear by Mpande, Dingana or Tshaka, according to their age.

Girls given the order to marry by Dingana ('Njunju of the reed') make oath by him, though there would be nothing wrong in their doing so by Mpande or Cetshwayo. But to make oath by the father-in-law is the more general procedure. 'By the great one of my sisters, I do not wish it!' - but she will change her mind and engage herself. This is so because there is no one to enforce the penalty, but if she made use of such expression to one related to her sister's father-in-law she would never go back on her word. Her refusal would have to be

regarded as final.

To *make oath by a king* is not so decisive.

If a woman has *made oath* by her *father-in-law*, and it turns out that she has spoken falsely, that that has happened which she swore would not, etc., she will probably swear again by her *father-in-law* that she was not aware at the time she took her first oath that she did so on false information.

1.5.1903

File 60, nbk. 20, pp. 7-11.

7 *Hlonipa*. Per Ndukwana, 1.5.1903.

A woman *pays a forfeit* if she has *insulted* her husband by his father. For instance, if she is being struck by her husband she may exclaim, '*I am being killed by the son of --!*' giving here his father's name. The fact of having with wilful intent uttered her father-in-law's name constitutes the offence.

8 If she similarly deliberately insults a wife of her father-in-law, calling her, '*Little woman of --!*' giving the name, she will be liable to be fined. The insult here is even greater, for for her to speak of the woman she is addressing as '*woman*' (*umfazi*) is in itself an insult. Even if she is with her husband alone, and not in the hearing of others, the offence has been committed. The husband will feel obliged to report the matter to his father and mothers, or, if his father is dead, to his mothers and other male relatives.

If the father-in-law is alive, he will summon the woman to him, and question her as to her conduct. If *the father-in-law* (*ninazala*) is dead, one of his brothers, acting in conjunction with the own mother of the man *insulted*, will summon the offender, and both will call her to account.

9 They do this to put an end to it, for *amadhlozi* will *take note of* (*bamba*) her, saying she is noisy. The father-in-law, after inquiring into the matter, and finding the woman guilty, will direct her to pay a fine. She will then leave and go to her father's kraal or relations. And at her own kraal there will be no demur about paying up. One or more of the woman's brothers will then drive the beast to her father-in-law, who will cause it to be slaughtered. The beast need not necessarily be killed on the same day, but it will not remain many days unkilld. The beast is killed because it is a fine imposed for the most unseemly conduct of *uttering the name of a father-in-law* at his own place (for a woman came herself to *take a husband* at his place). The *son's* wives will not eat the beast. Only the father-in-law and his relations will consume it. This beast does not *get used to praise the amadhlozi*. (The forfeiting is) done merely to remove a reprehensible act or stigma.

10 This fine is imposed not so much as a penalty on the woman and her relations through her, but to give her an opportunity of removing from her a blot which would otherwise rest on her, and one of which the spirits or *amadhlozi* would take note, especially when she became with child. It is believed her delivery would be attended with great difficulty and might even cause her death. Doctors have often been sent to, and have declared that the precarious condition which the woman gets into at such times is due to her noisy and defiant disposition, her treating those with whom she lives, especially her

husband, with contempt; and so, as so gross an insult is the worst sign of noisiness, defiance and contempt, it follows that it is most desirable for the sake of the woman herself that it should be entirely removed.

- 11 An ordinary, though small, beast - male or female - is considered sufficient for the purpose in question.

2.5.1903

File 60, nbk. 20, pp. 11-14.

Also present: Kambi

Ndukwana and Kambi, 2.5.1903.⁴³⁶

Sobofu, of the place of *Kayisa's* people, of the Dududu regiment, is a man who still *teba's*, for Mpande directed the Dududu regiment all to *teba*, that is to have *izinjobo* and *umutsha* girdles (but no *hooked sticks* like Qwabe formerly had) below buttocks and extending to the back of the knees.⁴³⁷ They were given them by the king.

The Tulwana (regiment) was given *ingwele* and *imasa* beads. The *ingwele* (reddish-brown) were very ancient, and each bead was large and about a quarter-inch long, brought probably by Portuguese. *Isi-wondo* - large bunches of beads, used by girls as ornaments.

[For *teba* see also Kambi's account of the Qwabe tribe in notebook on Zulu History, somewhere about p. 90.]⁴³⁸

Hlonipa.

- 12 A chief's name is not called out. That is a form of *hlonipa*, but not of the same importance as e.g. between a *mother-in-law* and *son-in-law*. Women who *hlonipa itshoba* call it *ibeta*.⁴³⁹ Nungu's mother says *iwasa*.⁴⁴⁰

The wife's *mother-in-law* and the husband's *mother-in-law* *hlonipa* each other in a small way.⁴⁴¹ They do not appear naked before each other when washing.

She does not cover her body; i.e. she merely hides breasts.

She will not be naked.

If she does not wear the married woman's *umcwazi* headband, *hlonipa* is not complete.

One's sister-in-law is not required to appear covered in his presence. She, being a girl, need not cover herself in her married sister's father-in-law's (presence).

The father-in-law removes (*ambula*) the need for the woman to observe an obligation by presenting her with something. When eating, a woman will leave off doing so as soon as she sees her father-in-law approaching. He however may *ambula* her, i.e. liberate her from this obligation by presenting her with, say, a string of beads. He will say, 'I am now releasing you. You need no longer be bound by it,' mentioning the obligation.

- 13 As sisters of a *son-in-law's* wife are not required to cover themselves in the presence of the father-in-law, this seems to indicate that it is because a married woman's breasts have suckled that they are covered. A woman, however, even though just married and before having any children, is obliged to *hlonipa* her father-in-law by covering her breasts.

A woman does not carry her *umcwazi* headband for her father-in-

law. The *umncwazi* is carried only for the *son-in-law*.

Girls would not appear naked in the presence of their sister's father-in-law, even though they are not required specially to cover themselves at other times in his presence.

One thing will have numbers of names. Women come to have almost a language of their own. *Umbaso*, *wnkanyiso* (fire) (are used) for *hlonipaing* the word *wmlilwana*.⁴⁴²

- 14 When alone, out of sight etc., women will be found to continue *hlonipaing*. They would not even then mention their father-in-law's name.

A son-in-law may release his mother-in-law from the need to observe an obligation. (She) still will never eat (in his presence). Women are very much afraid of their sons-in-law, and it is to relieve them from this sense of fear that the son-in-law will release them. For a woman will be greatly perturbed on seeing her son-in-law; (she will) put herself out to (a great extent). The son-in-law's object is to reduce this bother. 'I am releasing you from this obligation.' He may even kill a goat. When he releases her in this way, it is (done) to his own mother-in-law (wife's mother). This single act will liberate all other women belonging to her household.

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

12.5.1903

File 60, nbk. 21, pp. 14-17.

- 14 Mothers of king - *amakosikazi*.

Bejane, a great authority on Cetshwayo's private affairs, is of the Tulwana regiment.⁴⁴³

- 15 Wives in the *black isigodhlo*. *Amakosikazi*, i.e. mothers of the king, will be in the *white isigodhlo* - all over it.⁴⁴⁴

One enters on the right of the *isigodhlo*, looking north.

There were screens (*izironqa*), many of them, strong fencing made of *uklele* and *wmqandane* wattles, and with *ugagane* thorns on top - put there to prevent people jumping over.

The *isigodhlo* of the *kwesikulu* and the *isigodhlo* of the *uhlangoti* - over each was an *inkosikazi*, a mother of the king.⁴⁴⁵

The *iBeje* women of Dingana - *izixebe*; they wore brass ornaments (*itusi*).⁴⁴⁶

The *umdhlunkulu* girls who had been sent to the king by great men, with oxen⁴⁴⁷ - these gave the king his food. They lived in the *black isigodhlo*, and were *iziklebe*. These in Dingana's day were called *iBeje* - no name in Mpande's reign or Cetshwayo's.

The *kwesikulu* and *uhlangoti* sections of the *isigodhlo* would each have and hoe its own gardens. A regiment or section thereof would hoe for the *black isigodhlo*, assisted by girls belonging to the latter.

- 16 Those girls sent to the king by important men went into the *black isigodhlo*; also any girls of the *isizi* (plundered) to whom the king took a fancy would go there.⁴⁴⁸ The king's wives are there too, and mothers, whilst other mothers will be in the *kwesikulu* and *uhlangoti* sections.

The *izinceku* did not sleep in the *isigodhlo*. Bejane never slept

there. The *izinceku* would sleep outside, but immediately beside, the *isigodhlo* on either side.

There were no such things as eunuchs in the *isigodhlo*.

Were all *amakanda* joined together, the total girls would have equalled a regiment like the uDhloko, of about 80 companies.

In Mpande's time, Dukuza, Esiklebeni, Nobamba, Bulawayo, Sangqwini, Nodwengu, Mdumezulu, Mlambongwenya, Zwangendaba, Ekuweleni (abolished at time of Ndondakusuka), Gqikazi, Belebeleni.⁴⁴⁹

17 A girl of the *mdhlunkulu*, when married off and *lobola'd*, and when she has gone past child-bearing, will often be taken by the king to become an *inkosikazi* in the *isigodhlo*. She will rank as a mother of the king, and not again return to her husband. Her children may visit her, and be fed by her, in the *isigodhlo*. No *lobola* would be returned.

The *iBeje* women in Dingana's day wore brass ornaments (*itusi*) round the neck (*large neckrings*) and on arms (like *ingxota* armbands). In Mpande's and Cetshwayo's times they did not wear brass ornaments.

A girl would be taken, and taken to a man, and he would be expected to *lobola*.⁴⁵⁰ (They were) sent to propertied men. A girl might be asked for by her parents from the king, and (she would be) married to a man who had cattle. He would *lobola*, and the cattle would go to the *ikanda* where the girl was taken from.

17.5.1903, Sunday.

File 60, nbk. 20, pp. 15-20.

15 Per Ndukwana. *Declaiming exploits in war (xox' impi)*. The way this was done was by the king calling two regiments together into the cattle kraal, the one nearly the same age as the other, and sitting with them whilst they discussed military exploits. A man on one side would get up, single out (*qoma*) a man of about his own rank on the other side, then begin to defy him, saying he was in no doubt he would defeat him at once, even though he attacked at night-time just as he had done at -- and -- <sic>, and so on. He would then *giya*, and then go and sit down. The man *challenged* would then get up, *giya*, and afterwards use the same defiance towards the other, cite his own deeds of bravery, etc., and then resume his seat. It seems it was the junior who *challenged* the senior in age. They would pair off in this way one after the other for hours, the king listening
16 the whole time. They would have no food whilst there, nor would the king eat. Not necessarily the whole of those called to *declaim* (*xoxa*) would pair off, but only until the king had had enough and it was getting late.

Cetshwayo once called the Dhlokwe to *xoxa* with the Kandempemvu, much their juniors. The Dhlokwe refused to *xoxa* with them, whereupon the Tlwana and the Ndhlonhlo were called, and the *xoxaing* took place.

Once the Mhlohlalanga section of the Dhlokwe, who were *izikonzi*, had to *xoxa* with -- <sic> regiment.⁴⁵¹ This was only because there were no others available when the king called them up.

17 Now, whilst the *giyaing* went on, it sometimes happened that a man would break his stick. As soon as he did this, the opposite side would rush at and catch him, and seize the broken stick. This would then be taken and *thrust in at the indhlunkulu*, to be there kept until the next *xoxaing*, when it would be fetched. Numbers might be

present looking on whilst these two regiments *xoxa'd*. The king too sometimes called another regiment, not for the purpose of *xoxaing*, but to be present. Such regiment would listen, and also *giya*, but not *xoxa*. This practice took place once or twice a year.

18 At the *umkosi*, a black, young, and wild bull would have to be caught by the young men, who were not permitted to carry sticks or to strike the bull. It had to be killed with the hands, and before it was secured it often happened that it had poked a number of persons. It used to be surrounded. The boys would attack it this way and that way. It would chase them in one direction, whilst those at its rear would follow, and take it by its tail or legs. Having got a hold, others would crowd on to it and, all co-operating, would succeed in throwing it to the ground, when they would break its neck and so kill it. They would then lift it bodily into the air and carry it into the king's cattle kraal, where doctors would use certain drugs etc. to *doctor it*. The *udibi mat-bearers* would receive it in large numbers in this *kraal* and, after making fires, eat it there, and burn the various parts of it. This was always a necessary part of the *umkosi*. No one else but *udibi boys* would consume it.

19 The true food of Zululand regiments was *boiled grain (izinkobe)*.⁴⁵² They also ate *amabele porridge (inyambazi)*. At the king's kraals girls had to bring food, for there was none to be got there. Girls were repeatedly carrying food to their brothers, who might be serving at different stations, and do so until the hair wore off the crowns of their heads.

When one went to *konza*, which was of course often done, he would know he went where he would get no food, but that did not matter. He got used to being without food, and did not feel the pangs of hunger.

In speaking to Cetshwayo one would say, 'Ndaba,' 'Mageba,' etc., especially 'Mageba,' and he would say, 'Ndoda,' to the man he was conversing with, and who might have brought him a message.⁴⁵³

Both Tshaka and Dingana *prohibited ukuhlobonga*. The habit became prevalent again in Mpande's day.

20 No one but the king had an *isigodhlo*, though an *umnunzana* might appropriate a daughter of some man whose death the king had authorized on a representation by the *umnunzana* in question that he *takata'd*. But such girls as he procured did not form an *isigodhlo*.

What has grown alarmingly in Natal and Zululand are the *medicines* people carry about with them, for this reason, but that only it is desirable that there should be no *jubaing of girls*, for if marriage were delayed all would be dead by the time it had to take place <sic>.⁴⁵⁴ Formerly few people were allowed to carry *medicines*.

The *buckets of milk* had always to be full when taken to the *indhlunkulu*, and those carrying had to hold them at arm's length in the air above their heads, no doubt to keep dirt from falling in, etc.

21.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 28, pp. 19-22.

19 All men had great affection for their king. It could not be otherwise for they were *bound* together. This *binding* took place in the shape of an *inkata*, known as *the inkata yezwe* on which the king used to sit and which, I believe, used to be kept in Langazana's (the *inkosikazi's*) hut at Esiklebeni.⁴⁵⁵ The *amabuto* would on a given day be directed to go and *engage in ritual vomiting (hlanza)*. They, accompanied by *izinnyanga*, would proceed to some neighbouring stream, e.g. the stream near Nodwengu, which enters the White Mfolozi, and there be given *medicine in grass baskets*, which they would then *vomit* into numerous holes in which had previously been placed a wisp of grass (doubled back). It was not necessary to drink more than two or three gulps of the medicine. A man would then proceed to one of the holes and, putting his two fingers into his throat, vomit up some or

20 all of the medicine he had partaken of. (The name of the medicine was known only to the doctors.) He would vomit it into the hole and on to the grass (spoken of as *izibi*), after which he would retire, leaving others to do the same. The regiments would not necessarily be at the same spot, but at different positions along the side of the stream. This vomiting took place in the early morning when the sun is getting warm. Every member of the regiments had to comply with the custom. Afterwards the doctors would take the wisps of straw that had been *vomited* onto, and use them to bind up together into an *inkata*.

This *vomiting* would take place in time of peace, though when there was some reason for supposing a war might come about.

In addition to the material mentioned, the doctors would draw straws from the front part of the hut over the doorway, i.e. huts used by the troops, as well as peel off some of the bark of those

21 wattles at the door where the body rubs against them, and would also take this and that from various parts of the hut - all to go towards making the king's *inkata*; and the huts visited were not particular ones but all or such as in the doctor's opinion were necessary for the purpose in view.

And thus it is that, even though a man might be killed off by order of the king, and his daughters seized and placed in the *isi-godhlo*, such of his sons who had escaped with their lives would proceed to the king with a large ox in order to tender their thanks that their own lives had been spared. The king would receive them kindly and, after making them presents of cattle, direct them to go and live in peace.

N. fancies that the *inkata* was kept at Esiklebeni, whither often the king used to proceed; or it might be sent to him whenever

22 required temporarily elsewhere. He does not know when this custom arose but fancies it must have gone on in Tshaka's day. He cannot say what the *vomiting* symbolizes. By *vomiting* into the holes, the *mucous of the vomit* would of course adhere to the straw.

Dabulamanzi was so called because born just about the time when Mpande *crossed* into Natal [in October 1839], i.e. crossed the Tugela river.⁴⁵⁶ He belonged to the Dhlokwe regiment, like Ndukwana. N. could walk here and there during Mpande's flight. [Say he was two years old, then he would have been born in or about October 1837.]

NDUKWANA

Dabulesinye, another of Mpande's sons, was so called because he again was born when Mpande crossed over into Natal and there established another 'kingdom' or 'colony' (*isizwe*).⁴⁵⁷

Cetshwayo was of the Tulwana regiment like Mbuyazi, but as far as age went he would have belonged to the Amapela.

<3.9.1903>

File 60, nbk. 30, pp. 5-15.

Also present: Gedhle?

5 Per Ndukwana.

Ntshingwayo ka Marole,⁴⁵⁸ at eSandhlwana, *declaimed the praises of Senzangakona and Tshaka, and holding up his shield said, 'This is the love-charm of our people' ('Nansi intando ya kiti')*. As he said this he shook his shield, (and said), *'You are always asking why this person is loved so much. It is caused by the love-charm of our people. There is no going back home.'*

6 <Praises of Ndaba omitted - eds.>

Fokoti ka Dhlezebeni *praised the old chief - dead. Tshingana ka Mpande learnt from him.*

*Hlonipa.*⁴⁵⁹

When talking, the king was *agreed with (vunyelwa'd)*. (A man will, agree whilst the king speaks (although he) disagrees, and then after the king has finished, replies in a different way.

Speech was restrained in manner.

A man walked in a stooping position.

(A man would) sit squatting, with hand down.

'Lion! Feared animal! You of the inner circle!'

Meeting (the king) suddenly, (a man would drop) *down - they could not stand together.*

The king sat on an inkumba, on a large roll of mats woven from reeds.

7 *An inceku would hold a shield (irawu) to cause shade - a black shield with strips of black hide. The thing was called an irawu, whereas in reality it was an isihlangu war-shield.*

When he sneezed, (men) said, *'Tutaka, Silo!'* i.e. *'Grow, oh feared one!'*

When a man was called, it was said, *'Here, So-and-so!'* (*Nangu lu bani bo!'*) The answer was *'Mungane!'* and people about would shout, *'Hear, So-and-so!'*

A girl, if no *inceku* is present, will leave the *isigodhlo*, go to the *izinceku*, and say, *'Here is So-and-so,'* and they will pass on.

When the king is eating, girls will tell all the people in the upper part of the umuzi, and say, 'Do not sneeze, do not sneeze, do not cough.' A man with a cold must leave and cough far off. (Cough and then spit out - that possibly was what was objected to.)

8 Courtesy among common people.

Not to call by name. Even boys were not called by name but by

regiment. A man might shout, '*Weh, So-and-so!*', by name, and he would answer. Use of nick-names (*feketisa*) is not *hlonipa*.

Instead of Ingulube (regiment) (one would) say Nkone; instead of Tulwana (one would) say Mboza (Amambozankoni) - but this is not done to *hlonipa* but because the latter was more general.

Man and wife.

A woman did not call her husband by name. He was called either by his regiment or '*Father of So-and-so,*' naming one of his children. The latter is very common.

A man can call her by her name (maiden), but those at home do not call her by it but by her father, saying '*Daughter of So-and-so.*'

- 9 A man would not make water in the presence of women - but might do so in his mother's presence. If he was out in the field voiding, a woman seeing him would return or go back, and if one sees a woman at stool a man would turn back.

Women washing shout out, '*Don't approach; we are washing,*' i.e. to men, and they would run for *their skirts*. But with girls this does not matter. It would not be wrong to get a girl to *wash one's back, to rub the parts one cannot reach*, but this girl would be of one's own people, not a stranger.

Women are not quite so particular at the time of *the unkos*i, for people are so numerous. There is therefore less particularity. She would not be afraid to wash in the presence of others if seated and showing only the shoulders, and with her *skirt* close by.

- 10 Men (sit) on the right side of the hut, women on the left, but if (there are) no women the men would fill the whole hut. If there are many people (near neighbours), but not beer of an *assembly of men (ibandhla)*, women would go on the left and men on the right. *Youths sit at the back of the hut*. If there are too many men, the *youths* would be told to go out, and if there is still too little room, the head of the kraal would direct the women to go out. Women were not allowed in the hut when an *ibandhla* had *assembled*, not even if the *ibandhla* was small. The mother of the householder would be allowed to come in, as she would be considered to have the same importance as a man, and if his proper mother was dead her place could be taken by a step-mother.

- 11 In Cetshwayo's time sprang up the custom of women having a separate *beer pot* of their own in another hut. One would then hear a *babble of voices* going on not only in the men's hut but also in the women's. The old way was for women to drink their beer whilst *straining it* in the morning, or draw small *potfuls* from the main supply and keep it for women friends.

- If an *umnumzana* has gone to another of his kraals, and he is staying there and beer is made at another of his kraals, a portion of this will be sent to the *umnumzana*, whilst a *large potful* will remain. An *ibandhla* would then congregate, and the wives of the absent chief will say to the *induna* of the kraal, '*Why delay any further? The ibandhla has arrived,*' and the *induna* will then get the men into a hut. The *amakosikazi* will enter the same hut and take up their position on the left. If the chief was present they would not have come in, as he would not have allowed it. Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele, for instance, would not permit his wives to pass in front of the door of the hut which the *ibandhla* occupied.⁴⁶⁰ She

would be obliged to go round the hut at the back if she wanted to get to the other part of the kraal.

When a beast is killed, women would eat *the ribs* (*mhlubulo*); when cooked (day of cooking), they would eat *the chest-meat* (*isifuba*). The mothers would eat *the leg* (*wmlenze*). Custom was not so strict as regards meat as in the case of beer. Beer was said to belong to men. The *umumzana* would get *the meat on the ribs* (*insonyama*). Girls would also get *the ribs* (*mhlubulo*).

In Swaziland men eat the *chest*; amaBaca also eat *the chest*. [Per Gedhle.]⁴⁶¹

- 13 The *ibandhla* would give praise after having partaken of the beer. Some would *do so* when they make *their farewells* on going away.

Going along a path - meeting one another - it was recognized that an *unmarried youth* (*insizwa*) must make way for a *mature man* (*indoda*). If he failed to do so, the latter would go to the men of the place of the *umumzana*, who would fine the boy, asking how he came to regard himself as the equal of a man, and why he did not reserve his spirit of disputation for those his own size.

- A headringed man was always *shown respect* (*hlonitshwa'd*) and never touched by a youth. A man *smoking the smoking-horn* would say, 'Go, boy, and fetch me a light.' Men *hlonipa'd* one another, i.e. according to age and regiments. A younger always *hlonipa'd* an older man, even though both had headrings. Youths *hlonipa'd* one another, i.e. the younger the older ones. An *old man* was known as an *ilunga*, and therefore *shown respect* by men and therefore others.⁴⁶² The older men called an *old man* 'Father' (*baba*).

Girls respected one another, the younger the older ones, and so with the women.

The reason why they *hlonipa'd* was because they were afraid of the king, for a young man could not fight with an old man.

A man with a headring was said to be of the *age-grade of the king* (*intanga ye nkosi*) for the king had put on the headring. The headring too was the king's for he caused it to be put on. No one therefore could take a man by the headring.

'The mouth which tells no lies' - (*wmlom' onga teti manga*) - name of the king. The word which he utters will be obeyed - no one will defy it. [Cf. the king can do no wrong.]

- 15 A man's wives *hlonipa* one another according to seniority. The juniors will take a little beer and pass it on to the older women. The beer belongs to the older ones. The juniors drink and pass it on to the others without setting it down, but when the olders get it they may set it down, seeing it is theirs.

Boys were beaten for allowing *the calves* to suckle - or when cattle have entered gardens. A man would hunt them up and beat them and scatter them. They, *the boys herding the cattle*, would receive *the lung*, and go off and eat it in the veld; also *the boys looking after the calves* would receive *the spleen* from the innards.

4.9.1903

File 60, nbk. 30, pp. 15-16.

If a man is still *lying* with his mat down, those coming in (men) will not go on to his but the women's side. If women are on that side, they will move up to the end of the hut; if young men, they

16 will do the same. If there are many men, the women and young men will leave the hut altogether rather than go on to the side where the householder is lying. No one can go and 'sit' on top of his mats.

A woman is not directed to leave. Her husband might direct her to do up (*andhlula*) his mat, and then she leaves. She leaves on ordinary occasions on her own initiative.

6.9.1903

File 60, nbk. 30, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Qalizwe

20 Ndukwana.

Izikulu and *izilomo* and sons of the king (*abantabenkosi*) had beasts killed for them.⁴⁶³ They knew the kraals where they would be *hlonipa'd*, where they are known.

A man is known by his descent (*ngo ku dabuka*). We are all treated as equals, and yet we used to rank differently in status (*dhlulana'd*).

21 A person of no rank is placed in a position of trust.⁴⁶⁴

The precedence ran: *Izikulu*; *izinduna* (four or five companies - *viyos*); *izilomo* (three or two or four kraals), who has land of his own given by the king - his men are simply a dancing-file (*uhlulu lo ku sina*) as there are so few of them. *Izikulu* must treat *izilomo* with respect.

The *ingxota* armbands were distributed to *izilomo*. The *izikulu* were entitled to wear them, whereas *izilomo* had to be presented with them.

Dancing dresses of animal skins were distributed; genet-skins and blue monkey skins were also presented by the king to *izilomo*. *Izikulu* also wore these skins. Ordinary men also wore these. It was not necessary for the king to give an *izilomo* more than three skins. That quantity was not enough, but it would indicate the king's permission having been given, and the *izilomo* might then go to his *umwuzana* and report the fact, and he would give a beast to go and buy more dancing dresses.

22 When (a man was) made an *induna* at an *ikanda*, a report would be sent to the *izikulu*. An ox would be given by the *izikulu*. This beast would be taken to the king to give praise because the man had been made an *induna* - even if a small one if nominated by the king. *Izinduna* were made from all ranks. Mpande refused to make *izindunas*, only those of hereditary rank.

The king might call up a newly formed regiment and, from the lot, fix on a certain young man and, asking his father's name, elect him an *induna* straight away, having taken a fancy to his appearance. A king might sometimes know a man by his having frequently brought messages.

Izikulu appeared in Tshaka's time, e.g.:

Mvundhlana ka Menziwa - now Dumezweni ka Mkosana ka Mvundhlana⁴⁶⁵

Solatsha - not the chief son but was made an *izikulu* by Tshaka⁴⁶⁶

Mbopa ka Wolizibi⁴⁶⁷

Seketwayo ka Nhlaka (Mdhlalose)

Ntshingwayo ka Marole (Koza)

Somapunga ka Zwide (Ndwandwe)

23 Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele (Butelezi)

Masipula ka Mamba (Engazini) - was given the tribe by Dingana, though not heir; Sitshaluza was.
 Myandeya ka Mbiya (Mtetwa)
 Godide ka Ndhlela (Ntuli)
 Mayanda - father of Somkele (Mpukunyoni)
 Lukwazi ka Zwana (Ntombela)
 Majiya ka Gininda (Ntombela)
 Mkanyile ka Zivalele, Nomataka ka Mpassa - both of high rank.⁴⁶⁸
 Nkunga ka Sitayi (Zulu) - Nkunga's brother was Tubelisa, alias Mbopa, Tshaka's *inceku*.
 Nkabane ka Sitayi (Zulu)
 Mqundane ka Nobongoza (Zulu)
 Mfusi ka Manyala (Emdhletsheni)
 Manqondo ka Mazwana (Magwaza)
 Gaozi - of smaller standing, was also an *isikulu*, son of Silwana (Mpungose)
 Ndwandwe ka Mdhlaka⁴⁶⁹

Cetshwayo was, I think, about to make the Zembekwela *isikulu*. This name is not of a man but of the class of his *izinceku*. The *izinduna* objected to the king always speaking to young men (uZembekwela, i.e. the *izinceku* establishment).

- 24 People were not told what was going on, and therefore given no opportunity of discussing it. The greater men used to meet together in the cattle enclosure, and, after holding a confidential conversation, move off to see the king. Many of the *izindunas* would not join in this conclave, which would only number four, five or six, but would be summoned afterwards. Many things would be done and finished with before the public knew what was going on. They would always be hearing of things of the past; so and so has been done, not about to be done.

No assembly (*ibandhla*) was held in regard to the war - a decision was come to by the *izinduna* only.⁴⁷⁰

The king (Cetshwayo) said he could see the white people were coming because he saw them in his water.

Sirayo was an *isilomo* but he even disputed about a hut with Ntshingwayo ka Marole, the *isikulu*. Sirayo was ordered to be removed from the hut.⁴⁷¹

11.9.1903

File 61, nbk. 31, pp. 1-3.

1 Boys.

(Little boys) would go out with boys who herded calves, and so learn. Even a very small boy carries his stick - grows up with it. It would be cut for him by his elder brother or (he would be) given a switch. Herding was the main occupation of boys - cattle, calves, goats and sheep. They had dogs and hunted too, for game was not preserved. As a little boy he lives with his mother and girls. When 13 or so he will leave his mother's hut for the boys' hut (*ilawu*) - arriving at years of discretion, grown-up. He will eat his meals with his family (*kwabo*). When returning at mid-morning, boys will all go to their mothers' huts. They eat twice - at midday and at night. They get up early, at daybreak, and take the cattle out to

2 graze. They then come back. When the sun has got to a certain height, they bring the cattle back, i.e. about 9 a.m. They will milk first, and *the gourds are washed*. Then they eat their meal; after this they take the cattle out, say at 10.30.

If there are five boys for only 20 cattle, all will go out day after day. If it is raining, a *young man (insizwa)* will take the cattle out, leaving the boys behind. One *young man* would be enough.

Cattle might *mingle in the grazing grounds*. They will *sort them* when bringing them back.

Boys *set bulls on to fight*.

The cattle return towards sunset, whilst there is still sun, and will be *milked* in daylight.

The gate is shut by boys. At a large kraal there will be a man told off always to see about shutting the cattle kraal gate.

Boys take care cattle don't get into gardens; if they do, boys will be beaten.

3 *Keeping watch over gardens.*

Where, in a hut, there are no girls, the boys will *keep watch (linda)*, but if there are girls they will *do so*. At the royal kraals, the *umpakati kept watch*.⁴⁷² At first those *doing so* were selected, but this was discontinued. This referred only to the gardens of the *indhlunkulu*.

Carrying of loads.

Udibi carrier boys - going to the great place, to the amakanda.

<Continued below - eds.>

12.9.1903

File 61, nbk. 31, pp. 3-7.

4 *Mat, stool, kaross and gourd for water, spoon, pot, basket, maize and amabele*, and other things.⁴⁷³ Girls accompany with a *bag (inqalati, woven from rushes, like a mat)* of mealies or *amabele* and other provisions. They carry for their elder brothers too, and call them '*father*' ('*baba*'). A boy in the habit of carrying for his father may, if the father is not going to the *great place* just then, have to carry for his elder brother. He will be fetched back by girls, who will shortly after be proceeding to the royal kraal with food.

A boy would remain three and four months at the royal kraal with his father or elder brothers. If he was wanted to come back and carry his father's mats, he would be fetched by girls.

A boy would not leave home to do this work unless there were others to do the herding. In that case he would remain, and his sisters would carry the man's mats, but instead of staying three or four months at the royal kraal, they would return at once, being told as they leave when they should come back for the mats. N. says: Our mats had always to be carried by girls, no boys being available.

5 The boys taken on a journey of this kind must be able to do the various domestic duties. As soon as they get to headquarters, they have to start by sweeping out the hut (which perhaps has not been occupied for a long time); then they smear it over with *cowdung*, go with a *gourd* and fetch water, put the *pot (imbiza)* on, *cook* and also *collect firewood*. Food would always be fetched by girls from home.

Only meat was supplied at headquarters.

A boy did not carry the assegais, but only, say, two sticks.

When work is over boys play about - but he has plenty of work. He has also to *roll up the sleeping mats*, for these will be left by the young men on the floor. He also has to *spread the mats out* at night time.

There will only be one *pot (imbiza)* for say three huts. A boy may work for two or three huts - he will receive presents.

Udibi boys had boiled mealies (izinkobe) poured out for them on the ground; they did not get isijingi porridge.

Potsherds - these became boys' *dishes* at the cooking place outside. They will not wait for a boy to bring *his potsherd*; if he is
6 not ready with it - the mealies will be thrown on the ground.

In war time.

Only boys of 14 and over would be taken in war time as *carriers*. Boys became *tough and wily* in this constant *carrying*. There was no domestic work for boys *in time of war*, for the men got the food, wood, and also drew water, for in countries like Swaziland a boy might be approached stealthily and *robbed*, or killed in revenge. He will live *behind the hut-screens of his father*, and eat there.

He will have *inkezo*, i.e. a large kind of ladle, and will have *rations*, of which, whilst on the march, he will eat. The *inkezo* is rather deep with a long handle - rough and not properly carved.

There must be boys both for cattle and *calves*. If there are only sufficient for that purpose, they will not be taken as *udibi carriers*.

7 Girls (small) might be placed in charge of *the calves* if the father is going to the royal kraal.

11.10.1903, Sunday.

File 61, nbk. 31, pp. 19-24.

19 Ndukwana and Nhlamba.

Mfuzi *remonstrated* and said in Mpande's time that *izangoma* must be *anabuto*.⁴⁷⁴ They had a kraal built for them. They were in the habit of smelling out at the royal kraal, and causing people to be killed off. The men *izangoma* were caused to *put on the headring*, and the women to *put on the topknot*.

The *iziGqoza* came south of the Mhlatuze to *clear kraal-sites*.⁴⁷⁵ They carried *axes (amazembe and izimbazo)*. They did not intend to fight. Mapita, seeing Mpande was giving land to Mbuyazi, said to Cetshwayo, 'Mkabayi ka Jama! You will never be king if you do not act at once, for has he not gone to the borders of the country and to that drift which communicates with the white people? He will seek their aid and defeat you.'⁴⁷⁶ This led at once to Mbuyazi and his people being attacked. Ndukwana and seven others fled to Natal and, going along the Tugela, crossed back into Zululand and settled at Empangisweni far up the Black Mfolozi.

'Ya pel' *imnyango ya bantu!*' i.e. *imizi* - said by Ndukwana in reference to the Ndongakusuka battle and the great slaughter there.⁴⁷⁷
[An idiomatic, metaphorical phrase.]

Nhlamba: *They have now gone beyond their former policy, which was satisfactory. It is not as before. Natives now are mere dogs - due*

to new arrivals (of Europeans). Natives are *animals* (*izilwana*). We cannot *reply*. No *wrongs* (*izono*) are visible - we do not know what we have done wrong or where it came from. We cannot reply; our heads
 21 are not right - namely to ask why we do not adhere to the old ways of government when there was not so much trouble.⁴⁷⁸

There are no men who discuss this. They all *hide their heads*, they do not utter their grievances. He is afraid of speaking because he *is afraid of violence* (*impi*). They would say, 'Where do you come from? Do you not know this country is ours?' And yet we know the country is a white man's, and knew it formerly, and were nevertheless governed properly.

If there were men, men of words, they could *examine matters* (*penya*), and separate the two races. That would be desirable; there would be no one to go among these people and *work evil* (*gil' imikuba*). I too have hidden my head. It is the great men who have *hidden* their heads. How then am I to speak?

22 We are *animals* (*izilwana*). We, having been separated, would kill one another. So there is evil on both sides. We do not like one another. If the policy of separation were followed there would be a danger of people killing one another.

Ndukwana: The mischief is the taking of farms by white men. That is the source of trouble.

Nhlamba: Yes, and the white man says, 'Leave my place. Go and find your own land.'

Ndukwana: And a man becomes confused as to which the *king* is.

Nhlamba: White men say to us, 'Buy land.' And when paid for, we must put up a table, put in a bed, etc. like a white man's house, and furnish accordingly. But I do not, in buying land, intend to buy another civilization. I buy land as I would buy a beast. We natives,
 23 if we buy land, are not allowed to possess it if we do not follow a white man's ways - and yet we are told we can buy land if we like, just as we can buy anything else.

We *weave mats* and sleep on them; we do not sleep on beds. We take a *wooden headrest* and sleep on that; that is our *custom*. The government threatens to *remove* us if we buy land and do not build and furnish as directed.

No one is allowed to buy firearms.

The money which he has bought land with is never recovered.

Ndukwana: Mkungo ka Mpande said he bought land and it was taken from him.⁴⁷⁹

Nhlamba: Sikota ka Mpande, who follows Tshonkwani in age, bought land at the *Bushman's river* (*Emtshezi*), and asked for money from my father, Nodhlela ka Siguda. My father gave him money - £5. Sikota
 24 collected subscriptions from his followers. This land was subsequently confiscated. It was at *Weenen* (*Kwa Nobamba*), down the *Bushman's river*.

Ndukwana: There are many *iziGqoza* in that part.

Nhlamba: Formerly we carried *assegais* and *war-shields* (*izihlangu*) - now disallowed. If a fight is on we will nevertheless seize and use our *assegais*.

We *hlonipa'd* although we carried *assegais* - we *stabbed* no one.

Ndukwana: 'The *assegai* belongs to the king!' (*Umkonto ngo we nkosi!*).

I agree to what Nhlamba says, and yet I do not know how people were *ruled* (*patwa'd*) formerly and that it is different today.

When men turned off farms go and complain, the government agrees with the white man and the native goes to the wall. But the government has no land - it belongs to individuals.

11.10.1903

File 61, nbk. 32, pp. 1-4.

1 Ndukwana and Nhlamba (continued).

(Nowadays a man goes to a beast which is likely to poke him (*umunt' uzi hlabise ku malunda*) if he were to speak any of these things.)

Ndukwana: The cause of this is that the heads of natives do not meet together and discuss.

Nhlamba: If separated, people would be inclined to fight.

Ndukwana: That is so.

J.S.: But if placed under Dinuzulu there would be no fighting. Restraint therefore must be put on whites as well as natives.

Nhlamba: Men who come to work ought to be accompanied by *izinduna* who will watch and report to his chief what has been done wrong.

2 Nhlamba: People are afraid of stating their grievances because the birds have had a knobbed stick thrown at them and they have dropped down (*gwinja'd*) for ever.

Ndukwana: It is the chiefs who are afraid, for, they argue, 'If I speak I will be deprived of the bread I receive. Let me therefore go on and not trouble to stir up this matter.'

We have no *assembly* (*ibandhla*), for we do not invite people to discuss things. We arrange things by ourselves on paper.⁴⁸⁰

Nhlamba: And if anyone, when called together to hear the law, makes a remark, we say, 'I have nothing to do with that, that is the government affair.'⁴⁸¹

Ndukwana: Amongst ourselves, when a matter of importance had arisen, the *izikulu* would be called, and a decision come to, which would be *proclaimed* (*memeza'd*) to the *umpakati*.⁴⁸²

3 J.S.: And so it is not merely a matter of government agents knowing the natives, for many do know them and many of those do not know (how to) sympathize with them. It is a question of the government itself not having a policy which is consistent with the actual state of affairs, where those who do know how to govern are given authority to govern as they ought and would like to do.

The government is responsible for the unsympathetic and ignorant policeman as well as for the sympathetic and knowing but powerless magistrate.

The magistrate should be encouraged to authorize natives with real grievances to go to the Secretary for Native Affairs. At present magistrates are afraid to forward men to the Secretary for Native Affairs.

4 Ndukwana: Native chiefs are afraid to go forward alone; they would go if they acted together. White people take chiefs one by one so that they do not agree.

Nhlamba: '*Ni hamba nje ni hamba nge dhlozi*' - this I think was stated by one man or person. A word comes only from one man. It was said after I had spoken about Christ, saying he was the Way, the Truth and the Life. But, Nhlamba adds, this must have been very long ago - as far back as the origin of things.⁴⁸³

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

Ba ningi kodwa inkos' i yo ku nyatela - refers to the Zulu war, meaning there are many of them (in a particular locality) but the king will get the better of them, repulse or cause them to retreat and allow him to occupy the ground.

Notes

¹Nggengelele kaMvulana of the Buthelezi people was, according to tradition, for a time a menial in the service of Shaka.

²Mnyamana was the principal *induna* to Cetshwayo.

³The reference is to women's putting on of the topknot.

⁴Mgungundhlovu was Dingane's principal *umuzi*.

⁵The informant Ndukwana here seems to be conflating accounts of separate historical incidents. The reference to the shipwreck survivor is probably to Jakot, or Hlambamanzi, a Xhosa who was stranded on the coast of the Zulu kingdom while serving as interpreter to a party of British traders in 1823. He subsequently achieved prominence in the service of Shaka and Dingane. Sotobe kaMpangalala of the Sibiya people was one of Shaka's principal *izi-nduna*. Together with the British trader James Saunders King, he was sent by Shaka on an embassy to the British in 1828. For accounts of his mission, which took him to Port Elizabeth, see Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, pp. 117 ff; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 616 ff.

⁶Shaka was assassinated in September 1828 during the absence of his army on a campaign against Soshangane in what is now south-central Mozambique.

⁷Mzilikazi kaMashobana, chief of a section of the Khumalo people, fled from the Zulu kingdom in the early 1820s. He subsequently headed the Ndebele kingdom that emerged in what is now the central and western Transvaal. In 1836 his army attacked a party of the Boers who were then pressing into the southern marches of his kingdom, and carried off numbers of their cattle. Some of these beasts seem to have been captured by the Zulu army which attacked the Ndebele in mid-1837, and were claimed by the Boers who occupied the country south of the Thukela later that year.

⁸Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century.

⁹*Umlungu* is the Zulu word for white person.

¹⁰Melmoth Osborn was Resident Commissioner in the British colony of Zululand from 1887 to 1893. Ceza mountain, situated some thirty kilometres west of present-day Nongoma, was the scene of an engagement in June 1888 between British forces and the followers of Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo.

¹¹See note 5 above.

¹²Bryant, Dictionary, p. 225, gives *ukuhaya* as '...make up, *i.e.* compose, as a dance-song...; "sing" a person (acc.) *i.e.* compose a song in reference to him...'.
¹³Bryant, Dictionary, p. 120, gives *indulo* (loc. *endulo*) as 'Ancient times, antiquity...'. The Myeni people occupied land in the Ingwama area. On the circumstances in which Madlaka became chief of the Myeni, see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 339-40.

- ¹⁴Sobhuza died in the late 1830s. He was succeeded as king of the Swazi by his son Mswati, who died in 1865, and he in turn by his young son Ludvonga. After the latter's death without issue in 1872, the succession passed to Mbandzeni, another of Mswati's sons, who ruled from 1875 to 1889.
- ¹⁵The reference is to a section of Tlokwa under Chief Hlubi who were given land in the Nquthu district by the British after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ¹⁶*Isigodo somkhwenyana* literally means the tree-stump or log of the son-in-law.
- ¹⁷Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 188, writes that the word *isigodo* (stump, log) was 'applied also familiarly to one's son-in-law from whom the mothers-in-law knock out bits of assistance...whenever they get the chance'.
- ¹⁸The noun *isongo* (pl. *amasongo*) is usually taken to mean an armring.
- ¹⁹The inDabakawombe was an *ibutho* formed by Mpande. The expression here given was presumably one of its praises.
- ²⁰The reference is to File 73, p. 3, of the Stuart Collection.
- ²¹The reference is to the evidence that immediately follows.
- ²²The fighting referred to took place in 1838-39. Putting on of head-rings occurred when men of the *amabutho* were authorized to marry and set up homesteads. The effect of the Boer demand would thus have been the dispersal of the *amabutho*.
- ²³The events referred to in this paragraph took place in 1876.
- ²⁴KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.
- ²⁵The evidence referred to appears on pp. 270-1 of the present volume.
- ²⁶Mpande died in the spring of 1872.
- ²⁷The battle of Ndondakusuka was fought between the forces of Cetshwayo and his brother Mbuyazi in 1856.
- ²⁸The Zulu phrase translates literally as 'He acted improperly because he was involved in a dispute with a girl of mature age'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 109, gives the verb *ukudidiyela* as 'Do two or more things at a time, which usually or properly should have been done separately, or kept apart...'. The implication seems to be that Dingane was led into an unusual course of action when, in 1839, after the Zulu defeat at the hands of the Boers the previous year, he sent an army to occupy the southern part of the Swazi country.
- ²⁹*Izinkomo zamahole* literally means the cattle of the dragging. The attack referred to on Mzilikazi's Ndebele kingdom took place in mid-1837. See also note 7 above.
- ³⁰The killing of Retief and his followers took place in February 1838.
- ³¹Ndukwana is possibly here referring to the practice in terms of which a man whose wife had produced no offspring might marry one of her sisters. See Bryant, *Zulu People*, p. 596.
- ³²Theophilus Shepstone was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. The reference in the text is presumably to his return to Natal from a visit which he made to the Zulu country in 1873 officially to convey to the new king, Cetshwayo, the Natal government's recognition of his succession.
- ³³Shepstone visited the Zulu kingdom in 1861, ostensibly to convey the Natal government's recognition of Cetshwayo as Mpande's

- successor.
- ³⁴ Bathonyile was a sister of Mbuyazi, Cetshwayo's chief rival for the Zulu succession until his death at the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856. See note 27 above.
- ³⁵ A reference to the precedent set by Mpande when he fled from the Zulu country to seek an alliance with the Boers in Natal in 1839.
- ³⁶ Sihayo kaXongo, chief of the Qungebeni, lived in the western borderlands of the Zulu kingdom in the present-day Nquthu area. Sekethwayo kaNhlaka, chief of the Mdlalose, lived to the north of him.
- ³⁷ The evidence referred to appears on p. 274 of the present volume.
- ³⁸ KwaKhangela was a royal *umuzi* in the present-day Eshowe area.
- ³⁹ The evidence referred to appears on p. 269 of the present volume.
- ⁴⁰ After a Boer commando had defeated a Zulu army at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838, it advanced into the heartland of the Zulu country. Part of this force was decoyed by Bhongoza kaMefu of the Ngongoma people into an ambush on the uPhathe stream, which flows into the White Mfolozi south of present-day Ulundi.
- ⁴¹ See note 22 above.
- ⁴² Zwide kaLanga, chief of the Ndwandwe, was defeated by Shaka in c.1819. He fled from the Ndwandwe country near present-day Magudu to the upper Nkomati river in what is now the eastern Transvaal, where he died a few years later. In 1826 his son Sikhunyana attempted to invade the Zulu kingdom, but his forces were defeated by those of Shaka at Ndololwane hill north of the upper Phongolo river.
- ⁴³ The New Republic, established in 1884 in territory that had formed part of the Zulu kingdom, had been annexed to the South African Republic in 1888.
- ⁴⁴ The abalondolozu was a Swazi *ibutho*.
- ⁴⁵ The events referred to in this paragraph took place in 1839. See also note 28 above.
- ⁴⁶ The evidence referred to appears on p. 276 of the present volume.
- ⁴⁷ The emThonjaneni heights lie to the north-north-west of present-day Melmoth.
- ⁴⁸ The assertion that the 'Ntungwa' peoples 'came down' (either from across the Drakensberg or from the north) with or by means of or on account of a grain basket is a frequently repeated but inadequately explained tradition.
- ⁴⁹ Masiphula kaMamba was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*.
- ⁵⁰ 'Ndabezitha!' was a form of polite address for members of the Zulu royal house.
- ⁵¹ The ebaQulusini *umuzi* was established by Shaka in the north-western marches of his kingdom in the present-day Hlobane area, and placed under the authority of his father's sister, Mnkabayi kaJama.
- ⁵² The isiKhwebezi stream rises in the Ngome range west of present-day Nongoma and flows into the Black Mfolozi twenty kilometres south-south-west of Nongoma.
- ⁵³ Ceza mountain is thirty kilometres to the west of present-day Nongoma.
- ⁵⁴ Nhlazatshe mountain lies some thirty kilometres north-west of present-day Ulundi. Melmoth Osborn had his headquarters in the area during his term of office as British Resident in Zululand from 1880 to 1883.
- ⁵⁵ KwaMagwaza is ten kilometres south-west of present-day Melmoth.

- ⁵⁶ Somkhele was chief of the Mpukunyoni people in the Hlabisa district.
- ⁵⁷ Until their defeat and dispersal by Shaka in c.1819, the Ndwandwe lived in what is now north-eastern Zululand. Maphitha kaSojijisa was head of the Mandlakazi lineage, one collateral to that of the Zulu royal house.
- ⁵⁸ Mzilikazi kaMashobana was chief of the Khumalo people. See also note 7 above.
- ⁵⁹ See note 52 above.
- ⁶⁰ Ntabankulu mountain lies thirty kilometres south-east of present-day Vryheid.
- ⁶¹ According to Bryant, Olden Times, p. 28, the Buthelezi people once lived to the north-west of Nhlazatshe, and subsequently moved south across the White Mfolozi to settle in present-day Babanango region.
- ⁶² The reference is to evidence which appears on p. 277 of the present volume.
- ⁶³ The Mhlungwane is a stream in what is now the Nquthu district.
- ⁶⁴ The Mangeni stream joins the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river twenty-five kilometres east-south-east of present-day Helpmekeer and fifteen kilometres south of Sandlwana hill.
- ⁶⁵ Matshana kaMondise was chief of the Sithole people in the Nkandla and Nquthu areas. Many Thembu people were numbered among his adherents.
- ⁶⁶ On the flight of Zwide see note 42 above. Sikwata is the Zulu rendering of Sekwati, who was chief of the Pedi in what is now the eastern Transvaal from the late 1820s until his death in 1861.
- ⁶⁷ The reference is to evidence which appears on p. 276 of the present volume.
- ⁶⁸ Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 626-7, gives a different account of the clash between the Zulu and the Ntshali under Hlangabeza kaKhondlo.
- ⁶⁹ Sokweshatha was chief of the Mthethwa in the Lower Umfolozi district. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 85, gives Mbiya as a cousin of Dingiswayo, chief of the Mthethwa in the early years of the nineteenth century.
- ⁷⁰ For an account of the attempt made in 1881 by Sitimela to claim the Mthethwa chiefship, see Guy, Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, pp. 110-11.
- ⁷¹ The evidence referred to appears on p. 280 of the present volume.
- ⁷² The evidence referred to appears on p. 277 of the present volume.
- ⁷³ Ndaba, Mageba and Phunga are named in tradition as ancestral Zulu chiefs.
- ⁷⁴ The evidence referred to appears on pp. 281-2 of the present volume.
- ⁷⁵ For Maphitha see note 57 above.
- ⁷⁶ The reference is to the evidence which immediately follows.
- ⁷⁷ The reference is to an anecdote concerning the *izidwedwe* (personal effects) of Dingiswayo: see p. 279 of the present volume.
- ⁷⁸ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 662, gives *isitundu* (*isithundu*, pl. *izithundu*) as 'Any medicine mixed up...and drunk as an emetic, in order to render oneself favoured by the *amadhlozi* or by the girls'.
- ⁷⁹ Nkonjeni hill overlooks the Ulundi plain from the north-west.
- ⁸⁰ In October 1883, after his defeat at the hands of Zibhebhu kaMaphitha in July of that year, Cetshwayo took refuge with the British Resident Commissioner at Eshowe, where he remained until

his death in February 1884. Cetshwayo had also lived in the Eshowe area before becoming king.

⁸¹The cause of Cetshwayo's death was officially recorded by the British as heart disease. Many people believed at the time and subsequently that he had been poisoned by his enemies: see Binns, *Last Zulu King*, pp. 211-12.

⁸²The evidence referred to appears on p. 280 of the present volume.

⁸³See note 5 above.

⁸⁴See note 2 above.

⁸⁵Mntaniya is usually given in tradition as Senzangakhona's mother. For Ngqengelele see note 1 above.

⁸⁶Klwana was a son of Ngqengelele.

⁸⁷For Maphitha see note 57 above.

⁸⁸Phalane was of the Mkhwanazi people.

⁸⁹The emaNgweni *ikhanda* was established by Mpande in the south-east of his kingdom. The people attached to it were closely associated with Cetshwayo, who lived there before his accession to the kingship. Somopho kaSikhala, chief of a section of the Thembu people, was in charge of emaNgweni. Bhejana kaNomageje, chief of the Cebekhulu people, was a senior *induna* there. Masekwana was one of Cetshwayo's *izinceku*. The Ndabayakhe referred to may have been the personage of that name who, at the time of Stuart's interview with Ndukwana, was chief of the Ndlela people in the lower Umfolozi division. We have been unable to identify Dlemudlemu and Lugoloza.

⁹⁰Ndunu hill, near present-day Nongoma, was the scene of an engagement between Dinuzulu's uSuthu and Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi in June 1888. The uSuthu were victorious.

⁹¹We have been unable to identify Mtshekula.

⁹²Socwatsha kaPhaphu was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the *Stuart Archive*.

⁹³The Msebe valley, to the north-east of present-day Nongoma, was the scene of an engagement between Cetshwayo's uSuthu and Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi in March 1883. The uSuthu were routed.

⁹⁴The evidence referred to appears on p. 291 of the present volume.

⁹⁵We have been unable to identify Mekeza.

⁹⁶The reference is to the attack made by Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi on Cetshwayo's principal *umuzi*, oNdini or uluNdi, in July 1883. Many notables in Cetshwayo's uSuthu following were killed on this occasion.

⁹⁷Matshana kaMondise kaJobe was chief of the Sithole people. See also note 65 above.

⁹⁸We have been unable to identify Dubankomo.

⁹⁹USuthu (loc. oSuthu), situated near present-day Nongoma, was Dinuzulu's principal *umuzi*. The name was originally applied to the young men associated with Cetshwayo as his ekuBazeni *umuzi* in the early 1850s. In the civil wars of the 1880s the name denoted the supporters of Cetshwayo's house.

¹⁰⁰For the battle of Ndondakusuka see note 27 above.

¹⁰¹The reference is to J. Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, Pietermaritzburg, 1888, pp. 124-53.

¹⁰²Stuart is referring to two different papers. The first mentioned, entitled 'The early history of the Zulu-Kafir race of south-eastern Africa', was published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* in 1875, and was reprinted in 1888 in Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*,

- vol. 1, pp. 155-66. The second is a document, entitled 'Historic sketch of the tribes anciently inhabiting the colony of Natal', which originally constituted an annexure to Lieut.-Governor John Scott's despatch no. 12, dated 26 February 1864, to the Secretary of State, and which was subsequently published by both the Natal government and the Cape government.
- ¹⁰³The reference is to H. Brooks, Natal: a History and Description of the Colony, ed. R.J. Mann, London, 1876.
- ¹⁰⁴Tshanibezwe kaMnyamana was chief of the Buthelezi in the Mahlaba-thini district.
- ¹⁰⁵Mkhungo, younger full brother of Mbuyazi, fled to Natal after the latter's defeat at Ndongakusuka; see note 27 above.
- ¹⁰⁶Mkhungo had been chief of the Zulu in the Inanda and Weenen divisions in the late nineteenth century.
- ¹⁰⁷Presumably a reference to Cetshwayo's restoration to part of his former kingdom in 1883.
- ¹⁰⁸Makhasana(e) was chief of the Mabhudu people from the early nineteenth century to the 1850s.
- ¹⁰⁹Hlubi, whose Tlokwa Sotho following had fought on the side of the British in the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, was one of the thirteen chiefs appointed to rule in Zululand after the war. See also note 15 above.
- ¹¹⁰Sihayo kaXongo of the Qungebeni people had occupied land in the Nquthu district. He was ordered to leave it to make way for Hlubi and his followers. See also note 36 above.
- ¹¹¹Melmoth Osborn was British Resident in Zululand from 1880 to 1883: see also note 54 above. Cetshwayo was captured by British forces at the end of August 1879.
- ¹¹²The emaZungeni are hills near the sources of the White Mfolozi.
- ¹¹³The emPangisweni *umuzi* was situated near the sources of the Black Mfolozi river.
- ¹¹⁴Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362, gives *isilomo* as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.
- ¹¹⁵For Somkhele see note 56 above.
- ¹¹⁶The *insonyama* or rib-meat of a beast was highly prized as the perquisite of the chief hut of a homestead.
- ¹¹⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 315, gives *inkondlo* as 'Kind of dance, gen. the opening one at a wedding, with gradual forward and backward movement...'. On p. 198 of his Dictionary he gives *umqigqo* as 'Kind of dance formed by a train of boys or girls, one behind the other, dancing forwards and then backwards *i.e.* back foremost'.
- ¹¹⁸Cf. the description in Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 555-6.
- ¹¹⁹For other descriptions of the wedding ceremonies see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 543-57; Krige, Social System, ch. 6.
- ¹²⁰On the emaNgweni *umuzi* see note 89 above.
- ¹²¹In the early 1850s Mpande established Cetshwayo in the oNdini homestead near the Ngoye hills in the south-east of his kingdom. The uThulwana was an *ibutho*, formed by Mpande in the early 1850s, which included among its members Cetshwayo and several of his brothers.
- ¹²²After the defeat of his Mandlakazi following by Dinuzulu's uSuthu forces in 1888, Zibhebhu was given a place to live in the Eshowe area by the British authorities. Mkhungo(u), who had fled to Natal

- from the Zulu kingdom after the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856 (see notes 27 and 105 above), was later recognized by the British administration as chief of a section of Zulu in the Eshowe district.
- ¹²³ The uluNdi here referred to was Cetshwayo's *umuzi*, which was situated north of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. The last major engagement of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 was fought nearby on 4 July 1879.
- ¹²⁴ Bheje kaMagawuzi was chief of a section of the Khumalo. He was killed when his stronghold in the Ngome forest was overrun by Dingane's forces in 1830.
- ¹²⁵ The reference is to File 73, p. 102. The extracts referred to are from British Blue Book C.5143 of 1887, pp. 18, 44.
- ¹²⁶ Makosini, or eMakhosini, literally 'the place of the kings', is the region south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi where the graves of the ancestral Zulu chiefs are located. The Boundary Commission referred to is presumably the Boer-British commission which demarcated the eastern boundary of the New Republic in 1886-7.
- ¹²⁷ Tshingana (Shingana) was a senior son of Mpande who established his homestead in the eMakhosini area. In the mid-1880s the region was included within the boundaries of the New Republic set up by Boers from the Transvaal.
- ¹²⁸ The reference is to the kwaDukuza homestead built by Dingane as a home for the spirit of Shaka after the latter's assassination. It was located in the eMakhosini area, and should be distinguished from the homestead of the same name that had been built previously by Shaka near what is now Stanger.
- ¹²⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 203, gives the verb *ukugubha* as '...dance the hunt-dance...'. On p. 303 he gives *ukukhetha* as '...perform certain show dances, as...a regiment of soldiers dancing before their chief...'. On p. 589, he gives *ukusina* simply as 'Dance...'.
¹³⁰ Ntshingwayo kaMahole of the Khoza people, Nguqa kaMpundulwana of the Buthelezi, Mundula (Muwundula) kaMamba of the Buthelezi, and Melelisi kaManyosi of the Mbatha were *izinduna* to Cetshwayo.
- ¹³¹ 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. 481, defines it as 'all the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinduna*, *izikulu*, or others in official position) who would...be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-kosi* festival....' Gibson, *Story of the Zulus*, p. 121, writes, 'No man who "bore a shield" could be put to death without the King's authority. These bore the proud designation of "Umpakati"'.
¹³² The amaBedlana are two hills ten kilometres north-west of present-day Ulundi.
¹³³ The white man referred to was Henry Francis Fynn, one of a party of British hunter-traders who established themselves at Port Natal

- in 1824. His Zulu name was Mbuyazi or Mbuyazwe.
- ¹³⁴The evidence referred to appears on pp. 292-3 of the present volume.
- ¹³⁵The reference is to an attempt made on Shaka's life in 1824. The incident is described in Fynn, Diary, pp. 83-6.
- ¹³⁶Shaka was assassinated in September 1828. Cf. the accounts in Bird, ed., Annals, vol. 1, p. 96; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 661-2; Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 95, vol. 2, p. 163; Isaacs, Travels and Adventures, p. 143.
- ¹³⁷Mnkabayi was a sister of Shaka's father Senzangakhona.
- ¹³⁸On the battle of Ceza see note 10 above. Nkonjeni hill overlooks the Ulundi plain from the north-west.
- ¹³⁹Shaka sent his army to attack Soshangane in what is now southern Mozambique in July 1828. Sotobe was away on his embassy to the Cape (see note 5 above) from April to August 1828.
- ¹⁴⁰Isaac's account in Travels and Adventures, p. 125 ff, makes clear that Sotobe returned from his mission four weeks before Shaka's death.
- ¹⁴¹The reference is to the passage which follows at the foot of p. 292.
- ¹⁴²The evidence referred to appears on p. 295 of the present volume.
- ¹⁴³Nandi died in August 1827.
- ¹⁴⁴*Ubaqa* literally means torch.
- ¹⁴⁵The reference is to J. Bird, ed., Annals of Natal, vol. 1, Pietermaritzburg, 1888, where Henry Francis Fynn describes an attempt made to assassinate Shaka in 1824. See also note 135 above.
- ¹⁴⁶The evidence referred to appears on p. 327 of the present volume.
- ¹⁴⁷On emPangisweni see note 113 above.
- ¹⁴⁸Dinuzulu was a son of Cetshwayo. On his position as Cetshwayo's successor see also the evidence of Mkhebeni in Stuart Archive, vol. 3, pp. 200-2, 204.
- ¹⁴⁹Ndabuko kaMpande was a full brother of Cetshwayo.
- ¹⁵⁰For the battle of Ndondakusuka see note 27 above.
- ¹⁵¹Stuart was appointed resident magistrate at Ingwavuma in September 1895.
- ¹⁵²The evidence referred to appears on p. 304 of the present volume.
- ¹⁵³Hamu, a biological son of Mpande and a genealogical son of the latter's brother, Nzibe, was a figure of considerable importance in the Zulu kingdom during Cetshwayo's reign.
- ¹⁵⁴Sigcwelegcwele kaMhlekehleke of the Ngadi people was commander of the inGobamakhosi.
- ¹⁵⁵Bryant, Dictionary, p. 242, gives *uhlangothi* as 'one "side" of a regiment, i.e. those who occupied the one or other half of the military-kraal...'. Holleman, 'Die twee-eeheidsbeginsel', pp. 33-4, gives it as meaning the 'left-hand' section of an *umuzi*.
- ¹⁵⁶The *isicamelo* was that part of the arc of huts in an *umuzi* immediately adjacent to the *isigodlo*: see the sketches in Stuart Archive, vol. 1, pp. 309, 340. The 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*), together with its 'right-hand' or supporting house (*iqadi, inqadi*), i.e. those sections of the royal household which produced the heir. (See Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 416-20; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 249-51; Holleman, 'Die twee-eeheidsbeginsel', pp. 33-4.) 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). It is in this third sense that the term is here used by Ndukwana.
- ¹⁵⁷ KwaSitshwili was a plain near Cetshwayo's Ulundi *umuzi*.
- ¹⁵⁸ The reference is to the war of 1883 that ended in the victory of Zibhebhu.
- ¹⁵⁹ The evidence referred to appears on pp. 291-2 of the present volume.
- ¹⁶⁰ The evidence referred to appears on p. 290 of the present volume.
- ¹⁶¹ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 346, gives *ilala* as '...Native iron-smelter and smith...'.
¹⁶² *Insimbi* is the Zulu word for iron.
- ¹⁶³ 'Of the Sutu' is our translation of *sa so Sutu*. The phrase could also mean 'from the Sotho country'.
- ¹⁶⁴ I.e. of iron.
- ¹⁶⁵ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 29, gives *umbeko* as '...beast sent along with a bride by her father on her wedding-day as a present to the bridegroom's people to be slaughtered by them...'. Stuart's reference is to File 73, p. 3, of the Stuart Collection, where he comments on a case concerning a dispute over an *umbeko* beast.
¹⁶⁶ I.e. of the Mandlakazi.
- ¹⁶⁷ The Mahlabathini country was the region about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi that constituted the heartland of the Zulu kingdom.
- ¹⁶⁸ Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 890, give *isizenze* (pl. *izizenze*) as 'Battle-axe'. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 31, gives *imbemba* (pl. *izimbemba*) as 'Kind of ornamental or war axe or hatchet...'.
¹⁶⁹ See note 161 above.
- ¹⁷⁰ After Dingane's defeat at the hands of Mpande and the Boers in 1840, he took refuge in the Lubombo mountains where he was killed by the Nyawo people. The passage in the text presumably means that after his death his now leaderless adherents give their allegiance to chiefs living about the Lubombo.
- ¹⁷¹ Mbilini was the eldest son of the Swazi king Mswati. After the latter's death in 1865, one of his younger sons, Ludvonga, was chosen to succeed him, upon which Mbilini left the Swazi country and settled first in the South African Republic and then in the Zulu kingdom.
- ¹⁷² Thekwane was a son of Mswati. Cetshwayo was captured by British forces in August 1879 at the end of the Anglo-Zulu war.
- ¹⁷³ Malambule, eldest son of the Swazi king Sobhuza, became co-regent of the Swazi kingdom on his father's death in the late 1830s. After the accession of Sobhuza's successor, Mswati, in 1845, Malambule fell out with him and was driven into exile in the Zulu kingdom.
- ¹⁷⁴ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was a Buthelezi chief and Cetshwayo's principal *induna* (see also note 2 above). In terms of the settlement imposed by Sir Garnet Wolseley at the end of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, the Zulu kingdom was divided into thirteen separate chiefdoms.
- ¹⁷⁵ 'Hold the feather' (*bamb' upape* in the original) presumably refers to the signing of documents, as with a quill pen. Ndabuko kaMpande was a full brother of Cetshwayo: see also note 149 above.

- ¹⁹⁶ Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was head of the Mandlakazi lineage: see note 57 above.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ngwadi is commonly given in tradition as a half-brother of Shaka by the same mother, Nandi, but a different father.
- ¹⁹⁸ For other descriptions of the *ukuphukula* practices see Bryant, Dictionary, p. 513; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 665; Krige, Social System, p. 198; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 303.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Inkosazana* means daughter of the king. The reference here is to Nomkhubulwana, a female deity associated with the harvest.
- ²⁰⁰ Mkakwa kaSiphike was chief of the Myeni people.
- ²⁰¹ In the evidence that follows Ndukwana seems to be describing a number of official prohibitions that existed in the Zulu kingdom during his lifetime.
- ²⁰² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 5, gives *isambathwangaphi* as 'Blanket with both sides coloured alike'.
- ²⁰³ The *inyathelo* or *ukunyathela* ceremony (see note 191 above) took place in November-December, the *umkhosi* a few weeks later.
- ²⁰⁴ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 362, gives *isilomo* as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.
- ²⁰⁵ The Mpaphala flats are situated at the source of the Matikhulu river. Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. Zinti was one of Ndlela's sons. The Manyosi referred to may have been Manyosi kaDlekezele of the Mbatha people, who was a person of note in the Zulu kingdom in the reigns of Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande. Nhlebo may have been Nhlebo kaMazwane who commanded a section of the isAngqu *ibutho* in Mpande's time. Ngqojana was a son of the Zulu chief Senzangakhona. We have been unable to identify Sisinde.
- ²⁰⁶ On the eMakhosini area see note 126 above.
- ²⁰⁷ The evidence referred to appears on pp. 289-90 of the present volume.
- ²⁰⁸ On the emaNgweni *umuzi* see note 89 above.
- ²⁰⁹ Sambane kaNhlongaluvalo was chief of the Nyawo people living near the southern Lubombo mountains. Siphike and Madlaka were chiefs of the Myeni people living in southern Swaziland (see also note 200 above). Mbikiza kaLubelo was chief of the Mngomezulu people living near the Lubombo mountains in the valley of the Ngwavuma river. Mshlekwana kaGamula was chief of the Mathenjwa (Nyiseni) people living near the Lubombo mountains south of the uSuthu river. We have been unable to identify Memezi and Ndlaleni.
- ²¹⁰ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 436, gives *inkengane* (pl. *amankengane*) as 'Any poor, destitute, common fellow...; applied contemptuously to any individual of a foreign tribe, as a Tonga or Suto'.
- ²¹¹ The evidence referred to appears lower down on p. 315.
- ²¹² The iNcome river is shown on maps as the Blood river. The iNgcaka stream flows into the upper Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river. The Mhlongamvula hill lies to the north of the upper Phongolo river. The reference to the 'Swaziland "Makosini"' is to the Mbilaneni region near present-day Hlathikhulu where a number of ancestral Swazi chiefs are buried.
- ²¹³ See p. 298 above.
- ²¹⁴ On the ebaQulusini *umuzi* see note 51 above.
- ²¹⁵ Masiphula kaMamba of the emGazini people was one of Mpande's prin-

- cipal *izinduna*. For Thekwane (Tekwane) see p. 298 above.
- ²¹⁶ Hlobane and Zungwini mountains are to the north-east of present-day Vryheid.
- ²¹⁷ The evidence referred to appears on pp. 311-15 of the present volume.
- ²¹⁸ Ndlela kaSompisi was of the Ntuli people; Nzobo (Dambuza) kaSobadli was of the Ntombela.
- ²¹⁹ The reference is to J. Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, Pietermaritzburg, 1888. Lieutenant J.S. King was one of the British hunter-traders who settled at Port Natal in 1824.
- ²²⁰ The evidence referred to appears further down p. 317.
- ²²¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 364, gives *umlozi* (pl. *imilozzi*) as 'A soft whistling or whistle...', and *umlozikazana* (pl. *imilozikazana*) as 'Familiar spirit of a necromancer which makes itself audible by a whistling voice, said to be produced by ventriloquism; such a necromancer supposedly possessed by such a spirit'.
- ²²² 'The heavens above' is our translation of *izul' elipezulu*. The speaker is here playing on the word *izulu*, literally the heavens, to refer obliquely to the Zulu king.
- ²²³ Ngqengelele kaMvulana of the Buthelezi people was a commoner who rose to a position of prominence in the service of Shaka and Dingane. See also note 1 above.
- ²²⁴ Ntshingwayo was, in Cetshwayo's time, regent of a section of the Khoza people which had been placed by Mpande in what is now the Eshowe district. Emlabongwenya was the name of an *umuzi* originally built by Mpande in that district.
- ²²⁵ The reference may be to Mbilini kaCungeya of the Mthethwa: see the evidence of Dinya and of Mayinga kaMbhekuzana in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, pp. 258, 259, and of Memi kaNguluzane in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, pp. 258, 268.
- ²²⁶ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was chief of the Buthelezi people. For Ntshingwayo see note 224 above. Godide kaNdlela was chief of a section of the Ntuli people. Sekethwayo was chief of the Mdlalose people.
- ²²⁷ '...of the main section' is our translation of *ya kwe sikulu*, which we take to be a contraction of *ya kwe sikulu isibaya*, which translates literally as 'of the great cattle enclosure'. This term, in the form *isibaya esikhulu* was, according to Lunguza kaMpukane (*Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, 310), 'one applied to that section of a regiment that belonged to the kraal in which the king or chief lived'. See also note 156 above.
- ²²⁸ The term *uhlangothi* seems to be used here to designate *amabutho*, or sections of *amabutho*, which were not of the *isibaya esikhulu* (see the previous note). For further discussion of the term *uhlangothi* see note 155 above.
- ²²⁹ The *izicamelo* (sing. *isicamelo*) were those sections of the men's living-quarters in an *ikhanda* immediately adjacent to the *isigodlo*. See also note 156 above.
- ²³⁰ The reference is to evidence which appears further down p. 319.
- ²³¹ 'N.' presumably here refers to Ndukwana.
- ²³² Mkhungu(o) was a full brother of Mbuyazi, Cetshwayo's rival for the succession to the Zulu kingship. After Mbuyazi's death at the battle of Ndongakusuka in 1856, Mkhungu escaped to Natal (see also notes 105 and 122 above). Ndukwana has previously used the word *izidwedwe* to refer specifically to personal articles which could be used by a

- rival or enemy to work evil on the person from whom they were taken (see p. 280).
- ²³³ Ndukwana presumably here means that Mpande would not allow his people to chant war songs about the English.
- ²³⁴ Mbopha kaWolizibi and Somfula kaMphoswa were chiefs of sections of the Hlabisa people. Mfusi kaManyala was chief of the Mdletsheni people. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 122, gives *iduna* (pl. *amaduna*) as '...a highest-class *i-nDuna*, of which there were only a few in Zululand, forming, as it were the ministry of the Zulu king...'. On the term *uhlangothi* see notes 155 and 228 above.
- ²³⁵ The evidence referred to appears on pp. 321-4 of the present volume.
- ²³⁶ The original reads 'People did not know Ding. & Tsh. *indabas*'.
- ²³⁷ For emPangisweni and Hamu see respectively notes 113 and 153 above.
- ²³⁸ Khondlo was chief of the Ntshali in the early nineteenth century.
- ²³⁹ Nomloya was the mother of the informant Ndukwana. Presumably the Sonyumba referred to was one of his grandmothers.
- ²⁴⁰ Dingane was killed in 1840.
- ²⁴¹ Jobe kaKhayi was chief of the Mthethwa in the late eighteenth century.
- ²⁴² For emPangisweni see note 113 above.
- ²⁴³ Shaka defeated the Ndwandwe on several occasions in the period c.1818-c.1819.
- ²⁴⁴ Socwatsha kaPhaphu was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ²⁴⁵ Nandi, mother of Shaka, died in 1827.
- ²⁴⁶ Shaka died in 1828.
- ²⁴⁷ Nhlazatshe mountain lies on the north bank of the White Mfolozi some twenty-five kilometres north-west of present-day Ulundi.
- ²⁴⁸ For ebaQulusini see note 51 above.
- ²⁴⁹ IziGqoza (sing. *isiGqoza*) was the collective name for the adherents of Mbuyazi in his struggle with his brother Cetshwayo for the Zulu succession.
- ²⁵⁰ For Mnyamana see note 2 above. Sikhotha was a son of Mpande. Phakade kaMacingwane was chief of the Chunu in Natal until his death in 1880. He was succeeded by his son Silwane. We have been unable to trace Stuart's reference to a 'native affairs' book.
- ²⁵¹ EsiKlebheni and kwaNobamba were Zulu royal *imizi*.
- ²⁵² Shonkweni (Tshonkweni) was a son of Mpande.
- ²⁵³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 726, gives *isizi* as 'Confiscated property (collectively) of any and every description (cattle, children, wives, etc.) taken by the chief from any particular kraal, whose owner has been killed by the king's order or has died without heirs'.
- ²⁵⁴ The name ekuKhumbuleni derives from the verb *ukukhumbula*, to remember.
- ²⁵⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 359-60, gives *umlobokazi* as 'Young wife...or betrothed girl still unmarried...'. As is well known, Shaka did not marry; other traditions give the woman referred to in this anecdote as a member of his *isigodlo*.
- ²⁵⁶ Sojisa, or Sojiyisa, traditionally ranks as a member of the Zulu royal house, though there is doubt as to his paternity. See Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 44-5.
- ²⁵⁷ Most traditions give Shaka's mother Nandi as of the Langeni people and related to the Qwabe through either her mother or grandmother.
- ²⁵⁸ It is not clear to whom 'their' refers. The original reads '...*eqa'd*

- nga mandhl' a bo'.*
- ²⁵⁹ Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, head of the Mandlakazi people in the later nineteenth century, was a grandson of Sojisa (Sojiyisa). For a different account of the origins of the name Mandlakazi see Bryant, Olden Times, p. 44.
- ²⁶⁰ Khondlo was chief of the Ntshali people: see also note 238 above.
- ²⁶¹ Dingiswayo, chief of the Mthethwa, was killed by Zwide of the Ndwandwe in c.1818.
- ²⁶² The evidence referred to appears on p. 289 of the present volume.
- ²⁶³ Uyengo (loc. oYengweni) was one of Dingiswayo's principal *imizi*.
- ²⁶⁴ The evidence referred to appears further down p. 331.
- ²⁶⁵ See note 261 above.
- ²⁶⁶ Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane people; Soshangane kaZikode was chief of a section of the Ndwandwe; Hlangabeza kaKhondlo was chief of the Ntshali people.
- ²⁶⁷ The reference is to File 74, p. 54, where Stuart records statements made by Mahungane and Nkomuza. (See Stuart Archive, vol. 2, p. 143.) The slip of paper referred to is missing from Stuart's notes.
- ²⁶⁸ For the *isicamelu* see note 156 above; for the *uhlangothi* section see notes 155 and 228 above.
- ²⁶⁹ The evidence referred to appears on pp. 326-9 of the present volume.
- ²⁷⁰ See note 256 above.
- ²⁷¹ On Shaka's mother's ancestry, see note 257 above.
- ²⁷² Nqaba (Nxaba) kaMbhekane was of the Msane people.
- ²⁷³ The reference is probably to Zikhali, chief son of Matiwane, chief of the amaNgwane people (see note 266 above). After the overthrow of Dingane in 1840, Zikhali fled from the Zulu country to the Swazi kingdom.
- ²⁷⁴ Mawa was a sister of the Zulu chief Senzangakhona. She fled to Natal from Mpande's Zulu kingdom in 1843.
- ²⁷⁵ For the battle of Ndongakusuka see note 27 above.
- ²⁷⁶ For Mkhungo see note 105 above.
- ²⁷⁷ Siyaho kaXongo, chief of a section of the Qungebeni people, was a close associate of Cetshwayo.
- ²⁷⁸ I.e. after 1856. See note 27 above.
- ²⁷⁹ I.e. the Zulu names for Monday and Saturday respectively.
- ²⁸⁰ Cf. the lists of months in Stuart Archive, vol. 3, p. 148; Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 254-5; Faye, Zulu References, pp. 52-4.
- ²⁸¹ The informant is here describing how a person was summoned to the presence of the king.
- ²⁸² For discussion of the term *kwe sikulu* (*kwesikhulu*) see note 227 above.
- ²⁸³ EsiKlebheni was a Zulu royal *umuzi*. In the original, punctuation of the paragraph that follows is defective. Because our rendering may be misleading, we here reproduce the wording and punctuation of the original. 'Si(x)ebeni - *aba xeza Esi(x)ebeni, esibayeni esi kulu sa so hlangotini* - the *induna* was Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini, *esibayeni esikulu sa kwesikulu* the *induna* was Ntshingwayo ka Marole - in those days he was the chief *induna* of the kraal - these *xeza*'d Emlambo-*ngwenya* i.e. Ntshingwayo's lot & these when one beast had been killed the *isifuba* would be eaten by them'.
- ²⁸⁴ For discussion of the term *uhlangothi* see notes 155 and 228 above.
- ²⁸⁵ For discussion of the term *kwesikhulu* see note 227 above.

²⁸⁶Emlambongwenya was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.

²⁸⁷The punctuation of this paragraph in the original is so defective as to make various renderings possible. We have therefore left the punctuation unamended in our text. The two most likely renderings are as follows:

a) The Mhlohlanga [see above] put up at Gqikazi. The Imiqude (Mfinyeli) were the *isicamelo* of the *uhlangoti* section. The Izi-nsundu are those who *kleza'd at Esiklebeni*. The Mhlohlanga *kleza'd at Mbelebeleni*.

b) The Mhlohlanga [see above] put up at Gqikazi, (as did) the Imiqude (Mfinyeli). The *isicamelo* of the *uhlangoti* section, the Izi-nsundu, are those who *kleza'd at Esiklebeni*. The Mhlohlanga *kleza'd at Mbelebeleni*.

For discussion of the terms *isicamelo* and *uhlangothi* see respectively notes 156 and 155 above.

²⁸⁸Mbuyazi was a son of Mpande.

²⁸⁹For discussion of the term *kwesikhulu* see note 227 above.

²⁹⁰The original reads: *Onqakamatshe, ibona aba qal' uKandempemvu*. This could also be translated as 'The Nqakamatshe - it was they who provoked the Kandempemvu'.

²⁹¹Ntshingwayo was chief of a section of the Khoza people in the Eshowe district.

²⁹²Mfusi kaManyala was chief of the Dletsheni people.

²⁹³Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 490, gives *umpehlu* as 'Second milking of, or supply of milk from, a cow after the calf has been allowed to draw down the milk again by sucking'.

²⁹⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 362, gives *isilomo* (pl. *izilomo*) as 'Man who, holding no official position is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'. As used here the word refers to young men who had won privileges from the *izinduna*.

²⁹⁵The iNsundu and imiqude were divisions of the uDloko *ibutho*.

²⁹⁶The iMboza or amaMboza was another name for the Thulwana *ibutho*.

²⁹⁷J.D. is presumably John Dunn, a hunter-trader from Natal who, in the late 1850s, was allowed to settle in the Zulu kingdom by Cetshwayo. He remained one of the latter's close advisers until the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879.

²⁹⁸The *ugubhu* and *uqwabe* were musical instruments consisting of a stringed bow with a gourd attached as a resonator.

²⁹⁹The *ukunyathela* was the preliminary to the *umkhosi* ceremony, and would be held in about November of each year.

³⁰⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 546, gives the *isiqubulo* dance as 'Certain quiet, stately kind of dance (with accompanying song) performed by men at the royal festival and at weddings...'. In *Zulu People*, p. 231, he writes of the *umchwayo*: 'This was performed of an evening in a hut and "danced" on the buttocks, generally for the entertainment of some visiting sweetheart. Seated in a circle round the floor, the young men would strike up a song, make graceful movements with their arms, and, as they sat, shuffle gradually forward'.

³⁰¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 439-40, gives *unomzimane* as 'Former practice of several young men of a locality going off in a body to solicit the favour of the girls of any particular kraal, before whom they danced...'. On p. 68 he gives the verb *ukuchanguza* as 'Dance as girls, at certain ceremonies or festivals connected with their sex...and at a wedding (in this latter case it is applied solely to

- the bride or to the bride's party collectively and inclusive of males...)'.
- ³⁰²The *umzi* hut was one in which the king took up residence during the *umkhosi* ceremony.
- ³⁰³It is not clear who is being alluded to here. It may be Indians in Natal, who feature in the previous paragraph of the original, where Stuart is recording an interview with another informant.
- ³⁰⁴The fight at the amaQonqo hills took place in 1840.
- ³⁰⁵The uDududu *ibutho* was formed in the late 1850s of youths born some twenty years earlier.
- ³⁰⁶One of the demands made of Cetshwayo in the ultimatum presented to him by the British in December 1878 was for the surrender to them of a son of Sihayo who had been involved in a violation of the Natal border some months previously.
- ³⁰⁷For Hamu, Mnyamana and Zibhebhu see respectively notes 153, 2, and 196 above.
- ³⁰⁸For Ntshingwayo, Mbopha, and Godide see respectively notes 177, 234, and 195 above. Lumbi was a brother of Mbopha. These men were killed in Zibhebhu's attack on Cetshwayo's oNdini *umuzi* in July 1883.
- ³⁰⁹Gawozi kaSilwana was chief of a section of the Mpungose people.
- ³¹⁰For Mgudlana, Mkhosi, and Nquhele, see the biographical notes on Ndukwana on pp. 326 ff. above.
- ³¹¹Cetshwayo was captured in the Ngome forest in August 1879 in the final stages of the Anglo-Zulu war.
- ³¹²For Mbikiza see note 209 above.
- ³¹³See p. 317 above.
- ³¹⁴Shaka's Dukuza *umuzi* was near the site of present-day Stanger. The Hlathikhulu forest where Dingane was buried is on the slopes of the Lubombo mountains south of present-day Ingwavuma.
- ³¹⁵For Malambule see note 173 above.
- ³¹⁶The reference is to Dingane's grave.
- ³¹⁷The telegraphic form of these notes makes it impossible to translate them with any certainty. A possible translation would read: '...part of the cattle enclosure was divided off, branches stripped from trees were brought in, the grave was then dug, and then fenced round'.
- ³¹⁸The *kutshulwa* ceremony referred to is presumably the ceremony of 'bringing home' the *idlozi* of the deceased. See Bryant, Zulu People, p. 709.
- ³¹⁹The original of the song reads:
- Girls
Ngi zo lingis' o kwa be Sutu
Aba memez' izulu, ka bezwe.
- Men
Uzulu uhlasele so hamba
So hamba awu zwe.
- Izinsizwa*
I ya uhu uhu hu hu awuzwe.
- ³²⁰For the battle of Ndongakusuka see note 27 above.
- ³²¹Hayiyana kaMaphitha was a brother of Zibhebhu.
- ³²²Thokothoko was a brother of Maphitha, who was the father of Hayiyana and Zibhebhu.

- ³²³Dingane's occupation of part of the Swazi country took place in 1839. See also pp. 276-7 above.
- ³²⁴For Ngqengelele see note 1 above.
- ³²⁵The reference is to J. Bird, ed., Annals of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1888.
- ³²⁶The original reads *nyanda ye mbobo yak' oPiti*. Piti was Piet Retief.
- ³²⁷'The breaking of the rope' (*ukudabuka* or *ukugqabuka kwegoda*) was an expression frequently used to refer to Mpande's secession in 1839.
- ³²⁸The Mgungundlovu *umuzi* had previously been located on the Mkhumbane stream south of the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi. The iVuna river rises north-west of present-day Nongoma and flows south to join the Black Mfolozi.
- ³²⁹See note 327 above.
- ³³⁰Mbopha was one of Shaka's assassins.
- ³³¹For Ngqengelele, Mnkabayi and Mhlangana see respectively notes 1, 137, and 189 above. Mhlangana was one of Shaka's assassins.
- ³³²Bryant, Dictionary, p. 327, gives *inkulelane* as 'Person who has been adopted and grown up in a strange kraal, having no home of his own'. On p. 88 he gives *umdabuko* as 'Original or ancient custom...'.
³³³Sishishili was chief of the eziBisini (Sibisi) people.
- ³³⁴Ntunjambili is the Zulu name for Kranskop mountain; Isiwa-samanqe (loc. Esiweni-samanqe), 'the precipice of vultures', is a hill twenty-five kilometres south-west of present-day Eshowe. Ndulinde is a hill on the north bank of the Thukela near its mouth.
- ³³⁵See also notes 7 and 29 above.
- ³³⁶C.T. Stuart was James's brother and another of the latter's informants; his evidence will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ³³⁷The term *abasezansi* or *abasenzansi*, 'those from down-country', designated those of Mzilikazi's adherents who originated from the Zulu kingdom.
- ³³⁸The expedition here referred to took place in mid-1837. The Boers under Retief arrived in Dingane's country at the end of that year.
- ³³⁹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 163, gives *isigaba* as 'Section, or portion divided off from the whole, as of a regiment...hence, troop, detachment, division, column...'. For *umphakathi* see note 131 above.
- ³⁴⁰For Matiwane see note 266 above.
- ³⁴¹Somkhele was chief of the Mpukunyoni people in the Hlabisa district.
- ³⁴²Sokwetshatha was chief of the Mthethwa in the Lower Umfolozi district.
- ³⁴³For Ngqengelele see note 1 above. Mtshana was grandfather of Sishishili, chief of the eziBishini people (see note 333 above).
- ³⁴⁴See note 48 above.
- ³⁴⁵Ntabankulu mountain is near the upper reaches of the White Mfolozi.
- ³⁴⁶Nhlazatshe mountain lies thirty kilometres to north-west of present-day Ulundi.
- ³⁴⁷Bryant, Dictionary, p. 724, writes, 'When a husband suspects his wife of infidelity, he treats her with certain medicines, which have the magical effect of inducing the *i-Zembe* disease in her paramour on the occasion of their next intercourse...'. On p. 705 he gives *umazuku* as 'Mixture of *utshwala* (beer) dregs and crushed boiled mealies, eaten mostly by women'.
- ³⁴⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 188, gives *ingoduso* as 'Betrothed girl, who

- has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding'.
- ³⁴⁹ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 209, gives the verb *ukuguqa* as '...make the customary "flight" to her intended, as a girl might when wishing to hasten on payment of the *lobola* cattle...'.
³⁵⁰ The name Jubingwanga derives from the verb *ukujuba*, to give an order that something be done, and *ingqwanga*, the framework of a headring.
³⁵¹ A reference to the civil war of 1856.
³⁵² Masiphula kaMamba was Mpande's principal *induna*.
³⁵³ Ndukwana is here referring to the terms imposed on the Zulu kingdom at the conclusion of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
³⁵⁴ *Isitha* literally means heap or pile; here it probably means something like 'things'. We cannot translate the second sentence with certainty; a possible rendering is 'They served food and drink to the king'.
³⁵⁵ The catching of the bull here referred to took place at the annual *umkhosi* ceremonies. The punctuation of the original is ambiguous.
³⁵⁶ Malamulela means the mediator.
³⁵⁷ The original reads *Inzawu zala'd ngabanye*.
³⁵⁸ After a career in the civil services of Natal and (from 1888) Zululand, Charles Saunders (later Sir) was Civil Commissioner and Chief Magistrate in Zululand from 1897 to 1909.
³⁵⁹ We have been unable to determine the meaning of this paragraph, and present it without emendation.
³⁶⁰ A number of women of the inGcugce *ibutho* were killed in 1876 on the orders of Cetshwayo for disobeying his marriage regulations. See also pp. 272, 273, 274 above.
³⁶¹ Presumably a reference to one of the early editions of H. Rider Haggard's *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*. On p. 14 of the first edition, published in 1882, Haggard cites a report from a Natal colonial official on Cetshwayo's killing of young women. The account probably refers to the execution of a number of women of the inGcugce *ibutho*: see the previous note. The same account occurs on pp. 16-17 of the second and third editions, published in 1888 and 1890 respectively.
³⁶² The 'Dhlozi' here referred to may have been Dlozi kaLanga, who was one of Stuart's informants. *Mbidhli* may be a reference to the African marriage regulations introduced by the Natal government in 1869, and known as the *umbhidli* kaSomsewu, 'the multitude of Somsewu', i.e. of Theophilus Shepstone.
³⁶³ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 686, gives *imvuma* as 'Goat or bullock slaughtered by the bridegroom for the bride, at the time of the *uku-baleka*...', i.e. at the time of an engaged girl's customary 'running away' to her intended husband.
³⁶⁴ See also p. 317 above.
³⁶⁵ The rinderpest outbreak of 1896-7 caused heavy losses of cattle over large parts of southern Africa, including Natal and Zululand.
³⁶⁶ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was chief of the Buthelezi people and Cetshwayo's chief *induna*. The Mbopha referred to is either Mbopha kaSithayi of the eGazini people who was one of Shaka's assassins, or Mbopha kaWolizibi of the Hlabisa people who was an *induna* in the time of Cetshwayo.
³⁶⁷ For Ndondakusuka see note 27 above.
³⁶⁸ ImVoko was also, more specifically, the name of one of Dingane's *amabutho*. Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 682-3, gives the noun *imvoko* as

- meaning 'Person or persons who are not their own masters...child or children (collect.) born of the Zulu king...that part of the royal kraal occupied by such children...'.
³⁶⁹The evidence referred to appears on pp. 354-5 of the present volume.
³⁷⁰Fought in 1856.
³⁷¹Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was chief of a section of the Buthelezi people, and an *induna* in the Zulu kingdom under Cetshwayo. His territory was in the north of the kingdom.
³⁷²We have been unable to identify Ntanjana.
³⁷³A man named Sitimela, apparently from the Tsonga area, appeared in Zululand in 1881 and attempted, unsuccessfully, to gain the Mthethwa chiefship on the basis of an unsubstantiated claim that he was the son of Somveli, who had been the heir to the early nineteenth-century Mthethwa chief, Dingiswayo. For brief accounts of the incident, see Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 475-6; Guy, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 110-12, 114.
³⁷⁴The battle of Majuba was fought between the British and the Boers of the Transvaal on 27 February 1881.
³⁷⁵Ngungunyana kaMzila was ruler of the Gasa kingdom from 1884 to 1895. The kingdom was founded by Soshangane in the 1820s in what is now south-central Mozambique.
³⁷⁶Mlandela (Myandeya) kaMbiya of the Mthethwa was one of the thirteen chiefs appointed by the British to rule in Zululand under the Wolseley settlement of 1879. Cf. the Mthethwa chiefly genealogy in Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 85.
³⁷⁷Sokwetshatha was Mlandela's son and successor. His mother, Nomqotho, was a daughter of Senzangakhona, and half-sister of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.
³⁷⁸John Dunn, a white trader and hunter who had found favour with Cetshwayo (see note 297 above), was one of the thirteen chiefs appointed by the British to rule in Zululand after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. His territory was in the south-east of the former Zulu kingdom between the Mhlathuze and Thukela rivers.
³⁷⁹Melmoth Osborn was British Resident in Zululand. See also note 54 above.
³⁸⁰Phindumbone means 'you see him again'.
³⁸¹Stuart was appointed resident magistrate at Ingwavuma in September 1895.
³⁸²The name Mtateni (Mthatheni) does not feature in the Natal Native Affairs Department's published lists of chiefs in the Lower Umfolozi district in the early 1900s.
³⁸³The Mbonambi and Nokenke *amabutho* were formed in the 1860s of youths born in the 1840s.
³⁸⁴Cetshwayo died in February 1884.
³⁸⁵'The Maphitha' presumably here refers to the Mandlakazi people, of whom Maphitha kaSojiyisa was chief in the early nineteenth century.
³⁸⁶Nkonjeni mountain lies ten kilometres north-north-west of present-day Ulundi.
³⁸⁷The Mbopha here referred to was presumably Mbopha kaWolizibi of the Hlabisa chiefly house.
³⁸⁸Dilikana (Diyikana) kaHlakanyana of the Mbatha chiefly house acquired considerable power and influence in the Zulu kingdom under the patronage of Mpande. Nhlazatshe mountain and Sihlalo hill

- lie, respectively, thirty kilometres to the north-west and twenty kilometres to the north-north-west of present-day Ulundi.
- ³⁸⁹ Somkhele kaMalanda (Mayanda), chief of the Mkhwanazi section of the Mpukunyoni people in the second half of the nineteenth century, was a nephew of Mpande. At the time of his death in 1907 he was a chief in the Hlabisa district.
- ³⁹⁰ Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early nineteenth century.
- ³⁹¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 362, gives *isilomo* (pl. *izilomo*) as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.
- ³⁹² Somfula, heir in the main line of the Hlabisa chiefly house, is given by other sources as son of Mphoswa (Mphonswa) and grandson of Ngotsha (Ngoja). Mbopha kaWolizibi kaNgotsha was Somfula's cousin.
- ³⁹³ Sihayo (Sirayo) kaXongo was chief of the Qungebeni people. He exercised an important influence in Zulu affairs during the reign of Cetshwayo.
- ³⁹⁴ The names are those of men who were prominent in the reigns of Mpande and Cetshwayo. For Mnyamana, Somkhele and Malanda (Mayanda), Sokwetshatha and Mlandela (Myandeya), and Maphitha see respectively notes 366, 389, 377, 376, 385 above. Sekethwayo kaNhlaka was chief of the Mdlalose, a collateral of the Zulu chiefly line; he was one of the thirteen chiefs appointed by the British to rule in Zululand after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. Mvundlana(e) kaMenziwa was chief of the Biyela, a collateral of the Zulu chiefly line. Godide kaNdlela was of the Ntuli people. Somaphunga kaZwide was chief of the Ndwandwe in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Mkanyeli and Mataka are probably the personages referred to as Mkhanyile kaZivalele (brother of Senzangakhona) and Mathaka kaMpasa in the evidence of Mkhando kaDlova: see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, p. 162. Mqundane kaNobongoza is given by Luzipho kaNomageje (*Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 356) as a grandson of Jama; he would thus have been a cousin of the Zulu kings Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.
- ³⁹⁵ Mmqandi and Mtshana were of the Bisini (Sibisi) people.
- ³⁹⁶ Ntshingwayo kaMahole (Marole) was chief of the Khoza people.
- ³⁹⁷ Ngqenqele kaMvulana was of the Buthelezi people. He rose to prominence in the service of Shaka and Dingane.
- ³⁹⁸ Manqondo was chief of the Magwaza people.
- ³⁹⁹ Masiphula kaMamba was of the emGazini lineage, a collateral of the Zulu royal line.
- ⁴⁰⁰ Mfanawendlela kaManzini was chief of the Zungu people.
- ⁴⁰¹ The original of this sentence reads, 'The King *patisa*'d the *izikulu* the land'.
- ⁴⁰² For Somaphunga see note 394 above.
- ⁴⁰³ Mantantashiya was a full-brother to Mbuyazi.
- ⁴⁰⁴ Shonkweni (Tshonkweni) was a half-brother to Cetshwayo and to Mbuyazi.
- ⁴⁰⁵ USuthu and iziGqoza were collective names for Cetshwayo's and Mbuyazi's supporters respectively.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Ndukwana is here referring to the practice by which a man would raise issue for the house of a deceased male relative. As is well known, Dingane did not marry, and died without issue. Nzibe,

- Mpande's full-brother, died without issue on one of Shaka's campaigns.
- ⁴⁰⁷ For another account that suggests that Shonkweni was fathered by Mpande for Dingane's house, see the evidence of Mangati kaThimuni, Stuart Archive, volume 2, p. 216.
- ⁴⁰⁸ For discussion of the term *uhlangothi* see note 155 above.
- ⁴⁰⁹ The fight here referred to took place in December 1877 at Cetshwayo's uluNdi *ikhanda*. Mpande's grave was situated at his Nodwengu *ikhanda* four kilometres to the north-west of uluNdi.
- ⁴¹⁰ Mnkabayi kaJama was a co-regent in the Zulu chiefdom during the minority of her brother Senzangakhona. She continued to exercise a powerful influence in Zulu affairs in the reigns of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.
- ⁴¹¹ The original reads:
Wen' o wa se zi gamwini
Wen' o was s obakabakeni = of the pans or lakes
- ⁴¹² Ndukwana has previously (p. 327 above) identified Bahwana as a hill on the upper Black Mfolozi. For a parallel version of the account that follows see pp. 326 ff above.
- ⁴¹³ Sokwetshatha kaMlandela was chief of the Mthethwa in the Lower Umfolozi division. Somkhele kaMalanda was chief of the Mpukunyoni (Mkhwanazi) people in the Hlabisa division.
- ⁴¹⁴ See the Mthethwa chiefly genealogy given by Bryant, Olden Times, p. 85.
- ⁴¹⁵ For discussion of the terms Nguni and Ntungwa see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 7 ff, 232 ff; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', in Thompson, ed., African Societies, ch. 6; Marks and Atmore, 'The problem of the Nguni', in Dalby, ed., Language and History in Africa, pp. 120-32; Stuart Archive, vols. 1-3, indexes; Hedges, 'Trade and politics', pp. 254-7; Wright, 'Politics, ideology and the invention of the "Nguni"', in T. Lodge, ed., Ideology and Resistance in Settler Societies, vol. 4, Johannesburg, 1986.
- ⁴¹⁶ Soshangane was the founder, in the 1820s, of the Gasa kingdom in what is now south-central Mozambique.
- ⁴¹⁷ For Sitimela see pp. 355-6 above.
- ⁴¹⁸ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ⁴¹⁹ 'We' here refers to the Europeans.
- ⁴²⁰ B.M.S. was Stuart's sister Beatrice, who was an accomplished musician.
- ⁴²¹ Ezimfabeni was a Zulu royal *umuzi* situated south-west of present-day Nongoma. Ceza mountain lies thirty kilometres to the south-west of Nongoma.
- ⁴²² The reference is to File 70 of the Stuart Collection.
- ⁴²³ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 190, gives *ingoma* as 'Certain class of royal dance-song performed at the great feast (*um-Kosi*) of the Zulu king and refrained from among the people at other times'. On p. 268 he gives *ihubo* (*irubo*) as 'Tribal song, regimental song'.
- ⁴²⁴ The reference is to leading men of powerful and formerly independent chiefly lines.
- ⁴²⁵ The reference is to heads of previously independent lineages, which had been subjected to Zulu rule.
- ⁴²⁶ See also pp. 334-5 above.
- ⁴²⁷ The reference is to J.W. Colenso's Zulu-English Dictionary, first

- published in Pietermaritzburg in 1861.
- ⁴²⁸ *Indaba* here means meeting.
- ⁴²⁹ Literally, 'child of the *ninazala*'.
- ⁴³⁰ We have been unable to find the word *gabula* in any dictionary. It may represent a misspelling of *gabela*, to state positively.
- ⁴³¹ The expression *umdidi kaNdlela* literally means Ndlela's rectum.
- ⁴³² Mavumengwana was Ndlela's son.
- ⁴³³ The amaPhela *ibutho* was formed in the late 1840s of youths born in the 1820s; the uThulwana was formed in the early 1850s of youths born in the early 1830s.
- ⁴³⁴ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi people rose to become Cetshwayo's principal *induna*.
- ⁴³⁵ Mfungelwa was Mavumengwana's son.
- ⁴³⁶ Khambi kaMashobana was another of Stuart's informants. His testimony appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁴³⁷ According to Khambi (Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 211), the hooked sticks were used to hitch up the girdles.
- ⁴³⁸ See the previous note.
- ⁴³⁹ *Ishoba* is the tail of a beast.
- ⁴⁴⁰ Nungu was another of Stuart's informants. His testimony will appear in a subsequent volume of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁴⁴¹ The original reads: '*Ninazala & mkwekazi hlonipana* small way'.
- ⁴⁴² *Umlilo* (diminutive: *umlilwana*) is the Zulu for fire.
- ⁴⁴³ For Bhejane see note 89 above.
- ⁴⁴⁴ According to Bryant and other sources, the *white isigodlo* was in two sections, which flanked the *black isigodlo* on either side at the upper end of the *umuzi*. (See, e.g., Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 187-8, *Zulu People*, pp. 473-4; Mkhando kaDlova in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, p. 149.) In diagrams of Dingane's Mgungundlovu *umuzi* which Stuart prepared from information supplied by Lunguza kaMpukane, there is an inversion of this positioning of the *white* and *black* sections of the *isigodlo*. (See *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, pp. 309, 340.) Ndukwana's testimony is intelligible only in terms of the *white* sections' flanking the *black*.
- ⁴⁴⁵ *Kwesikulu*, as here used, presumably refers to the *isibaya esikhulu* (literally, the great cattle enclosure), i.e. the 'house' that supplied the heir in a chief's *umuzi*. (See Bryant, *Zulu People*, pp. 419-20.) *Uhlangothi* (literally, side or flank) presumably refers to the 'left-hand' house. See also notes 155 and 156 above.
- ⁴⁴⁶ EBheje was a small establishment of huts located behind the *isigodlo* at Dingane's principal *umuzi*, Mgungundlovu. Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 860, give *isixebe* (pl. *izixebe*) as '1. Paramour, concubine. 2. Sweetheart (male or female)'.
- ⁴⁴⁷ The original reads: '*Mhlunkulu wo ku kutshulwa izikulu ngenkabi*'.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 726, gives *isizi* as 'Confiscated property... (cattle, children, wives, etc.) taken by the chief from any particular kraal, whose owner has been killed by the king's order or has died without heirs'.
- ⁴⁴⁹ This paragraph appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The names are those of *amakhanda*. The reference to Ndondakusuka is to the battle fought in 1856 between the supporters of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.
- ⁴⁵⁰ The information in this paragraph relates to the marrying off of girls of the *isigodlo*.

- ⁴⁵¹ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 318, gives *isikhonzi* (pl. *izikhonzi*) as 'One who is in a state of voluntary service, dependancy, or subjection to another; a vassal'.
- ⁴⁵² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 308, gives *ukhobe* (pl. *izinkobe*) as 'Grain of boiled mealies, or sometimes Kafir-corn... - grain cooked in this way forming the staple food of the Zulus...'
- ⁴⁵³ The names Ndaba and Mageba are those of ancestral Zulu chiefs. *Ndoda* is the vocative form of *indoda*, meaning 'man'.
- ⁴⁵⁴ We are unable to provide an intelligible rendering of this sentence, and reproduce it with the punctuation unchanged.
- ⁴⁵⁵ *Inkatha yezwe*, the grass coil of the nation, was of considerable symbolic significance. Langazana was one of Senzangakhona's wives. She died in 1884, after having been *inkosikazi* of several *amakhanda*, including *esiKlebheni* near Mahlabathini.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Dabulamanzi was one of Mpande's sons. His name derives from the verb *ukudabula*, meaning to tear or to pass through, and the noun *amanzi*, the waters.
- ⁴⁵⁷ The name Dabulesinye derives from the verb *ukudabula*, in the sense of 'to found', and the adjectival root *-nye*, meaning 'another'.
- ⁴⁵⁸ Ntshingwayo kaMahole, of the Khoza people, was in command of the Zulu forces that defeated the British at Isandlwana in January 1879.
- ⁴⁵⁹ The practices here listed were observed in the presence of the king.
- ⁴⁶⁰ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi was Cetshwayo's principal *induna*.
- ⁴⁶¹ Gedle was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.
- ⁴⁶² Bryant, Dictionary, p. 368, gives *ilunga* as '...beast...of a black colour with white on the back encircling downwards over the flanks...; old man, from the whiteness of the hair (a name not liked by the old people themselves)'
- ⁴⁶³ For *isilomo* (pl. *izilomo*) see note 114 above.
- ⁴⁶⁴ Ndukwana seems here to be contrasting the social order in the Zulu kingdom with that imposed under Natal colonial rule.
- ⁴⁶⁵ Mvundlana was of the Biyela chiefly line. His grandson Dumezweni served as chief of the Biyela in the Emtongjaneni and Lower Umfolozi divisions under the Natal colonial regime.
- ⁴⁶⁶ Solatsha was a brother of Mvundlana.
- ⁴⁶⁷ Mbopha was of the Hlabisa chiefly line.
- ⁴⁶⁸ Mkhanyile and Nomathaka were of the eGazini, a collateral of the Zulu royal house.
- ⁴⁶⁹ Ndwandwe was of the abakwaLanga people. His father, Mdlaka, should not be confused with the Zulu *induna* of that name.
- ⁴⁷⁰ This paragraph has been scored out in the original. The reference is presumably to the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879.
- ⁴⁷¹ Sihayo kaXongo was chief of the Qungebeni people in Cetshwayo's reign. Ntshingwayo was chief of the Khoza people.
- ⁴⁷² On the *umpakathi* see note 131 above.
- ⁴⁷³ Ndukwana here seems to be listing articles carried by *udibi* boys.
- ⁴⁷⁴ Mfusi kaManyala of the Dletsheni was a leading *induna* and *isikhulu*.
- ⁴⁷⁵ The *iziGqoza* were the supporters of Mbuyazi kaMpande, who was Cetshwayo's chief rival for the succession. The events referred to in this paragraph took place in the mid-1850s.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Maphitha kaSojiiyisa of the Mandlakazi was of a chiefly line collateral to that of the Zulu kings. Mnkabayi kaJama was a sister of Cetshwayo's

grandfather, Senzangakhona. She served as regent during the minority of the latter, and remained, until her death, a powerful influence in Zulu affairs.

⁴⁷⁷ The Zulu phrase means 'whole families were destroyed'. The battle of Ndongakusuka between the iziGqoza of Mbuyazi and the uSuthu of Cetshwayo was fought in 1856.

⁴⁷⁸ 'We' in the second part of the sentence apparently refers to the whites.

⁴⁷⁹ For Mkhungo see notes 105, 106, and 122 above.

⁴⁸⁰ The 'we' here refers to the whites.

⁴⁸¹ The 'we' here refers to the whites.

⁴⁸² On the *umphakathi* see note 131 above.

⁴⁸³ We are unable to gloss the meaning of this paragraph. A literal translation of the sentence in Zulu would read, 'As you go, you go with the assistance of an *idlozi*'.