

NDUNA ka MANQINA

19.4.1910

File 58, nbk. 24, p. 1.

- 1 Nduna ka Manqina (per *ukungena* by Mkehlengana ka Zulu ka Nogandaya) ka Kepukepu ka Nogandaya ka Lujabu ka Manxeba ka Mnsunsula ka Ndhlovu ka Dubuyana ka Ncwana ka Malandela. [For Nduna's informants on Native history, *vide* p. 31.] My *isibongo* is Ncwana of the amaNtungwa family.

I was born in 1879-80, so am about 30 years of age.

Mkehlengana *ngena'd* my mother, this man being a son of Zulu ka Nogandaya.

.... <Praises of Zulu kaNogandaya, Shaka, and Dingane omitted - eds.>

24.4.1910, Sunday.

File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 9-23.

- 9 Incidents in Zulu ka Nogandaya's life.

Tshaka was fighting with Zwide, after killing Pakatwayo ka Kondhlo². He came back and built Mbelebele kraal after the same had been burnt down by Zwide, for Zwide had burnt all Tshaka's kraals. Tshaka, however, *revived* (*vusa'd*) and *rebuilt* them all. Zwide persisted in following after Tshaka, and when it was clear that Zwide was advancing against him he *caused his warriors to 'gomisa'*.³ He said, '*There is Zwide, still following me. Let there come forward one Zulu warrior. I put the praises of uNomzimane* [for explanation of Nomzimane see 16 pp. further on⁴] *in this assegai. (That is, the warrior that takes the assegai will become entitled to the praises.) The praises are, "The one who was astonished at insults even as he insulted Dhlungwana at Embelebeleni".*'⁵ (He had been insulted by Zwide ka Langa.)

All the warriors were afraid to take the assegai. Tshaka then left the assegais, and returned to his seat. He then called on the warriors to say how they would stab,
10 *seeing they were afraid to seize the assegai. The warriors thereupon proceeded to boast and say how they would stab.*

Komfiya however remained silent. Tshaka said, '*How can you be silent, Komfiya, when this army is ready? You are silent, Komfiya? If you are silent, Komfiya, it may be that the army will retreat, and have to be "sprinkled" for war again.*' Komfiya *arose and thrust into the ground the assegai which he was carrying; it was an old*

one. He pulled out the new one, as Tshaka had said. He said, 'Those praises are mine. I 'choose' (qoma) the warrior Mvundhlana ka Menziwa; I shall stab before he does. I choose the warrior Magaju (I don't know the father of Magaju); I shall stab before he does.' He said, 'I choose the warrior Sigwebana (ka Mudhli ka Nkwelo); I shall stab before he does. Nkosi, if any of these three warriors, with me as the fourth, stab before I do, you may put me to death.' Tshaka said, 'Zulu, are you choosing me, when you say that I may put you to death?' Zulu replied, 'I have chosen three warriors; I choose the whole Zulu army. Wounds on the body must be looked for. Mine will be in front, on the chest. They will run away; all their wounds will be on the back.'

- 11 Tshaka said, 'All right, Zulu. We shall hear about it when the army returns.' He picked out two large black oxen and said, 'Let the army eat.' Zulu said, 'Nkosi, you are afraid of Zwide. Which cattle will you eat if we are victorious? Let these oxen not be killed.' Tshaka said, 'Did I not say, son of Nogandaya, that you are not talking of war, but that you are choosing me?' He replied, 'Nkosi, you will be here at home, without having gone to war.' Tshaka said, 'Zulu, because you say so, let the oxen not be killed.' They were not killed.

Tshaka said, 'I have not yet heard well. Go to the place of our people, the place of Nandi, where the medicine (intelezi) of war is kept.⁶ Let the fighting be discussed there.' They went to the place of Nandi. Tshaka went to his hut. He picked out the well-known warriors. He summoned his attendants and said, 'Pick the amabele of the oxen, and take it to the warriors at the place of our people, the place of Nandi.' This was done. The warriors ate; they finished the amabele. He sent them beer from which the dregs (izinsipo) had not been strained. They drank; they finished it. They gave praise loudly; they went out, and went to Tshaka in his hut. He said to his

- 12 attendants, 'Tell them to come in.' They went in and sat down. Tshaka said, 'What do you have to say, then?' Klwana ka Ngqengelele, an induna of Tshaka, approached. He said, 'Zulu is still saying the same words, Nkosi.' He then silenced all the warriors; he no longer wanted any warrior to speak in his presence. Shaka said, 'All right, son of Nogandaya.' He said, 'Go out into the cattle enclosure.'

They went out with him. It was afternoon; the sun was going down. They went to the men of the amabuto in the cattle enclosure. He said, 'Let the army approach.' He said, 'Now do you hear, men of the army? Today we shall fight the fight of "Kisi". Call out, saying "Kisi" once. Do not say it twice. If a man does not reply "Kisi", stab him; he will not be one of ours. If you call out "Kisi", and he replies "Kisi", he is one of ours. You will hear one another by this means.' He said, 'I shall end there, my warriors.' He then gave them a means of escaping punishment (tetelela). He said, 'A man who thinks that I am going to kill him when he has done no wrong, because I do not like him, will today have a chance to win my liking.' (Exhorted to become fighters and therefore liked by Tshaka and so escape being killed.) He saluted, saying, 'There it is, men of Mjokwane.'

.... <Praises of Senzangakhona omitted - eds.>⁸

- 14 As Tshaka was declaiming these praises, his crane feather came loose from his

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headring and blew up into the air. He continued giving praise, and moved forward. The feather came down and stuck upright into the ground. He called, 'Cry out "Ji!" I have overcome Zwide.' Klwana moved out to take the feather, but as he was pulling it out Tshaka struck him with the haft of an inhlendhla assegai and called out, 'Leave it, my brother (mnawami).' He said, 'Make salutation. Here is my father.' All the men of the army saluted. A white python appeared at the feet of the men. It made for the feather and coiled itself round it. Shaka called, 'Cry out "Ji!" Beat your shields (ishayani umngqongqo). I have overcome him indeed.' The men beat their shields.

15 He gave command of the army to Klwana ka Ngqengelele, the great induna. Zulu again expressed dissatisfaction. As the army was going out, he said, 'Klwana, son of Ngqengelele, the inkosi has sent out the army in the wrong order. He has placed the younger amabuto at the back, and us older amabuto in the vanguard. I am going to turn the order round, the way I want it to be.' 'How will you order it?' 'I shall take the younger amabuto and make an inhlakava in front (i.e. to go and 'set the impi alight' and come with it, i.e. to start the fight).⁹ They will provoke the enemy and bring them towards us; then we, for our part, will fall upon them and stab them.'

The amabuto provoked the enemy and at once fell back, so that they came towards us. He changed the order of the army. He took two amabuto, the uDhlangezwa and the imiHehe, and placed them in front. He told them, 'Go and start the fight, and draw the enemy on. Make as if you are retreating.' Zulu deceived the warriors that day. He stood them in line, and himself stood at the end (ohlahla) [i.e. at either extreme end of troops on parade etc.].

The men recognized one another by using that password (isiga), 'Kisi'. They saw Zulu standing there, but then he was no longer there; he had gone forward, for it was
16 now dark. When the younger amabuto drew the enemy on, they heard Zulu in front, declaiming his own praises, crying, 'I have eaten, I, the heavens which thunder in the open (Ngadhla, mina Zulu la dum' obala).' Then they suddenly saw that he was no longer there, for he had stabbed. It was there that they drove the enemy back. They found them in retreat, and stabbed them in the back.

Klwana sent a messenger to the rear to say, 'Zulu has done as he said he would. He has stabbed; the enemy are retreating; all the warriors are stabbing them in the back.' This made Tshaka happy, the day that Zulu surpassed all the warriors. He ordered the army to strike up a great song three times. Three times it did this, then returned. Tshaka ordered, 'Move on; do not sleep here at home. I want Zwide's meat. I want to leap over him.' He said, 'I have heard, son of Nogandaya, just as you said.'

17 They went on during the night; they went on until dawn. As the sun came up they approached Zwide's home. They came nearer, singing loudly. The womenfolk of Zwide's place came out, bearing food; they thought it was their own army. Zwide was suspicious. He said, 'That song is not a Ndwandwe song.' Zwide fled from his home. His women, carrying food, came up to meet the army. They were stabbed; they were killed; the food was thrown down. The army went on and surrounded Zwide's umuzi, but he had escaped. They impaled the children on posts; they stabbed the women; they stabbed everything at his home.

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Coma, i.e. *buxeka*, spike on posts.¹⁰ Only bigger children were impaled, not infants. The mothers of the latter were killed and the infant left alive at their side, i.e. laid down alive beside her.

'I stabbed the reed; I stabbed the cob (Ngi gwaz' uhlanga; nga gwaz' isikwebu)' - phrase used by Zulus when child on mother's back is stabbed through as well as the mother. Tshaka insisted on women being killed, as *an army* would again rise in that country. Women that bear warriors must exist in Zululand only.

They sought Zwide's trail, and found it. They followed it across the Black Mfolozi. On the other side of the Black Mfolozi they turned back. Zulu said, 'Let us return. We shall tell the inkosi that he has escaped.' They 'ate up' the cattle of the Ndwandwe; they collected them from all over Zwide's country. They drove them on; they returned with them.

When they engaged with Zwide's army, they had left it at the Mhlatuze, at the Nkandla. They said, 'Lay down your shield,' to each man. Those who refused to throw down their shields were stabbed. Those who obeyed were collected into

18 *Tshaka's army; those who resisted were killed.*

Tshaka praised the army. He proceeded to build the Intontela in Zwide's country. Zwide eventually died far away at the place of Sotshangana; he died of dysentery (isirudo).¹¹ His son Sikunyana returned. He said he was returning to his father's old country. He came with an army. Tshaka killed him.

Nguboyencuga of the abaTembu people.

Nguboyencuga sent off his envoys; he said, 'Go to Tshaka. Say to him, "So you have overcome the Ndwandwe. How big are the amabuto which you have? Are they as big as the iNkonjana <sic> ka Hisa?"' This was an ibuto of Nguboyencuga. The envoys went off. They came to Tshaka. He said, 'Where are you from?' 'We come from Nguboyencuga, Nkosi.' 'What does he say?' 'Nkosi, he says that we should ask, "Now that the Ndwandwe have been overcome, how big are the amabuto which you

19 *have?"' He said, 'Go! Have you come here to spy (beka)?' They said, 'Nkosi! 'Why does Nguboyencuga say this?' 'Nkosi, he told us to come and see if your amabuto are as big as the iNkonyana ka Hisa.' Tshaka said, 'I shall put on a dance for you. Please be seated. You will go and tell Nguboyencuga how big my amabuto are.'*

Tshaka assembled his amabuto. The envoys said, 'Nkosi, we have a request.' He said, 'What is it that you request?' They said, 'Nkosi, we ask that the amabuto should start from far off, so that, for our part, we can compare for you their size with that of the amabuto of Nguboyencuga.' Tshaka placed his amabuto far off. He said 'Let them come forward in their sections (izigaba), two by two, following one another.' The envoys said, 'Of Nguboyencuga's amabuto, the iNkonyana ka Hisa is as big as these two amabuto put together.' Tshaka brought two more amabuto forward. He said, 'How now?' They said, 'The iNkonyana ka Hisa is as big as the two put together.' Tshaka said, 'I am letting you go. An envoy is not put to death. If this was the case, I would kill you. Go and tell Nguboyencuga that I am coming against him,

20 *against those very amabuto which are bigger than these of mine.'*

They went off home. Nguboyencuga was filled with fear. He ran away. When

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*Tshaka arrived, he found that Nguboyencuga was still running away. On the occasion of his going against the amaMpondo, he was pursuing Nguboyencuga, who had shown contempt for him.*¹²

*He did not stab Ngoza ka Mkubukeli.*¹³ *He was killed by the dust of his cattle, while he was running away with them. This was when Tshaka was about to overtake them. Ngoza was of the abaTembu people. This was when he was going to the country of Faku ka Ngqungqushu.*¹⁴

Nguboyencuga escaped through the Pass of the Snake (isikala senyoka), and went off into the Xosa country. Of the amaXosa, the abaTembu are the most numerous. When it came to naming the son of Nguboyencuga they gave him a Xosa name; they called him Mtirara.

*When Tshaka sent off Sotobe ka Mpangalala, he said, 'Sotobe, son of Mpangalala, go and see what kind of beast (izilwane) these white iziyalwana are.'*¹⁵ *Sotobe went off. When he returned he said, 'I came to the place where water comes out of a hole (intunja).' He was referring to a pump (umpompi).*¹⁶

*The fight with Mzilikazi ka Matshobana.*¹⁷

It was Dingana who first sent an army to the place of Mzilikazi. It came and 'ate up' the cattle. It returned with them. Dingana put a question to Ndhlela, the great induna. He said, 'These cattle of Mzilikazi, are these all of them?' He replied, 'There are still some left, Ndabezita.' Dingana thereupon sent the army back again. This was the time when they fought at eMpama.

This was the time when Kokela ka Mncumbata, who had been in Zwide's iPelagugu ibuto, challenged (qoma) Zulu ka Nogandaya. He said that he would stab a man before Zulu did. Dingana asked, 'What do you say, Kokela? What is it that brought you here?' He remained silent. Dingana said, 'Did Zulu not bring you here by force (nge mkonto)? Do not turn round and say merely that you are present. Zulu brought you here by force, and now you are challenging him? Are you not one of the iPelagugu?' He replied, 'Yes, Nkosi.' Dingana asked, 'So why are you challenging Zulu?' He replied, 'I have challenged him indeed. Has anyone else ever challenged him?' This man came from the Ndwandwe country. He had been brought out of it by Zulu by force. Dingana said, 'Now you are dead.' Kokela said, 'I have challenged him indeed.' Zulu danced forth; he wanted to gumbuqela him (i.e. cover with his shield). Dingana reprovved him, and he returned to his place.

*Dingana sent off the army. It went off to Mzilikazi's for a second time. They came up with Mzilikazi; they came up with him in ematshonalanga (Matshonaland).*¹⁸ *Before the armies began fighting, their izimbongi came to blows, Mzilikazi's one and the Zulu one (one of each side fought). Zulu stabbed Kokela; this was before the fighting started. Kokela was provoking him. This was when Zulu became known as 'the forearm which protected the body (mkon' ovikel' isibili)'. This was because of a wound which he received on the left forearm, high up. They ate up the cattle and came back with them; they overcame Mzilikazi. That was the time when they ate up the uBelu cattle, those of the Boers; they were eaten up by the uDlambekhlu ibuto.*¹⁹ *Then Dingana asked, 'Where is Kokela?' They answered, 'Nkosi, he was killed by*

Mzilikazi's army. Dingana said, 'He went forth already dead, because he had challenged Zulu.'

- 23 *Dingana said, 'Describe the fighting, Ndhlela.' Ndhlela mentioned only the great men (izikulu). Dingana asked him, 'Ndhlela, does this army consist only of the great men (izinsonyama)? Why are you picking out only the abanumzana?' He went on, 'All these men with wounds on their heads, what were they doing?' Ndhlela replied, 'They were fighting, Nkosi.'*

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File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 23-5.

'Hau, so why are you concealing what they did? You are picking out only the great men, when all the people of the inkosi were there. You are calling on only the abanumzana to come forth and dance. Will the inkosi's men not be called on? Hau, what are you doing, son of Sompisi? You are doing what Tshaka used to do, when he said that the army should pick out the great warriors. Ordinary men were not counted; only those liked by Tshaka were counted. For my part, I like them all.' He went on, 'Ndhlela, you escape, for I should really kill you. Go and slaughter a beast, and give thanks to your ancestor for your escape. Let all the men of the army come forth and dance.'

- All the men did so. Dingana said, 'Ndhlela, there is another matter. You saw that the men of the imiKulutshane ibuto were lying with the girls, and you said to me that I should kill the imiKulutshane. I asked you, Ndhlela, if you tell anyone when your dogs copulate. Now, when my dogs copulate, you tell me to kill them. When a young maize plant is growing well, Ndhlela, would you cut it down?' He said, 'You know, Ndhlela, that on that day I let you be. Today you are doing it again. Your ancestor likes you. Go.' Ndhlela went off.*
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- UNomzimane.*²⁰ This is the name of a stick *stuck into the thatch* in the hut in which say twenty girls *goyela* or sit apart with the bride-elect on the occasion when the goats of the said bride-elect are eaten. It is *stuck in* by anyone, though it must be a boy or a man, at the top, inside. The stick is an ordinary one of any wood. There are at the same time a lot of young men, who, have entered and are sitting in this hut (the sitting apart of the girls having come to an end). This custom takes place on the day when the girls are going to disperse and go to their homes. On the stick being stuck in, the young men will say, *'Let them choose (A zi qome)'*, whereupon one will get
- 25 up and take hold of the stick with her right hand (the girls are all sitting on their side of the hut, and the young men on theirs). Then one of the young men gets up and takes hold of the stick just above where the girl is holding. If the girl continues to hold, it is an indication that she does not *choose (qoma)* that young man. He will then be laughed at with a burst of laughter. He must then let go and retire, when another comes to hold, and so on until the girl lets go immediately, leaving the man holding, which is a sign that she *qoma's* him. The process is repeated with all the others.

The girls are obliged by custom all to *qoma*, but they can *qoma* one man two, three or four times, hence some young men may not be *qoma'd* at all.

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File 58, nbk. 24, p. 25.

Once Tshaka said to Zihlandhlo, 'My brother (*umnawe wami*), let us go to the sea. We shall throw sticks, and the one whose stick returns will be a greater chief than the other.'²¹ They threw their sticks; both were taken out by the sea.

Zihlandhlo's returned. Tshaka's was looked for for a month; it was not found. It was never found. Tshaka said, 'Let Zihlandhlo be killed, so that he shall not say that he is the greater chief.' Tshaka said, 'Ho! He is my brother. I shall let him be, for it was I who challenged him, saying that we should go and throw our sticks. If he had challenged me, I would have killed him.'

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File 58, nbk. 24, pp. 26-31.

26 Incidents in warfare between Dingane <sic> and the Boers.

The army made war in Mzilikazi's country. It returned. Ndhlela said to Dingane, 'Nkosi, the young men of the uDhlambedhlu have done wrong.' He asked, 'What have they done?' Ndhlela replied, 'They have taken the cattle of the Boers.' Dingane said, 'Indeed?' Ndhlela said, 'Yes, Nkosi.' The Boers came; they were following the trail. They said, 'We have come to fetch our cattle.' 'How will you recognize your cattle among these of Mzilikazi which I have taken?' They said, 'They have marks cut on them (*zi lotshiwe*).' Dingane said, 'Please wait. I have to talk to my men.' One day he summoned his attendants and his izinduna and his great warriors. He said, 'Give me guidance. The Boers are trying to trick me.' When it was dark he stood at the isigodhlo. He said, 'Now you will see, during the night.'

The Boers came up; they came up outside the umuzi. They tried to surround Mgunghlovu, but could not do so. He said, 'Do you see?' The warriors said, 'Let 27 them be killed.' He said, 'I shall not order the men to carry assegais in case the Boers become suspicious.' He said, 'Ndhlela, gather the men of the army. They must carry dancing shields (*amahau*), and not war shields (*izihlangu*), and also izikwili sticks. (*Isiqwayi* - a very stout cudgel, not a knobbed stick (*isagila*), say 2 foot 6 inches in length).²² I shall hold a dance for them. I shall tell them, "I shall hold a dance for you. You will watch. After the dance I shall give you your cattle and you can take them away." ' He said, 'See, Ndhlela, tell the men that two songs will be sung. At the second song I shall do this with my hand' (wave left and over the left shoulder).

The men of the Zulu sang, 'We have two, three inkondhlo dances; they wind about; they turn all over the place; we shall dance this way, and not that way' - this is the chorus they sang.²³ They sang, 'You too, at the first engagement, were very obstinate; you said that we would not burn uMhlahlandhlela, and it is there no longer. Hi ya ya! Hi ya qa! Ya ya ya ya ya ya-e! They were going to throw themselves into the milk, my man; in the Zulu country the common people said that we would not enter at eNgome; they entered. Hi ya ya.'²⁴

Dingana waved his hand. Upon this the men of the army poured into the isigodhlo. For each Boer who died, one of Dingana's men died. They finished them

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off. That was where Piti died, the chief of the Boers.²⁵

28 A Bushman (iBusumana) was standing at the back. He saw what was going on; he caught a horse, and escaped. He made his way back. He said, 'The chief is dead.' Upon this, the Boers took to arms. They advanced. While they were advancing, Dingana set his army on them. The Boers defeated it and drove it back. The izikulu and the izinduna said that the inkosi should leave his place. Dingana did so. The Boers came to his place; they burnt Mgungundhlovu; they went on; they pursued him. They caught up with him at Hlobane; they fought.²⁶ Dingana went off; he came this way. He stayed at the Mtshezi (Estcourt).²⁷ This was the time when he said, 'I have a plan. I have seen them fighting with guns (izitunyisa). Let the army drive cattle with them. Let the men hide among the cattle. When the cattle have been finished off by the guns, then close in.' There was fighting at the Mtshezi. The Boers retreated. Dingana said, 'Don't you see that my plan is a good one?' The men replied, 'We have seen it, Nkosi; it is very good.'

Dingana turned back and crossed over the river, high up. When he reached the Ncome, the Boers caught up with him.²⁸ He left his army there; the Imvokwe and the imiKulutshane, which was the main section (isibay' esikulu) of Mgungundhlovu (don't know meaning of this word). Dingane went down to the uPate.²⁹ This was
29 when he sent Bongoza out (don't know father or tribe). 'Go, Bongoza; go to the Boers, and say that the cattle have been left with the women only, and that the whole army is finished.' Bongoza went off, and did as he had been told. He slept there, and came back with the Boers. He showed them the way to the upper uPate, and brought them down along it. Dingana said, 'Now see my clever plan.' He ordered the men of the army to hide in the bush on both sides. Bongoza knew of the plan which Dingana had made. As the Boers were going down, he ran off; he left the Boers behind and went into the bush. The army rose up, surrounded the Boers, and stabbed them. A few escaped; many remained there.

When Mpande broke away (hlubuka), saying 'It has been finished off by the gun (si pelile isitunyisa),'³⁰ he went off to the Boers. This was when Zulu ka Nogandaya said, 'Nkosi, I am tired of fighting.' He went off to the amaMpondo country. Dingana went to the Swazi country. He went alone; the amabuto had broken away with Mpande. The amaSwazi proceeded to kill Dingana. This was when owls (izikova) called to Zulu ka Nogandaya. They cried, 'Weh, Zulu! Weh, Zulu! Here are abatakati.' It was omabengwane owls which cried out.³¹

This was what people called the 'breaking of the rope' (ku gqatshuk' igoda) in
30 the Zulu country. It was the breaking of the rope of government (umbuso) in the Zulu country.

Zulu settled in the amaMpondo country. The amaMpondo wanted to kill him. He came back, saying, 'I do not live well here (in the amaMpondo country).' He then settled on the Mkomazi river, low down, near the sea (west of railway, on a flat some little way above Mkomas railway station).

Further notes on Zulu ka Nogandaya.

Zulu had a kraal called Ndondakusuka, and that is where the first fight between

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Zulus and Europeans took place.³² I cannot give an account of this.

I hear that Wohlo (Ogle) assisted Zulu at Kangela by *tubelezi*ing him, i.e. helping him along unfrequented ways and paths.³³ This is how Zulu escaped to the amaMpondo. Mpande wanted to kill him after Dingana's death.

I can give no account of the Zulus' attack on Durban and clearing Europeans out.³⁴

- 31 Nduna's informants. The principal one was Sokwebula ka Mkobiso of the Swazi race. He was of the Mkulutshane regiment.³⁵ He told me he *went on the campaign in Mzilikazi's country*. He saw Tshaka with his own eyes. My father Mkehlengana (deceased) also gave me some of my information.³⁶

Notes

¹The reference is to File 58, nbk. 24, p. 31. See the final paragraph of Nduna's testimony.

²Zwide was chief of the Ndwandwe, and Phakathwayo of the Qwabe.

³*Ukuqomisa*, literally to cause to choose, means to court a young woman.

⁴On p. 24 of the original, the informant explains that uNomzimane was the name of a stick which was used in a courting game played by groups of young men and women. The game involved seizing the stick. Here Shaka is applying the name to an assegai which he has thrust into the ground, and is inviting his warriors to come forward and seize it.

⁵The original of the praises reads, '*Umababazi we nhlamba etuk' uDhlungwana Embelebeleni*'. Dlungwana was one of Shaka's own praise-names.

⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 620, gives *intelezi* as 'General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil by rendering its causes innocuous, unsuccessful...and gen. administered by a "sprinkling" process...and not carried about on the person...'

⁷Mjokwane was a praise-name for Senzangakhona, Shaka's father.

⁸These praises are not directly identified in the text as those of Senzangakhona but a transcription of them in another of Stuart's notebooks reveals that they are his: see File 75, p. 104.

⁹We have been unable to establish the meaning of *inhlakava*. In the original the words in parentheses appear as a marginal insertion.

¹⁰This and the next paragraph occur in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹¹Soshangane was the first ruler of the Gaza kingdom in what is now south-central Mozambique.

¹²Shaka raided into the Mpondo country in 1824 and again in 1828.

¹³Ngoza was chief of a group of Thembu who lived on the lower Buffalo (Mzinyathi) river. It was quite distinct from the group of Thembu under Nguboyencuga which lived in what is now the eastern Cape.

¹⁴Faku was ruler of the Mpondo chiefdom.

- ¹⁵Shaka sent Sotobe on a mission to the Cape in 1828. *Iziyalwana* possibly derives from *isiyalu*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 709, gives as ‘...person whose eyes have the iris unnaturally high, showing the white of the ball below, so that he seems to look out from under the eyelids...’.
- ¹⁶*Umpompi* can also mean tap.
- ¹⁷Mzilikazi was the first ruler of the Ndebele kingdom.
- ¹⁸Either the informant or Stuart is confusing the word *ematshonalanga*, which means ‘in the west’, with the similar-sounding place-name Mashonaland. The latter forms part of what is now Zimbabwe. When Dingane attacked the Ndebele they were living either in what is now the Gauteng region of South Africa or in what is now the North-West Province.
- ¹⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 31, gives *ubhelu (ubelu)* as ‘Afrikander cattle..., first brought down from the Transvaal Basutos about the time of Mzilikazi’s raiding there, and hence called also *u(lu)-Sutu...*’.
- ²⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 439-40, writes of *unomzimane*: ‘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, and were either admired or rejected according as they found favour...’.
- ²¹Zihlandlo kaGwabe was ruler of the Mkhize (abaseMbo) chiefdom.
- ²²The words in parentheses occur in the original as a marginal insertion.
- ²³The original reads: ‘*Izinkondhlo zetu zimbili, zintatu, zi nga mashwilishwili, zi shwilene zipi, si za uketa nga le, si yeke nga le*’.
- ²⁴The original reads: ‘*Nawe nhlanganiso wa u pik’ inkani, wa uti a si uku wu tshis’ uMhlahlandhlela, a u seko. Hi ya ya! Hi ya ya! Ya ya ya ya ya ya-e. Ba be ya u zi tel’ obisini muntu wami kwa Zulu abafokazana ba beti a si sa ku ngena eNgome. Ba ngena. Hi ya ya*’.
- ²⁵Piti was Piet Retief.
- ²⁶Hlobane mountain lies fifteen kilometres to the north-east of present-day Vryheid.
- ²⁷The Mtshezi river is marked on most maps as the Bushmans.
- ²⁸The Ncome river is marked on most maps as the Blood.
- ²⁹The uPhathe stream flows from the south into the White Mfolozi south of present-day Ulundi.
- ³⁰It’ (*si-*) here presumably refers to *isizwe*, i.e. the polity, the nation..
- ³¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 371, gives *umabhengwane* as ‘Woodford’s Owl..., whose peculiar hoot is often heard in the woods at night, saying *Woza! woza! ‘mabhengwane!* (come! come! *‘mabhengwane!* - its mate, of course)’.
- ³²KwaNdongakusuka is the name of a locality on the north bank of the Thukela near its mouth. In 1838 it was the scene of a Zulu victory over a European-led force from Port Natal.
- ³³KwaKhangela was a locality on the west side of the bay at Port Natal. Henry Ogle (Wohlo) was one of the British hunter-traders who established themselves at Port Natal from 1824 onward.
- ³⁴After its victory at kwaNdongakusuka, the Zulu force referred to in note 32 above went on to destroy the European-dominated settlement at Port Natal.
- ³⁵The umKhulutshane *ibutho* was formed by Dingane.

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³⁶On the informant's genealogical relationship to Mkhehlengana, see the first line of his testimony. Mkhehlengana was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 3 of the Stuart Archive.