

NGIDI ka MCIKAZISWA

11.8.1904

File 61, nbk. 38, pp. 3-9.

Also present: Mbovu kaMshumayeli

- 3 Ngidi, alias Magambukazi, arrives with Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli.¹ Both present. Ngidi lives near Bellair station and the Mhlatuzana, near Mcasimbana (European).² Chief: Ndunge.³

Ngidi, alias Magambukazi (*praise-name - isibongo*), ka Mcikaziswa ka Nombanda ka Mxabo ka Daleni ka Mhlongo ka Ncumela (Nqumela) [Ngidi uses the 'c' click; this, Mbovu explains, is due to his long contact with amaLala people,⁴ for he lives among Cele people - present chief: Ndunge]⁵ ka Mavundhla (Sibidane) ka Nqetshe ka Lugoloza ka Sibiya ka Mzimaseli ka Langa - cannot go further.

The chiefs of the Langa tribe are as follows, beginning from the most recent: Makedama ka Mgabi ka Mbengi ka Mhlongo ka Ncumela (Nqumela) ka Mavundhla (Sibidane) ka Nqetshe ka Lugoloza ka Sibiya ka Mzimaseli ka Langa.

It is seen that Ngidi's ancestor Mhlongo was a chief of the Langa tribe.

My *isibongo*: *abaseLangeni*. I was born *at the Mfule* - near Melmoth and Kwamagwaza.⁶

The Qwabe and Langa tribes *originated (dabuka'd) at the Mhlatuze*.

Mbovu here remarks: Mabonswana (*an inceku to Mpande*) told me that the Qwabe *dabuka'd at the donga of Tatiyana at the Mhlatuze*, wherever that may be.

'You of our people, of Kuzwayo; great reed of the Mhlatuze' ('Nina ba kiti ba ka Kuzwayo, hlang' okulu lwa se Mhlatuze') - this is the great *isibongo* or prayer of Qwabe *amadhlozi*.

- 4 Mbovu says the Qwabe *chiefs* are as follows: Meseni ka Musi ka Godolozu ka Kondhlo ka Mncinci ka Lufuta ka Simamane ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo - cannot go further and connect with the man Qwabe.⁷ [Note here that Pakatwayo had no children but was a king in the time of Godolozu.⁸]

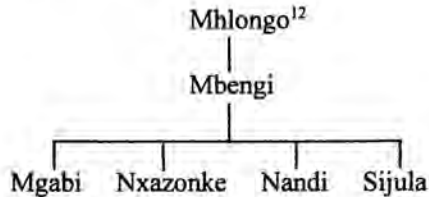
The Langa tribe is connected with the Qwabe one, and followed the Qwabe tribe

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down to the Mhlatuze from the amaCunu people.

Nandi's father was Mbengi ka Mhlongo ka Ncumela (Nqumela) etc.⁹

Nandi was *light in colour* (*mpofazana*, *mpofukazi*) and rather tall. I never saw her. I was born [say 1823]¹⁰ just before the time of her death. [This occurred in August 1827, according to Isaacs.¹¹]



After Nandi's death the uMota regiment <sic>. Nandi's sister Sijula married Nsungane ka Mandondo of the Xulu people, chief Xabatshe. I saw Sijula near the Mfule river where we lived. I saw her in Dingana's reign. She was *light in colour and of medium height*. She was good-tempered. Mbengi was Sijula's father. Mgabi was Nandi's brother, also Nxazonke (*who followed Mgabi in age*), also Ndisi, Mendameli, Ndina (father of Mseleni - died about the time of the Ndongakusuka battle but was not there¹³), Msomi (father of Koto), Soga (father of Mfiti who died at the Mkomazi), Mbikwana (father of Kokoba; was one of the *izigoza*¹⁴), Qonsa, Bantwana and Tshangana - these were all Mbengi's sons. Malazana was another of Mbengi's daughters.

Nandi was asked for by Senzangakona from Mbengi;¹⁵ he asked for a girl of another clan (*intombi ye zizwe*). Nandi danced (*sina'd*) for Senzangakona. She was *lobola'd*, many cattle being paid for her.¹⁶

My great grandfather Daleni was Mbengi's brother. Nandi spoke of Daleni as 'father'.

Senzangakona's name for Tshaka was Mandhlesilo.¹⁷ He was called Tshaka because he was a hero.

6 Mbikwana's kraal was eBozeni; it was *below the Ngoye*.¹⁸ Mbikwana's son was Voboza.

Mbikwana was of the iWombe regiment, like Tshaka. The iBoza kraal (as it was Mbikwana's) had not come into existence when Tshaka was born. I know nothing of Tshaka staying at Mbikwana's kraal.

The 'stone' incident occurred between Tshaka and Makedama at Ngugeni kraal, belonging to Mbengi.¹⁹

When Mgabi died the Langa tribe was *ruled* (*patwa'd*) by Nxazonke. When Tshaka went to the Mtetwa he went with Nxazonke, his uncle, and Mbikwana, also a large number of followers.

Mfihlo, Somajuba, Mdungazwe, Ngqojana, Sopana, Dingana, Mhlangana - all these sons of Senzangakona ran off to *konza* Pakatwayo, on the ground, as 7 Senzangakona alleged, that they *hlobonga'd* with girls, for this was not allowed in accordance with custom. [Agrees with Tununu as to Dingana staying at Qwabe.]²⁰ Boys were not allowed to *ukwevata* or put on the *loin-cover* (*umutsha*) until after

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being *jutshwa'd*.

Pakatwayo had no children. Nomo had no children.²¹ Tshaka had no children. Makedama had no children.

Tshaka *herded* at the Langa tribe, then went to Senzangakona. Here he remained till S. wanted to kill the sons mentioned, when Tshaka ran off, not to the Qwabe tribe like the others, but back to his own people, whereupon Nxazonke, Mbikwana and others went off with Tshaka to *konza* Dingiswayo. Nxazonke was *sent away* from the Langeni tribe by Makedama *on account of the chiefship, when the latter became chief*, for Nxazonke had been regent for him.

Tshaka never went to stay at the Qwabe tribe. Nsindwane was *an inceku to Tshaka* and Makedama. [See pocket book no. 10 under date 23.2.1907 (Nozaza's 8 evidence). See also pink notebook 47, p. 17.]²² He took up the stones belonging to Tshaka and threw them into Makedama's imaginary cattle kraal. It was Makedama who put *curds* into Tshaka's hands until they got hot.

Makedama's children were put to death by Tshaka.

The Langa tribe were originally called *abeNguni* and, with the Qwabe people, sprang from the *amaCunu* tribe in the neighbourhood of the Itala mountain and far up the Mhlatuze.²³ Before this we came from below the *Drakensberg (Undi)*, from the *abeSutu*.

Nandi was the daughter of Mbengi by his wife, Mfunda by name (sister of Pakatwayo and daughter of Kondhlo). She had evidently been *asked for* from the Qwabe tribe.

Tshaka was born at *kwaNtoza* (name of a hill), *up the Mhlatuze* on the north or Magwaza side. That is where Mbengi lived.

The Izinyosi regiment was Dingana's but had been *buta'd* by Tshaka and by him called Ingcobinga. Dingana changed the name.

Ngidi says he belonged to Dingana's *Little imKulutshane*.

9 The fight about the 'stones' took place between Tshaka and Makedama, who was Tshaka's cousin (*umzala*), and not with Mgabi. They were *making imaginary kraals with stones*, with cattle kraals of *dry dung, on flat rocks out in the open*.

[Ngidi, alias Magambukazi, my informant, can *recite the praises* of Mbengi and Makedama, especially the latter, but not Mgabi (as he would seem to have died young).]

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File 61, nbk. 38, pp. 9-24.

Also present: Mbovu kaMshumayeli

Tshaka was born at Ngugeni kraal (Mbengi's) at or near the Ntoza hill.

Mbengi's kraals: Engugeni, Emhlanga, Obaneni, kwaNtsholo. The Nguga kraal is the largest and chief of these.

Gendeyana is of the Qwabe tribe, but belonged to the Mambedwini section of that tribe.²⁴

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Bantwana, one of the sons of Mbengi, died recently at the Mdhloti (Mhlali) after becoming a *kolwa*.²⁵

10 Mawa was the daughter of Jama, king of the Zulus.

I knew Bantwana. He was of the Isibubulungu regiment *among the eLangeni*. He was of about the same age as Mgabi.

Bantwana *put on the headring*. He *shaved it off at the Mbilu river* on his becoming a Christian convert.

Mbovu says the Zulus formerly used to go about the country selling *ikatazo* (medicine), and saying to people they met, '*Hofe mkozi!*'²⁶

Abasemangangeni people used to go about selling tobacco, not the Zulus. But the Zulus were pedlars, but not of tobacco but *ikatazo*, which they dug *up-country (enhla)*, where they lived. They were *laughed at* and called *amantungwana*.²⁷

I know nothing of Tshaka going to Macingwana.²⁸

When Makedama returned from the Culu (Xulu), his mother's home, to assume the chieftainship, he is said to have put men to death in a most cruel manner. He
11 killed these *abanumzana* by placing them on their backs and driving (hammering) a *barbed assegai (inhlendhla)* at the base of the stomach, in the stomach, and at the base of the neck. Nxazonke got angry at this, and decided to leave and go to the Mtetwa, which he did, taking Tshaka with him.

Makedama is *praised as 'the horse (injomane) of Mgabi'*.

Still living and would be likely to know: Faku ka Koto ka Msomi ka Mbengi; Sonsukwana ka Mfiti ka Soga ka Mbengi.²⁹

Malazana (daughter of Mbengi) went and *married* Ndabazamanina (brother of Nsungane) *of the Xulu people* (chief: Xabatshe). She afterwards left her husband and went to Ndhlovu ka Kuba (*of the Mpungose people of Gaozi ka Silwane*) and married. Makedama took her away deliberately and married her to the second man.

Sijula (daughter of Mbengi) went and *married* Kawuze *of the Lutuli people*. She was taken away by Makedama and married to Nsungane ka Mandondo *of the Xulu*
12 *people*. Makedama did this simply because he was more powerful than the men named.

Now these two cases, Ngidi says, support the idea that Senzangakona was married (legally) to Nandi, for it was quite consistent with such legal marriage for the woman to be taken away and married off to another, as Nandi to Gendeyana.

[The fighting of *former times (endulo)* - get account of.]³⁰

12.8.1904, evening.

.... <Praises of Dingane and of Shaka, with notes, omitted - eds.>

19 Magolwane - '*umagolw' ezinja*'³¹ - was the great *imbongi* of Zululand, of the

Zulu tribe. He *bonga'd* in Dingana's day, also in Mpande's time. I have often seen him. He was accompanied by Mhayе and Siyingayinga, both *izimbongi*. Mhayе was an *imbongi* in Pakatwayo's time and belonged to the Qwabe tribe. He *bonga'd* Tshaka, Dingana and Mpande, and also Nomo, the brother of Pakatwayo. He was killed in Mpande's time by someone throwing a stone at him during the night, I think
 20 at Nodwengu kraal.³² Mhayе was very short, with little bow legs. Mhayе of the *Mgunyana people* (Qwabe tribe) was a simpleton and jester (clown). He used to call on women, both married and unmarried, to show him their private parts to see which was the largest, etc. The women would undo their dress after going outside, and let him see. When seated with women in a hut he would tell one to go outside and let him look. 'Show me your *ikenke*; let me see' (*ikenke* being the private parts). Then he would chaff them about the size, saying, 'Oh! there's nothing there.' There was no objection to this man entering even the black *isigodhlo* and making these inspections, for it was known he was daft.³³ And yet he had a large kraal of his own. He used to take the *fibres* (*izinsinga*) out of the *forelegs* for the king.³⁴ He <sic>.

Duda was a contemporary of Mhayе. He was an unfortunate, being obliged to go about always on arms and knees. Duda ka Nkwelo was of the *Qwabe tribe* (I think).³⁵

Dingana used to have jokes with these two men. For instance he would propose that Mhayе's cattle should be seized. An *impi* would thereupon be sent to his kraal
 21 and all his cattle taken and brought to the king. He would then come straight to Dingana and say, 'Look here, Dingana, what do you mean by seizing my cattle? What wrong have I done? What do you do this for, boy?' Dingana would reply, 'I do not know anything about this; Ndhlela did it' (referring to the great *induna*).³⁶ Mhayе would then go to the *induna* and storm at him. Ndhlela would say, 'I do not know anything of this; go and ask the king, your child, *Mgidelwana of the girls of the Makoba people*.'³⁷ There would then be general laughter. The king would then direct that the cattle be returned.

Another joke was for the king to say to both Mhayе and Duda that the first who drove a beast indicated should possess it. Off the two would go, race to the beast, and who began to drive it first would be allowed to take it.

I have often seen Mhayе. He was about three feet six inches in height.

My father used to keep some of Dingana's dogs.

One morning very early I went to *herd cattle at the Ntenjane river* at my father's
 22 kraal. I was then 15 or 16 years old. I saw something shuffling (*disturbing the grass*) in the footpath. I also was in the path. There was much, *dew* - before sunrise. I raised my assegai, thinking a buck was approaching me. There was an inclination to throw my assegai at it, but on second thoughts I allowed it to come into the open, whereupon I saw what I took to be a person's head. Duda then called out to me, 'Don't stab me, you who belong to the king, you of the Langa tribe.' He turned out to be on his way to the king's kraal to *konza*. That was the first time I had seen him.

We lived on the Mkukuze river. The Intenjane was on this side, near our place, between us and the Mbongweni kraal.³⁸ This was Mbudhlele's kraal, Mbudhlele being a brother who *followed in age after* Dingana's father Senzangakona.

I can name most of Dingana's kraals. They are as follows:

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- 1 Kangelana - great kraal, at kwaMpehlela where Pakatwayo had *built*.
- 2 Mgungundhlovu - great kraal, the largest. *At Nzungeni, on the White Mfolozi, opposite the Mbelebele, eziNyosini, and Siklebe, between the Mkumbane and the Inzololo.*³⁹
- 23 3 Siklebe - Senzangakona's
- 4 Mbelebele - Senzangakona's and Tshaka's; at Mahlabatini.⁴⁰
- 5 Nobamba - Senzangakona's and Tshaka's; at Mahlabatini.
- 6 Intontela - Tshaka; at Mahlabatini.
- 7 Isipezi - Tshaka
- 8 Mgumanqa - Tshaka; near Eshowe.
- 9 Dhlangezwa - Tshaka, near Eshowe.
- 10 Mbonambi - Tshaka; *built* at Eshowe with the Isipezi; *crossed over*.
- 11 Kwa Fojisa - Tshaka; near Eshowe.
- 12 Mkandhlu - Tshaka
- 13 Ndabenkulu - Tshaka
- 14 Gibabanye - Tshaka; near Bulawayo at first, near the uNgoye; afterwards built south of the Mzimkulu.
- 15 *White Hlomendhlini* - where Sotobe ka Mpangalala ruled.
- 16 *Black Hlomendhlini* = Madumela (*of the youths*).⁴¹
- 17 Bekenya - Tshaka's
- 18 Fasimba - Tshaka's; = Nomagomba, uGobandwane.⁴²
- 19 uPoko - near Eshowe; *of Mabemba - a praise-name*; Tshaka's.
- 20 uPoko - *of Ndungulwana - a praise-name*; Tshaka's.
- 21 iMpangise - Tshaka's; built-on.
- 22 Ntekelo
- 24 23 Umota (uGubetuka) - Tshaka's
- 24 Ntshamate - Tshaka's
- 25 Emgazini - Tshaka's
- 26 Ezinnyosini - Tshaka's
- 27 Odhlambedhlwini - large kraal; Dingana's.
- 28 Mvoko - Dingana's; large kraal; was at Enhlungwana; Mzetepi ka Tonyana, grandmother of Meseni ka Musi, was head of this kraal.⁴³
- 29 EBongweni - Dingana's
- 30 Dukuza - Tshaka
- 31 Tshoyisa - Tshaka
- 32 uHlontane - Tshaka
- 33 Bulawayo (Gibixegu) - Tshaka
- 34 Ozweleni (uZwela) - minor kraal; Tshaka.
- 35 Madadasa - at Mahlabatini; Tshaka.
- 36 Guqu - at Emahlabatini; Tshaka.
- 37 Kwa Nogqogqa - Tshaka's kraal at the Mtetwa; this became the Mkandhlu afterwards; see above.
- 38 uMyehe (eMyeheni) - built in *Zwide's country, at Masipula ka Mamba's, at the Black Mfolozi*; Tshaka's.⁴⁴
- 39 Nomdayana - Tshaka's at Emahlabatini.

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- 40 Ekuwazeni
- 41 Emahlabaneni - Mnkabayi's; Senzangakona's, where *the army is teta'd* to this day; still existing, *up the Black Mfolozi, between the Mfolozi and the Pongolo*.⁴⁵
- 42 iNsimazana (eNsimazaneni) - Dingana's; at Emahlabatini, close to Esiklebeni, at Emtonjaneni.⁴⁶
- 43 oNyange - Tshaka's; at Emahlabatini, near Gociza kraal.
- 44 Gociza - Dingana's; near Mbelebele kraal.⁴⁷
- 45 eNsusane - Dingana's; at Emahlabatini near Mgungundhlovu.
- 46 eKakonina - Dingana's; at Emahlabatini just above Mgungundhlovu.
- 47 Ekuqobekeni - Tshaka's; *at the Mhlatuze near Kwa Kangela, below the Mandawe*.⁴⁸
- 48 Enzondeni - Tshaka's; *at the Mhlatuze near Kwa Kangela, below the Mandawe*.
- 49 ODubeni - Dingana's; near Ntoza hill at the Mhlatuze where Tshaka was born.
- 50 Emlandwaneni - Tshaka's; *below Mbelebeleni*.
- 51 Njanduna - Tshaka's; he got this name from Magaye of the Cele people, being the name of one of his regiments.⁴⁹ Tshaka expressed a wish to have this name and so Magaye's regiment was called uQogi.
- [See preceding page for continuation.]
- 23 52 Emyandhlwini - Tshaka's; built *on top of the Ngome*.⁵⁰
- 53 Ezindeleni - Tshaka's
- 54 Ekuqeketeni - Tshaka's
- 55 OHlongeni - Dingana's; *above Mgungundhlovu*.
- oBede - Tshaka's; did not exist in Dingana's day.⁵¹
- oBanhlaka - Tshaka's; did not exist in Dingana's day.
- kwaTshiyabantu - Tshaka's; did not exist in Dingana's day.
- Nyakamubi - Tshaka's; did not exist in Dingana's day; this was the *umuzi of the princes (abantwana)* just behind Dukuza; he was buried there.
- eTsheni - Langazana's (Tshaka's);⁵² existed in Dingana's day.
- Kwa Kandisa - Tshaka's; at Emahlabatini.
- Ekwegameni - Tshaka's; near Ntonteleni under Mawa ka Jama.⁵³
- Eklobeni - Senzangakona's; was Gqugqu's.⁵⁴

Ngalonkulu - a Boer leader in Dingana's day.⁵⁵

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File 61, nbk. 39, pp. 1-5.

I Ngidi continues:

I lived at four of the king's kraals: a) Mgumanqa; b) Kangela (on being *butwa'd* we were *tela'd* here,⁵⁶ *Mpande being the king*; Monase, Mpande's *nkosikazi*, was our head; Langazana ku Gubetshe *of the emaBeleni people of Ndhlela ka Sompisi*, and

Ngoto ka Mhuyi *of the emaBeleni people*, sister of Mpikase, Dingana's mother - Mpikase ka Gqwatshaza *of the emBeleni* [no doubt = emaBeleni], *of Ndhlela's people*,⁵⁷; c) Mgungundhlovu, but the king directed me almost at once to go to d) Emvokweni.

Kangela was not as large as Mgungundhlovu. The Mvoko kraal was a military one and large. The Mgumanqa kraal was *down on a ridge* on the Mlalazi river near the sea - a large kraal but not as large as the Mvoko.

I met Tununu at Emkukuze where I lived, near Mbombotshana (Etshowe).⁵⁸ I herded cattle with him at Mbombotshane.

We fled with Mpande into Natal when Dingana was defeated by the Boers.⁵⁹ We followed Mpande into Natal. Most if not all those south of the Mhlatuze fled with Mpande. At this time I was about 21 or 22 years old. I was quite a young man.

Tshaka left Zululand for Dukuza after his mother's death, saying, '*It is the place of the impaka.*'⁶⁰ I have heard it alleged that Tshaka himself killed his mother, but there is no evidence on the point. It seems he stealthily entered the hut in which she was seated in the *isigodhlo*. She happened to be nursing a child and was unaware that Tshaka was present. She was trying to keep the child quiet, or playing with it, and as she did so she said these words:

'Nongqaba, mother's Nongqaba!

Your little seeds are spilling over,

Whoever doesn't like them can just cook izinkobe.'⁶¹

Tshaka immediately asked her what she was doing. She at once took the child and placed it to one side, out of sight. She said, '*What did you think I was doing?*' Her son replied, '*I saw you, mother; I heard you there at the doorway. What were you keeping quiet? Show me what you were hiding away and keeping quiet. Where did you get it from?*' His mother then brought out the child and placed it before Tshaka. Then Tshaka asked, '*Mother, where does it come from?*' Nandi answered, '*You ask me where it comes from? Don't you have a penis, then?*' Tshaka then left the hut. It is alleged he himself went for an assegai, returned, and forthwith stabbed his mother to death, after remarking to her that she knew he had disapproved of anything of this kind, i.e. having a child.

[Fynn gives quite a different version which appears more credible.]⁶²

No sooner did Nandi die than Tshaka was overcome by grief and said, '*Alas for my mother, alas for my mother! ('Maye ngo mame, maye ngo mame!')*. *What has killed my mother?*'

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

4 Another name for Nandi was Somqeni, and so Tshaka was called '*the one of Somqeni's place*' (*wa kwa Somqeni*).⁶³

People were forbidden to eat curds everywhere, even in Pondoland; only we eLangeni had milk. Because Tshaka had no mother, so all must stop having milk.

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Ordinary people ate *incumbe porridge*, which is *ground* for children. *The calves were fit to burst*, there was so much milk.

*The country was destroyed; it was destroyed by lack of food.*⁶⁴ These who did not come and mourn were killed, and those who did not weep.

Tshaka seemed to have a defect in his speech; he mouthed his words, maybe due
5 to his having learnt the Mtetwa dialect.

[Dhlungwana is evidently a regular name for Tshaka, for I heard Ngidi use it several times. He does not know the derivation.⁶⁵]

Nobamba (Mbambangwe)⁶⁶

Siklebe

Mbelebele

Ntontela

Amawombe

Isipezi

Mgumanqa

Fasimba

Mbonambi

Dibinhlangu, Gibabanye, Ngqobolondo, Tshoyisa, Fojisa

Dhlangezwa

Bekenya

uPoko

uPoko

Ndabenkulu

uDonqabatwa

Jibingqwanga

Ingcobinga

Mnkangala - put into Bulawayo when that kraal was built.

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Tshaka arrived with the Mkandhlu alias KwaNogqogqa kraal from the Mtetwa - this was the first kraal he established. Kwa Bulawayo followed this. Tshaka had been given this kraal by Dingiswayo. This was the kraal *he disturbed the land (cita'd izwe)* with.

The older kings had very few kraals. Tshaka was the one who created so many - *amakanda* etc.

Dingana followed in age after Sigujana, the son and heir, and so, though of the Iwombe, was a good deal junior to Tshaka.

6 Regiments of Zululand (down to end of Tshaka's reign). [Revised 9.11.1904.]

Nobamba - (Mbambangwe - *praise-name*) was Jama's kraal and regiment.⁶⁷

Siklebe - was also Jama's kraal and regiment. This *went out (puma'd) from Nobamba*.

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Mbelebele - this kraal and regiment was Senzangakona's.

Ntontela - this kraal and regiment was Senzangakona's.

amaWombe - this kraal and regiment was Senzangakona's.

uMnkangala - Tshaka, Mapita.⁶⁸ This kraal and regiment was Senzangakona's.

This may have been *buta'd* by Tshaka but I fancy Senzangakona did so.⁶⁹

Isipezi - this was Tshaka's first regiment.

Mgumanqa

Iziyendane - these came from *up-country* (*enhla*), from Basutos; they had no kraal of their own; they belonged to Bulawayo; they may be an offshoot of the amaNgwane and Kumalo or people, rather north of them.

Fasimba

Mbonambi (Zibolela) - the Mbonambi regiment was killed off by Tshaka for contumacy; it was thereupon called the Zibolela, i.e. what remained of them.

Dhlangezwa

Dibinhlangu Gibabanye Ngqobolondo Tshoyisa Fojisa	}	-	{	Izimpohlo - so called by Dingana when he ' <i>poured</i> ' (<i>tela'd</i>) them together at <i>Emgungundhlovu</i> , the Izimpohlo of the <i>isicamelo</i> . ⁷⁰ Mpande called the Izimpohlo amaGovu. ⁷¹
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Bekanya - *butwa'd* when the Sikunyana fight took place.⁷²

uPoko (*of Mabemba*)

uPoko (*of Ndungulwana*)

uNjanduna

Ndabenkulu

uDonqabatwa or Donqa

uHlontane - may be higher up in the order.⁷³

Jibingqwanga or Ingcobinga - which became Izinyosi under Dingana.

7 Senzangakona's children⁷⁴

x Sigujana

x Tshaka

x Mhlangana

o Dingana

o Mpande

x Nzibe

x Mbudhlele

x Ntikili (girl) - married Mlandela, father of Somkele.⁷⁵

o Magwaza

o Nongqobo } Their mother was Langazana ka Gubetshe, of the Beleni people of Ntuli tribe. Both killed by Boers at eNcome (Blood River) same day. Both belonged to the ZiNyosi regiment.

o Ngqojana

xo Mfihlo

xo Sopana

xo Somajuba

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xo Mdungazwe

x Nozilwana (girl) - Nozilwana's mother was Mnkabi. Nozilwana married to Mkweco ka Nxazonke (of Langeni tribe).

o Gququ - *of the house of Bandile, a girl of the left-hand house (ikohlo), of the people of Sigwebana and of Mudhli.*⁷⁶

o Magwaza - mother Langazana ka Gubetshe.

o Nongqobo - of Ingcobinga regiment.⁷⁷

o Nomkwayimba

xo Nomzinhlanga

I saw all marked 'o', not those thus, 'x'. Those marked, thus, 'xo', slept at or near my father's kraal on their return from the Balule *impi* when I was a boy.⁷⁸ I did not particularly notice them.

Ngoto ka Mhuyi⁷⁹ - was wife of Senzangakona

Bidi (Bibi) ka Nkobe (brother of Sompisi of the Ntuli tribe) - this woman was wife of Senzangakona.

Ngqojana

Mfihlo

Sopane

Ngozwana ka Sitayi, alias Mbopa alias Tubelisa.⁸⁰

When Dingana died Mpande *joined together (hlanganisa 'd)* the Dhlambedhlu, Mkulutshane, Ndabakadengizibona, Izinyosi and Hlaba and called them the Zwangendaba. The Kokoti *remained*.

It was the Imihaye regiment, i.e. the Imkulutshane - taken from Kangel, Mgumanqa, Ntontela, Hlomendhlini and Dhlangezwa, also known as Imvoko, i.e. *the amakanda of Kangel* - which, killed off the white people at Ndondakusuka, the white people from eBodwe [derived from the words Port Natal]. This battle was fought before Mbuyazi's and Cetshwayo's.⁸¹

When Dingana *buta'd* the Imvoko he said *he was making the calf (inkonyana) of Hisa (Hintsas) of the Xosa people.*⁸² His desire was to *buta* a regiment as large as Hisa's Inkonyane regiment. This was a very great regiment.

8 Dingana's regiments

Dhlambedhlu - *'The Imgamule of Nomakwelo, the climber of mountains' - praise-name.*⁸³

Imkulutshane - *incorporated (tela'd)* by Dingana into the Dhlambedhlu, Izinyosi, Mbelebele, Siklebe, Nobamba, Dhlangezwa, Hlomendhlini, Kangel and Mgumanqa.

Ndabakadengizibona, alias Izigulutshane - thrown together, with Hlaba, into Imvoko kraal and called Imvoko.

Ihlaba

uKokoti

iNsewane

NGIDI

[Note. These appear to be all Dingana's regiments, but some careful inquiry is necessary respecting their disposition and aggregation.]

The Ingwegwe was not one of Dingana's regiments.

Inhlahlayasuke⁸⁴

Izingulube

Mesatshwa

Izimpohlo - *at Kangel, at Mpande's place, a xiba of Mpande's*⁸⁵

Imvoko⁸⁶

Imkulutshane

Ndabakadengizibona - my regiment

Ihlaba

Imhay - Kangel; part of the Mkulutshane

When the Boers were defeated at the Pate they left their guns on the battle field.⁸⁷ These were picked up by Dingana's regiments and he thereupon formed a regiment which he called Isitunyisa.⁸⁸ Tununu, Ngidi says, became a member of this.⁸⁹

Dukuza ka Nombalo (*isifeketiso so muzi*) did not exist in Zululand; it was built in Natal for the first time.⁹⁰

- 9 Tshaka built uGibabanye *on the other side of the Mzimkulu, at the ford of Nokovu, at the Nyenyezi*, where Fynn built.⁹¹ Ndabenkulu was built *at the place of Mcasimbana* (a white man) near Bellair.⁹² Dukuza was at Stanger. Kwa Fojisa was built at the Mhlali, *downstream*, where Tununu formerly lived.⁹³ Tshoyisa was built at Kwa Nyatikazi hill *on the other side of the Mvoti*.⁹⁴

Kangel was not built by Tshaka at or near Durban. It was Ngalonkulu (the Boer leader) who built Kangel; he called it after Dingana's Kangel.⁹⁵

I worked for John Dunn's father when J. Dunn was a small boy.⁹⁶ I also worked - a long time - for Singqungu until he went off to Inanda.⁹⁷ I also worked for other white people about Durban.

Tshaka was *stabbed* in the arm at Siklebeni kraal; it was alleged that Sikwayo, a man of the Qwabe tribe, had stabbed him. It was said the assegai was a Qwabe one.⁹⁸

- 10 Nandi fell ill at Bulawayo. Her brother Nxazonke was with her, also Mbikwana.⁹⁹ Kwa Ncatsha *was a section (isigaba) of Bulawayo*.

Nandi asked, '*Why are you taking off your covering, the one of your mother's people?*¹⁰⁰ *Why are you killing them? Where will you run away to? What people will you fly to?*' This question was asked of Tshaka after he had caused the Qwabe people to be put to death because of the assegai being proof that one of them had stabbed him. The Zulu regiments were formed into a *semi-circle (umkumbi)* at Bulawayo (not Siklebe), when the Qwabe people were picked out and all found were forthwith put to death.

- 11 The assegai as a matter of fact was not Sikwayo's or even a Qwabe one, but belonged to the *princes (abantwana)*, Dingana and Mhlangana; they had given it to

NGIDI

Tubelisa, alias Mbopa, who, I fancy, actually tried to stab him.¹⁰¹

The Qwabe people are said to have stabbed one another until only one person remained, and that one was put to death by the surrounding Zulu forces - the only one.

Madhla (alias Mqakama) ka Nombanda ka Mxabu ka Daleni ka Mhlongo was tied to a tree at *Bulawayo* by Tshaka's order. He was <sic> with saying, 'Why should not we Mbonambi regiment who *hlabana* so much (i.e. are so plucky in battle) be given cattle?' (i.e. by Tshaka). After being tied to a tree a fire was made under him and he was burnt alive.

Ndimindwane ka Msomi, who belonged to the Mbonambi regiment, remained after the slaughter of his regiment by Tshaka. T. said, 'Do you want me to kill you?' N. said, 'The king might as well kill me, as all those of my own age have been put to death.' T. said, 'I shall not put you to death until you express the wish definitely that I should do so. Go home for the present.'

The Mbonambi regiment were killed off because it was understood there was grumbling among them as they had not been awarded cattle after heavy fighting.

Madhla alias Mqakama's (ka Nombanda ka Mxabu) cattle were all seized the same day as his death. Madhla was an *isilomo* of the Mbonambi regiment. He belonged to the Langa tribe and was of high rank.

Mbopa had two other names, Tubelisa and Ngozwana, his father being Sitayi. He might have belonged to the Butelezi tribe.¹⁰²

Tshaka was *light-brown* (like a lizard in colour). T. had a prominent and long and rather narrow nose. Senzangakona's children usually had prominent noses, whilst his girls had very small *breasts* and were very tall.

T. once met a woman at the Mbozamo when living at Dukuza (*of Nombalo - a praise-name*), and asked her for a drink of water.¹⁰³ She was a wife of Mdungu ka Sobongela's following - husband unknown. She, not knowing T., refused him a drink, saying, 'Why don't you go and lap up water in the stream?' He later on saw this woman, and directed men to seize her and cut her open to see what sort of a position the child (foetus) took up in the womb.

On another occasion, the day being a hot one, he asked another woman, the wife of Mtshitshizelwa, for a drink of water. She refused. A sister of Nandi's had married into this kraal (T.'s aunt). Later on T. sent men to go kill the women on the ground that they had once refused to give him a drink. Mtshitshizelwa belonged to the Zungu tribe but afterwards fled and *konza'd* Mbengi in the Langeni tribe. Two women were killed on this occasion.

T. *made ububende* and *sprinkled on the doors in the isigodlo at Bulawayo* because he had had enough of people being killed because they were alleged to be *takataing*.¹⁰⁴ He *summoned* doctors to *smell out who had done* this. At the same time a *wild cat (impaka)* which had *given birth at Maqwakazi* hill made its way into Bulawayo kraal in search of mice (*izimpuku*).¹⁰⁵ T. thereupon summoned doctors far and wide to see how it was that there was blood about the doors of the *isigodhlo*, and

what the meaning could be for so uncanny an animal visiting his kraal. Doctors came and *smelt out* Dingana, also Mhlangana, and Dingumtoli ka Mqubata; they *smelt out* also Ngqojana, also Mfihlo, also Sopana.¹⁰⁶ Upon this Tshaka *dismissed* them and said they were to go away to sleep (bed). Other doctors were called up: Ntando ka Mbaba of the Dube people, who said, 'It was done by the heavens above,' and Nyanda ka Mazenyane of the Cele people, who said, 'It was done by the heavens above.' Mutsha of our Langeni people was next called, who said, 'It was done by the heavens above.' Then Ndhlovudawana of the Gcwensa people, of the Mtetwa people, was called, who replied like the three others just mentioned.

T. then referred to the *impaka* incident. These doctors then said it had *given birth* at Maqwakazi and had two young. They said it had not been *driven* by any person (i.e. bewitched etc. into coming) but had come merely in search of rats. It was *takataing* no one. T. said to the Fojisa regiment that it was to go and see where the *impaka* came from in order to find out if the doctors were wrong. The Fojisa, true enough, found the wild cat, and about sunset returned with it and its young. The *impaka* was *caught* and killed. The former doctors who had *smelt out* Dingana, Mhlangana etc. were then called back. Whereupon Tshaka instantly put to death every one of the doctors who had erred, and only those who had accused him as being the cause escaped with their lives.

I heard this from Dangazele, the great *induna* of ekuQobekeni, Tshaka's kraal (of the Langa tribe), from Bantwana, Tshangana, Gaxa, and Mseleli ka Ndina ka Mbengi (at whose kraal I grew up - at the eMazule stream, which, enters the Mhlatuze near where H. Osborn lives).

Dangazele ka Qayiyana (Qayiyana's, brother was Nombanda) ka Mxabu ka Daleni.¹⁰⁷

Tshaka had wives at Dingiswayo's; one of these had a son, Zibizendhlela, who, when T. *broke up* (*cita'd*) his kraal, fled to Faku in Pondoland.¹⁰⁸ Zibizendhlela *konza'd* there and refused to return at a subsequent period. Monase, the mother of Mbuyazi, was Tshaka's wife. Songiya was Mpande's mother. Monase, when given by Tshaka to Mpande, was said to be pregnant by Tshaka, only her state was not showing. Mbuyazi is believed to be really Tshaka's son. I do not know Monase's father.

Mzinhlanga is not Tshaka's own sister by Nandi.¹⁰⁹ Nomcoba is Tshaka's own sister by Senzangakona - not by, Gendeyana. It was after Nomcoba's birth that Nandi left Senzangakona to go to Gendeyana.

Tshaka used to go out to war with the *amamosikazi* as well as girls. Girls, were, like men, collected into regiments. They *cut shields* (*izihlangu*) and carried assegais, and had to fight when required to do so. Girls were sometimes to be seen wearing *iziqu*, showing they had killed people.¹¹⁰ For instance Tshaka himself went with his *impi* to Pondoland on what is known as the '*ihlambo of Nandi' impi*,¹¹¹ and took Mnkabi, one of Senzangakona's greater *amamosikazi*, mother of Nozilwane. This woman was taken ill at the Mtamvuna, across the Mzimkulu, and died there. Her corpse was carried back to Zululand and buried either at Siklebeni or Dukuza.¹¹²

*Mawa: 'whose neck is made of brass' - her praise-name.*¹¹³

18 It was never said in Zululand when the king was dead that he was dead but merely 'the king is ill' (*inkos' ibuhlungu*). No one would be allowed to enter the hut where he was lying for some days, or even until long after the flesh had decomposed and wasted away. The bones in the latter case would thereupon be gathered together, tied up in a cow or ox hide, and then a mat of sticks joined together would be bound round. The remains would then be ready for removal. This took place in respect to Mnkabi - above mentioned. Senzangakona died on the way back home from Dingiswayo's, but it is probable he was carried home at once and buried in a few days.

When Senzangakona was invited by Dingiswayo to attend a large dance, he was joined at Dingiswayo's by Zwide ka Langa who had also been invited. Whilst at the dance, sitting with Zwide looking on, D. brought T. forth and asked S. if he knew
19 who he was. S. said he looked as if he was like himself. D. asked, 'What is his name?' S. replied, 'Mandhlesilo.' D. replied that it was Tshaka, *usiTshaka ka Sitshayeki, uNodum'ehlezi* etc. After this introduction S. was seized by great dread. He went to sleep at the Esifazaneni kraal of D. near the Yengo kraal.¹¹⁴ Tiyetiye, who followed immediately after Ndwetshe in age, was *induna* here. He, S., then left, also Zwide - separated. D. attacked Zwide almost at once. S. died on the way home and had to be carried there a corpse.

The great thing *discussed in the Zulu country* was war. A man never or rarely lived till my age.

Izindhlabu, imbumba, inhlese - this would be the food for *amabuto*.¹¹⁵ We knew nothing of *utshwala beer*. We were *deprived of meat and curds*.

18 Ndwetshe ka Magoqoda *of the Tembu people*, Mkono (father of Bikwayo) *of the Tembu people*, Lupuzi *of the Tembu people*, Makula ka Vavane *of the Qwabe people*, Mbikwana, Nxazonke, Mfundeko ka Mgabi - these all *went up-country* with Tshaka from Dingiswayo to the Zulu tribe.¹¹⁶

19 Tshaka *went up-country* with the men above specified. Tshaka was called by Menziwa ka Coko (*Xoko*) *of the Biyela people in the Zulu country*, Mnkabayi, Mawa, and Mmama.¹¹⁷ They objected to Sigujana being king on the ground that his mother Mpikase was not a woman of rank, and that Nandi, the daughter of Mbengi, was. Hence Tshaka's selection.

20 Tshaka came up on being called and at once put Sigujana to death. Senzangakona really foreshadowed T.'s subsequent rank by calling him Mandhlesilo.¹¹⁸ There was a man Mandhlesilo (*among the eLangeni*) ka Ncumela, chief of the Langa tribe. S. selected this name for Tshaka.

Tshaka went to the Zulus with Tembu people and Langeni people who were with Dingiswayo. Ngomane ka Mqombolo [ka Mzisi - per Matshwili¹¹⁹] *of the Caya people* also *went up* with Tshaka. Nxazonke went too; this man and Ngomane, who was of high standing, would each have had a large following, so there was a large escort which accompanied T.

NGIDI

When D. died, Tshaka *held an umjadu dancing competition*, and invited Mondisa to do the same.¹²⁰ Mondisa came up to the Zulus with his party. Tshaka *danced first*; 21 Mondisa and his party followed. T. had however hidden his *impi* in the bushes. It suddenly rushed on Mondisa and his dancers and killed M. and others, this, as T. said, being punishment for their having deserted their king Dingiswayo when fighting with Zwide, and allowing him to be captured by Zwide. After this, T. became king over the Mtetwa people. His plan was to kill the king of a tribe and then take his people and make them *konza* him. He did the same afterwards in regard to Zwide.

T. said when being stabbed. *'The land will be overrun by the swallows, the white people; you kill me but the land will be destroyed; the sky will be white with stars.'*¹²¹ Ngunuza ka Nsiyana *of our place in the eLangeni country* helped to bury Tshaka. Others who did so were killed, the reason being that they had buried the king; they 22 were the *king's umgando*.¹²² Ngunuza, seeing they wanted to kill him, rushed on top of T.'s hut and there started *bongaing* him. All of a sudden he rushed down, stabbed several and, slipping through them, escaped and made his way to Pondoland, where he *konza'd* Faku. He died at the Mtentu river in Pondoland several years ago.

Sinklili, father of Dubuyana - Nyuswa tribe.¹²³

My opinion is that Nandi was *lotsholwa'd* by Senzangakona on the ground that she was an independent chief's daughter. She was legally married to S. Later on, after bearing Tshaka and Nomcoba, she for some reason left S. It is possible that Makedama took her away by force as he had done in respect to other women married elsewhere [mentioned some pages back - see other book under date 12.8.1904].¹²⁴ This taking back appears to have been common among the Langeni tribe. Makedama was probably stronger than the Zulu tribe then. Then again, in those early days the fighting between tribes did not resemble what took place under Tshaka. A quarrel might arise as to the ownership of some *unused piece of agricultural land (ifusi)* or 23 another. One side would call together their party, and the other would do the same. Next day they would meet in the open, throw assegais at one another at a distance and, should an assegai strike the shield of one of the fighters, the fighting would leave off, and if anyone got hurt (killed) the opposite side would come in *udwendwe* formation to come and mourn.¹²⁵

The Langa tribe was on good terms with the Qwabe under Pakatwayo, the Zulu under Senzangakona, and Sinklili (I think the name is), father of Dubuyana - Nyuswa tribe.

[Still the story of Tshaka being hidden from Senzangakona is very strong and fits in with the story of not being circumcised. The question is: can the hiding of Tshaka be reconciled with Nandi's remaining with Senzangakona till after Nomcoba's birth? And why did she have to leave Senzangakona? If Makedama took her, why did he do so?]

NGIDI

[Mbengi and Makedama's *praises* wanted of Ngidi.]¹²⁶

3.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 51, pp. 11-14.

- 11 Ngidi alias Magambukazi arrives 3.11.1904 (evening).

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

- 12 Malandela is, I fancy, a son of Nozidiya.¹²⁷

Jama ka Qengwa?¹²⁸

The amaXoza are abeNguni, as also the Qwabe tribe.

Dingiswayo was only a little older than Tshaka. Senzangakona was the same age as Jobe, Jobe ka Balisa (this may be another name for Kayi).¹²⁹

The Zulus carried about *ikatazo*, *indungulo*, and *imfingo* (medicines).¹³⁰

Senzangakona chased away Tshaka, Dingana, Sopane, and Mfihlo for *hlobongaing* with girls. All latter (except Tshaka) went to the Qwabe tribe.

Dance in the land (sina pakati kwezwe) with horse, saying:
'Ngqwaba ngqwaba, go away, ngqwaba,' etc.¹³¹

Mvunyelwa ka Mandiza ka Kabazele ka Mavovo *of the Embo people ran away after disputing* with Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe ka Kabazele ka Mavovo, his brother.¹³²

Zihlandhlo remained on his lands high up the Tugela on the Mfongosi hill.¹³³

Makedama *attacked* Mvunyelwa, who had taken refuge with the Langa tribe.

Zihlandhlo and Makedama were in league, and so Mvunyelwa was killed by

Makedama. On this occasion Makedama used only one assegai. 'People are not

- 13 bucks,' he said, 'to be *hurled* at. The troops must meet with their chests (*izifuba*).'

Makedama's regiment was the isiBubulungu (uNobu being the name of a section of it or a *praise-name* of it). This regiment is one which Tshaka himself belonged to, and was of the same age as Senzangakona's amaWombe. This name isiBubulungu may be derived from the Bluff, for that was a well-known hill even in those days.¹³⁴

Mzilikazi's kraals were called eNkungwini and eMhlahlandhlela.¹³⁵

Makedama is a little younger than Tshaka. Makedama ka Mgabi ka Mbengi ka Mhlongo ka Ncumela ka Mavundhla ka Nqetshe ka Lugoloza ka Sibiya ka Mzimaseli ka Langa.

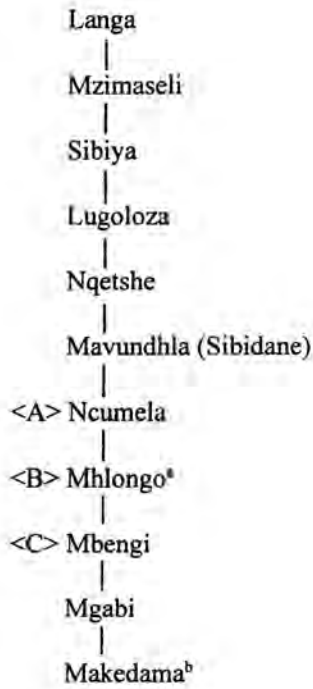
Mgabi is about Senzangakona's age.

- 14 Heads of Langa tribe

<In the originals of the genealogies which follow, the relationships between individuals were frequently indicated by Stuart by means of arrowed insertions and interlinear notes. For typographical reasons we have set out the genealogies in a

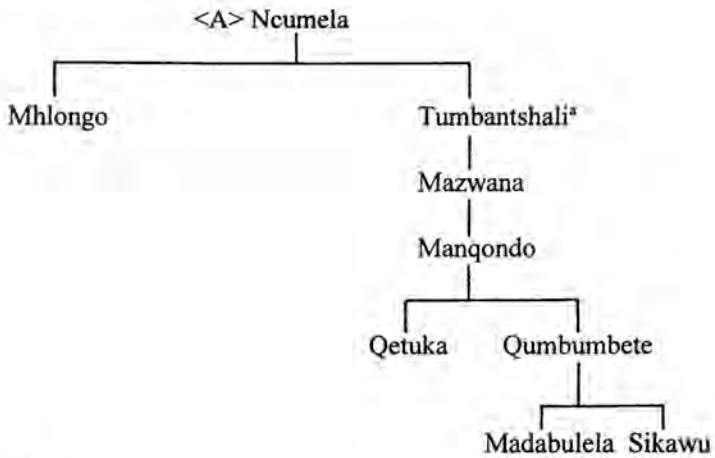
NGIDI

different style - eds.>

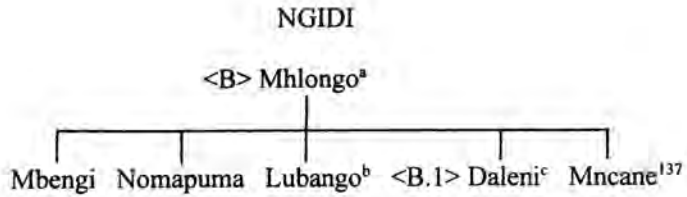


*Mhlongo married Mfunda, daughter of Kondhlo and so sister of Pakatwayo.

^bNo issue. What issue he had, Tshaka *threw into a deep pool*.



^aMagwaza chief.¹³⁶



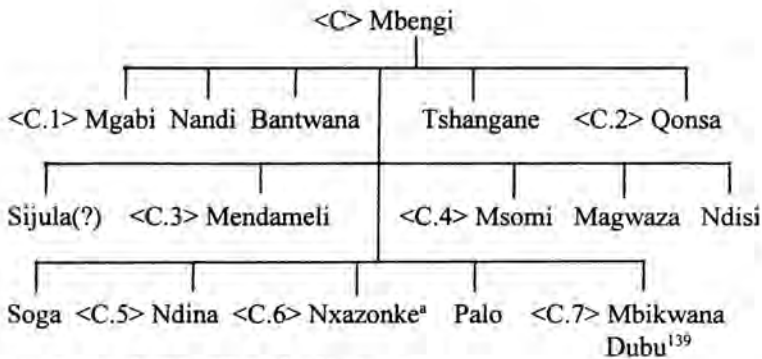
^aMhlongo married Mfunda, daughter of Kondhlo and so sister of Pakatwayo.

^bMhlongo's eldest son. Of Mpondonde, *an ikanda of Mhlongo*.

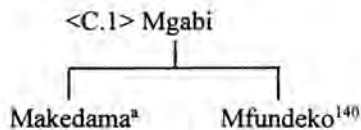
^cOf uBane, *an ikanda of Mhlongo*.



^aOf uBane, *an ikanda of Mhlongo*.



^a Follows immediately after Mgabi in age.



^aNo issue. What issue he had, Tshaka *threw into a deep pool*.

NGIDI

<C.2> Qonsa
|
Mbombosi

<C.3> Mendameli
|
Gaqa

<C.4> Msorni
|
Sizi
Koto
Momololo^a

^aLives at eNsikeni hill, near the Mzimkulu; of iHlaba or Kokoti regiment.

<C.5> Ndina
|
Mseleni
Mfokazana^a

^aAlias Haha. Living *at the place of Nomsimekwana's people*.¹⁴¹

<C.6> Nxazonke^a
|
Mkweco^b
Zikungweni^c
Tubukana^d
Nkayitshana^e
Matshana^f

^a*Follows immediately after Mgabi in age.*

^bFasimba regiment.

^cNdabenkulu regiment.

^dDhlambedhlu.

^eDhlambedhlu.

^fLiving near the Mhlatuze, Zululand *at Emazule, at the place of the people of Siteku*,¹⁴² *at the place of Mgabi*, i.e. where Mgabi was buried.

NGIDI

<C.7> Mbikwana

Zidunge^a

Voboza

Kokoba

Mangeni

^aChief son; died at oBalule; killed by Besutu (Mjantshi's); *induna* of Bekenya regiment.¹⁴³

<In the margin of p. 14 of the original, Stuart at later dates recorded descent lines, respectively of Thumbantshali and Lugoloza, given by two other informants. We reproduce these in Appendix 1 to this volume - eds.>

'*We are the Usutu*' (Cetshwayo said this) '*of the long horn (lu mpondonde)*' - so say Zulus when stabbing. This refers to Lubango.¹⁴⁴

Sub-tribes of the Langa tribe: Magwaza, Imbuyeni, abakwaNgagwana, uDelwa, abakwaNcengo, abakwaNjakasi, abakwaNtshwankeni, ukuNene.

4.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 51, pp. 15-17.

- 15 Boundaries. Our boundary went to iWewe hill *above the Mhlatuze* where Nhlaka ka Dikane afterwards lived, and Manyosi ka Dhlekezele.¹⁴⁵ *We bordered on the amaNgadi* people (Qwabe); our boundary extended back to Mtonjaneni where we came on to the Zulu boundaries; on the north-west *we shared a boundary* with the Abambo, also the amaNyuswa;¹⁴⁶ our boundary then went to the Ngoqongo hill - opposite Bulawayo kraal and close to his ekuQobekeni kraal.¹⁴⁷

The Qwabes *extended to* Entumeni. We built at the Empapala, extending back to the abasemaCubeni people.¹⁴⁸

Mhlanga, uBane, Inguga, Isiwa, Isisila, Iboza (*at the place of Mbikwana's people*), Ntsholo (*at the place of Nxazonke's people*), Isimahla.¹⁴⁹

The Ntsholo *went out (puma'd)* from the Mhlanga (Mhlongo's great kraal); it left with Nxazonke.

Mhlongo's kraal - Inguga, Mhlanga, uBane, Mpondonde, oTulini (Mncane ka Sodidi ka Mhlongo was chief of this; it was built *up the Mhlatuze* beyond Nkandhla).

- 16 Mhlanga is the oldest kraal I know of. It was possibly put up by Nqetshe or Ncumela, but afterwards came to be known as Mhlongo's though he did not build it. It is common for a Zulu kraal to be spoken of as a son's, whereas the father or grandfather erected it.

The Nguga, Lubane (all from Mhlanga), Ntsholo, Mpondonde, Isiwa (came from Nguga), Isisila, Iboza, Isimahla (came from Ntsholo), uTuli (came from oBaneni).

I do not know about the Magwaza kraals. The Magwaza people are also known as

amaNcumela or amaTumbantshali after their ancestors of those names.

I think the name Magwaza must have come from the name of a kraal. They also use the term Mavundhla, as when *hushing (tulisaing)* a child: 'Tula Mavundhla, tula Tumbantshali, tula Ncumela,' i.e. a baby still sucking.

Our women say to their babies, 'Tula Mavundhla, tula Sibiya, tula Mzimaseli, tula Lugoloza.'

The women of the Zulu, Qwabe and Cunu tribes treat their children thus. The Qwabe say, 'Tula Mnguni.'

We Langa went out from the original people (*puma'd ohlangeni*), and were followed by the Cunu and the Ngwane, but the Qwabe went out before us, also the Dube, the Mtetwa, and the Sokulu (Nqoboka).¹⁵⁰ The Nyuswa came before us too.

The Abambo and Nyuswas were spoken of by us as amaLala.

The *uhlanga (ohlangeni)* is, I believe, the spot, wherever that may be, where we coloured people, as well as the white people, originated from (*dabuka'd*). This may have reference to where the sky meets or *hlangana's* with the earth, wherever that may be, for no one knows. As we do not know where we came from, and as no one knows where sky and earth meet, so we speak of all things as originating *ohlangeni*, implying by that, perhaps, where sky and earth meet.

5.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 51, pp. 18-24.

- 18 Nandi became a wife (*umakoti*) at the place of Mnkabi, the mother of Nozilwana Mnkabi was Senzangakona's great wife; she was married (*zeka'd*) first. (She was a girl of the emaBeleni people, from the place of the people of Ndhlela kaSompisi, so I fancy. I do not know her father.)¹⁵¹ The girl of our tribe, i.e. Nandi, was married (*zekwa'd*) and placed (*ngenisa'd*) there, i.e. in Mnkabi's house. (It must be remembered that Mnkabi is a different woman from Mnkabayi - a sister of Senzangakona.) Mpikase was the mother of Sigujana, following with Dingana. I do not know who Mhlangana's mother was. Mnkabi, I believe, had no male issue. Nandi was placed (*ngenisa'd*) into Mnkabi's house. Ndikindi [Ndikidi - J.S., 19.7.1929] was Mpande's younger sister; her mother was Songiya, i.e. Mpande's mother. Ndikindi was first married to Voboza ka Mbikwana ka Mbengi. Nozilwana married Mkwexo [Mkweco?] ka Nxazonke ka Mbengi. Voboza, Mkwexo [Mkweco] and my father Mcikaziswa were all killed - same day. Voboza was killed for *mitisaing (hlobongaing with) an inkosana of Siklebeni, an umlamu of Senzangakona (his isiklebe)*.¹⁵²

Ndikindi, Nomcoba, Nozilwana.¹⁵³

- 19 'How do the children come to get out, seeing huts are set up to guard and prevent their coming out of the *isigodhlo*?' This was said by the *izikulu* when accused by Dingana of having had sexual intercourse with *isigodhlo* girls. Many of the *izikulu* were killed in consequence, and the above remark was made by others, thereby

implying that Dingana himself was the cause of his sister Nozilwana becoming pregnant. This girl Nozilwana was married off to Mkwexo [Mkweco] - [see above], and when she got to him and had *gone through the marriage ceremony (gcagca'd)*, it was found she was ill, i.e. pregnant. The rumour then got about that as the *izikulu*, on account of the excessive precautions taken by Dingana, could not have caused her to become pregnant, therefore Dingana himself must have caused her to be so, even though she were his half-sister. A song was founded on this rumour in the Langa tribe, beginning, '*It is in the hole*' ('*Is' emgodini*'), i.e. the *ingangakazana* (animal).¹⁵⁴ On hearing of this song, which was sung at an *isaqu* (*umjadu* - hunt dance),
 20 Dingana, took it to refer to him, and sent a party to kill off those implicated. On the same occasion Voboza was killed too, for the reason above given, also my father. Mangeni (younger brother of Voboza) ka Mbikwana was killed for protesting against Voboza's death. Gaqa ka Mendameli ka Mbengi, Sikawu ka Qumbumbete, and Nobanda ka Dubu ka Mbengi were also killed on the same occasion. My father was killed because he was supposed to be privy to the whole affair as, of course, he would have been present at the marriages. The king wanted to know why this song, which was an insult to him, should have been composed and sung on the marriage of these girls, as was the case. The song, besides referring to the *ingangakazana*, also referred to *twapa-ing*, by which was understood an extortionate demand of cattle by the king for his sister,¹⁵⁵ and the king also wanted to know what such statement had to do with the *ingangakazana in the hole*.

Now it had previously happened that Dingana wanted to marry his sisters off to
 21 *izikulu* in the Mtetwa, Tembu, Qwabe, Ndwandwe and other tribes. This was put to the girls, among them Nomcoba, Nozilwana and Ndikindi. These all protested and said they did not want to marry anyone except men of the Langa tribe. D. threatened to put them to death. They said he could do so if he liked, as they would rather marry the Langa men than men they did not care for. Hence, as Dingana afterwards consented to their marrying, and as the insolent song was composed, he came to the conclusion that the reason why these girls were so fond of the Langa people was because some of these must have *made their way into the isigodhlo*. Among those killed for *going into the isigodhlo* were Voboza, Gaqa, Nobanda and Sikawu. One who *escaped* was Ruzula ka - <sic>; he was not killed because, being ugly, Ndhlela (*induna*) thought he was a most unlikely man to have *gone in*.¹⁵⁶ Ndikindi, on Voboza's death, was taken by Dingana and married to Mayanda, becoming Somkele's mother.¹⁵⁷

22 Nozilwana may have married again in Mpande's reign.

Nozilwana had a very high *lobola* paid for her by Mkwexo, the same as regards Ndikindi. Mayanda also *lobola'd* Ndikindi, although Voboza had already paid a very large number in accordance with custom.

Amagibela - girls taken from men put to death (*isizi*).¹⁵⁸

A branch of the *umpafa* (*umlahlankosi*) tree was cut by Ndhlela, Sipingo ka Renqwa, Dambuzza ka Sobadhli, Ngungwini ka Menziwa ka Cogo and other emissaries.¹⁵⁹ They were told to go and *take the ancestral spirit (itongo) of Jama and of Cogo back to the place of their people in the Zulu country*.¹⁶⁰ They took the

branch, went out with it, and dragged it there to the home at Kwa Nobamba. They went out with it from our place at Kwa Ntsholo, at Mkweco's. They threw it away at their place. Dingana was annoyed because he had been 'smelt out' by Mkweco.

There must be plenty of *umpafa* in Durban; it is used to vomit (*palaza*) with. It is a shrub or tree with reddish thorns. Goats are very fond of it. The emissaries dragged
 23 this branch along with them. They also brought four oxen to offer praises with to the chief's daughter (*inkosazana*), Nozilwana. I was a young man at this time, just before being *buta'd*, i.e. having reached the age of puberty.

I did not see the branch drawn. I was at Emgumanqeni at the time, bringing the king's calves to their mothers at milking time. I heard all about the foregoing incident.

The *ikakakaka* bush is also used, like the *umpafa*, for the purpose of taking a spirit home.¹⁶¹

When my daughter who has married someone or others, relations of mine, are living at a distance fall ill in a mysterious way, recourse is had to *izinyanga* where divining (*bulaing*) is done.¹⁶² They may say, 'The person in question is being affected by a spirit (*itongo*, *idhlozi*) of your place. Go and take it away.' It is under those
 24 circumstances therefore that I would cut down a substantial branch of *umpafa* or *ikakakaka* and drag it. I would strike the hut, saying, 'Why do you do this? We are insulted by those of our house (*abasemzini*). Go; leave. Look. Why do you not use care? *Nkulunkulu* has appointed you to be in the underworld;¹⁶³ you are responsible for the births of people; guard this person.' The beating is done with this bush, which need not be large. It is dragged to the kraal and, as one gets near, it is lifted and carried, to be used as stated. The hut is beaten all round and then at the door. One then goes off with it, dragging it away in the direction of home, near where it is thrown away, but is only dragged until the edge of the invalid's kraal is reached, when it is lifted and carried.

I would, in calling on our *amadhlozi*, mention my father Mcikaziswa's, also Nombanda's, Daleni's, Mhlongo's and others, invoking their assistance. The branch is looked at as the instrument by which the invocation is done. It is regarded in the sense of an *induku* and is the mouth (*umlomo*).¹⁶⁴ All natives know this custom; it is common both in Natal and in Zululand.

It was God who caused us to originate from the uhlanga. We did not know of Sunday.¹⁶⁵

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File 61, nbk. 47, pp. 1-12.

1 Ngidi continues.

The branch of *umpafa* etc. referred to is not dragged as one goes towards the kraal where the invalid is. It is carried there. One beats about all round the hut in which the sick person is lying, using such expressions as those quoted, finally ending off at the doorway, where the ground is beaten, and the branch is then instantly dragged off in

the direction of the kraal, which the person, so doing comes from. He drags the branch only until he leaves the immediate precincts of the kraal, when he lifts and carries it for a distance, ultimately throwing it away near his home. The object of all this is to drive away the *amadhlozi* said to be injuring the sick person and causing her sickness. The idea is in some way similar to a person who has fainted, when he or she revives after water is thrown over them. A person who has fainted is not approached through the *amadhlozi*; he is simply poured over with water. The similarity comes in
 2 this way. When water is thrown over a person who has fainted it is that he may recover and get up, and so when a person is ill and the branch is used it is in order that he may recover and get well.

Amadhlozi are known by marks, particularly by marks said to resemble wounds, on the person who is said to be that *idhlozi*. The wound marks are known as *izizobe*. This is simply a means of identifying *dhlozis*, knowing what particular person they represent.

The person ill who is visited may be of either sex but must be a relation, especially the smaller branches of the family.

Only one branch is used.

In the case, say, of a chief like Makedama falling ill at his own kraal, home, i.e. *kubo*, no branch would be used, but oxen would be killed and *addressing the spirits (tetaing)* would take place. But if the chief falls ill at a minor kraal his uncles will go
 3 with a branch and *remove the idhlozi* in the usual way and take it back to the main kraal.

A man is buried at his principal kraal, not at the one he happens to die at. If for instance I die, I will be carried from the kraal I am now living in to the Mlazi kraal.

In the case of a chief the bush is dragged as before stated, and then carried to the main kraal. It is thrown away just before getting to the main kraal.

When the chief dies he is buried, and then *fenced round* with *umlahlankosi* (i.e. *umpafa*) in such a way that no *umtakati* will come and take away part of the soil in order to kill others with it. This closing in is also undertaken in the case of commoners. Commoners are *fenced round with umlahlankosi*, also *euphorbia (isipapa)* with long white thorns.

The *umpafa* tree is not used as firewood by some, as this is the wood used for chiefs' burial, but others again use it.

4 The term *Nkulunkulu* is known in Zululand, and all things were looked on as having been created by him.

*Zulu ka Nogandaya ka Nkonjane, together with Nongalaza ka Nondela, was of the Qwabe.*¹⁶⁶

Dingana's death. I was in Natal when Dingana died.¹⁶⁷ I crossed over with Mpande.¹⁶⁸ We had left Dingana *on the Ngome, up the Vuna at the place of Mangxanga (induna of Nobamba).*¹⁶⁹

Swazis are said to have killed him *in the Nyawo country.*¹⁷⁰ They stabbed him with an assegai after *surrounding, early in the morning, the place where he had put*

up. When the king was stabbed, he said, 'Fellow (*mfokazana*), are you stabbing me with an assegai?'¹⁷¹ The other man present said, 'Why do you stab the king? Will you stab a king, then?' The king was thereupon left alone. The Nyawo people now armed and chased off the Swazis. D. remained till the *amabuto* returned from Mayanda's (Somkele) where all the things had been carried.¹⁷² The king lived all this time. The troops gathered; he looked at them, when he directed them all to *disperse* and go to bed. The next morning the *izikulu* informed the people when they reassembled that the king had *dabuka 'd* and died.¹⁷³ They attributed the death to humiliation and remorse at having to wander about the hills, and being stabbed by *common people* (*abafokazana*). They then *buried* him, and the *Zulu people* (*uZulu*) all *dispersed* and *went back* to Mpande.¹⁷⁴

I never heard that the king was given the wrong medicine (poison). Koto ka Msomi ka Mbengi was present when Dingana was *buried*. His son, now in Natal, Faku, is alive. [See Mbovu's remarks about a month ago.]¹⁷⁵

I knew Langazana.¹⁷⁶ She died in Mpande's reign. She was short, stout. She was hospitable, gave much food. *She was lightish* (*mpofukazi*) in colour. Her father was Gubetshe of the amaBeleni section of the Ntuli tribe.

It is said that Tshaka used to catch girls (whilst he was still living with Ngomane¹⁷⁷), girls belonging to commoners, and have intercourse with them. When he met a girl in the path he would *catch* her and *make her pregnant*.

Mpanza, Butelezi, Mambata, amaPisi, Mtimkulu - near Ntabankulu between both Mfolozis.¹⁷⁸

When Senzangakona came with Zwide on Dingiswayo's invitation to the last-named, he was given the *ikanda* esiFazaneni to sleep at. Tshaka found out he was here, and went and got on top of the hut his father was in, and washed there. When D. wanted to *hold a dance* (*ketela*) for Senzangakona and Zwide he called them up. I do not know the kraal at which Zwide slept. The festivities lasted two days. Zwide was *danced for* on the first day, and S. on the second day. On the second day the troops *danced* etc., etc. Tshaka was kept back. Towards the end D. let him go, *declaiming his praises*. He *giya 'd* in all directions. D. asked S. if he knew who that was. Senzangakona said, 'Yes, he seems to me to look like my son Mandhlesilo' - that being the name S. knew Tshaka by.

7 Senzangakona *drove away* all his children for *hlobongaing* with girls *before they had been given permission by their fathers to marry*. Some of his sons were killed. It was, I think, on that occasion that Tshaka left. He ran back to the *Langeni country*, whilst Dingana, Mhlangana, Ngqojana, Sopana, Mfihlo, Mbudhlele, Somajuba and Mdungazwe all ran off to the Qwabe (Pakatwayo).

Senzangakona died of fear. He died on the way, viz. among the abakwaMakoba people (chief: Joko), and was then carried home to be buried. I believe he was dead before he reached home, and was dead when carried.

Nombona (Zwide's great *induna*) and Ntombaze opposed the killing of Dingiswayo,¹⁷⁹ but Zwide insisted on it and did so, cutting off his head.

It was the Langa people Tshaka first attacked, i.e of the <sic>¹⁸⁰,

The Mbelebele *was built* by Tshaka, *burnt* by Pakatwayo, rebuilt, again ordered to be burnt, done, re-erected.

Sigewu ka Jobe.¹⁸¹

Sinqila ka Mapoloba ka Mbele ka Magula of the Nyuswa tribe.¹⁸²

Malazana, Sijula - Mbengi's daughters, sisters of Nandi.

- 8 Ehlungwini - (hill) opposite Mapumulo in Zululand, where Makedama died and where his grave is.¹⁸³

Kwa Mtanutengayo where Pakatwayo sat - near his ekuDabukeni kraal.

Pakatwayo *went into a grove of isundu palms* - surrounded and found him sitting *hunched up, alone* - taken out - *struck* him and *jumped over* him, over and over; carried him and taken him ekuDabukeni - a *semi-circle was formed*.

Tshaka went and slept Emtandeni.¹⁸⁴

Somqonjwana ka Kawuza ka Bekanyawo of the *Qwabe* people.

'*Amalulwane*', i.e. Qwabes - said by Tshaka.¹⁸⁵

Ekuwazeni - one of Tshaka's kraals.

The Umota - all sick persons - was formed into a regiment by Tshaka near where the Sipezi regiment lived. They had an *ikanda* of their own.

The *eyobutshinga impi* fetched Matiwana ka Masumpa.¹⁸⁶ It was not *caused to offer praises to the spirits (tetwa'd)* by Tshaka. Mdhlaka ka Ncidi was *induna* of the *impi*. Maqoboza ka Mbekelo of the *Nzuzu* people and Madabulela ka Qumbumbete died with this *impi*; they were killed by the amaNgwane. Maqoboza was *induna* of

- 9 *Kwa Dhlangezwa*.¹⁸⁷ Madabulela was *induna* of the *uBekanya* regiment. The regiments Ndabenkulu, Bekanya and Dhlangezwa simply decided to go after Matiwane without orders from Tshaka, without being *teta'd*. They formed themselves into a raiding or marauding party.

Voboza had his eyes taken out of his head by Dingana because he was accused of *lying with isigodhlo girls*. After his eyes were taken out he was allowed to go. [This is the same man referred to some pages back as being killed.]

[Note: the next two or three pages are not strictly accurate. The whole story has been gone into more fully in the book following this - 7.11.1904.¹⁸⁸]

The first tribes attacked by Tshaka were those living between the White and Black Umfolozi in the neighbourhood of Ntabankulu,¹⁸⁹ viz. the Mpanza, Butelezi, Mambata, amaPisi, Mtimkulu and possibly others. The greater tribes, the amaNgwane, Kumalo and amaCunu, were not at first disturbed. The next tribes

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Tshaka paid attention to were the Langa and Qwabe. These two he invited to join with him in having dances. Makedama was at this time head of the Langa people. Makedama and Tshaka fell out, whereupon he attacked Makedama but was defeated. He made a second attack but was again driven backwards to his home. No cattle were
10 seized on either side. Tshaka again attacked, uniting with the Qwabe and other tribes. Makedama was defeated and fled to Zwide with a very large section of the Langa people. Whilst with Zwide, Zwide *chose (gomisa 'd)* some of the girls he had come with, but they refused to marry him on the ground that he was too old a man. Zwide looked on himself as insulted. A quarrel arose and Makedama was obliged to flee to Sigewu ka Jobe (S. was a brother of Dingiswayo) who, in succession to Mondisa, had then become head of the Mtetwa tribe. Makedama later on was sent by Tshaka to attack the Tuli and other tribes in Natal. He did so, routed them, and returned. He afterwards settled at or near eHlungwini, the name of a hill opposite Mapumulo Division but in Zululand, where he was killed and buried.

It was after Makedama's flight to Zwide that Tshaka and the Qwabe came into collision. This arose out of the building by Tshaka of the Mbelebele kraal on what
11 Pakatwayo regarded as his territory. When the kraal had been built P. sent troops to set it on fire. They did so; it was destroyed. Tshaka re-erected the kraal; it was again burnt. He again built it. P. now said he would not go on fighting with a body of men who were mere Mantungwas and were so few in numbers as not even enough (as if they were beads) to encircle his neck.¹⁹⁰ Tshaka now gathered his forces together and made a determined attack on P. He dispersed his forces. P. for a time sat under a tree at a spot called Mtanutengayo near his ekuDabukeni kraal. Seeing his forces put to flight, he took refuge in among some palm trees. Tshaka's *impi* surrounded the place, searched, and found P. seated, doubled up and alone. Tshaka came, struck him and jumped over him, backwards and forwards, and then ordered him to be conveyed to his ekuDabukeni kraal close by, where the same performance was repeated in the presence of the regiments who had *made a semi-circle*. P. now expired from a sense
12 of abject fear and humiliation, and was left at the said kraal, but, on account of his rank, was well guarded by the Zulu forces. Tshaka himself went that night and slept at eMtandeni. On the following day he went off home, leaving P. to be buried. It was at this stage that a large number of Qwabes went to *konza* Dingiswayo.

5.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 44, p. 10.

10 Ngidi (Magambukazi), 5.11.1904, *of the Mngunyana people*, viz. those of, Nongalaza ka Nondela and Zulu ka Nogandaya ka Nkonjane. *The Mngunyana* is a section of the Qwabe tribe.¹⁹¹

6.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 47, pp. 12-22.

12 Tshaka went out with the Amampondo expedition.¹⁹² He accompanied the army

as far as the Mzimkulu and then returned to put up at Msekelo's kraal south of the Mngeni river, at 'Malkopjes' [?]. This man Msekelo was a son of Ntamo and an *induna* of the ekuWazeni kraal (Tshaka's). He was of the Majola section (amaCunu tribe) and a spy of Tshaka's.

Mgoduka ka Songebeza was also a *spy*, also Mziyana ka Sotuli of the *Qwabe people*.¹⁹³

In this year Tshaka killed the Mkandhlu regiment, saying they had run away from the Amampondo. Those remaining from this regiment were called by T. *izibolela*.¹⁹⁴

Tshaka slept at Msekelo's both going and coming. Tshaka's hut was taken up (at Msekelo's) and carried along for the king to sleep in wherever he stopped the night, until he got to the Mzimkulu.

.... <We here omit notes which appear in the original in the lower margin of p. 12 since the same information appears in the text on the following page - eds.>

- 13 With the Amampondo *impi* went the girl regiments, the Ntshuku, Mcekeceke and Mvutwamini. Each of these carried *war-shields* (*izihlangu*). Their *indunas* were Magaye ka Dibandhlela and Zihlandhlo.¹⁹⁵ The *amalala* also accompanied the hind contingents, only the courageous being allowed in front.¹⁹⁶ Magaye belonged to the *amalala*.

When Tshaka had got back to Bulawayo (he did not start to return until he had heard his men had begun to seize the Mpondos' cattle), he called together all those who were invalids and could not join the forces. These persons were known as Umota because, being invalids, they were always warming themselves at the fire.¹⁹⁷ He caused them to go and build an *ikanda*, known as Gubetuka, near where the Isipezi regiment lived, not far east of Kwa Magwaza, at Kwa Pohlwa (small hill).¹⁹⁸ I fancy the Umota's *induna* was Mqayana ka Bulongwe. They went out and fought in the amaMpondo *impi*, for Tshaka *campaigned* (*hlaselela*'d) three times in Pondoland. The Umota accompanied the last expedition. They also fought in the *Swazi country*, at the place of Magauzi, father of Beje (at the Ngome), and against Ncapayi ka

- 14 *Madikane*.¹⁹⁹ The Umota had a war song which ran as follows:

*Look out, look out, look out, that thing over there!*²⁰⁰
Long have we been eating without growing fat,
Today the house of Zulu emerges,
Long have we been gnawing on maize cobs, (a)
Now the sun is rising, its rays are shining,
The elephant is stabbing with all its rays (assegais),
Look out, look out, that thing over there! (b)

(a) *They ate without being able to relax* (*be nga ncibilikile*), for they were accused of not going out with the *impi* as they had been hidden away in the forests

(b) I.e. look out to see that I am not seen by anyone as I hide here, for the invalids

used to be hidden away in the bushes to escape being called out. The remark is supposed to be addressed to children and women

*The little dried up ones (ozigogwana), those who keep watch on the little gate (imvalasangwana), i.e. abanumzana who do not go out, who watch over the cattle and livestock (impahla) and ploughing, and do not konza.*²⁰¹

The Umota was *buta'd* after Nandi's *ihlambo impi* in Pondoland, i.e. following close on Nandi's death.²⁰²

- Dingana *buta'd* a regiment like the Umota and called it the Hlomendhlini - this was composed of invalids. They were *buta'd* when Tshaka's Balule *impi* was still away but after Tshaka's death.²⁰³ They *attacked* Ngwadi, along with the Izinyosi.²⁰⁴ Tshaka called the Izinyosi the Ingcobinga, also uJubingqwanga, '*the uqwanga (i.e. cartilage of the forearm) of Matshana*' (ka Sitshaluza?) - lived up the uSuthu river.²⁰⁵
- 15 The Hlomendhlini was *buta'd* very quickly after Tshaka's death. They were *buta'd* both by Dingana and Mhlangana.²⁰⁶ Nongalaza was *induna* of Hlomendhlini. Sotobe was also made an *induna* of this regiment. When Tshaka was assassinated he had only the Izinyosi with him. The Umota regiment *went out on* the Balule *impi*. And so, in spite of Tshaka's order, a large number did remain behind, although this was the *kukulela ngoqo impi*.²⁰⁷ Some returned from all stages of the journey. It was of those who remained that Dingana made up this regiment.

- Tshaka, on the occasion of his first Pondo *impi*, *crossed* at the Point, Durban. He struck the water and it divided into two, and he and his regiments crossed over. He crossed to the Bluff and thence along the ridges to Mpunyungwana hill, below the Sipingo and between the Mlazi and Zimbokodo streams, where he slept.²⁰⁸ The regiments he crossed with were the Sipezi, Fasimba, Mgumanqa, Mbonambi, Fojisa,
- 16 and Tshoyisa. I am absolutely certain of this crossing. I do not know how he crossed. I heard this from my father and numbers of others, my father being of the same age as the Isipezi and amaWombe, i.e. the same age as Tshaka. (I *follow in age after* six others, I being my mother's last child.) My father died in Dingana's time.

A person who does not *fight* and *go out to war* (*puma impi*) does not use the *smoking-horn in the Zulu country*. We are always talking of war and battles, even at this day.²⁰⁹

It was the rule in Zululand for a prince or man of high rank not to be *butwa'd* until they had gone well beyond the age at which people were ordinarily recruited. Consequently the *abantwana* etc. (princes etc.) delayed *putting on the penis-cover* (*vataing*, i.e. *ncwedaing*). They wore their *front coverings* (*izinene*) but the penis was uncovered. This took place in regard to Cetshwayo. All the royal house are known as *abantwana*. Even Mpande, at the end of his long reign, was spoken of as *umntwana*; the same applies to Dingana and Tshaka, though these *vata'd* of course as they became older.

17 Ngqengelele ka Mvuyana *of the Butelezi people*. Nxazonke was driven out (*kitshwa 'd*) of the Langeni country when Makedama was installed. He was regent whilst Makedama was still young. He went off to the Mtetwa with Tshaka and Mfundeko ka Mgabi.

Ngqengelele was a Butelezi man. He had his ears pierced (*boboza 'd*) by Tshaka. I do not know why.

Makedama quarrelled with Tshaka about *milk*, also about stones. Tshaka said, 'You are giving me the *amalaza*, ' i.e. the first milk, and Makedama took the second or better milk. They were *drinking from the udder* and from a *rwanqazana* beast,²¹⁰ being one of those which had been seized from Mvunyelwa ka Mandiza *of the Embo people*.

Nsindwana ka Tumbantshali [see pink notebook 38, p. 7, and pocket book no. 10 under date 23.2.1907 - Nozaza's evidence]²¹¹ *of the Magwaza people* took up stones from Makedama's herds and threw them into Tshaka's, and said, 'It has finished them off (*Isizidhlile*).' This took place on a flat rock. Makedama was still a young
18 boy at this time, but it was after having gone to the Xulu country, where he was kept out of sight at his mother's home. Mfundeko had been nominated by some as chief, but others held that Makedama, son of a daughter of Mampisi, Xulu chief, was the heir. Makedama was accordingly sent away, as they were afraid of his being killed. When the quarrel with Tshaka took place, Tshaka had not gone to Senzangakona.

I know nothing of T. stabbing a beast when he quarrelled with Makedama. I deny that he did so.

Nsindwana ran away when Tshaka came into power, being afraid lest T. should kill him on account of his action above stated. He ran off this side of the Mzimkulu (at the Mzumbe), where he was protected by H.F. Fynn, and became W. Fynn's (Pobana's) *induna* at his Nkumbeni kraal, where eventually he died.²¹²

Nxazonke, Mbikwana, Mfundeko, Mendameli, Ngceba ka Nodanga (Nodanga was, *induna of Kangela*). When they left they went and slept at my ancestor Daleni's kraal. They were fleeing, for Nxazonke had installed Mfundeko but the majority
19 objected in favour of Makedama, hence his (Nxazonke's) flight. He fled with Tshaka and the others named. They were attacked at Daleni's. The *impi of the great house (ya ko mkulu)*, of the *eSiweni ikanda (umuzi)*, was defeated by the uBane (kraal) section. Nxazonke asked Daleni what he was to do, seeing that, after trying to hide in this way, he had been followed up. Daleni then said, 'Go to the Mtetwa.' Nxazonke thereupon went off with the above named and a number of other Langeni people. Nandi did not go to the Mtetwa; she had married Gendeyana *of the Mbedu section* of the Qwabe people. I certainly do not think Nandi went to the Mtetwa. Nomcoba may have gone but I have not heard she went.²¹³

Tshaka's kraal in the Mtetwa country was Nogqogqa, known later as Mkandhlu. The *induna* of Mkandhlu was Mbuya ka Nsungane ka Mandondo *of the Xulu people*. (This man Mbuya was afterwards killed on returning from Pondoland with a number
20 of others, on the ground, as Tshaka said, that he was a coward.) The Mkandhlu was Tshaka's first kraal, and Gibixego or Gibixegu went out (*puma 'd*) from it. This Gibixegu was afterwards known as Bulawayo, in the Ndhlangubo district. Nogqogqa

was Tshaka's Mtetwa kraal, but when it was removed to the Zulu tribe all the Langa people were *placed (telwa 'd)* there, and it became the Mkandhlu kraal. The Langa people put here were both those from the Mtetwa, who had come with Tshaka, and others. There were two sites of the Bulawayo kraal: 1) in the Ndhlangubo district above the Ngoye,²¹⁴ there known as Gibixegu, and 2) *down the Maqwakazi ridge*, where Bulawayo proper was built. Dukuza afterwards *went out* from Bulawayo.²¹⁵ When the Bulawayo kraal was built *at Maqwakazi* it was composed of Gibixegu people, so Gibixegu ceased to exist.

The Bekenya was *butwa 'd* the year of the fight with Sikunyana ka Zwide.²¹⁶

The Zulu people (uZulu) objected to Sigujana being made the heir, seeing that his
21 mother was Mpikase, whereas the chief wife was Mnkabi, and Tshaka's mother Nandi had been put into her house. The Zulus wanted to know what the objection was to Tshaka's being the heir. Menziwa ka Cogo, Mudhli ka Nkwelo, Sojisa ka Jama, Renqwa and others, also Mnkabayi and Mmama ka Jama, also Mawa, objected to Sigujana being appointed.²¹⁷

Zivalele and others wished Sigujana to be chief. Senzangakona did not like Nandi. Mnkabi *made a fire* in her hut and, when she saw that her lord was coming to her hut, put the fire out. Senzangakona then went to sleep with Mnkabi in the hut. When S. had laid down to rest, Mnkabi admitted Nandi, then a *newly married wife (makoti)* of her house, and placed her alongside of S. S. turned, thinking it was Mnkabi, and had intercourse, and so Tshaka was *conceived*. Nandi ran off to her home to bear her child because she was not liked. She was not *driven away*; she went off on her own accord. She felt she was of rank and should be treated properly.²¹⁸
22 When this happened Nandi was a wife of S. (S. was *of the age-grade of Mbengi*.) Tshaka was the same age as Sigujana.

Nandi was Mbengi's first child.

When Nandi was pregnant she went to her mother, Mfunda ka Kondhlo. Mfunda was a sister of Pakatwayo. [This seems impossible to me as Pakatwayo was the same age as Tshaka.] Bantwana, Nsindwana, and Sizi ka Mbengi are my informants on these affairs.²¹⁹

I know nothing of Nandi meeting Senzangakona in the field as Mudhli's people say, or of his not having *been circumcised (soka 'd)*.

[For continuation on 7.11.1904 see next book.²²⁰]

7.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 48, pp. 1-9.

1 Ngidi alias Magambukazi.

Tshaka, after dealing with the northern tribes previously noticed, turned his attention to the southern ones, and in so doing began on the Langa one. He invited both the Langa and Qwabe tribes to *hold umjadu dances*.²²¹ Before tracing what occurred in this connection, it is necessary to refer to other matters which took place

at an earlier date. When Tshaka lived in the Langa tribe he was given *curds*, 'so that I may remain strong.'²²² His grandmother Mfunda would have given him these *curds*. This annoyed him. He seems to have lived with or near Makedama, both being about the same age. The two *kleza'd* from the same beast; *they did so together*. Makedama insisted on T. drawing off the first milk. T. objected to this on the ground that he had *inferior milk (amalaza)* whilst M. got the richer, purer and 'cooler' milk. Then the incident of the stones also took place as previously referred to by me, in which Nsindwana was concerned.²²³ By the way, I know nothing about Tshaka's having on 2 that occasion gone and stabbed one of the cattle at Makedama's kraal.

Now whilst these things were happening, Mgabi, Makedama's father, was dead, and Nxazonke was acting as regent on behalf of Makedama. As soon as Makedama was considered old enough to assume the position of chief, Nxazonke was ousted from being regent by his life being threatened. He withdrew with Tshaka, Mfundeko, Gaqa ka Mendameli, Mbikwana and others to Daleni (my ancestor), where he was pursued and attacked by the members of the Isiwa kraal, namely that which chiefly supported Makedama. Daleni's faction was known as that of uBane or oBaneni. A fight took place in which Daleni's section proved successful. No sooner did this occur than Nxazonke asked Daleni what he should do under the circumstances. Daleni advised his going off with his party to *konza* Dingiswayo. Nxazonke, accepting the advice, acted accordingly. Upon arrival at Mtetwa, Nxazonke, Tshaka and others were placed under the immediate supervision of Ngomane.²²⁴ In the 3 meantime Daleni *picked out cattle* and sent them as a peace offering to his 'grandchild' Makedama,²²⁵ whilst M. did the same towards him, and there was peace as far as those two were concerned.

It should be remembered that of, the Langa people who went to Dingiswayo, all, when Tshaka went to become king, went with him.

Tshaka's policy at first was to attack one tribe at a time and take care not to embroil others. He would take special pains to warn adjoining tribes that he was not attacking them in any way, and so his enemies would be reduced to clearly defined limits.

In these old days, prior to Tshaka's day, the tribes did not know how to fight as fighting was afterwards done. For instance, their cause of quarrel might be *an area of uncultivated land (ifusi)*. An apology for a fight would occur between the two parties, assegais being thrown from a distance, and these hostilities would cease on one side or the other being injured. The stock would not be seized. The next day the victorious party would *form a procession (udwendwe)* and go to apologise for what they had 4 done, and endeavour to *pozisa* or re-establish peace and friendly feeling. What is known as the *umradu* [noted - Bryant, *Dictionary*]²²⁶ style of fighting began with Tshaka, which went to such extremes that children were *impaled on posts* and even the dogs of a kraal were killed.

When Tshaka invited both the Langa and the Qwabe to *hold an umjadu dance*, the spot at which the three tribes met was *on this side in the bush country, below the Mandawe at the Nzondweni ford* of the Mhlatuze, also near the ekuQobekeni kraals

(Tshaka's). The *open place (isigcawu)* or flat on which these dances took place was on the north side of the Mhlatuze and *opposite* Emyeheni kraal (Tshaka's). The dances took place on this *isigcawu*, with the Langa, Qwabe and Zulu meeting there on one and the same day and taking turns to dance.

It is difficult to ascertain the immediate causes of the quarrel but probably there was long-standing ill-feeling on account of Makedama's behaviour when he and Tshaka were boys together. There is reason for thinking the proximate cause was a
5 song sung at the *inkondhlo dance*²²⁷ which ran as follows:

*Give us the he-goat, the he-goat of the daytime!
The people say, 'He-goat, lie down,'
So it lay down, it lay down, e-ya-he!
What is this? I see the friends roving about.
They said, 'Ha! Let the concubine rove about at the place of Mcube.'
We said, 'Because we were roving with the Abawane,
It was said that they had run away.'
As for us, we are rejected at the place of the Langeni
While other men are carrying off cattle,
So it was we who were gored in the hand,
We shall be given a he-goat, etc. etc.'*²²⁸

The foregoing is the song sung by Makedama's people at the *umjadu* with Tshaka's men. It was regarded as an insult to T. and he regarded its being sung under such circumstances as amounting to a *casus belli*. The Zulus were not good at composing songs, consequently Senzangakona used to ask the Langas to compose them for him, and these he used to sing when *dancing* with the Amambata, Butelezi
6 and other northern tribes he lived on friendly terms with. As for the Zulu and Langa, they were so close to one another that they *brought fire for one another (okelana 'd umlilo)*.

A conflict now came about between Tshaka and Makedama in which M. was successful. T. returned again and was again unsuccessful. He now sought the assistance of the Qwabes as well as that of Sinqila of the Nyuswa tribe. T. now attacked in conjunction with the Qwabe and Nyuswa. M., unable to withstand such a force, withdrew to the Nkandhla forest. T. *followed* him there. Another fight occurred. M., however, was not at this fight; he was at his *stronghold at the Mhlatuze* with his regiments. Those of his men who, with the cattle, had taken refuge in the Nkandhla were defeated and the cattle seized. T. attacked the fortress but was repulsed and compelled to go home. Makedama now came out of his hiding-place and went to re-occupy his lands. He sent a messenger to say to Tshaka, '*If you kill the*
7 *people who follow me, I shall pass on beyond you.*' M. then *passed on*, went to *konza* Zwide, and built there.

After a while Zwide began to court the girls. The girls, however, *insulted* Zwide by saying, '*What does this old, dried-up thing (ugogo) want, that he waits for us? We want your sons; we want Sikunyana and Nomahlanjana.*' Upon hearing this, Zwide threatened to kill Makedama. Ntombaze (Z.'s mother) and the *induna* Nombona

objected, saying, 'Why do you want to kill him? You see Tshaka *is troubling* him, and then you are *courting* the girls in pursuance of your own fancy?' An *old woman* went and told Makedama what was brewing, whereupon Makedama called a meeting of the principal headmen of the Langa tribe. Upon hearing the *old woman's* announcement, the men said she must be incorrect. They went on, 'We cannot leave huts which we have just finished constructing and just as our *amabele* are ripening, getting red.' After this M. called up the *izinsizwa* or young men and acquainted them
 8 with their 'elders' decision. They however, replied: '*We shall die with you in the hills*, for if we continue to remain here the Ndwandwe people will kill us.' Upon hearing this, M. *collected a herd of young cattle, his womenfolk, his wives* and his regiments, and went to the Mtetwa tribe, which at this time - for Dingiswayo had already been killed by Zwide - was under Sigewu (brother of Dingiswayo) or Mondisa,²²⁹ leaving behind him the older men. Tshaka noticed that the acquisition by Mondisa of so many adherents might be inconvenient, so he decided to invite Mondisa to an *umjadu* [with the result elsewhere described by me - J.S.].²³⁰ When this dance took place Makedama was already *at the place of the Mtetwa*.

Tshaka built two kraals in these parts, viz. Ndabenkulu near Bellair, i.e. Mcasimbana's (Stainbank's), and the other, Tshoyisa, just across the Umzimkulu (near the mouth) and near the large waggon drift.

9 There is no doubt that T. wanted to go on building until he came into touch with the Europeans, he being on friendly terms with them.

Tshaka did not laugh heartily. *He laughed 'outside his mouth' (uhleka nga pandhle)*, i.e. a hollow laugh, not in earnest.

8.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 47, pp. 22-3.

22 Nandi remonstrated on two occasions with Tshaka about '*throwing off his covering (ambulaing ingubo)*' by killing his relations. One was when Makedama was killed. [See next book.]²³¹ The other occasion was when the Qwabe were
 23 massacred consequent upon T.'s being stabbed in the arm *at Siklebeni, when the umkosi ceremony was being held*, by a man whose name was said to be Sikwayo, *of the Qwabe people*. I do not know his father. This was the occasion when T. *picked out all the Qwabe into the cattle enclosure at Bulawayo; they were inside the semi-circle of warriors*.

Names of early Europeans: Kamngane, Kolisi (Collis), Tshali, Bobe, Gadeni, Pobana, Mbuyazi, Bekile (Berkin), Wohlo, Kito, Diki Nkingi (Dick King), Singqungu, Mazingensasa (lived at the Mbilo with Cato; died at the Mfolozi).²³²

8.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 48, pp. 10-13.

- 10 Makedama was sent by Tshaka with the Ntsholo and Ziboza kraals to go and kill Ntaba ka Myebu *of the Tuli people*.²³³ Makedama seized Ntaba's cattle, passing via Pietermaritzburg and the upper Mkomazi. The lower districts were swept by Magaye ka Dibandhlela of the Cele tribe. He seized cattle at Kwa Mkobo (a forest), at the Nungwane (a stream and bush - enters the Ilovu²³⁴). This was, I think, also in Ntaba's district. Ntaba ka Myebu was of the Tuli tribe. These forces under Makedama and Magaye formed two *izimpondo* (columns). With these two bodies, Tshaka sent his *induna* Mtobela ka Mtimude [*vide* Isaacs, vol. 2, p. 74],²³⁵ *induna* of ekuWeleni kraal in Zululand, with a regiment to see what they did with the cattle seized. It seems that Makedama and Magaye afterwards met on the coast. This occurred after the cattle seized by Magaye had been appropriated by Mtobela on the ground that he could not allow amaLala to seize them without their having got any,²³⁶ for Mtobela knew that T. would want to know what account they gave of themselves. After this, Makedama
- 11 and Magaye met when the latter complained of Mtobela's action. Makedama took part in the *qubulaing*, and *kafula'd* (i.e. when the chief runs up to some in sham attack, then to others etc., *giyaing*, and as he does so, those he *giyas* for beat their shields and blow whistles).²³⁷ He, Makedama, then ordered that Mtobela was to give up the cattle he had taken from Magaye. This took place at Embubulu hill, where Makanya people now live.

Makedama was accompanied by Mbikwana and Nxazonke in charge of their respective followers.

When Makedama gave the cattle to Magaye, Mtobela returned straight to Zululand to report that Makedama had taken cattle he had seized and given them to the Lala, and that as he had *kafula'd* it was an indication of his intention to fight once more with Tshaka, for by so doing he considered himself independent. Makedama returned and sent the cattle he had seized to Tshaka. Tshaka thereupon sent an *impi* to kill him. He was killed at eHlungwini, a hill in Zululand, opposite Mapumulo.

- 12 Makedama was killed before Tshaka crossed into Natal and before Nandi's death. The question asked was, '*Why is he kafulaing? Is he now a chief?*' Makedama, whatever he did, had no followers to speak of, for the Magwaza, *those of the Mbuyeni*, and others of the Langa tribe had given their allegiance to Tshaka. I think that Madhlaka, also Mangena ka Nokupata, also Ngugwini [Mvundhlana?] ka Menziwa, and Menziwa himself might have been in charge of the *impi* that killed Makedama. The fight took place at eHlungwini. There were two fights. M. was caught and put to death. Tshaka was not with the forces that killed Makedama. It was on this occasion that Nandi said, '*Why are you finishing off the house of the Langeni? It was we Langeni who bore you. Why are you casting off your covering? When you are killed by the Zulu people, where will you find protection?*'

Mfundeko was not killed.²³⁸ Makedama had no wives, only *izingodosi*.²³⁹ Ndise's and Makedama's women were afterwards *thrown into pools in the umLalazi river*

- 13 *below the Ngoye*, not by Tshaka but Dingana, when Mkweco, Voboza, Gaqa, Sikawu, Nobanda, and Mcikaziswa were put to death as previously related.

Mfundeko was killed later on by *the abakwaCele people*, viz. Magaye when he

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was following Nqeto to the Nguni country.²⁴⁰ He was killed at the Mvoti.²⁴¹ Nkomo ka Mababaza was also killed at the same time in his stronghold at the Nsuze in the Nkandhla forest by Dingana.²⁴² The isiKlebe and Mbelebele regiments killed him. He too was following Nqeto and was killed for that reason. Manqondo was the one who gave the alarm of Nkomo going.²⁴³

9 9.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 48, pp. 9.

Names of months

November - Zibandhlela

December - Nhlolanja, uNgcelamkwekazi

January - Ndasa

February - Inguyazibuya

Mbasa

the Little Ntulini, Ntulazana

the Great Ntulini, Maquba

Ncwaba

Mpandu, called Mandulo in Mpande's day²⁴⁴

Mfumfu

In Dingana's day one did not use the verb *dinga* but *ntula*.

I was not called by my name Ngidi but Nonkolokotwana because Senzangakona's praise was: '*uNgidi* [cf. inGidi in Bryant, Dictionary, p. 183], *the one of weighty fortitude, who was too heavy for Manyonyo near the place of the Butelezi*'.²⁴⁵

9.11.1904

File 61, nbk. 48, pp. 13-24.

- 13 Nxazonke was killed at Kwa Dukuza with Tshaka and buried at the same place. The *induna* of Kwa Dhlangezwa was also killed at the same place. Mxamama ka Sotshaya was this *induna*. Ntendeka (also *induna* at Dhlangezwa) was also killed
- 14 with Tshaka - I don't know his father. Gaqa and Mbikwana were *wounded and went off*. I think about 10 amaMpondo arrived from Faku for the purpose of *paying tribute (telaing)*. I do not know what they had brought to *pay tribute* with.

I do not know about the song about '*finishing off the nations*' and where he was to *make war* next.²⁴⁶

Beja ka Magozi of the Ngome and Sobuza ka Ndungunya of the Swazi defeated Tshaka by taking refuge in fortresses.²⁴⁷ Dingana however afterwards killed Beja. Sobuza was also killed by Dingana.²⁴⁸ The Dube chief, Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo, had been defeated by Tshaka and *had paid tribute*, also Nqoboka of the Sokulu, Magaye, and Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe of the Embo.

I knew Bantwana. I lived with him at the Mbilo but we were in different kraals.

Mtentswa ka Nonkuba ka Ncumela also lived near Bantwana. Bantwana lived near Mr
 15 Mellors' house on the south side of the Mbilo. He became a *kolwa*, and died *at the Mhloti above the place of the people of Sipandhla, chief of the Ngongoma*, at a mission station, quite close to Pikinini (Verulam). His sons became *kolwas* (*were converted - penduka'd*) and he did likewise. Bantwana was older than Tshaka, seeing he was Nandi's brother.

Mbengi's eldest son is Palo, I think; he was *followed in age* by Mbikwana. Ndina was given to Palo; *he was placed (ngenisa'd)* there. It was said that he was a *younger brother (umnawe) of Palo*. Palo *fathered* Cotwayo (killed at the Ncome - Boers' fighting²⁴⁹). Cotwayo died as a young man - no issue.

I think Bantwana must have belonged to the Isiwa kraal and regiment, or Isibubulungu - same age as the Mbelebele regiment. I hear Nandi is Mbengi's first-born. When Makedama was killed by Tshaka the Nguga kraal was given to Bantwana. Mafukama's mother, Mamavela, i.e. daughter of Mavela (*a girl of the Nyuswa*), went to Tshaka to report that Bantwana was killing off all the cattle. Tshaka then directed that Tshangana was to be in charge, relieving Bantwana.
 16 Tshangana did as Bantwana had done in killing off cattle. Complaints were again made to Tshaka, who reminded them that the kraal was not theirs but his, so he placed Mafukama in charge.

In Mpande's reign Kokoba ka Mbikwana laid claim, but Nombona said Ndisi was the heir. The Langa people refused this. Nombona was known as the son of Ndisi but, as a matter of fact, his mother married after Ndisi's death. She was not merely *ngena'd*.²⁵⁰ Nombona was the fruit of this union. The Langa people said, 'We cannot allow an *izanankande (ivezandhlebe)* to rule,' i.e. one who comes with his mother, having been born out of the tribe at some other place - born not by *unomtebe* but *ukande*.²⁵¹

I was, in connection with this family quarrel, sent for, also Qonsa's sons Mfokazana and Mbombosi (Jana - European name), both of an *ngena* union. I was asked to be chief of the Nguga section but refused. I was asked because Daleni, my
 17 grandfather, had once had charge prior to Mbengi's becoming chief. I said I would not *take charge while the 'isiBengi' was still alive*, i.e. the Mbengi issue.

Bantwana died somewhere about 1856 - battle of Ndondakusuka.²⁵²

He was not placed in command of regiments in Tshaka's day; he was too old. I know nothing of his *going out to fight* under Tshaka, but he probably fought whilst *at the place of his people among the Langeni* before the conflict with Tshaka. Nxazonke used to fight against the Qwabe, for he was called Gwayisisiziba.²⁵³ I know of no *praises* belonging to Bantwana (*warriors' praises*), but every man has *praises* of some kind or another - home praises. He was never *an induna of regiments or a regiment* that I know of. Nxazonke was a bigger man than Bantwana. He *discussed affairs of war (teta'd impi)* with Tshaka, also Mbikwana.

Zidunge, son of Mbikwana, *induna* of the Bekenya regiment, used to *reprove*
 18 Tshaka when, in his opinion he was wrong, and T. would desist. Zidunge was *induna of the Fasimba* at first, then was taken and made *induna of the Bekenya*. He must have gone on the last Pondo expedition, for the Bekenya went to fight.²⁵⁴ The Bekenya was *butwa'd at the time when Tshaka defeated Sikunyana*, when he

*encamped (ngenisisa 'd) at the Mhlongamvula fortress (river - enters the Mkondo and then into the uSutu).*²⁵⁵

I never saw Mbikwana; he died *at his home below the Ngoye*, at eBozeni kraal.

<At this point in the original Stuart has scored out rough notes which are written up in extended form on pp. 22-3 of his notebook. We here omit the rough notes - eds.>

19 I know nothing of Tshaka's going to Macingwane as a boy as Senzangakona wanted to kill him.²⁵⁶ I know only of Tshaka's running to the Langa, whilst Dingana and others went to the Qwabe, as previously related. Nor do I know of anyone putting a hand on T.'s head and saying he would one day be king.

Makedama never seized the Zulu throne on Senzangakona's death. M. was *among the Xulu people* for some time, as above related. He returned, when, Nxazonke was ruling, and chased him and T. away. Previously, when Mhlongo died, Daleni was regent for (*patela 'd*) Mbengi. Sigujana, son of Mpikase, succeeded his father until deposed by Tshaka.²⁵⁷ I never heard Sigujana called Mfokazi. I do not know who Mfokazi is.

I do not know how Sigujana came to be put to death - if Ngwadi did so, etc.²⁵⁸

The using of only one assegai began with Makedama *when he came from his mother's place (among the Xulu)*. He said, 'People are afraid. Are people like buck that they should be stabbed at a distance? They must come to close quarters and so

20 have only one assegai.'

<At this point in the original Stuart has scored out rough notes which are written up in extended form on pp. 21-2 of his notebook. We here omit the rough notes - eds.>

When Makedama came back from the Xulu he *impaled* people with *barbed assegais (izinhlendhla)*, laying them flat on their backs, driving these assegais in at the base of the neck, at the base of the breast bone, and the lower portion of the stomach, then in each arm or hand, and the same for the feet. This was his mode of killing. Nxazonke protested at this and, as before stated, contended that Mfundeko was the heir, to which the Langa people objected. Makedama was back some time at the Langa tribe before Nxazonke left for Daleni and then to the Mtetwa, and it was before Nxazonke left with Tshaka that both N. and Makedama *made war in the*
 21 *country of the Vilakazi, below the place of Maqwakazi, when they returned with Ngiyashumayela ka Ngcaiya, an isikulu of the Vilakazi.* (Macumude, Ngiyashumayela's son, was *induna* of Mahambehlala kraal;²⁵⁹ he was Mpande's *induna*.) Ngiyashumayela was made *induna of the iziMpangele* (Makedama's regiment), i.e. by Makedama. On the occasion of Makedama and Nxazonke *closing in on the Vilakazi*, one assegai was used, and this took place in Tshaka's presence. The *impi* came to close quarters with the Vilakazi and stabbed many to death in the kraal attacked.

This, Ngidi says, is the precedent that was subsequently followed by Tshaka when he introduced the single assegai, for it occurred before he went to the Mtetwa; and then, at the Mtetwa, Dingiswayo did not, as far as I know, introduce the single assegai, which he might have done had he seen the bayonet in the Cape Colony.²⁶⁰ Tshaka saw no bayonet and no precedent at Dingiswayo's. It was Makedama who taught him.

*Izingqolo, from ukungqola, when we have lost our land and are destitute, when we go along with no place of our own - destitute persons whose property and country has been seized.*²⁶¹

- 22 Dingiswayo attacked the Qwabe many times, always driving them into the Ntumeni forests. He also attacked the Nyuswa tribe, chasing them away. Dingiswayo, however, never attacked the Langa people, for reasons best known to himself.

The Mtetwa people, when fighting, used to seize goats belonging to people by whose homes they marched, and eat them, eat them, as they said, because they were *isangcobe* (i.e. *amabele* in cornpits, which is damp and sour, mildewed etc., and will not grow.) '*We are eating isangcobe.*' Then they would go into a hut and there, in the presence of the women, seize the *gourds* and *pour* the contents into their mouths, to such extent did they consider themselves the masters of the countries they passed through.

I have never heard of Zulus being tobacco-sellers, though I know they used to go about hawking *ikatazo* and *inkomankoma*. They were referred to slightly as *amantungwa*.

- I know the following anecdote regarding Tshaka. He wanted to know how it was
23 that people who snuffed always denied snuffing when asked by others for snuff. He wondered if such habit was universal. He therefore *picked out* (*tshaya'd*) a beast ... <linguistic note omitted - eds.>, and gave it to messengers to go about the country with. The first one who, being a taker of snuff, should not deny being a snuff-taker or having snuff, was to be given the beast. (*The king was searching for someone who would not deny having any.*) The messengers went about the country in various directions, each one they came to denying that they took snuff. Eventually, when, I believe, they got to the Mahlabaneni district (i.e. Mnkabayi's kraal) *in the Sutu country*,²⁶² near the Pongolo, they came across an *old woman* who was *weeding*. She at once complied without comment (*gave them snuff - tshiyela'd them*), whereupon they left the beast with her. She reported to her kraal head who, as a token of gratitude to his majesty, gave them a *great bundle* (*umfunzi*) of *snuff* to carry back.

War has in the past had its seat in Mnkabayi's Mahlabaneni kraal. When the men of that place take the field, it is generally known that war has broken out in the land in earnest and will be universal in character.

- 24 *Iziboto* are those who have *torn feet*, or *painful testicles*, and are unable to go

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ahead with the *impi* and have to return home.²⁶³ They are not *mat-bearers* (*udibi*). *Izikulu* might become *iziboto*.

My father was *not circumcised*. Daleni, I think, was *circumcised*, also Mbengi and the older men. Tshaka objected to the custom on the ground that *castrating* (*tena-ing*) reduced a man's strength. When out in the field, I hear, the boys *dressed in loin-covers* (*imitsha*) of palm leaves (*amasundu*).

Idhlozi, itongo and isituta are all synonymous terms.²⁶⁴

An *indebele* is a man who is *not intelligent* (*hlakanipile*), *who has not 'developed'* (*ka milanga*), a *simpleton* (*isipukupuku*) - this may be the derivation of *amaNdebele*. I know nothing in this which suggests *hiding* or *disappearing*.²⁶⁵

Among Zwide's kraals was Esikwitshini or esiBoyeni. I do not know that Tshaka gave Zwide the information on which Dingiswayo came to be captured.

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File 61, nbk. 49, pp. 1-16.

1 Ngidi continues.

I know nothing of Tshaka's causing two divisions [as Fynn says in Annals of Natal²⁶⁶] of warriors to use reeds on one another and then introducing the single assegai.

I know Tshaka *cut reed whistles* (*amavenge*) when he fought with Zwide, so that, in a night attack, the Zulus would know one another. The instructions were that, when two met, the Zulu was to blow his *whistle*. If he got no answer he was to blow a second time, and if the other did not blow a *whistle*, the other was to conclude he was confronted by an Ndwandwe man, whom he was forthwith to stab. This battle took place at kwaDenge (country), *at the White Mfolozi*. They *tshayelana*'d, i.e. separated and *went home*.

The Ndwandwe people speak like the Mtetwa for they live across the Black Mfolozi. They may be said to *tefula* but I don't know. The Ndwandwes are of the
2 Nxumalo tribe, i.e. *are one with Sotshangana ka Zikode*.²⁶⁷ The chief of the Ndwandwe people was Malusi, father of Sotondose of the Nxumalo section.²⁶⁸ Sotondose was the principal head of the Nxumalo people, and therefore of the Ndwandwe people. He paid hut tax at Stanger.

The assegai which Tshaka introduced was a short-handled one. He gave his troops the *isijula assegai*, i.e. with a *shank* (*umsuka*) to it. There was, however, a second one, called *iklwa*, for use after the enemy had begun to flee. They would then be spoken of as '*stabbing the ibece melon*', for they were stabbing people's backs as they ran. The *izijula* by this time would have been bent by stabbing and covered with blood. Assegais were *manufactured in the Nxumalo country*, also *in the Cunu*

country (chief: Siganda) at the Nkandhla.²⁶⁹

Tshaka never *juba'd* girls: [This corresponds with what Socwatsha told me a few days ago - 17.4.1916.]²⁷⁰

- 1 Mcekeceke - of the age-grade of the Sipezi regiment
- 2 Ntshuku - of the age-grade of the Mgumanqa
- 3 Mvutwamini - of the age-grade of the Fasimba
- 4 Cenyane - of the age-grade of the Mbonambi
- 5 Inzawu - Dingana began with this.
- 6 Ikwani
- 7 Imbabazane - when Boer war broke out and Mpande *crossed over*²⁷¹
- 8 Inkehlamncwedeni
- 9 Ingulule

Numbers 8 and 9 were *buta'd* by Mpande but I was no longer in Zululand then.

- 3 I first of all *took as a wife (zeka'd)* a woman who belonged to the Inzawu regiment.

Tshaka only gathered four classes of girls. They cut *war-shields (izihlangu)* and fought like men. Some of them earned and wore *iziqu*.²⁷² Girls fought at Ndondakusuka [1856].²⁷³ They were with Mbuyazi and were trying to escape with him into Natal. They were not a regiment. They threw their bundles down and took up assegais and *stabbed* the enemy.

Tshaka tabooed *hlobonga* with girls. They might *hlobonga* with the Mbelebele, Siklebe, Ntontela, and Bulawayo, i.e the greater regiments. The Sipezi, Mgumanqa, Fasimba, Dhlangezwa, Mbonambi, Gibabanye, Fojisa, Tshoyisa (Izimpohlo), Bekenya, Ndabenkulu, Hlontane, uMota and the two Pokos were the younger regiments.

The young men nowadays come into the huts where beer is being drunk, and almost question the right of older men to be there. They look him up and down. Formerly they used not to be allowed in at all, whereas women had to walk behind the hut.

- 4 Ndimindwane ka Msweli of the *Dhludhla* people was asked by Tshaka, after T. had killed off many members of the Mbonambi regiment for contumacy, if he wanted to be killed. Ndimindwane replied, '*The king will decide (Ko bon' inkosi)*.' T. said, 'I do not want to kill you yet; I shall wait until I hear from you before killing you.' He went away and became known as one of the Zibolela.²⁷⁴ After a while he came to T. and said, 'With regard to what the king said, I have come back and await the king's orders. I am now grown old and my companions (same age) are all dead.' The king said, '*You speak truly, for your time is now finished*.' He then put him to death.

Tshaka was very liberal with his cattle. He gave the *young men (izinsizwa)* many cattle.

Madhla ka Nombanda said to some people, 'Why, when we fight so hard, are we
5 given no cattle?' He was reported to the king; it was said that he was talking behind
the king's back (*uyahleba*). He was a great hero, very plucky in battle. The king was
fond of him and often gave him cattle. People became jealous of him and reported
that he had spoken as above, whereas he had not. He was then killed.

For the slightest things a man might be killed. He might swear by 'Tshaka at
Bulawayo' or one of the older chiefs. This would be misinterpreted or misrepresented
and twisted into an insult, whereupon the king would have the man put to death.

Nxaba ka Mbekane ka Msane of, I think, the Mtetwa people, ran off, like
Matiwana, Mzilikazi, Sotshangana, and Somveli [father of Sitimela, says Ndukwana]
ka Dingiswayo.²⁷⁵ Nxaba was driven out by Tshaka. Somveli also left. This arose
when they were in the cattle enclosure at Bulawayo; they were jesting with one
another. Tshaka said to him, 'Do you think your Yengo kraal ever equalled this in
6 size and dimensions?' Somveli said, 'Our kraal was of course as big as yours. How
could it be otherwise, seeing you were my father's protégé, having been given to
Ngomane with orders that he was to look after you? You have forgotten your old
condition.' They had more words, and Somveli returned home, only to arm and leave
for the north on the ground that he and Tshaka had quarrelled, for T. seemed to think
the Mtetwa tribe was dead. As a matter of fact Tshaka had not driven him away, but
Somveli saw that T. *ka ntelelani na munt' a lunge, a kule*, i.e. no person that Tshaka
has once joked with prospers.

The name Injanduna was that of Magaye ka Dibandhlela's for his regiment.²⁷⁶
Tshaka took a fancy to it and said he wanted it. Magaye asked what he was to do. T.
7 told him to use the name Noqogi for his regiment, as he would take the one in
question. Magaye concurred and Tshaka named his kraal accordingly.

When Tshaka went to attack Sikunyana he took the recently recruited Bekenya
regiment with him.²⁷⁷ When he got within two or three miles of Sikunyana (who had
taken refuge in a stronghold with stones about it, on the opposite side of the
Mhlongamvula stream), he gave orders to the Bekenya boys to scatter and seize
amabele from the neighbouring kraals and gardens. He told them to return with their
booty and come and cook it where he was. Numbers complied with the order but
many did not. They slept in the gardens and elsewhere, and did not get back till early
next day just as he was sending out the impi. He thereupon ordered all those who had
not come back as ordered to go into some gully, whereupon he caused them all to be
8 put to death, and then he proceeded to attack Sikunyana. This man, on being
attacked, was seen to leave by some opening in the top of the hill and ran off in the
direction Mzilikazi had taken.

Sikunyana said to Zwide, 'Tshaka has overcome you, for you are an old man. He
will not overcome my age-grade (*intanga*).' Upon this, Sikunyana returned and built
at the Mhlongamvula river at the Ezindololwane hills.

I do not know the name Impunya referred to by Fynn in Bird's *Annals* as

Sikunyana's brother.²⁷⁸

Makedama was saluted with the term 'Bayete!' So also were his ancestor Mhlongo and my ancestor Daleni. I do not know what this word means. It is merely a salutation, just as one says, 'Mnumzana!' or 'Gumede!' ²⁷⁹ 'Bayete! You who are black, you who are as great as isita!' Isita may be a lion, or sorghum (amabele), for it is said, 'The isita of So-and-so is such-and-such.' This is, said when the amabele are plentiful - 'The isita of So-and-so is great.' Izita zi yeza means, the enemy is coming. 'Ndabezita!' ²⁸⁰ So izita comes in the salutation words. 'You grew mighty while others tarried. You who are as great as isita!' This isita may refer to amabele or impi. Chiefs are praised with reference to food, e.g. 'Generous giver! (Mapakakulu!)', 'Mighty eater! (Dhlanga - mandhla!)', 'Gumede!', 'Nkosi! Mighty elephant! (Ndhlov' enamandhla!)', 'You are as great as the mountains! (Wen' ungangezintaba!)', 'Great elephant!' (Ndhlov enkulu!)' are other words addressed to kings etc.

The word Bayete seems to me a very old one, and probably refers as much to amabele as to izita, but ba- would be preceded by izita than by izita za mabele <sic>.

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

A man comfortable or in good circumstances, one would say, 'Ute nete!' - he lives comfortably.

The Isandhlwana hill used formerly to be called Ifenu, where the Europeans were killed.²⁸¹ I heard the name iFenu when I went on Dingana's campaign in the Swazi country.²⁸² We slept at the place of Siga, an Msutu, on the Ncome.²⁸³ Next day we slept at the stronghold of Rawane, then slept at the Mkondo.²⁸⁴ Next day we crossed the uSutu and slept at Kwa Ntabakaikonjwa (where we found Izicwe which say, 'Gqa, gqa, gqa, gqa, Po! Po! Po! Po! Po! Po!' - small dwarfs).²⁸⁵ Next day we slept at the place of, Mlambo ka Mavundhla, an Msutu. We did not fight the Swazis. The only fight took place with our Zibolela regiment, the Zibolela getting the better of them and seizing many cattle. That was the occasion on which I heard Isandhlwana called iFenu. I also heard this when the Ncome battle with the Boers was fought. I fought at the Ncome battle [16.12.1838]. I was not struck. I escaped by being caught up in a crowd (dukuza pakati). I was running off with others.

It goes by companies (amaxiba) - march by companies, i.e. as after entering Swaziland, on finding no enemy to oppose them.²⁸⁶

I was taken out of the Ihlaba regiment with others, and we were called the Mketi. We were considered too young. We were placed (telwa'd) at all the amakanda, like the iHlaba. The Kokoti (Ndabakawombe) follows me in age. I am just about the same age as this regiment. [This would give about 1823 as the year of Ngidi's birth. He, I fancy, must have been born not later, possibly before this, for he was present at Blood River battle, 16.12.1838, when he must have been at least 16 years old.]²⁸⁷

The Ncome battle began at early dawn. The Izitunyisa (mounted on horses, carrying guns, among them Tununu²⁸⁸) were leading, then came, the Dhlambedhlu, Mbelebele and Siklebe. On the right side were, the Fasimba, Zibolela, Sipezi, and amaWombe: in the middle were, we Imvoko and the Izinnyosi - for *the Zulu were not there*;²⁸⁹ *they had gone to block the way down-country*, for it was said that the Europeans might attack from Durban. We Mvoko and Izinnyosi did not fight; we were to carry off the cattle and waggons, and to use waggons' irons to make *hoes* with. The Dhlambedhlu were hurled *into dongas*; they were badly fired at, and put back into *dongas*. *It became dark. It was light on the Boer side.*

'Tshaka is among you; here is a small greenish snake!' - an exhortation to us.

- 12 The Dhlambedhlu again attacked and were again hurled into the dongas. The Boers came out and came towards us.

He, Nongqobo ka Senzangakona, said, *'Take my greetings to my brother, and say my farewells to him. Why do you cry, Zulu people? It is well that we should die, we who are in the forefront. Do you think this is famine, famine which carries off common people?'* He then expired, and was carried off by some young warriors and buried in a donga, having been shot through the side at the base of the stomach.

Our *induna* (of the Mvoko) was Mjobo ka Mbangu.

Nongqobo ka Senzangakona - Inyosi regiment.²⁹⁰

- My belief is that Nandi died a natural death and was not killed by Tshaka. The incident with regard to the child is true. I do not believe Bantwana would have accused Tshaka of killing his mother. Nandi was *buried* by Tshangane, Nxazonke,
13 Bantwana and Mbikwana. They remained three months *at her grave at Bulawayo*. Nandi died at Bulawayo. They *watched over the grave*. Manqondo and Sikawu were there, also all Langeni people.²⁹¹ The proper persons to *keep watch* were members of the deceased's tribe and any others selected by Tshaka. I do not know where she was buried, inside or outside the Bulawayo kraal.

- Nyakamubi was first built at Bulawayo and was afterwards removed to Dukuza. Tshaka did not go about to many kraals. He visited Mbelebele too, and when Zwide got the better of him, he ran to Ntonteleni where one of his huts was burnt, viz. his own *private hut (ilawu)*. Zwide's *impi* came to Ntontela. Tshaka *crossed the Tukela*, swimming across at eDhlokweni with troops, and came to Duze and Magaye.²⁹² Tshaka then called on all the amaLala to come and help themselves to his cattle, *his very fat cattle (inhlama yezi nkomo)*, cattle he had escaped with from Zululand; i.e. they were not to touch them - warning. Zwide found all the Zulus had evacuated and
14 gone. Tshaka had purposely given Zwide the slip. Zwide followed Tshaka along tracks he had made. He came to Ntonteleni at the Matigulu, but, not finding T., returned and *kept to eNtumeni and Kwa Nomveve*.²⁹³ T. cut across the lower districts to his Mlandwaneni kraal. Zwide, on his way to Ntonteleni, *went down by the Gcongco hill*, and down along the Insuze but did not *cross* the Tukela. He *went up at eBumba and, crossing the Matigulu, went to Ntontela.*

I fancy that T. himself must have burnt the hut referred to [possibly so that Zwide should not take *izidwedwe* - J.S.],²⁹⁴ just as Dingana had Mgungundhlovu burnt by

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Lubara ka Sonomo, his *inceku*, and Mtweni ka Sitibela of the *Hlongwa people*, also an *inceku*.²⁹⁵ These two were sent back by Dingana to burn Mgungundhlovu so that the kraal should not be fired by people from other lands.

Tshaka and Zwide met *at the gate of Mbelebeleni, at Nomveve hill (a ridge)*.

- 15 (Mbelebele is on a ridge near Entumeni and close to the Mhlatuze, on the Vungwini stream - they went to *wash in the Mhlatuze*. The Mbonambi kraal was also there. The Mbelebele moved away to the White Mfolozi afterwards. This Mbelebele kraal is the very one which gave rise to the fight between Tshaka and Pakatwayo as already stated. No sooner did T. build than P. burnt. P. burnt the kraal twice.)

Tshaka defeated Zwide, followed him up and seized all his corn. Zwide was completely routed. Large numbers of Zulus poured into Zwide's dominions and took all they could find.

People from all parts were *given protection (tolwa'd)* by the Langa tribe - a most hospitable one. Our tribe was broken up owing to having no chief. Lubango, Daleni and Mbengi died, leaving no chief. Daleni's *umuzi died out (wa peliswa ukufa)*. Lubango's also *came to an end, from deaths and from people being killed off*.

- 16 Mbengi's descendants did not survive to any great extent. We were killed off by Tshaka, but especially Dingana, and this was on account of our being preferred by the girls, whom, he ordered to marry into other tribes. These girls were Senzangakona's daughter, Nomzimhlanga etc. Even though the Langa man might be ugly, the girls would stick to him. [uLanga, uLangeni - note the latter.] No tribe could defeat us by resorting to an assegai. Tshaka succeeded only by combining with others against us.

*We had a strong hatred (itambo) for Tshaka, though we gave birth to him.*²⁹⁶
Dingana killed us because of our being handsome.

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File 61, nbk. 49, pp. 16-19.

- Nombona and Kokoba *disputed* in our tribe in Mpande's day. Nombona contended that he was a son of Ndisi. Kokoba's father was Mbikwana. Nombona's mother married someone else after Ndisi's death and by that man bore Nombona. Her husband died and the woman returned with her child to Ndisi's kraal. Kokoba and Nombona then *contended for the eNgugeni umuzi of Mbengi*, this being the great
17 *umuzi of the Langeni*. Makedama was of course long dead and buried, and also Mkweco and Nxazonke. Tshaka had previously directed Bantwana to look after the kraal. As already stated, Bantwana was turned out by Tshaka because he was said to be eating up the cattle. Mafukama's mother, Mamavela of the *Nyuswa people*, complained to Tshaka about Bantwana. After this, Tshangana assumed control, and he was relieved of his position for the same reason as that in the case of Bantwana. Mafukama then became chieftainess, assisted by Mseleni ka Ndina. Mafukama died the year before last.

When Nombona and Kokoba *disputed*, Mseleni ka Ndina was in charge. Mseleni

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too is dead. The contention was that Mseleni could not *have charge of the umuzi* as he was *of the left-hand house*, and seeing there were existing others of higher rank. Mbikwana was Palo's own brother and *followed him in age*. Ndina was the son of an *isilunga (makoti)* who was put into Palo's house.²⁹⁷ Ndina's mother was *lobola'd* with cattle from Palo's house and therefore, according to native law, Ndina was of
18 higher rank than Mbikwana - he came next to Palo in spite of the fact that Mbikwana *followed immediately after Palo in age*. Kokoba contended that he was the rightful heir, being Mbikwana's son, but the Langeni would not allow the claim, deciding in favour of Mseleni, Ndina's chief son.

Matshana is Nxazonke's son, and Nxazonke *follows immediately after Mgabi in age*, so the rightful heir is Matshana. When Makedama was killed, one of his wives happened to be with child. She was taken and hidden *in the Mtetwa country*; Matshana was also hidden there. The woman bore a girl, to which Matshana is entitled. This girl married Ngungwini, brother of Menziwa ka Xogo *of the Biyela people*.

I and Haha ka Qonsa were both sent for by Mamavela, also the king, Mpande, and Mseleni. Mcekeza was sent to call us. We *crossed over*. A big ewe was *slaughtered for us* by Mamavela. We were told the circumstances. Mamavela and
19 Mafukama and Mseleni suggested that I should take control on the ground that my grandfather Daleni had done so when Mhlongo died. I demurred, thinking that Qonsa's or Gaqa's or Msomi's or others had the preference.²⁹⁸ I was not pressed any further. It was said that as Haha had absconded to the white people Mseleni had better remain in charge.

Kokoba and Nombona were reminded of the fact that the kraal no longer belonged to the tribe but to the Zulus and, in support of this statement, asked how, if that were not so, both Bantwana and Tshangana had been ousted from their positions.

Kokoba, Mamavela, Mafukama and Mseleni said Nombona could not succeed by reason of the fact that he was an *izanankande*.²⁹⁹

I am not as familiar with Nguga affairs as with those of uBane.³⁰⁰

17.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 12-14.

12 Ngidi (commonly known as Magambukazi), who arrived yesterday, says (only he present): When my fathers *made oath* they used to say 'Ngobe,' referring to Nandi (Tshaka's mother).

The expedition (impi) of the Mpama, in Mzilikazi's country, in Dingana's reign. Impama is the name of a river, this side of eNkutu. Inhlabangekanda (Inhlaba etc.) is also another river beyond eNkutu (and where Mzilikazi then lived).³⁰¹

We became the Mketu, i.e. a large group thrown into all *amakanda* - Mgungundhlovu, Esiklebeni, oDhlambedhlwini etc. We then were known as Imvoko. The Hlaba and Kokoti were also *incorporated (telwa'd) into the Mvoko*. It was said that we were all *Mkulutshane*. Mpankominabele - a name for Dingana.³⁰² Whilst we

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were drinking milk from the udders (kleza 'd) (we were known as the Ingqongolwana, also the Amawela, also the Imihaye.

It was the Imihaye that defeated Cane's party at Ndongakusuka.³⁰³ They shouted, 'Haye! Haye! Haye!' as they attacked.

- 13 I was once sent to Durban by Dingana to fetch goods from Collis, Kamungana [Captain Gardiner] and others.³⁰⁴ I was one of a number of our regiment. This happened before the outbreak of hostilities with the Boers.³⁰⁵ [Say 1836].

Collis, Kamungana, and Musi Bekile [about 1836] all went to build at the junction of the White Mfolozi and Mkumbane near Mgungundhlovu,³⁰⁶ near Rapu, *the inyanga responsible for scraping the king's hides*. These Europeans left when the Boers (under Piti) were killed.³⁰⁷

Mazinywansasa - a white man who lived at the Mbilo where G. Cato formerly lived.³⁰⁸

After killing Tshaka, Dingana remained some two or three years at Dukuza.

Ngidi says Tshaka, not Shaka.

Inhlahlayasuke is the name of a regiment, at *Ntonteleni*. *It follows in age after the Ingulube*.

I followed Mpande into Natal.³⁰⁹

Nongalaza ka Nondela (*of the Mngunyana people, of the Qwabe people*) was of the Isipezi regiment.³¹⁰

I crossed into Natal with Zulu ka Nogandaya - after Mpande had crossed into Natal.³¹¹

I knew Dingana well.

- 14 The Langa tribe *originated (dabuka 'd) among the Sibiya (kwa Sibiya)*, and is one with the Zulu (*kanye no Zulu*). We went up the Umhlatuze; we followed the Qwabe.

'Hush, Sibiya-ngankomo, ka Mzimaseli!' or 'Hush, Sibiya!' is said to a child (infant) when crying.

We *dabuka 'd*, I fancy, at the iGwa, at the place of Myambo ka Mavundhla.³¹² As we say, 'Hush, Mavundhla!', and as Myambo is a Basuto and son of Mavundhla, so I conclude we are possibly descended from the Basutos.

Ezimbizaneni, at the place of Mampondsha (chief's name, of Swaziland) and Matshekana (at the Mbuluze, river of Swaziland) - this is the place where Tshaka's impi was *tetwa 'd* in Swaziland, for the Balule expedition.³¹³ It was from this spot that Dingana and Mhlangana returned to kill Tshaka.

18.10.1905, evening.

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 14-21.

Ngidi (Magambukazi) speaks.

- 15 At Mgungundhlovu we used to carry the king's food. We used to take it from the huts and carry it outside. We did the milking, and carried the milk in buckets made of umganu wood - a basket (*imbenge*) over the top, and carried with arm uplifted. We

then *made salutation* in the ordinary way. We slept, *outside the isigodhlo* but near the king's quarters.

We used to be given *meat and curds*. We were given *cattle in return for our services*, i.e. on account of wages.

I was an *inceku*, one of those who went up to the king's quarters. I used to take food out of the *white isigodhlo*; I would receive it from the *amakosikazi of Senzangakona*. We would give it to *amanhfwenga* who had arrived.³¹⁴ We would give it to *umpakati* who had come to *konza*.³¹⁵

We started off by driving young beasts to the upper part of the *umuzi*. We were still young; we had not yet reached the age of puberty. (The driving took place at milking-time.) I know Tununu [one of my informants - J.S.] well.³¹⁶ I knew him at Mgungundhlovu. I am the same age as he. He also was an *inceku*.

- 16 Ndhlela ka Sompisi was the great *induna* of the kraal. The next *induna*, that of the 'side' (*uhlangoti*) of the *umuzi*, was Mpangazita ka Mncumbata - the *uhlangoti* of the *Fasimba*.³¹⁷

Ndhlela was the *induna* of the *isibaya esikulu* at *emaWombeni*.³¹⁸

Bibi (ka Nkobe), sister of Ndhlela, was the great *inkosikazi* of the *white isigodhlo*. She was a wife of *Senzangakona*.

Langazana ka Gubetshe was at first in charge of the *black isigodhlo*.³¹⁹ When Langazana was removed and brought back to *Kwa Kangel*, Mjanisi became in charge of the 'black' *isigodhlo*. I do not know her father's name. Mjanisi was *Senzangakona's* wife.

Amafomfo of the king - the *iziklebe* of the king.³²⁰

When called by the king I would enter the *black isigodhlo*, but before we had reached puberty. I never entered after reaching puberty. I was at the battle of the *Ncome* [16th December 1838.] We were defeated; we came by night back to Mgungundhlovu. Ndhlela, Dambuza, Klwana ka Ngqengelele, and Ngungwini ka Menziwa sent off us *izinceku* late at night,³²¹ at the place of the *Kumalo* people (where the army had encamped for the night), on this side of the stronghold of

- 17 *Hawane*,³²² at *esiHlutankungu* hill, where the king's water for washing was fetched. I entered the *isigodhlo* that night at Mgungundhlovu, by direction, with *Velenjeni*, a son of *Mawongo*. *Msiyana* ka *Mhlana* had told us, whilst we were still at the scene of battle, to go to *Emvokweni*, our *ikanda*. He told us to get the king to go on to *Emvokweni* as the Boers were chasing us, having defeated the *Zulus*, and that we were to conduct the king thither. The king left for *Emvokweni* that very night; he did not delay. I did not accompany the king but slept with the other *izinceku* in the *isigodhlo*. The king left with the *uKokoti*, *Amankamane*, and *Amankentshane*, and also the *izikulu* of *Mgungundhlovu*, who did not fight but remained with the king - these all accompanied him that night. The *Kumalo* are a *people (isizwe)*.

The king was got by us from Mgungundhlovu; he was not out with the *impi* at the stronghold of *Hawane*. The water I refer to as being fetched was the water fetched by the king <sic>.

- 18 *Hawane* - I forget his tribe or father.

Umnqandane is the name of the tree we used to cut to fence the *isigodhlo* with. We cut it on the flats next to rivers, also in the hills. We also cut wattles without knots at Ntumeni, for building the king's huts. There were bushes close by, but they did not have the wattles necessary for building the king's huts. All the *amabuto* which were drinking milk from the udders (*ukukleza*) would be sent out to cut wattles.

I know Dingana had an *inkatha of war (inkata yempi)*.³²³ He used to palaza on it.³²⁴ The army also palaza'd on it at the river when about to go out on an expedition. D. used to wash on it with *izintelezi medicines* given by doctors,³²⁵ such as Sobekase ka Tshoba. Mqayana ka Mlongwe was one of Tshaka's *izinyanga*.

Many *izinkata* were used to palaza upon, i.e. by the army at the various
19 *amakanda*. These would be taken to a deep, still pool in the river. There the warriors would palaza into the centre opening of the *inkata*. After all the palazaing was over, the king would give orders for troops to go to Senzangakona's grave to perform a dance (*keta*) there,³²⁶ also to sharpen their assegai on Senzangakona's old sharpening stone, i.e. the stone of the assegai.

Dingana was rather taller than I am and much stouter. He was very liberal with food.

I was at Mgungundhlovu when Piet Retief was killed. I was seated with the king, looking on. This occurred after we had returned from Mzilikazi, from the eMpama (hill and forest).³²⁷

Tshaka killed the Mbonambi. Those remaining were called the Zibolela.

We Zulus die lying facing the enemy - all of us - but at the Ncome we turned our backs. This was caused by the Boers and their guns. I went out on the expedition against Sobuza first, then the Impama one, then, the one in the Swazi country.³²⁸

20 The Mpama *impi* was the second expedition that Dingana sent after Mzilikazi. We were obliged to go far west before coming to his kraals Emhlahlandhlela [?] and <sic>.³²⁹ We crossed the Pongolo, Ingwavuma, Mkondo, Usutu, Igwa, Enkutu, and uBalule, then came to Empama (hill and forest), then to the Injisuti (Crocodile - Limpopo). We were many months away; we left when people were threshing *amabele* and returned when the maize was ripe.[?] Very large forces went under the command of Ndhlela and others. Food was carried. I was a regular soldier, not a mat-bearer. On the way we got food at the place of Putile and Magonondo's;³³⁰ we helped ourselves to it. We found *amabele*, and made a rush at it: the man who got into the hole first got killed there. We also seized the *izicwe*'s foodstuffs in spite of the superstition attaching to it.³³¹ They swore at us from the hills. At one place we came across *amabece melons* and *amapuzi pumpkins*. We ate them raw, and, whilst eating, others would grab at what one had. We had had venison the day before and were extremely hungry. There was no firewood on the highveld, the *dedangendhlale*.³³² We used buffalo dung for fire. Directly Mzilikazi heard of our approach he made off. We thought there was a chance of his encircling us, but we came from the river
21 where we had bivouacked, as it were retraced our steps, and came back on to attack. Mzilikazi then fled further north.

NGIDI

We were always in a state of unsettlement, unrest (*xobisekile*) in the Zulu country.³³³ We desired to get the cattle of our enemies to enrich ourselves, and in so doing killed the enemy. It was a good thing such a civilization or state of affairs came to an end. It greatly worried or inconvenienced us.

21.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 21-3.

Ngidi (Magambukazi) alone.

I crossed over with Mpande into Natal in 1839. I had already assumed the heading, those my age having been directed to do so by the Boers subsequently to the Ncome battle in 1838.

Makedama was in the Xulu country - chief: Xabashe - when Mgabi died. Mfundeko, son of Mgabi, *disputed* with Makedama. The Langeni (not eLangeni) tribe favoured Makedama. Mfundeko went off with Tshaka to the Mtetwa country, with his father's brother (*yisekazi*) Nxazonke. Nxazonke favoured Mfundeko.

22 Tshaka, Dingana, Ngqojana, Mhlangana, Mfihlo and Sopana were all turned out by Senzangakona, who was killing them for *hlobongaing* with girls.

Tshaka was born in the Langeni country, grew up there, and was called to Senzangakona when the killing referred to took place. Tshaka fled to live with Nxazonke. In the meantime Nandi was offered in marriage to the Nzuza chief (petty chief), but this man *insulted her* and refused to marry her as she had been married to the Zulu king, to which Nzuza was subject. Mqayana (the famous doctor) was of the Nzuza tribe, and this tribe was related to the Zulu.

Makedama caused girls (his sisters) to be married to particular persons, and, after receiving *lobola* and holding the marriage ceremony, she would be taken away by him and married to another man from whom he would receive further *lobola*. [I have previously referred to cases of this mentioned by Ngidi.] Tshaka learnt this kind of *craftiness (ubuqili)* at Makedama's, then some other trickery at Dingiswayo's.

23 Tshaka's name among the Zulu (tribe) was uMandhlesilo.³³⁴ The name Tshaka comes from the *praise (isibongo)* 'He who beats but is not beaten' (*uSitshaka ka sitshayeki*). Just as my real name is Ngidi but my *isibongo* one is Magambukazi. I am certain the name Tshaka is an *isibongo*, given him by Dingiswayo. When Senzangakona visited Dingiswayo he spoke of Tshaka as Mandhlesilo.

Nandi, I fancy, did not go to Dingiswayo's. Nxazonke, the younger brother of Mgabi, ruled after Mgabi's death. Bantwana was a brother of Nxazonke. Makedama, when he assumed the chieftainship, turned Nxazonke out, who went to the Mtetwa. Makedama killed the *izikulu* of the Langeni. Nxazonke, seeing this, feared being killed and so left. He was put out at not being permitted to reign longer.

When Tshaka was given to Ngomane he was given as Nxazonke's dependant, for he had left the Zulu tribe. I do not know Nxazonke - he was killed with Tshaka - but I knew Bantwana well. He died at the Mdhloti, in Verulam, in *amakolwa* houses.

22.10.1905, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 80, pp. 23-4.

- Ngidi (Magambukazi), by himself.
- 24 I knew Mbuyazi well (H.F. Fynn), also Gwalagwala (Fynn junior).³³⁵ Mbuyazi spoke in a way similar to the Pondo (or the amaXoza), and there was the same thing noticeable in Sir T. Shepstone's speech.³³⁶

*The Langeni originated (dabuka) among the Sibiya, at the place of Mavundhla. We are one with the Mlambo (Myambo), who are abeSutu. These live at Kwa Ntabakayikonjwa, at the iGwa, where the izicwe live. I cannot get the exact locus of Myambo's place but Magonondo and Nyamayenja lived near him - not far I fancy from Piet Retief.*³³⁷

Bulawayo. This kraal's name was at first Kwa Gibixegu. It was changed to Bulawayo after the killing of Zwide - because he had *overcome* and *destroyed* Zwide. '*Isihoho e si semateko*' - the praise-name of the Bulawayo umuzi.³³⁸ This means the 'place of death', where people are killed, from the precipices near there over which persons were thrown.

Gibixegu was so called because Tshaka *washed* over Senzangakona's hut and *giba'd* him, got him out of the hut and so out of the chieftainship.³³⁹

*He was qonela'ing him, i.e. washing over hut as Tshaka did in the Mletwa country on Senzangakona's hut.*³⁴⁰

Sikunyana was defeated at the Mhlongamvula - this is a stream which enters the Usutu river.³⁴¹

22.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 81, pp. 1-18.

- 1 Ngidi (Magambukazi) continues.

When Tshaka defeated Zwide, the latter fled to the Ezindololwane hills, *down the uSutu*, near Mampondsha's.³⁴² Zwide went off towards Sotshangana's, for Sotshangana was of the Nxumalo (Ndwandwe) tribe, the chief being Malusi (father of Sotondose). Sikunyana would not follow his father.³⁴³ He said, 'Tshaka has, as you say, defeated you, because you are an old man. I am his own age, and mean to try and see what I can do.' Sikunyana thereupon returned and subsequently met Tshaka at Umhlongamvula, where he was defeated.

Zwide never reached Sotshangana's; he died from illness on the road.

Sikunyana did not go after Sotshangana as his father did on being defeated; he went off towards Mzilikazi. He built at the Nhlabangekanda, the name of a stream, near the Nzwabuhlungu, another stream, both in Mzilikazi's district, where we got to on our expedition in Dingana's day.

- 2 Per Ngidi, 22.10.1905.

*The expedition against Mzilikazi. [In Dingana's reign - the second expedition against him, about 1837.]*³⁴⁴

Dingana was at Dhlambedlwini, at the White Mfolozi. The army assembled at midday. We sat down. We were summoned to go and perform the ukuketa dance at Kwa Nobamba, at Senzangakona's. After that we returned to Dhlambedlwini. Then Magwababa giya'd; he was of the iziNyosi regiment, and was a son of Ngomane. He was struck by Sigwebana. The king reproved Sigwebana, saying, 'How dare you strike a man of mine of such high rank! I should put you to death at once. Do you think that because you are a son of Mudhli you can strike a person of rank? I am reprieving you because I am about to send out the army. I am giving you a last chance. Don't ever do that again.'

The king released him and proceeded to teta the army. He then sent it off to Mnkabayi's, where it encamped.³⁴⁵ The next day it left Mnkabayi's, and slept at the place of the Kumalo. Then it slept at Mandhlangampisi's, then, the next day, at Magonondo's, then at Putile's, then at Nhlapo's, then at Maswahla's, then at the place of Mlambo ka Mavundhla. The next day it slept at the iGwa, and then crossed the Dedangandhlale plain. Then it slept at the Balule, then at eNkutu, then at eMpama, then at eNzwabuhlungu. Then it entered the country of Sikunyana. The next day it encamped at eNkungwini, an umuzi of Mzilikazi. Then it went to Mhlahlandlela.

At this point Mzilikazi revealed his own army. We were sitting; the day was breaking. The armies fought. Mzilikazi's forces (amabandhla) were driven off by us Zulu. We encamped, and slept there. The next day we took those of our men who had been stabbed by Mzilikazi's army and placed them in dongas. The next day we asked our fathers, 'When you were destroyed by snow, where were you?' 'It destroyed us back at eNkutu, where Mzilikazi was first scattered.' Then we were silent, and went off to sleep. The next day 'the rope snapped' (so ku dabuk' igoda) between us
4 amabuto and our fathers. We separated from them; we went off. We Mvoko and the Dhlambedhlu and the iziNyosi went off in the night to 'eat up' cattle on the Nkomazi.³⁴⁶ We 'ate up' cattle on the Nkomazi. Then we came back to our fathers. We remained at Mzilikazi's; we encamped and ate amabele. We remained there a long while, eating up cattle which ran away, which were missed by the army. Some were in front, others were behind, and others were in strongholds. We went in companies (amaxiba), we Zulu, at Mzilikazi's place, eating up the cattle there.

Then we came back; we came back home. The army did not return by the route by which it had gone out; it went by another. It returned by the plain of Amafa, and cut across over the Drakensberg. It came out at the place of Nhlaka ka Dikane of the Langeni people, and at the place of Sikabalanjana kaMungci, and at the place of the Kumalo. It cut across the place of the Kumalo, went down at Sandhlwana [the proper name of the Isandhlwana where the English were killed is iFenu; the Isandhlwana
5 here referred to appears to be another hill],³⁴⁷ and headed home to Mgungundhlovu. We 'black' regiments were told to disperse. Our fathers, the mature men (amadoda) went on alone to the king. They took the cattle with them and were apportioned a share. For our part, we went off to our homes in the outlying areas. Those izinceku who wished went to the king to get young steers which were left over when the cattle were distributed. The men stood in a semi-circle with the steers inside. They would be picked out with the shout of 'Take it, So-and-so! (Bamba bani!)' The picking-out

continued with shouts of 'Take it, So-and-so!' They were taken out in twos and threes, with shouts of who was to take them. They were taken out one by one, with shouts of who was to take them. A herd of steers was left, and then we youths were told, 'At them! (Sa!)' The youths would grab for themselves and come out with them. It was a real scramble ('utelwa wa yeka').

[The above is in Ngidi's own words. What follows is still in his own words, arising out of questions put by me.]

6 *It was this campaign, the one we went on, which destroyed the land, for we 'came back' with the white man, Piti.³⁴⁸ He was killed, and the land was destroyed; Mpande broke away (hlubuka). At that time we had already been buta'd. [About 18 years old - as big as my servant, Mafu, whose age I reckon to be about 18.]*

I am 'The one who speaks without being heard; the ratel of the one who keeps guard of the assegai' (praises).³⁴⁹ I am of the iMvoko regiment. We were given the praises 'We are the ratel of the one who keeps guard of the assegai' because we were sent out to go and keep watch on the Swazi. Mpande crossed over to come to Ngalonkulu (among the Boers) when we were in the Swazi country.³⁵⁰

The izinduna of the iMvoko were Msiyana ka Mhlana ka Kuywane, Jojo of the Meyeza people among the Qwabe, Zulu ka Mnanjana, Dhlonono ka Mahole, Sogweba ka Masekwana, together with others whom I have forgotten.

7 *The induna who was directly over me was Dhlonono ka Mahole. The umsengi (the chief umpakati who was not an induna) was Ndumundumu ka Nokokela,³⁵¹ I was in his company (ixiba). Dhlonono was the great induna of the isicamelo.³⁵² Ndumundumu was an isikulu who was an ipini but not an induna,³⁵³ when there was no induna present, matters were reported to him. Ndumundumu was put to death by Mpande; I don't know why. I was then in the white man's country (esilungwini).*

On this expedition against Mzilikazi I wore round the neck oxtails sewn onto a thong to form imiklezo.³⁵⁴ I wore a large crest (isiqova) of vulture feathers [nine inches in diameter] of several colours; it was black and dun-coloured (mpofu) - the vultures of the Pongolo are dun-coloured, those which eat people. On the crest were feathers of the crested crane, red ones, the colour of these cloths.

8 *I wore a belt (umbembesu) made of skin which had been cut in the centre and stood erect.³⁵⁵ My shield was black; it was of an iwaba beast.³⁵⁶ The top of its stick reached to the jaw. I carried two assegais, an iklwa and an isijula.³⁵⁷ I still have the iklwa, which was issued (abelwa) to me by the king, Dingana, at Kwa Msiyana (at the Black Mfolozi). It was issued to me when we went to keep watch on the Swazi. It was forged in the country of the Nxumalo. Assegais were forged there and then carried to the king.*

All we amabuto - we iMvoko, Imihaye and Izinyosi - did not stab anyone in Mzilikazi's country. The Dhlambedhlu tola'd those who were too weak to walk far - those who were sick, or had torn feet or torn testicles.³⁵⁸

This army brought back cattle from Mzilikazi. This was the army which seized everything and overcame everything. We ate up many cattle. We were 'heavy'

(*sindwa*) with them; we finished them off (*gotuluza* - seized everything). We also captured the sisters of Mzilikazi, Nozingwazi and okaNtanase.³⁵⁹

I wore blue monkey skin sewn to my headband of otter skin - flaps on either side of face and longer ones at the back of the head, reaching some way down the back.

- 9 So covered up would a person become with this head dress that you would not be able to recognize him for some time, and be obliged before stabbing him to try to discover who he really is.

Mzilikazi and his people dressed up in the fashion of the Zulu country. They also made their shields well. They broke away from inside the land.

The great induna who was in command of the whole army was Ndhlela ka Sompisi, 'the stout stick which points to the amaNgwane, the umwelela shrub in the country on the other side; the izinsonge which are on the other side of the Tukela' (his praises).³⁶⁰ Ngungwini ka Menziwa was another great induna - 'the tree-fern is in the imbiza pot at the place of Nandi', for he was a great warrior.³⁶¹ He was of the uMgumanqa regiment, 'Zandhlela, the rock for rolling, the one who rolls onto the army' - the praise-name of the umuzi of the uMgumanqa.³⁶² Another induna was Mpangazita ka Mncumbata of the Ndwandwe people; I do not know his praises. He was of the Bulawayo, together with Manqondo ka Mazwana, of the Magwaza people at our place in the Langeni country. Ndhlela was of the iNtontela regiment; 'the eyes do not see him (*amehlo kamboni*)' was his praise-name.

- 10 I knew Ndhlela well. He died at Maqongqo. He was tallish, with thin legs and a large body (stomach and chest), like Manyosi ka Dhlekezele of the Mbata people.³⁶³ He was blackish in colour, somewhat shiny, tending towards brown (*nsundu*). He did not have a temper, and would not agree when people were being killed. He had a headring; it was in the same position as mine. He was of the Bele people, of the Ntuli of Mavela. It was Ndhlela who was the greatest of all the izinduna; he was greater than Dambuza (Nzobo) ka Sobadhli, and Sipingo ka Renqwa, and Mnyamana ka Ngqengelele. He wore feathers of the mousebird and of the red-faced coly, greyish ones. They wore skin skirts (*izikaka*) like those worn by women, with blue monkey skins sewn on. They reached round the loins. The skins of blue monkey and of genet and of mongoose were twisted and sewn onto a thong. They wore a crane feather in front, like Tshaka.

- 11 The *Imvoko* was very large. We were Ndhlela's company (*ixiba*) at Mgungundhlovu. I myself was of the *Mketo*. We were chosen (*ketwa*) when we were still boys (about 15 years old). I reached the age of puberty at eMgumanqeni. Together with Tunumu ka Nonjiya, I had my ears pierced there, after the killing of Zihlandhlo ka Gcwabe, the chief of the Embo people.³⁶⁴

The Ndabakadengizibona, Imikulutshane, Hlaba and Kokoti were incorporated (*telwa*) into the *Mvoko*. The *Mvoko* had its own umuzi at Nhlungwane (hill) on the other side of the White Mfolozi, on this side of Kwa Denge (which is in the Ndwandwe country).

The Izinyosi, Dhlambedhlu, *Imvoko* (Imkulutshane, Ndabakadengizibona, Imihaye, and Ihlaba) went out on this *impi* against Mzilikazi. The Kokoti remained behind; they were still *klezaing*. We *Mvoko* were more numerous than the

*Dhlambedhlu. The Izinyosi were finished off at the place of Ngwadi at the time when a force went to put Ngwadi ka Gendeyana to death [notice Magambukazi uses 'g' here, not Ngendeyana], Ngwadi ka Gendeyana of the amaMbedu people of the Qwabe.*³⁶⁵

- 12 *We went with udibi boys, who carried sleeping-mats, neckrests, calabashes, cooking pots, and skin cloaks for covers. Food was carried by the whole army. Ndhlela too carried wood, for it was scarce at Dedangandhlale. Amabele and maize was carried. The uGibiqolo cattle were driven along for meat. These had been collected from all the abanumzana - cows with teats missing (imfambele), and stunted oxen with small horns that reached nowhere (amagxanxana).*

- Among these cattle known as the Gibiqolo, to which all, including the king contribute, will be placed a cow and calf or even a heifer, *that is able to bellow*. This cow is driven along, and, when coming in sight with the enemy, it will begin to bellow. Its calf is then removed from it and kept at the back with *the udibi boys*. The
13 *beast will then bellow. This bellowing is a form of tetaing the army. It serves to encourage and to fire the enthusiasm of the troops. It rouses (sukuza) the army, and makes it angry. It is a scout for the army; it teta's the army. It rouses them (they lose their heads); they want to get at the enemy in broad daylight. 'We will be wide awake when we die; we will be wide awake when we kill them.'* The *imbongi*, hearing the cow lowing strangely on seeing the enemy, will then sing out the praises of Mjokwane.³⁶⁶

The *imbongi* on this occasion was Cocosibili of the Qwabe people (I forget his father). He was so called because he had a *headring (isicoco)* in front with a *topknot (inhloko)* at the back, like a woman's, and coloured red.³⁶⁷ He would begin shouting, 'Sikihli! Sikihli! Sikihli! Utuli nqo! Utuli nqo!' [Meaning something like 'Crush! (or Grind!), Crush! (Grind to powder!); the dust straight into the air, dust straight into the air' (as arises when a conflict takes place - due to rushing of contending forces).]

- 14 *'The amabobulukana, the good heart of Somhlola' was the name of these cattle. I do not know which Somhlola was being referred to.*

*We did the ukuketa dance at midday at Nobamba, after having been sitting at esiKlebeni at the gate where we had assembled. We crossed the river to Rabu (the king's inyanga for scraping skins) at the confluence of the Nzololo and the Mkumbane, below the donga where Matiwane, chief of the Amangwane, lies.*³⁶⁸ *We did the dance at the grave of the chief Mjokwane on the hill above the umuzi, where all the chiefs are buried. Praises were declaimed, and the king's great war chant (igama) was sung. This great chant would then be sung until the adornments on our bodies were swinging about. We would also shout out 'Bayete!' to the king. (I do not know what Bayete means; it is, I think, simply a form of greeting.) This ceremony would rouse the warlike spirit of the people to an extraordinary degree, so much so that one would see that 'Today is the day! (Namuhla ku namuhla!)', for the people would be finished off; we would kill them. ['The day has come! The Ides of March have come!']*

- 15 *We finished doing the ukuketa at Nobamba when the sun was going down. The army was then sent off by Dingana. Dingana (Mpankominabele) was present at*

Nobamba. The order was given that it should go off to Mzilikazi's. We went off to sleep at eMahlabaneni, at Mnkabayi's. The army was addressed (tetelwa'd) at the gate at oDhlambedhlwini, after it had keta'd. As soon as it had keta'd at Nobamba it went to oDhlambedhlwini. It was then addressed, and went off to sleep at Mahlabaneni (the name of an umuzi). It went to the place of Mnkabayi ka Jama to fetch a spirit, whether that of Mjokwane or of someone else. Every army that went out would set off from eMahlabaneni. When Cetshwayo fought with Mbulazi he set off from eMahlabaneni, and Dinuzulu did so, and Cetshwayo when he fought the white people; Tshaka too used to set off from there.

16 *All of us, all the Zulu, went to eMahlabaneni. I saw Mnkabayi; it was she who teta'd the army. (She was 'the great she-elephant', an isitubesikazi (fat and soft),³⁶⁹ with large stomach. Mnkabayi was the chief (inkosi) of the Zulu who teta'd the army. The Zulu kings were 'placed' (bekwa) by her.*

We arrived at Mahlabaneni the next day. The army then ate. We were given cattle; we slaughtered them, and ate. The army was addressed (tetwa); it then went off. It went off, and slept at the place of Putile.³⁷⁰ It formed a semi-circle (umkumbi) at Mahlabaneni, outside, at a hillock at the gate. I was present in the semi-circle. The praises of the kings were declaimed. They were declaimed by Ndhlela, Dambuza ka Sobadhli, Msiyana ka Mhlana (an inceku of Dingana), Mpangazita, Klwana, Sipingo, Ngceba ka Nodanga (of our people, the eLangeni - ubabekazi³⁷¹), Gaqa ka Mendameli of the eLangeni, Ngungwini ka Menziwa, Mapita ka Sojiyisa, Tokotoko ka Sojiyisa - the great izinduna. It was the great izinduna who spoke, those of high birth (zo ku zalwa). The praises were declaimed by Ndhlela, Dambuza, Ngungwini, Mapita, Tokotoko, Sipingo ka Renqwa, Mpangazita (Sipingo and Mpangazita commanded the uFasimba); it was they who declaimed.

17 *Men like Fukwe, Mbili of the Mtetwa people, Mangena ka Sopata, Sotobe ka Mpangalala, Nongalaza ka Nondela of the Mngunyana people, of the Qwabe people, Zulu ka Nogandaya, Manyosi ka Dhlekezele, Klwana ka Ngqengelele ka Mvuyana of the Mtetwa people, of the Caya people [Buthelezi],³⁷² Msiyana ka Mhlana, Ngceba ka Nodanga, Guqa <sic> ka Mendameli - when the army was addressed (tetwa) by the above, they, would walk about (vakatsha) before their respective commands, but not teta in the presence of the greater men of high birth (bo ku zalwa) just mentioned.*

Manyosi used to declaim praises when beasts were slaughtered for the ancestors (e zomzimu). This was at esiKlebeni, 'at kwa Nomgabi, the milk bucket which overflows (gaba) without having given birth, the civet cat which, on waking, climbed the mountain, while the other civet cats went down the river'.³⁷³ This was where the whole Zulu people (uZul' wonke) was from; it was the ancestral umuzi (inzalamuzi) of all the Zulu chiefs, the one which followed Nobamba (uMbambangwe).³⁷⁴

Nqoboka ka Langa of the Sokulu people.³⁷⁵

Magwababa [vide p. 2] was dancing (giya) and performing war antics (hlabana) at his place at kwa Wambaza (the umuzi of Ngwadi).³⁷⁶ Sigwebana struck him, because, he said, Magwababa had touched him. He said this because he was of high birth (wo ku zalwa). Magwababa touched him with his arm; he did not see

Sigwebana behind him.

We were on this Mzilikazi expedition for about 10 months in all. *We set off in the month of iNgululazibuya (iNguyuyazibuya) - the month in which izibuya were gulula'd.*³⁷⁷ *Gulula is to clear off grass; isibuya is a piece of ground from which grass etc. has been cleared off, and on which amabele are put to be threshed. We were away until the end of the month of uMaquba,*³⁷⁸ *the Little Ntulini. (Hunting parties begin to be sent out during this month.)*

I no longer pay attention to the months. I used to do so because, of course, no one was allowed to eat the new crops until the king had *tshwama'd*. It therefore became necessary to observe exactly when the *umkosi* month would come. No one was allowed to partake of the new crops until the feast of first fruits had been held. He would be said to *be striking a blow at the king (galel' inkosi)*. The months, as far as I remember them, run as follows.³⁷⁹

Ngululazibuya	Zibandhlela
Maquba	Nhlolanja
<i>The Great Ntulini</i>	Ndasa
Ncwaba	Mbaso
Mpandu	Ngcelamkwekazi
Mfumfu	

<At this point in the text Stuart records lists of the Zulu names of months as given by A.T. Bryant and D. Leslie. We reproduce them in Appendix 2 - eds.>

23.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 81, p. 19-24.

19 Ngidi continues.

[Notice that Ngidi uses the word Mpandu. He left Zululand in 1839 so is unused to *hlonipaing*.³⁸⁰ These lists of months vary greatly, including one recorded in one of my principal notebooks.]

[Notes on the account beginning p. 2 continued.]³⁸¹

The time (of 10 months) was taken up owing to the great distance we had to travel, sleeping at some places two nights at others three, when we would feed on *amabele which we were carrying*.

The month of iNgululazibuya follows the month of uMbaso. It is the month when the amabele are harvested, when patches of grass are cleared away. We returned when the amabele were swelling (in the month of uMfumfu), when the maize had ripened in the maize-plots (ezifeni). Some of the amabele was in full flower; some of the maize was beginning to flower in the big fields.

20 *ULwezi is the name of small creatures which drop from trees;*³⁸² *it is the name of a month following uMfumfu.*

The fiscal shrike lays its eggs during uMfumfu and uMpandu, then it calls. Also

the iboyi warbler, a small bird which calls, 'Boyi! Boyi! Boyi!'

No sooner did we return than Piti (Piet Retief) came to Mgungundhlovu.³⁸³ He arrived when the *amabele* were red, when they were ripening. Piti came during the month of Masingana.³⁸⁴ I know we were eating sweet reed (*imfe*) then.

*'We have two, three izinkondlo songs,
They are woven close together,
They are woven together; where are they?'^a
We shall keta on this side,
But not on that side.'*³⁸⁵

^a*The reference to 'woven' (tshwilene) is to plaiting (like plaited cane on a cane chair).*

We bivouacked (ngenisa) singing this song, when we left the gully where Matiwana died. This song was the one sung when Piti was put to death.

We were putting on a display (ketela) for Piti. The king told us to do so. Dingana told us to put on a display for the chief of the strangers (inkosi ye zizwe), inside the cattle enclosure. We left Piti in the cattle enclosure at the place of Nkosinkulu (a bush where a former chief of the Zulu, Nkosinkulu, was buried.

21 [History says Piet Retief was murdered on February 6, 1838 (during the month of Masingana).]

We set forth on our expedition during September, October or thereabouts.

The battle of the gamepits (amagebe).³⁸⁶ This was also fought against the Boers, at the Mtshezi. I went out on this expedition. I was obliged to go on every expedition. We 'ate up' the Boers at the Mpfana.³⁸⁷ We were caught in a thunderstorm; the rain came down very heavily. A black youth of the Mtetwa people was killed by lightning; he was Hamu of the Izinyosi regiment (I don't know his father).

23.10.1905 (evening). Ngidi continues.

We went along by no road or paths to Mzilikazi. *Our food ran out at eNkutu (a forest, small forests). The next day we saw buffalo down the iNjisuti river. We killed some of them; we made camp, and ate. We ate those buffalo, and eland.*

22 There were no kraals whatever along our route. An old piece of buffalo dung would be picked up, when one, in getting it, would exclaim, 'Here is a piece of cowdung!' People would come across the skin which is stripped off a stalk of sweet-reed when it is eaten, and would say, 'We have arrived.' In fact it had been placed there by spies who were keeping a lookout for the army of the Zulu country and the army of the Abesutu. The izinduna would then say, 'We have arrived. Strengthen yourselves, and go forward.'

Many were unable to keep up owing to sore feet and legs. These were picked out and beaten and told to go back home. The army would then be hurried along and told to go faster. Those who could not keep up were killed by amaNkengana on their way back.³⁸⁸ The order would be given 'Let the maggots (izimpetu) go home'. There at the

place of Myambo, those who turned back were called *iziboto*.³⁸⁹ These men were the ones who reached the Zulu country; none of them was put to death. They were the ones who turned back when the army was going up at eNkutu, on the day that we saw the game at the iNjisuti. They were called *maggots* because they moved with difficulty. 'You are troubling me,' one of these would say on getting up in the morning and told to go on. For his scrotum might have burst open and testicles come out. The sinews of his legs might have gone, and his feet have become a mass of wounds, cut open and cracked. 'Go!' the others would shout as he cried out, blood dripping from his wounds as he shuffled along with difficulty. Many, though unfit to travel, persisted in so doing, afraid to turn back for fear of being killed by the *amankengana* when they were alone.

No misfortune overtook me on this expedition, no mishap of any kind. Very many *companies* (*amaviyo*) returned to Zululand. They would be placed in charge of *izinduna*, viz. Mandhlesilo and Ngceba ka Nodanga (both these were of our people among the eLangeni), and were too old to go on.

Firewood ceased to be carried out at the place of Myambo. Further on we were obliged to use grass. Each man had a fire of his own. Until dawn we would make fires, using this straw. The frost was white on the ground. Firesticks were carried; they were carried by the *izinduna*. The *izinduna* would prepare smoking-horns of *dagga*. They would smoke, and declaim the praises of the king there in the wilderness (*endhle*). Snuff (*ugwayi*) would be cut up with *insengetsha* stones when a flat rock was reached. When there was no snuff left, the *umsuzwane* shrub would be cut and used.³⁹⁰

We used to travel at night, and when we came to a halt we would stand our shields up and undo our snuffboxes (*umfece*) from round the neck. You would take snuff out, snuff it, and give to your friend who was holding your shield. The *umfece* was easier to get at than the *itongwane* shell which was kept in the *umklezo* of ox-tails.³⁹¹ And on taking snuff one would be revived although very sleepy.

When our snuff came to an end we used *umsuzwane*. The *izinduna*'s tobacco was carried in *izihlandhlo mats*,³⁹² plenty of it. The *izinduna* would give tobacco to those they knew, boys of position. After using the smoking horn an *isikulu* might say, 'Go and put this out,' and then you would puff at it, cough once or twice, and then empty the water etc. and take it back to the *induna*.

No pieces of dung could be found, there being no cattle in the land traversed, and those of *eland*, *hartebeest*, and *elephant* could only be got along river banks.

23.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 82, pp. 1-4.

1 The expedition to Mzilikazi's country (continued). Ngidi (Magambukazi) goes on. Neither Mpande nor the greater *izikulu* of the Zulu country - the older ones - went, out on this expedition.

Doctors did not attend on those who became unwell. Where would they have done their doctoring, in whose country? There was no opportunity for treating sick persons.

The *spies (izinhloli)* were the guides as to the route to follow. These *spies* used to go and live with the people about to be attacked. They would, attach themselves to some chief or another, and if any question, as for instance at an *umjadu* or public dance should arise, say at once what chief they, belonged to. Such were our guides, men who knew well the enemy to be attacked.

We carried cloaks (izipuku) made of the skin of young steers (amatole). The skins would be scraped and become soft. The cloaks were carried by boys.

In Dingana's time, girls did not go out with the army. They used to do so in Tshaka's time. No girls accompanied us.

- 2 *Our army fought against Mzilikazi. Of Mzilikazi's amabuto I know the Izimpangele, which fought with the Kangel, Hlomendhlini, Intontela, Dhlangezwa, Imihaye and Mgumanqa. The Izimpangele were defeated. They fought down the river; we were up above. Very many of Mzilikazi's people were killed there. That is where our forces captured the cattle afterwards claimed by Boers from Dingana as theirs.*

It was our fathers who fought, the uMgungundhlovu. We amabuto did not fight.

Stumps of grass and lumps of earth were what people with sore feet most feared, i.e. dry burnt grass and the hard little lumps of earth caused by insects burrowing in the earth. No sandals (izicatulo) were made.

On the day previous to an attack or fight, cattle of the ancestors (ezomzimu) would be killed in great numbers, also other cattle, and the praises of the chiefs Senzangakhona and Tshaka would be declaimed. But whilst on the march, no cattle were offered to the spirits.

- 3 *We used to make camp at rivers, where there was water, in the long grass, in the bushes.*

We succeeded in capturing so many cattle that we lacked men to drive them; the army was too small.

There was no rain. We last had rain at the place of Myambo, at the iGwa, on the day we ate up the grain basket of the isicwe, a basket of amabele. There was a heavy storm; the rain pelted down. The isicwe said, 'Because you have eaten my amabele, you will never again eat amabele.' He was in a little habitation hollowed out from an anthill, such as people sleep in in the mountains.

- The Izimpangele were engaged with the Kangel,³⁹³ down the river. The Mgungundhlovu detachments fought near eNkungwini, whilst all of us youths (izinsizwa) were hidden so that Mzilikazi's men should not see us. Only the mature men (amadoda) on the Zulu side appeared. Not all the men from Mgungundhlovu fought. The Isiklebe did not fight, nor did the Mbelebele, Fasimba, isiPezi and Amawombe. The Izimpohlo fought, as did the Ngqobolondo, the Fojisa and Tshoyisa. We youths appeared after the fighting had begun and our men were stabbing them far off. We youths were not allowed to begin the fighting. It was begun by the small amakanda, by the older, headringed men, the Mpangiso, the Guqu, the Ntshamate, the Mkandhlu and the Kuwela. Then the Izimpohlo followed. The attack was made by those who would not run away, the older men. If boys were sent forward they would hesitate about pushing or forcing the attack, and perhaps turn and flee. Men would not retreat but fall with their faces towards the foe.*

On our return, the cattle were shared out. They were shared out to the izikulu and the mature men. They were 'poured out' to the amakanda. Those who had gone on the expedition, as well as those mature men who had not, were given cattle, and we youths were presented with steers, as previously stated.

28.10.1905

File 62, nbk. 82, pp. 5-11.

5 Ngidi (alias Magambukazi) continues.

The impi in the Swazi country. This impi was the first I went out on.³⁹⁴ I belonged to the mketo.³⁹⁵ (We were picked out (ketwa) from the Mkulutshane, iHlaba, etc.; we were said to be too small; we were sent to kleza.) The mketo had not at this time been incorporated (telwa'd) into the Imvoko - afterwards my regiment. We set out with the Kangela (i.e. the Hlomendhlini, Mgumanqa, Dhlangezwa, Ntontela and Kangela. (Kangela was an umuzi of Dingana - the place of his people (wa kwabo).) We went to the Swazi country - we were sent out (pakwa'd) at Mgungundhlovu. The Mgungundhlovu regiments - the Siklebe, Izinyosi, Dhlambedhlu, Imvoko, Mbelebele, Mgungundhlovu, and Zibolela (residue of Mbonambi, in Tshaka's time) - set out at the same time. They went along the coast northwards to Sambana, son of Mgidhla³⁹⁶ - the Ihlaba also went there - whilst we proceeded north-westwards. We crossed the Mfolozi rivers (White and Black), the Mkuze and the Pongolo, and got to the Usutu, then came along the Usutu to Nyamayenja's district.³⁹⁷ At Nyamayenja's
 6 *the Imihaye separated from us and attacked the people of Zidubele who had taken refuge with their stock in a stronghold.³⁹⁸ They defeated Zidubele and captured the stock. The troops I was with attacked the Swazis who had taken refuge in caves known as Kwa Siqwanjana. Just before going to Kwa Siqwanjana we visited Sobuza's eLangeni kraal, finding it vacated.³⁹⁹ We slept there but did not burn it because it would afford shelter to the troops that had gone to the uBombo. After leaving eLangeni we passed where the Swazi king Ndungunya had been buried on the Mkondo river.⁴⁰⁰ We failed to capture the Siqwanjana stronghold, for those there rolled boulders on to us. We desisted. Dingana then commandeered the English settlers (Isilungu) at Port Natal, also Natives, who dislodged the enemy and seized their cattle. I do not know what Europeans took part.*

7 *Dingana killed Mdhlaka the first year of his reign.⁴⁰¹ I never saw Mdhlaka. He (D.) caused him to follow his master Tshaka.*

The Izigulutshana are the Ndabakadengizibona - one and the same.

Nhlanganiso of the Matshobana (Mzilikazi) people was a son of Bensa. He deserted from Mzilikazi and joined Dingana, becoming an inhloli or spy. He was sent to spy in the country of Ncapayi,⁴⁰² also in the Mpondo country, and in Mzilikazi's country - the place of his people (kubo). He was accompanied by Mpezulu, who may be a son of Nomagaga. Dingana sent an impi out to attack Ncapayi.⁴⁰³ When the troops got to Ncapayi's district, he and all his people had gone off with their stock. Nhlanganiso's eyes were thereupon taken out of his head by Dingana's order because he had not spied properly. Mpezulu's eyes were also taken out.

Tshaka did a similar thing to Matshongwe ka Mgedeza of the Qwabe people.

8 Tshaka, after defeating Pakatwayo, asked, 'Why is it that the chief alone has been caught? How is it the king has been deserted by all his troops? They must be cowards.' Whereupon T. ordered them all into the cattle kraal at Kwa Bulawayo and told them to kill one another, which they did. Matshongwe was the last who remained. T. ordered his eyes to be taken out. He did not die then but on a later occasion.

Dingana took out the eyes of Voboza ka Mbikwana, *my ubabekazi*.⁴⁰⁴ *It was said that he lay with an umntwana, an inkosazana of eSiklebeni*.⁴⁰⁵ *He made her pregnant.*

Dingana never cut a woman open to see how the foetus lay in the womb, but Tshaka did so, as I have previously stated. He *cut open a woman of the place of Mdungu ka Sobongela*. He lived at eDhlokweni (Tukela); I do not know his tribe. He said he wanted to see where the child lay and *where the penis reached to (lap' umtond' upelela kona)*. This case happened at Dukuza, *after he had crossed the river and come to Dukuza, leaving the Zulu country, saying it was the place of the impaka*.⁴⁰⁶ This woman, on being asked by him for water, told him to go and lap it for himself in the river (meaning of course as if he were a dog).

When T. came from the Mtetwa, he met women married to Mtshitshizelwa and asked them for water. They told him to go and lap it up for himself in the stream. He afterwards became king, and then sent a body of men to go and kill the women but to allow the husband to escape. This husband got off, and was *given protection (tolwa'd) among the Amanganga at the place of Magalela, up the Mlazi river in Natal*. Mtshitshizelwa's tribe was *the amaZungu*. Tshaka had come on a visit to Mfundeko. It was whilst on this visit that he met the women. On this visit too he *hlobonga'd* with the girls. He caught hold of one and *penetrated her*, causing her to
10 be pregnant. It was reported to Dingiswayo, who said, '*What can I do to this Zulu wrong-doer (itshinga la kwa Zulu)?*' and took no further steps in the matter.

Tshaka had a son, Zibizendhlela. This boy and his mother escaped the year Tshaka *went up from the Mtetwa country*, and went to Faku in the Mpondo country. The same year Tshaka gave a sweetheart of his called Monase to Mpande. By this woman Mpande had a son, viz. the famous Mbuyazi. If an *isiklebe became pregnant, izinyanga* would be got to *find for her izimbiza herbs to make the child come out*.⁴⁰⁷ Dingana did not, like Tshaka, wish for children. He also gave Mpande a wife, viz. the mother of Tshonkweni. (Her name may be Masaya, or something like it.)

Somqeni is another name - *a praise-name* - for Nandi.

The Ingcobinga were also known as the uJubingqwanga (from *uqwanga*) - called by Dingana Izinyosi. [*Uqwanga* is cartilage or shoulder blades.]

11 <Praises of Nandi omitted - eds.>

Nandi's mother was Mfunda ka Kondhlo (sister of Pakatwayo). Nandi was Mbengi's first-born. She belonged to the Nguga kraal. Mgabi came after Nandi, then Nxazonke.

29.10.1905, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 82, pp. 12-24.

- 12 Magambukazi (Ngidi) continues.

Kangela was spoken of as *Kwa Kangela-qa!* This kraal was built on Mpehlela hill, a hill on which Pakatwayo had built his kraal, eMtandeni. Mpehlela was near or opposite to amaNdawe hill. Kangela was about four miles from the Mhlatuze. The Enzondeni and Ekuqobekeni kraals were nearer the Mhlatuze, these both being others of the king's kraals.

The fountain which water was got at by those living at Kangela was uNtontonto.

.... <Dancing-song of the uKhangela ikhanda, with notes, omitted - eds.>

- 13 Mgodukwa was *one of Dingana's spies*. He was son of Songebeza. I knew him well. He died at the Mkomazi when living under Wohlö.⁴⁰⁸ He used to *spy in the Mpondo country*, and used to be accompanied by Msekelo ka Ntamo *of the Majola people, of the Cunu people*. They also *spied in Ncapayi's country*.

.... <Dancing-song of the Mgungundhlovu ikhanda, with notes, omitted - eds.>

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

- 16 29.10.1905, evening. Magambukazi (Ngidi) continues.

The second *impi* sent to Swaziland was sent when Dingana was *removing* and going off to Sotshangana's.⁴⁰⁹ The Mbelebele and we Imvoko went off on this expedition. *We went to open the way, to kill the Swazi along the way*, so that the king could go by safely. We went as far as the Mkondo. We killed very many; *seneka* - we 'spread' them out; *we finished them off*. We seized no cattle. Mpande *deserted* (*hlubuka'd*) before we got to where their cattle were,⁴¹⁰ so we were obliged to leave them and return. When we left Dingana he was *at the place of Msiyana ka Mhlana ka Kulwana of the Mpanza people* on the Black Mfolozi, where our *impi* was *teta'd* by him, Mpankominabele - his name. He there gave us *finery for our dress* (*imvunulo*), as well as assegais. By this time I had *put on the headring*. We were *caused to do so* by order of the Boers, we Dhlabedhlu, Mkulutshana, Izinyosi, etc. They said *that we did not listen; that they struck us but we did not die; we rose up again*. Dingana complied with this order because he was *running off*, for he suspected Mpande of wanting to leave him, and because his *men* (*amadoda*) had been killed off at the iNcome. We were told to *put on the headring* after fighting at Blood River and at oPate.

- I was present at the oPate *fight* too. After we were chased away from the Ncome, we came to Mgungundhlovu and then, finding the Boers on top of us, we *passed on* and *encamped at the uPate* whilst the Boers *encamped up at Mtonjaneni at the place of Gada of the Mdhlalose people*.⁴¹¹ We slept seventeen days near the uPate. We did not attack the Boers although *they were out in the open*. *They were decoyed by Bongoza*. He said, *'There are no people left in the Zulu country; you finished them off at the Ncome.'* He *pointed to a cloud of dust down at the place of Nqoboka in the*

Mtewa country. He said, 'There are the women and cattle. Dingana has left, and gone off to the place of Sotshangana's people.' But there were other cattle that were wandering about nearer by. The Boers were drawn down by Bongoza to find the whole Zulu army there, every *ingoso* and *isiqude*.⁴¹² I was present there too. The Boers got off and led their horses down the uPate mountain. UPate is the name of a mountain. A number of Boers were killed; others escaped.

The Boers in their flight managed to seize some of our cattle that were near Ntabankulu.⁴¹³ They left their waggons behind on the Mtonjaneni. These Dingana
19 had seized. They were drawn by the regiments and taken to emVokweni where the king was then *ruling from*, for Mgungundhlovu had been burnt by Dingana. Dingana told Velenjeni ka Mamfongo, who was *guarding the umuzi* (Mgungundhlovu), to fire the kraal, although, because of the Boers pursuing us, they got the credit for burning it. I do not myself believe they did burn it.

[Second Swazi *impi* continued.]

When we had been *sent out* (*pakwa'd*) at Msiyana, we slept at the place of Somapunga ka Zwide.⁴¹⁴ We left at night; the army went to kill Nomapela of eNtabatweni (his *umuzi*), an *induna* at kwa Nobamba, in the Zulu country. It put him to death. We left, and went off to sleep at the place of Mangxanga, an *induna* at kwa Nobamba. He lived up the Vuna river, at its source, above the Pongolo.⁴¹⁵ He was not killed. The army left that place, and slept at the place of Klwana ka Ngqengelele
20 at Mbongombongweni. After that it slept in the bush country at the Pongolo river. Then it went to kill Nolube, an *inyanga* of Sobuza. It cut off his head, surrounded his place, and completely finished it off. From there it went to uBuya, above the Mkondo river, to Tekwane's place. It stayed there, and cut poles for the king's *imizi*. We finished fencing them. Then the Swazi came. We stabbed them, finished them off, and drove them away.

More of the Zulu army followed - the Dhlambedhlu, Izinyosi, Indabenkulu and Nobamba. The army went off down the Mkondo; it went off to Mswazi's country to seize cattle in the low country.⁴¹⁶ Mswazi had run away to the low country. Before we came to where Mswazi was, a messenger arrived from the rear. 'Hau! Mpande has gone; he has crossed the river!' Upon this we went back. We then scattered; we went
21 to fetch our mothers and fathers who were with Mpande, and our cattle and our sisters and brothers. We left the king up at the Ngome;⁴¹⁷ we deserted (*hlubuka*) him.

All our livestock (*izimpahla*), all that was ours, had been taken off. We then followed our people who had gone with Mpande. We travelled in ones and twos.

It was Klwana ka Ngqengelele who commanded the army which went to the Swazi country, together with Msiyana, and Jojo ka Mgwelekazi of the Mayezeni people, of the Qwabe people.

Natal was known as Esibubulungu or as the country of Ntaba ka Myebu.⁴¹⁸ The Abambo people lived up the Thukela, above Ntunjambili.⁴¹⁹ The Abambo are one with the Swazi; they originated (*dabuka'd*) with them. There was no name for the whole of Natal. Districts were called after their various chiefs.

22 The people of Langalibalele ka Mtimkulu are one with the people of the place of

*Magaozi, the father of Beja.*⁴²⁰ *I do not know the name of their people (isizwe), whether or not they are amaHlubi.*

I do not know the word Fumo as applied to the people of Tongaland.⁴²¹

The Qwabe, Zulu and Langeni *separated off (hlukana) from Sibiya* (Langeni ancestor). Sotobe ka Mpangalala was *of the Sibiya people*,⁴²² the same Sibiya, the ancestor of our tribe. His tribe is called the Sibiya.

We say, '*Hush, Sibiya; hush, Mzimaseli!*' The Qwabes say, '*Hush, Mnguni; hush, Sibiya!*' to children when crying. The Qwabe are the *house which first emerged (indhlu e ya puma ku qala)*. [The original tribe of Malandela may, therefore, be Sibiya (?). Inquire into this possibility - 31.7.1919.]

I believe the amaCunu also *separated (dabuka'd)* from us.

Gendeyana was of the amaMbedu house of the Qwabe tribe. Gendeyana's father is unknown to me. Ngwadi lived at *eNhlungwane, down the Mhlatuze, on the other*
23 *side, near Kwa Dlangezwa*. I do not know if Tshaka went to live at Gendeyana's.

Tshaka and Nomcoba were Nandi's only children by Senzangakona. Nomzinhlanga was the daughter of the *inkosikazi of esiKlebeni, Mnkabi, by Senzangakona*.

When the country was in a disturbed state owing to war with the Boers, *the ukuQobeka and the iNzonda (imizi of Shaka) were taken and joined together (telwa ndawonye)*. *It went off to build at Kwa Denge (in the Ndwandwe country); it became Nomzinhlanga's umuzi. Then my ubabekazi,*⁴²³ *Dangazele ka Qayiyana ka Daleni, was made induna*. But he was *induna* of ekuQobekeni kraal in Tshaka's as well as in Dingana's reign. He became *induna*, and I was told to go and milk there. The two kraals were called ekuQobekeni, but the iNzonda name was retained inasmuch as an *uhlangoti* of the kraal was called thereafter.⁴²⁴

24 The ukuQobeka kraal was quite close to amaNdawe hill and near the Mhlatuze. The Inzonda was on a hill opposite ukuQobeka kraal. A stream divided them in which a leopard lived which killed people. *Umwowane traps were set for them.*⁴²⁵ People never went singly through the bushes *in the ravine* and quite close to eNzondeni. An *umwovane* is a trap set for animals of this kind. It was composed of uprights about which were wattled *umtwazi creepers*. A dog or goat or piece of meat would be put in to attract, a trap having been set with a heavy stone to fall and shut the beast in. The king got us an *inyanga* to *trap* the leopard referred to *with an umwovane. It was caught*.

Bulawayo was situated at kwa Maqwakazi. Kangela and iBongo (eBongweni) were both Senzangakona's kraals; *they were built in the neighbourhood of Mahambehlala, an umuzi of Mpande, at the Mkukuze.*⁴²⁶ Dingana afterwards moved the Kangela to Mpehlela, as previously explained. The iBongo kraal belonged to Mbudhlele, *who followed Dingana in age*; that is where Dingana's mother Mpikase died (sister of Ndhlela).

30.10.1905, Monday.

File 62, nbk. 83, pp. 1-4.

- 1 Ngidi (alias Magambukazi - his *praise*, because of his having killed two persons in the second expedition to Swaziland) was himself wounded in the left leg just above the knee, rather on the inner side of the leg - also a scratch, now invisible, at the base of the neck, left side, in front. This scratch was caused by an opponent he had got the better of. He has also, he says, marks of ricochets or bits of bullets on the inner sides of his two thighs in front - got at Encome (Blood river).

Whilst at the Mtetwa, I hear, Tshaka used to fight with the Qwabe and Nyuswa tribes. The Qwabes under Pakatwayo used to flee to, and *make a stand* in, Entumeni. The Mtetwa also fought the Dube people under Nzwakele ka Kutshwayo.

- Tshaka was one of the Isifazana regiment of Dingiswayo. Dingiswayo also fought against the Ndwandwe and abaTembu (under their chief Mlunjwa). Tshaka had the reputation of *fighting fiercely (hlabanaing)*. *In former times (endulo), before he came, people used to fight by hurling assegais at one another. He learnt the practice of stabbing from us Langeni; among us, people used to stab one another.* This mode of fighting in our tribe *began in Makedama's time*, Makedama being about the same age as Tshaka.

Makedama was killed by Tshaka *because he, Tshaka, had a grudge against Makedama for having driven him away on his return from the Mtetwa country.* Tshaka *invited* Pakatwayo of the Qwabe and Sinqila ka Mapoloba, chief of the Nyuswa tribe. At this time Pakatwayo *and he used to hold umjadu dances together.* *Of the chiefs of the down-country region (ezansi), Tshaka began with us, i.e. Tshaka began his course of conquest with our tribe.* Makedama was *surrounded* in the Nkandhla. Makedama did not personally go to the Nkandhla; his tribe did so. He went and *encamped at the Mhlatuze*, viz. at eVungwini, *below the broken country*, i.e. in Mgabi's district. He *went into a stronghold with low cliffs, at the place of Majimba ka Sonyazile of the Langeni people.* It was in that *stronghold* that he was attacked after the tribe had been *dispersed* in the Nkandhla. Tshaka said, *'Where is the chief?'* Answer: *'He is down at Majimba's place.'*

- 3 Tshaka spent the greatest portion of his youth *in the Langeni country, at the place of Mfunda, his grandmother*, namely at Ngugeni kraal. The Nguga kraal was first built, I believe, by Mhlongo, our former chief. His other *amakanda* were uBane (oBaneni) and Umpondonde (where Lubango, Mhlongo's eldest son went to live). The Nguga, uBane and Mpondonde come from uMhlanga kraal. The Mhlanga kraal was *Ncumela's*.

Tshaka, whilst in our tribe, was *butwa'd* with Makedama into the Amananana regiment by Mgabi, Mbengi being now dead. Izimpangele was the name of another regiment - Makedama's. Koto ka Msomi was one of those who fought for Makedama against Tshaka.

Tshaka was in this regiment *before* he went *to the Mtetwa country*. Mgabi died whilst Tshaka was still with us. Nxazonke was appointed regent in place of Makedama, who was on a visit *to the place of his mother's people in the Xulu country, in open country at the Mfule.*⁴²⁷ *We and the Xulu were neighbours.* When

NGIDI

4 Makedama returned it was then he quarrelled with Tshaka about the stones. The amaNdhlovu and Kanyile tribes were neighbours of ours as well. Ndhlovu ka Kuba was chief of amaNdhlovu people, and this same chief Ndhlovu was father of Gaozi (chief of the Mpungose tribe) and also of Silwana.

Tshaka and Makedama used to *drink from the udder* of a *rwanqazana* beast with horns thus,⁴²⁸

LA

Their joint *inceku* was Nsindwane of the *Magwaza people*. This *inceku* would begin by *removing the first milk from the udder*, whereupon Makedama would tell Tshaka to *drink from the udder*, which T. would do; then followed Makedama, and then Sukuzwayo ka Didi ka Mhlongo. This beast belonged to Mfunda; *it was the beast from which the abantwana used to drink*.⁴²⁹ Nsindwane died at Pobana's (W. Fynn's) establishment, Ezinkumbini, near Mzinto.⁴³⁰

Notes

¹Mbovu kaMshumayeli was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence appears in vol. 3 of the Stuart Archive.

²Bellair is today a south-western suburb of Durban. The Mhlathuzana river flows into the southern end of Durban bay. In a list entitled 'Native Names of Europeans', Stuart identifies Mcasimbana as 'Dering? Stainbank' (Stuart Collection, File 73, p. 156).

³Ndunge was chief of the Cele in the Umlazi division.

⁴For discussion of the term *ilala* (pl. *amalala*) see Hamilton & Wright, 'The making of the *amalala*'.

⁵The note in parentheses occurs in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of the page.

⁶The Mfulu river rises north of the village of Melmoth and flows south-east to join the Mhlathuze. The KwaMagwaza area is ten kilometres to the south-west of Melmoth.

⁷Meseni was chief of the Qwabe in the Inanda, Lower Tugela, Mapumulo and Ndwedwe divisions. He was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in vol. 3 of the Stuart Archive.

⁸Phakathwayo kaKhondlo was chief of the Qwabe in the early nineteenth century.

⁹Nandi was the mother of the Zulu king Shaka.

¹⁰This date appears in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of the page.

¹¹The reference is to Nathaniel Isaacs's Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, first published in two volumes in London in 1836.

¹²This genealogical table appears in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of page 4.

¹³Ndondakusuka, a locality on the north bank of the Thukela river near its mouth, was the scene of two battles in the nineteenth century. The first was fought in 1838 between a Zulu army and a British-led raiding party from the settlement at Port Natal. The second was fought in 1856 between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, rival sons of Mpande.

¹⁴For *izigoza* read probably *iziGqoza*, the collective name for the forces of Mbuyazi (see previous note).

¹⁵Senzangakhona was chief of the Zulu in the early nineteenth century and father of Shaka.

¹⁶The sentence is underlined in the original, presumably because this statement about Nandi's formal marriage to Senzangakhona was not in accord with statements made to Stuart by other informants.

¹⁷Mandlesilo means 'strength of the wild animal'.

¹⁸Mbikwana has previously been identified by the informant as a son of Mbhengi. The Ngoye hills extend north-eastward of Eshowe.

¹⁹The reference is to a quarrel which, according to some traditions, is supposed to have taken place between Shaka and Makhedama, son of the Langeni chief Mgabhi, when, as boys, they were playing together using stones to represent cattle.

²⁰The passage in parentheses occurs in the original as a marginal insertion on page 6. Thununu kaNonjiya was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in volume 6 of the Stuart Archive.

²¹Nomo was a brother of Phakathwayo.

²²The sentences in parentheses occur in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of the page. We have been unable to locate Nozaza's evidence. The reference to 'pink notebook 47, p. 17', is to Ngidi's evidence under date 6.11.1904. See also note 211 below.

²³For discussion of the term Nguni see Wright, 'Politics, ideology and the invention of the "Nguni"', in Lodge, ed., Resistance and Ideology, pp. 96-118; Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 186-90.

²⁴Several traditions recorded by Stuart identify Gendeyana as a man by whom Nandi, Shaka's mother, had a son named Ngwadi.

²⁵The Mdloti and Mhlali are rivers which enter the sea north of Durban.

²⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 297, gives *ikatazo* (*ikhathazo*) as a species of plant whose roots were believed to have certain prophylactic qualities. On the expression '*Hofe mkozi!*' see also Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 176, vol. 2, pp. 45, 97, vol. 3, p. 263, vol. 4, p.37.

²⁷*Amantungwana* is the diminutive of *amantungwa* (sing. *intungwa*). For discussion of this term see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', ch. 5; Wright & Hamilton, 'Ethnicity and political change before 1840'.

²⁸The reference is presumably to Macingwane, chief of the Chunu.

²⁹This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 11. It is not clear to what evidence it refers.

³⁰This note appears in the original in the upper margin of p. 12.

³¹Literally, little anuses of the dogs.

³²KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.

³³The black *isigodlo* was that section of the *isigodlo* where the king's wives and senior royal women lived.

³⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 591, gives *usinga* (pl. *izinsinga*) as 'certain bundles of muscle, as in the upper foreleg and back of an ox, and which are dried and stripped up into strong fibres; such muscular fibre when stripped up and used for securing, plaiting into strings, etc...'

³⁵The last sentence of this paragraph appears in the original as a note in the upper margin of p. 20.

³⁶Ndlela kaSompisi of the Ntuli people was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.

³⁷'*Mgidelwana we ntombi za kwa Mahoba*' in the original. *Mgidelwana* literally means 'the small one who is danced for'.

³⁸The Intenjane was one of Shaka's *amabutho* (see evidence of Madikane in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, p. 61). The reference here is presumably to the *umuzi* where it was stationed.

³⁹The amaZunge are hills near the White Mfolozi. Mbelebeleni, eziNyosini and esiKlebheni were Zulu royal *imizi*. The Mkhumbane and Nzololo were the streams between which the umGungundlovu *umuzi* was built.

⁴⁰Emahlabathini (the place of sands) was the general name for the locality round the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi where many of the *imizi* of the Zulu chiefly house were located.

⁴¹Madumela was presumably a praise-name. In the original the phrase *wezi nsizwa (of the youths)* is so positioned that it might possibly apply to 'Bekenya', which is next in the list of names.

⁴²Nomagomba and uGobandwane were presumably praise-names.

⁴³For Meseni see note 7 above.

⁴⁴Zwide kaLanga was chief of the Ndwandwe in the early nineteenth century. Masiphula kaMamba was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*.

⁴⁵Mnkabayi kaJama was a sister of the Zulu chief Senzangakhona.

⁴⁶The emThonjaneni range overlooks the Mahlabathini region from the south.

⁴⁷Items 44 to 51 in the list appear in the original as a marginal insertion on p. 24.

⁴⁸The amaNdawe hills are some fifteen kilometres to the north-north-east of Eshowe.

⁴⁹Magaye kaDibandlela was chief of the Cele in Shaka's time.

⁵⁰Items 52 to 55 in the list appear in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of p. 23. The Ngome mountain is some thirty kilometres west-north-west of Nongoma.

⁵¹In the original, the items in the list from this point on are unnumbered, and appear in the left-hand margin of p. 23.

⁵²Langazana was a wife of Senzangakhona.

⁵³Mawa was a sister of Senzangakhona.

⁵⁴Gqugqu was a son of Senzangakhona.

⁵⁵This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 24.

Ngalonkulu is elsewhere given by Stuart as A.W.J. Pretorius; see his list, 'Native Names of Europeans', in Stuart Collection, File 73, p. 156.

⁵⁶Literally the verb *ukuthela* means to pour into, etc. As applied to *amabutho*, it seems to have been used to describe the amalgamating, temporarily or permanently,

of *amabutho* or sections of *amabutho*.

⁵⁷The names Langazana, Ngoto and Mpikase are underlined in the original. It is not clear why they appear together in this set of parentheses.

⁵⁸For Thununu see note 20 above.

⁵⁹Mpande fled with a large following into Natal in 1839 after the Boer defeat of the Zulu at the iNcome (Blood) river the previous year.

⁶⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 480, gives *impaka* as 'Cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a familiar and sent by him on villainous errands...'. .

⁶¹The original reads:

Nongqaba ka mama, Nongqaba!

Imbewana yako ipalele,

Ongayi tandiyo a ngahl' a pek' izinkobe.

Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 308, gives *izinkobe* (sing. *ukobe* (*ukhobe*)) as 'Grain of boiled mealies, or sometimes Kafir-corn... - grain cooked in this way forming the staple food of the Zulus...'. .

⁶²This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The reference is presumably to the account of Nandi's death written by Henry Francis Fynn and published in Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, Pietermaritzburg, 1888, pp. 91-3.

⁶³This note appears in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of p. 4.

⁶⁴The original reads, '*Izwe la penduk'unomhoyi*, i.e. *ukufa kwezwe, li penduk'indhlala*'. We have been unable to establish the meaning of *unomhoyi*.

⁶⁵The name Dlungwana may derive from the verb *ukudlunga*, which Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 163, give as '1. Rage furiously ..., 2. Talk in a wild, unrestrained manner'.

⁶⁶The names here listed appear in the original in the upper margin of p. 5. We give them in what appears to have been the order intended by Stuart. It is not clear whether the list would have been made on 13.8.1904 or 14.8.1904.

⁶⁷Jama was the father of Senzangakhona.

⁶⁸Maphitha kaSojiyisa was head of the Mandlakazi, a lineage collateral with that of the Zulu royal house.

⁶⁹This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of p. 6.

⁷⁰For the position of the *isicamelo* section of umGungundlovu see Stuart's sketch, based on the testimony of Lunguza kaMpukane, in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 309.

⁷¹This and the preceding sentence appear in the original as marginal insertions.

⁷²The forces of Sikhunyana kaZwide of the Ndwandwe people were defeated by those of Shaka in a battle north of the upper Phongolo river in 1826.

⁷³The words after the dash appear in the original as an insertion in the margin of p. 6.

⁷⁴The list that follows appears in the original in the form of two columns of names with additional names and notes inserted between and round them. The order in which Stuart intended to place them is not always clear.

⁷⁵At the time of the interview, Somkhele kaMalanda was chief of the Mpukunyoni in the Hlabisa division.

⁷⁶Sigwebana and Mudli were members of a section of the Zulu chiefly house.

⁷⁷The name Nongqobo appears in two places in Stuart's list: see also the ninth name in our ordering of it.

⁷⁸The Bhalule appears on many maps as the Olifants river, which flows into the Limpopo. The reference to the Bhalule *impi* is to an unsuccessful expedition sent by Shaka against Soshangana, first ruler of the Gaza kingdom, in 1828.

⁷⁹This note and the following note on Bidi (Bhibhi) appear in the original under Stuart's heading 'Senzangakona's children'. Ngoto has previously been identified by the informant as a sister of Mpikase, who was a wife of Senzangakhona and the mother of Dingane. Immediately below the present reference to Ngoto appear the words 'was wife of Senzangakhona'. It is not clear whether this note refers to Ngoto.

⁸⁰The list appears in the original as an insertion in the top left-hand corner of the page. Ngozwana (Mbopha, Tubelisa) held high office under Shaka and was one of his assassins.

⁸¹The locality on the lower Thukela named Ndongakusuka was the scene of two battles in the mid-19th century. In 1838 a Zulu army repulsed a cattle-raiding expedition led by white hunter-traders from Port Natal. In 1856 the forces of Cetshwayo defeated those of Mbuyazi, his brother and rival for the succession to the Zulu kingship.

⁸²Hintsa was chief of the Gcaleka, the senior section of the Xhosa, until his death at the hands of the British in the frontier war of 1834-5.

⁸³The original of the praise reads, '*Imgamule kaNomakwelo ngo ku kwel' izintaba*'.

⁸⁴The names that follow appear in the original as insertions in the top margin of p. 8.

⁸⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 702, gives *ixiba* (*ixhiba*) as '...company or party, into which a larger body of people may be divided'.

⁸⁶In the original Stuart brackets together against the name 'Imvoko' the four names which follow.

⁸⁷After the victory of the Boers at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838 and their advance to Dingane's capital at Mgunundlovu, part of their commando was drawn into an ambush near the uPhathe stream, which flows from the Mthonjaneni range into the White Mfolozi.

⁸⁸*Isithunyisa* is a Zulu word for gun.

⁸⁹For Thununu see note 20 above.

⁹⁰The kwaDukuza *umuzi* was erected on Shaka's orders in 1826 near what is today Stanger. We have been unable to establish the precise meaning of *isifeketiso somuzi*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 141, gives the verb *ukufeketisa* as '...do playfully, sportively, fancifully'. In the present context the noun *isifeketiso* could possibly refer to the 'playful' naming of kwaDukuza, which means the place where one loses one's way.

⁹¹Henry Francis Fynn, one of the hunter-traders who established themselves at Port Natal in 1824, set up number of *imizi* in the south of what is now KwaZulu-Natal.

⁹²For Mcasimbana see note 2 above.

⁹³The Mhlali river enters the sea some fifty kilometres north of Durban.

⁹⁴The Mvoti river enters the sea ten kilometres north of the Mhlali.

⁹⁵Ngalonkulu was Andries Pretorius: see note 55 above. The reference to 'Kangela' is probably to the area of Durban which became known as Congella.

⁹⁶John Dunn was a hunter-trader who established himself in the Zulu kingdom in the later 1850s and who subsequently achieved a considerable degree of power and influence in the kingdom. His father, Robert, lived in Natal from 1836 until his death

in 1847.

⁹⁷In his list of 'Native Names of Europeans', File 73, p. 156, Stuart identifies Singqungu as D.C. Toohey. The latter was a trader who lived at Port Natal from 1835. Inanda is a locality to the north-north-west of Durban.

⁹⁸Fynn, *Diary*, pp. 83-5, recounts an incident where Shaka was stabbed in the arm in 1824.

⁹⁹Mbikwana was another of Nandi's brothers.

¹⁰⁰Nandi's mother was of the Qwabe people.

¹⁰¹The persons here associated with the attempt on Shaka's life are those usually identified in tradition as the assassins who killed him in 1828.

¹⁰²Mbopha is usually given in tradition as having belonged to the emGazini, a lineage collateral with that of the Zulu royal house.

¹⁰³The praise-name 'kaNombalo' was that of kwaDukuza: see the informant's testimony on p. 8 of the original.

¹⁰⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 32, gives *ububende* as 'Blood found in the body of a slaughtered beast...'

¹⁰⁵On *impaka* see note 60 above.

¹⁰⁶Dingane, Mhlangana, Ngqojana, Mfihlo and Sophana were brothers of Shaka.

¹⁰⁷This paragraph occurs in the original in the upper margin of the page.

¹⁰⁸Faku kaNgqungqushe was chief of the Mpondo from the 1820s or before, until his death in 1867.

¹⁰⁹Mzinhlanga is probably the person referred to elsewhere by Ngidi as Nomzinhlanga, a daughter of Senzangakhona..

¹¹⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 544-5, gives *isiqu* (pl. *iziqu*) as '...medicine...worn as a neck-lace or string ornament round the body by a warrior who has killed a man in battle...'

¹¹¹Shaka's mother Nandi died in 1827. Part of the *ihlambo* or purification ceremonies which followed took the form of a cattle-raiding expedition into the Mpondo country.

¹¹²EsiKlebheni and kwaDukuza were two of the principal Zulu royal *imizi*.

¹¹³This note appears in the original as an insertion in the left-hand margin of the original. Mawa was a sister of Senzangakhona. The original of the praise reads *untamo nge ya tusi*. The reference is presumably to brass neckrings.

¹¹⁴Uyengo (oYengweni) was one of Dingiswayo's *imizi*.

¹¹⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 105, gives *indlubu* as 'Kind of groundnut, planted and much liked by Natives', and on p. 56, he gives *imbumbu* as 'Kind of small black bean cultivated and much liked by Natives'. Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 568, give *inhlese* as '1. Fine sediment or dregs of beer... 2. Beer made from sediment of old beer'.

¹¹⁶This paragraph appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 18.

¹¹⁷Menziwa was a kinsman of the Zulu royal house. Mnkabayi, Mawa and Mama were sisters of the Zulu chief, Senzangakhona. The name Xoko appears in the original as an insertion in the left-hand margin of the page.

¹¹⁸The name Mandlesilo is a contraction of *amandla wesilo*, which means 'strength of the wild beast'.

¹¹⁹Matshwili (Mashwili) kaMngoye, chief of the Mthethwa people in the Mapumulo and Lower Tugela divisions, was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence is missing from the Stuart collection, but some of it survives in published form in Stuart's Zulu reader, *uBaxoxele*, pp. 14-42.

¹²⁰Mondisa(e) is given by Bryant, *Olden Times*, p. 202, as a half-brother of Dingiswayo.

¹²¹The original reads, '*Li yo hanjwa zinkonjane, abamhlophe, ni ngi bulala nje, izwe li yo kufa, li qakaz' izinkanyezi*'.

¹²²Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 158, gives *umgando* as 'victims killed and buried at the same time with a king, to "accompany" him'.

¹²³This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 22. Dubuyana was chief of the Nyuswa in the time of Shaka and Dingane.

¹²⁴The reference is to Ngidi's evidence as recorded in File 61, notebook 38, p. 12.

¹²⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 125, gives *udwendwe* as 'Train or fete of people or cattle, ...in an especial sense, the train of people accompanying a girl to her wedding'.

¹²⁶This note appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 23.

¹²⁷Malandela features in numerous traditions as an ancestral figure in the Zulu chiefly line.

¹²⁸This note appears in the original in the upper margin of the page. Jama, the father of Senzangakhona and grandfather of Shaka, is usually given as a son of Ndaba.

¹²⁹Jobe was the father of Dingiswayo. In numerous traditions Jobe's father is given as Khayi.

¹³⁰On *ikhathazo* see note 26 above. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 123, gives *indungulu* as a species of plant whose strong-scented root was believed to have numerous medicinal and prophylactic qualities. In his *Dictionary*, p. 146, he gives *imfingo* as a species of fern used 'for rendering harmless and unsuccessful the machinations of enemies and evil-doers of whatever kind...'

¹³¹A number of traditions record that when the first horse was seen in the land, people sang a song enjoining it to go away.

¹³²The names are those of members of the Mbo (Mkhize) chiefly house.

¹³³The Mfongosi region lies between the Qudeni range and the Thukela river a little below its confluence with the Mzinyathi (Buffalo).

¹³⁴The reference is to Durban's Bluff, which was known in Zulu as *isiBubulungu*.

¹³⁵Mzilikazi kaMashobane of the Khumalo was the first ruler of the Ndebele kingdom.

¹³⁶The genealogy which follows is of the chiefs of the Magwaza clan, which was an offshoot of the eLangeni clan.

¹³⁷In the original, the words 'kaSodidi ka Mhlongo' have been added after Mncane's name.

¹³⁸I.e. Stuart's informant.

¹³⁹It was commonly Stuart's practice when recording lengthy genealogies to list the names of siblings of the same maternal house one below the other unseparated by descent lines.

¹⁴⁰In the original, Mfundeko's place in the genealogy is not clear. Our positioning of him may be misleading.

¹⁴¹The reference to Nomsimekwana is presumably to the person of that name who, until his death in 1901, headed a group of Nyavu who lived near Table Mountain in the Pietermaritzburg area (Bryant, *Olden Times*, pp. 560-1).

¹⁴²The reference to Sitheku may be to the son of Mpande who, at the time of the interview here recorded, was chief of the Zulu in the Emtonjaneni division.

¹⁴³The uBhalule river is marked on most maps as the Olifants. Mjantshi is the Zulu form of Modjadji, the name given by the Lobedu to their successive queens.

¹⁴⁴This and the following paragraph appear in the original as insertions in the top right-hand corner of the page. *USuthu* was the collective name for Cetshwayo's adherents. The name derived from certain cattle taken by the Zulu from *abeSuthu* people (Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 603).

¹⁴⁵We have been unable to identify Nhlaka kaDikane. Manyosi kaDlekezela(e) of the Mbatha people was a person of note in the Zulu kingdom in the reigns of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.

¹⁴⁶'North-west' should presumably read 'south-west'.

¹⁴⁷Shaka's kwaBulawayo *umuzi* was situated between present-day Eshowe and Empangeni. EkuQobekeni has previously been identified by the informant as another of Shaka's *imizi*.

¹⁴⁸The Entumeni region lies to the west of Eshowe. The eMpaphala region lies near the source of the amaTikhulu river.

¹⁴⁹The informant goes on to identify most of these names as those of Langeni chiefly *imizi*.

¹⁵⁰Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 241, gives *uhlanga* (loc. *ohlange*) as '...original stem or stock from which mankind generally is supposed to have taken its rise...; stem or stock...from which a clan or tribe has taken its rise; genealogy or pedigree of any family house...'. Traditions indicate that Nqoboka became chief of the Sokhulu people under the patronage of Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa.

¹⁵¹The notes in parentheses appear in the original in the lower margin of the page.

¹⁵²EsiKlebheni was one of the Zulu chiefly *imizi*. This sentence poses problems of translation. *Inkosana*, which means 'eldest son', should presumably read *inkosazana*, which means 'young lady'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 348, gives *umlamu* as 'Wife's brother or sister, ... brother's wife's brother or sister'. Doke & Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 860 give *isixebhe* as '1. Paramour, concubine. 2. Sweetheart (male or female)'.

¹⁵³These names appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of the page.

¹⁵⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 529, gives *iqaqqa* (= *ingangakazana*) as 'Cape polecat'.

¹⁵⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 669, gives the verb *twapa* as 'ladle or take out largely...; hence, go beyond a reasonable limit in taking...'.

¹⁵⁶Ndlela kaSompisi was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.

¹⁵⁷Mayanda (Malanda) kaVelana was chief of the Mkhwanazi people.

¹⁵⁸This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 22.

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'.

¹⁵⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 479, identifies the *umpafa* as *Zyzyphus mucronata*. He indicates (*Dictionary*, p. 345) that it was called *umlahlankosi* (from *ukulahla*, to bury, and *inkosi*, chief) from its being used to cover the grave of a chief. Ndlela has been identified in note 156 above. Siphingo kaHenqwa (Renqwa) we have been unable to identify. Dambuza kaSobadli was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. Ngungwini kaMenziwa was of the Biyela, a lineage collateral with that of the Zulu royal line.

¹⁶⁰Jama was father of Senzangakhona. Cogo (Xhoko) was of the Biyela lineage.

¹⁶¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 288, gives *ikhakhakhakha* (= *ikhakhasi*) as 'Certain thistle-like plant...'

¹⁶²We have retained the original punctuation and grammar of this sentence.

¹⁶³*Nkulunkulu* is the Zulu word for the great ancestor or humankind or, alternatively, for the Deity.

¹⁶⁴*Induku* commonly means a stick. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 171, give it as also meaning 'Protective medicine against witchcraft...'

¹⁶⁵The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 24. For *uhlanga* see note 150 above.

¹⁶⁶This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 4. Zulu kaNogandaya was a notable warrior in Shaka's time. Nongalaza kaNondela was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna* in the early part of his reign.

¹⁶⁷Dingane was killed in the southern Lubombo region soon after the defeat of his army in the Zulu civil war of 1839-40.

¹⁶⁸Dingane's brother Mpande crossed the Thukela river with a substantial following in about September 1839 to seek the protection of the Boers in Natal.

¹⁶⁹The Ngome mountain lies some 30 kilometres west-north-west of Nongoma village. The iVuna river rises between the Ngome and Nongoma, and flows southwards to join the Black Mfolozi.

¹⁷⁰The Nyawo lived along the Lubombo range south of the Ngwavuma river.

¹⁷¹*Umfokazana* is a term of contempt meaning common person, menial.

¹⁷²Mayanda (Malanda), father of Somkhele, was chief of the Mkhwanazi people. See also note 157 above.

¹⁷³The verb *ukudabuka* can mean, among other things, to become brokenhearted, or to die.

¹⁷⁴The noun *uZulu* as used in this context could refer either to the Zulu people as a whole or to that section of it which still adhered to Dingane.

¹⁷⁵Mbovu kaMshumayeli was another of Stuart's informants. The reference is to a comment on Faku kaKhotso: see Mbovu's evidence in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 3, p. 43.

¹⁷⁶For Langazana see note 52 above.

¹⁷⁷Traditions record that when Shaka went to live among the Mthethwa he was placed by Dingiswayo under the patronage of Ngomane kaMqombolo of the Dletsheni people.

¹⁷⁸This note, which has been scored out in the original, appears as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 6. Ntabankulu is the name of a mountain thirty kilometres south-east of Vryheid.

¹⁷⁹Ntombaze(i) was Zwide's mother.

¹⁸⁰This sentence is scored out in the original.

¹⁸¹The notes in this and the next two paragraphs appear in the original as insertions in the upper margin of p. 7. Sigewu was a brother of Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa.

¹⁸²Mapholoba was chief of the Nyuswa in the time of Shaka.

¹⁸³The notes in this and the next three paragraphs are scored out in the original. In rendering them here, we have kept to the grammar and punctuation of the original. The Maphumulo region lies between the Thukela and Mvoti rivers some forty kilometres from the sea.

¹⁸⁴EmThandeni was a Qwabe chiefly *umuzi*.

¹⁸⁵*Ilulwane* (pl. *amatulwane*) is the Zulu for 'bat'. It is not clear what the meaning is in this context.

¹⁸⁶Matiwane kaMasumpa was chief of the amaNgwane. *Ukushinga* (*ukutshinga*) means wrong-doing, villainy. *Eyokutshinga impi* means *the impi of wrong-doing*.

¹⁸⁷KwaDlangezwa was one of Shaka's *imizi*.

¹⁸⁸The reference is to evidence in File 61, nbk. 48, under date 7.11.1904: see Ngidi's testimony below.

¹⁸⁹Ntabankulu mountain is some thirty kilometres south-east of Vryheid.

¹⁹⁰For discussion of the term *itungwa* (pl. *amatungwa*) see the references in note 27 above.

¹⁹¹It is not clear whether the information in this paragraph was given by Ngidi or by Mmemi kaNguluzane, who was another of Stuart's informants. Ngidi has previously identified himself clearly as being of the Langeni people. Nongalaza kaNondela was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*. Zulu kaNogandaya was a notable warrior in Shaka's time.

¹⁹²The expedition here referred to is probably one which took place in 1828.

¹⁹³This note appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 12. We omit from it repetitious information on Mseleko kaNtamo.

¹⁹⁴*Isibolela* (pl. *izibolela*) may have the same meaning as *ibolela*, which Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 81, give as 'Anything left to decay'.

¹⁹⁵Magaye kaDibandlela and Zihlando kaGcwabe were respectively chiefs of the Cele and the Mkhize or abaMbo.

¹⁹⁶*Amalala* here probably refers to a contingent drawn from the low-status chiefdoms subject to Shaka in the region south of the Thukela river. For discussion of the term *ilala* (pl. *amalala*), see the references in note 4 above.

¹⁹⁷The noun *umotha*, meaning one who warms himself, derives from the verb *ukwotha*, to warm oneself at a fire or in the sun.

¹⁹⁸The kwaMagwaza region is ten kilometres to the south-west of Melmoth.

¹⁹⁹Bheje kaMagawuzi was chief of a section of the Khumalo which lived in the region of the Ngome, a mountain some thirty kilometres north-west of Nongoma. Ngcaphayi kaMadikane was chief of the composite group known as the Bhaca which, by the 1830s, had established itself in the region of the middle Mzimvubu.

²⁰⁰The original of the song reads:

Bonisa, bonisa, bonisa lokuya!
Kade sidhla nje si nga sa noni.
Namuhla ku dabuk'uhlanga lwa kwa Zulu
Kade sidhlela s'esiqwangeni

*Ku langa li ya puma, li nsasambili
Indhlovu ihlaba ngayo yonk' imisebe
Bonisa, bonisa - loku ya!*

²⁰¹This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 14. *Ozigogwana* probably derives from *ugogo*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 189, gives as 'Any dried or shrivelled-up thing as a person emaciated from consumption, a dry hide, dried-up carcase or skeleton on the veldt'.

²⁰²See note 111 above.

²⁰³On the uBhalule *impi* see note 78 above.

²⁰⁴Ngwadi is commonly supposed in tradition to have been a brother of Shaka by the same mother but a different father. The iziNyosi was an *ibutho* formed at the end of Shaka's reign.

²⁰⁵*Uqwanga* means cartilage, gristle. Cf. the derivation of the name uJubingqwanga given in Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 365. We have been unable to identify the Matshana referred to. The reference to Sitshaluza may be to the person of that name who belonged to the emGazini lineage, one collateral with the Zulu royal line.

²⁰⁶Mhlangana was a half-brother of Shaka and one of his assassins.

²⁰⁷The term derives from the verb *ukukhukhula*, to sweep away, and the noun *ungoqo*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 424, gives as 'a person of the lower classes who doesn't appear at the royal kraal, an inferior person, one of no consequence, a nobody'.

²⁰⁸The Siphingo, Mlazi and Mbokodo rivers enter the sea south of Durban.

²⁰⁹These two sentences appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 16.

²¹⁰*Rwanqazana* derives from *ihwanqa*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 273, gives as 'bullock..., black with white spots or small patches all over the body'.

²¹¹The note in parentheses appears in the original as an insertion in the lower margin of p. 17. The reference to 'pink notebook 38, p. 7' is to Ngidi's evidence under date 11.8.1904. We have been unable to locate 'pocket book no. 10' or Nozaza's evidence. See also note 22 above.

²¹²Henry Francis Fynn was one of a party of British hunters and traders which established itself at Port Natal in 1824. His brother William joined him there in 1829.

²¹³Nomcoba was a sister of Shaka.

²¹⁴The Ngoye hills are some twenty kilometres to the east of Eshowe.

²¹⁵Shaka's kwaDukuza *umuzi* was built in 1826 near what is now Stanger.

²¹⁶Sikhunyana kaZwide succeeded his father as chief of the Ndwandwe. The Zulu attacked and broke up his polity in 1826.

²¹⁷The names here given are of persons, male and female, who were senior members of the Zulu chiefly house or of collateral lines.

²¹⁸The original has '...should not be treated properly'.

²¹⁹As a son of Mbhengi, Sizi would have been a senior member of the Langeni chiefly house. We have been unable to identify the other two informants named.

²²⁰The reference is to File 61, nbk. 48.

²²¹The *umjadu* was a dancing competition.

²²²The original reads '...he was given *amasi ngi pahl' insika*'.

²²³Nsindwana has previously been identified by Ngidi as one of his informants.

²²⁴For Ngomane see note 177 above.

²²⁵According to the lineages given by the informant at the beginning of his testimony, Daleni was of the generation of Makhedama's grandfather.

²²⁶The note in parentheses appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 4. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 220, gives *umhadu* as 'People coming to a place with violence, taking things without leave, etc...'.
²²⁷Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 578, give *inkondlo* as 'Dignified dance, used on important occasions...'.
²²⁸The original reads:

*Si nik' impongo [=goat], impongo ya se mini! [put in passive in last line, I see]
 Imfunda, iti 'mpongo lala'
 Ya lala-ke, ya lala, e-ya-he!
 Ini leyo nga bona be ndinda abangane
 Beti ha! isanciza masi ndinde Kwa Mcube
 Sati ngoba si ndinde abawane
 Kwaze kwatiwa zi balekile
 Tina si yaliwa ngas'eLangeni
 Amadod' amany' e tumb' izinkomo
 Kwaba itina si hlatshw' esandhleni
 So nikw'impongo etc. etc.*

Stuart's reference to the passive occurs in the original as a marginal insertion. He is here noting that the verb *ukunika*, to give, occurs in the last line of the song in its passive form, *ukunikwa*. Against the first line of the song in the original, Stuart has written 'Entered in Book of Eulogies'. The reference is to File 75, p. 175, of the Stuart Collection.

²²⁹The next sentence in the text suggests that Sigewu and Mondisa(e) were different names for the same person.

²³⁰This may be a reference to Ngidi's statement in File 61, nbk. 39, pp. 20-1: see above.

²³¹The reference is to File 61, nbk. 48: see Ngidi's evidence below.

²³²These notes appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 23. Kamngane was probably Captain Allen Gardiner; Kolisi was James Collis; Tshali, possibly Charles Adams; Bobe, Robert Joyce; Gadeni, Captain Allen Gardiner; Pobana, Frank Fynn; Mbuyazi, Henry Fynn; Bekile, F.J. Berken; Wohlo, Henry Ogle; Kito, George Cato; Singqungu, D.C. Toohey; Mazingensasa, possibly Alexander Biggar. For some of these names see Stuart's list, 'Native names of Europeans', in File 73, pp. 130, 154-6, of the Stuart Collection.

²³³Ntaba was chief of a section of the Thuli.

²³⁴The Lovu (Illovo) river flows into the sea some thirty kilometres south of Durban.

²³⁵The reference is to Nathaniel Isaacs' *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, first published in two volumes in London in 1836.

²³⁶For discussion of the term *ilala* (pl. *amalala*), see the reference in note 4 above.

²³⁷The verb *ukuqubula* means to drive along quickly. The verb *ukukhafula* here means to shout at, to drive with abusive language.

²³⁸In the genealogies of the Langeni chiefly house given by the informant above, Mfundeko appears as a brother of Makhedama.

²³⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 188, gives *ingoduso* (pl. *izingoduso*) 'Betrothed girl, who has returned home again, after her run-away visit to her sweetheart, to await the payment of *lobola* and subsequent wedding'.

²⁴⁰Nqetho kaKhondlo of the Qwabe rebelled against Dingane in 1829, and made off southwards. 'Nguni' here means the Xhosa.

²⁴¹The Mvoti river enters the sea near what is now Stanger.

²⁴²We have been unable to identify Nkomo.

²⁴³Manqondo was chief of the Magwaza people.

²⁴⁴The informant is here referring to an example of the *ukuhlonipha* practice, in terms of which people in conversation would avoid using words similar in sound to the name of their chief or of the head of their homestead.

²⁴⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 183, gives *ingidi* as 'Firmness, fortitude, resolute courage'. The original of the praise reads, '*uNgidi le sindayo ngokuba nzima, e sind' uManyonyo ngakwaButelezi*'.

²⁴⁶The reference is to praises of Shaka.

²⁴⁷Bheje was chief of a section of the Khumalo in the Ngome region. Sobhuza was king of the Swazi.

²⁴⁸Dingane launched attacks on the Swazi in 1836 and 1839. Sobhuza is usually supposed to have died a natural death in 1839.

²⁴⁹The reference is to the fight between Boers and Zulu at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838.

²⁵⁰In the genealogies of the Langeni chiefly house given above by the informant, Ndisi and Mbikwana both appear as sons of the chief Mbhengi.

²⁵¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 722, gives *izanankande* as 'Boy (or even girl) who comes to the kraal...already grown up - a name applied to any child not born in the kraal and therefore not strictly belonging to it, as a child accompanying a widowed mother on her second marriage, an illegitimate child born by one of the wives through adultery, etc. (all these names are of course disliked by the one to whom applied)...'. On p. 679 he gives *ivezandlebe* as a synonym for *izanenkande* (*izanankande*). On p. 439 he gives *unomthebe* as 'Queen of white-ants'. On p. 292 he gives *ukhande* as a sharpened throwing-stick, and glosses it to mean in certain contexts 'the sharp tongue of some quarrelsome woman'.

²⁵²The battle of Ndondakusuka was fought between the forces of Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, sons of Mpande who were contesting the succession to the Zulu kingship.

²⁵³In the original, the word Gwayisisiziba is immediately preceded by the word Gwazisisiziba, which has been crossed out.

²⁵⁴Shaka launched raids against the Mpondo in 1824 and 1828.

²⁵⁵Shaka's army defeated that of Sikhunyana kaZwide of the Ndwandwe in a battle fought north of the upper reaches of the Phongolo river in 1826. The Mkhondo river rises near Wakkerstroom and flows north-east to join the uSuthu in Swaziland.

²⁵⁶Macingwane was chief of the Chunu.

²⁵⁷Sigujana was a son of Senzangakhona, chief of the Zulu, and a half-brother of Shaka.

- ²⁵⁸Ngwadi was a half-brother of Shaka by the same mother and a different father.
- ²⁵⁹KwaMahambehlala was an *umuzi* of Mpande.
- ²⁶⁰The reference is to the story propagated by Natal colonial writers to the effect that, during a period of exile from the Mthethwa chiefdom, Dingiswayo had visited the eastern Cape colony.
- ²⁶¹This note appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 21.
- ²⁶²Mnkabayi was a sister of Senzangakhona. Shaka placed her in charge of an *umuzi* near what is now Vryheid.
- ²⁶³Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 49, gives *isibotho* (pl. *izibotho*) as 'Young locust or grasshopper just putting on wings, but not yet able to fly..., weak-footed person, a bad-walker, who cannot walk far'.
- ²⁶⁴All these words mean ancestral spirit.
- ²⁶⁵The reference is to a notion that the word amaNdebele or 'Matabele' derived from a Sotho word meaning to hide or disappear behind one's shield. See for example, Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 537; Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom*, pp. 161-2.
- ²⁶⁶The reference is to evidence given in 1853 by Henry Fynn to the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs in the District of Natal, and reprinted in 1888 in Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, p. 66.
- ²⁶⁷Soshangana(e) kaZikode led an exodus from what is now northern Zululand in the early 1820s. He and his adherents later established the Gaza kingdom in what is now southern Mozambique.
- ²⁶⁸In the later nineteenth century Sothondose was chief of the Nxumalo in the Lower Tugela, Umsinga and Newcastle divisions of Natal colony.
- ²⁶⁹Sigananda was chief of the Cube, not the Chunu, until his death in 1906.
- ²⁷⁰The note in parentheses appears in the original as an interlinear insertion. Socwatsha kaPhaphu was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear in volume 6 of the *Stuart Archive*. The list which follows is of women's *amabutho* formed by the first three Zulu kings. The isiPhezi, umGumanqa, uFasimba and uMbonambi were men's *amabutho* formed by Shaka.
- ²⁷¹The references are to the Boer-Zulu conflicts of 1838-40, and to Mpande's flight across the Thukela to the Boers in Natal in 1839. The meaning is presumably that the imBabazane *ibutho* was formed at this time.
- ²⁷²*Iziqu* were pieces of medicine worn in a string round the neck or body by warriors who had killed in battle.
- ²⁷³On the battle of Ndongakusuka see note 252 above.
- ²⁷⁴The iziBolela was a Zulu royal *ibutho*.
- ²⁷⁵The references are to men who led exoduses from the region south of the Phongolo river in the late 1810s and early 1820s. Other traditions give Nxaba as of the Msane people. Mzilikazi was chief of a section of Khumalo which established itself as the dominant group in what became the Ndebele kingdom. For Soshangane see note 267 above. Somveli was the chief son of Dingiswayo, chief of the Mthethwa. Ndukwana was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 4 of the *Stuart Archive*.
- ²⁷⁶Magaye was chief of the Cele in Shaka's time.
- ²⁷⁷For Sikhunyana see note 216 above.

²⁷⁸See Bird, ed., Annals of Natal, vol. 1, p. 86.

²⁷⁹The noun *umnumzana(e)* means the head of an *umuzi*. Gumede was an *isithakazelo* or polite address-form of the Langeni people, i.e. the informant Ngidi's people.

²⁸⁰'*Ndabezitha!*' was a form of address reserved for chiefs.

²⁸¹The reference is to the hill some fifteen kilometres south of Nquthu overlooking the site of the battle where a Zulu army wiped out a British and Natal colonial force in January 1879.

²⁸²Dingane sent expeditions into the Swazi country in 1836 and in 1839. The informant later makes clear that he participated in the second of these.

²⁸³The Ncome or Blood river flows into the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) south-east of Dundee.

²⁸⁴Hawane of the Zwana people had a stronghold east of present-day Utrecht in the time of Shaka.

²⁸⁵*Isichwe* (pl. *izichwe*) means short-statured person, dwarf. In the older literature it is sometimes glossed as 'Bushman'.

²⁸⁶This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 10.

²⁸⁷The second sentence in the parentheses appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 11.

²⁸⁸Thununu kaNonjiya was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear in volume 6 of the Stuart Archive.

²⁸⁹'...the Zulu were not there' is our translation of 'uZulu waye ngeko'. The informant may mean that not all the Zulu were present at the battle.

²⁹⁰This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 12.

²⁹¹Manqondo and Sikhawu were members of the chiefly house of the Magwaza clan, which was an offshoot of the Langeni clan. See the genealogy under the name of Ncumela as given by Ngidi above.

²⁹²Dlokweni was a locality on the lower Thukela. Duze was chief of the Makhanya; Magaye was chief of the Cele.

²⁹³The Ntumeni region lies to the west of Eshowe.

²⁹⁴The note in parentheses occurs in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of p. 14. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 125, gives *izidwedwe* as 'old rags, soiled raiment etc., containing the body-dirt of people and collected by an *umtakati* for his evil practices'.

²⁹⁵After the Boer defeat of a Zulu army at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838, Dingane ordered the evacuation and burning of his capital, umGungundlovu.

²⁹⁶This and the next sentence appear in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 16.

²⁹⁷*Umakoti* means a newly married wife.

²⁹⁸The informant is presumably referring to the descendants of the persons named. He has previously identified Qonsa and Msomi as sons of the Langeni chief Mbhengi, and Gaqa kaMendameli as one of his grandsons.

²⁹⁹On *izanankande* see note 251 above.

³⁰⁰The informant has previously identified iNguga (eNgugeni) and uBane (oBaneni) as *imizi* of the Langeni chiefly house.

- ³⁰¹The expedition referred to took place in 1837, when the heartland of Mzilikazi's Ndebele kingdom lay in what is now the Zeerust area of North-West Province.
- ³⁰²The name Mpankominabele means the giver of the cow with udders.
- ³⁰³In April 1838 a Zulu force destroyed a cattle-raiding expedition from Port Natal under the command of John Cane, a British hunter-trader, at Ndondakusuka on the lower Thukela.
- ³⁰⁴James Collis operated as a trader at Port Natal from 1830 until his death there in 1835. Captain Allen Gardiner visited Port Natal and the Zulu kingdom from January to September 1835. He worked as a missionary near Port Natal from May 1837 to March 1838.
- ³⁰⁵Hostilities between Zulu and Boers broke out after the killing of Piet Retief's party at umGungundlovu in February 1838.
- ³⁰⁶Musi Bekile may be F.J. Berken, who visited Port Natal from January to March 1835.
- ³⁰⁷Piti was Piet Retief.
- ³⁰⁸This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 13. George Cato established himself as a trader at Port Natal in 1839.
- ³⁰⁹Mpande crossed into Natal in about September 1839. See note 59 above.
- ³¹⁰Nongalaza was one of Mpande's principal *izinduna*.
- ³¹¹Zulu kaNogandaya of the Qwabe people was a well-known warrior in Shaka's time.
- ³¹²The iGwa is the Vaal river.
- ³¹³The uBhalule is the Olifants river. The reference is to the expedition against Soshangane in the latter part of 1828: see note 78 above.
- ³¹⁴*Amanhlwenga* (sing. *inhlwenga*) seems to have referred to poor, destitute people.
- ³¹⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 481, gives *umphakathi* as 'All the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinDuna*, *iziKulu*, or others in official position)...'
- ³¹⁶See note 288 above.
- ³¹⁷Bryant, *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...'
- ³¹⁸On the *isibaya esikhulu* section of an *umuzi* see our note 156 to the evidence of Ndukwana kaMbengwana in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, pp. 390-1.
- ³¹⁹Langazana was a wife of Senzangakhona.
- ³²⁰This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 16. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 860, give *isixebe* (pl. *izixebe*) as paramour, concubine.
- ³²¹The names are those of some of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.
- ³²²On Hawane see note 284 above.
- ³²³The *inkatha* was a coil of grass made according to special rituals.
- ³²⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 482, gives the verb *ukuphalaza* as meaning '...vomit or spew up, from the stomach; clear the system when seedy, or "make oneself nice", by taking an emetic...'
- ³²⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 620, gives *intelezi* (pl. *izintelezi*) 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...'

³²⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 303, gives the verb *ukukhetha* as ‘...perform certain show dances, as...a regiment of soldiers dancing before their chief...’.

³²⁷A Zulu expedition was sent to raid cattle from Mzilikazi’s Ndebele kingdom in mid-1837. See also note 301 above.

³²⁸Dingane sent expeditions against the Swazi kingdom in 1836 and 1839.

³²⁹Mzilikazi’s principal *imizi* were located in what is now the Zeerust area: see note 301 above.

³³⁰Phuthile(i) was chief of the Ngwe people who lived north of the upper Phongolo river. Magonondo, presumably the Kubheka chief of that name, lived in the same region.

³³¹On the *izichwe* see note 285 above.

³³²*Udedangendale* means a country of open plains. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, pp. 141-2, give *kwaDedangendale* as ‘name of a certain plain in the Transvaal’.

³³³Bryant, Dictionary, p. 703, gives the verb *ukuxobisa* as ‘Bother, trouble, worry, as...one person another by some annoying treatment’.

³³⁴See note 17 above.

³³⁵Henry Francis Fynn (Mbuyazi) operated from Port Natal and its vicinity as a hunter-trader from 1824 to 1834, and lived in the colony of Natal from 1852 until his death in 1861. His son, also Henry Francis, worked in the Natal government service from 1864 to 1897.

³³⁶Theophilus Shepstone, who was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876, had grown up among Xhosa-speakers in the Cape frontier region.

³³⁷For Magonondo see note 330 above. Nyamayenja, son of the Swazi king Sobhuza, lived in the upper Phongolo region.

³³⁸We have been unable to establish the meaning of *isihoho e si semateko*.

³³⁹The name Gibixhegu derives from the verb *ukugiba*, to remove, take out, and *ixhegu*, an old man.

³⁴⁰This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 24. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 542, gives the verb *ukuqonela* as ‘Overshadow a person...by obtaining some occult ascendancy over him, or greater influence, prestige, or importance than he...’.

³⁴¹See notes 216 and 277 above.

³⁴²The iziNdololwane hills lie to the north of the upper Phongolo. We have been unable to identify Mampontsha.

³⁴³Sikhunyana was a son of Zwide.

³⁴⁴The account which follows forms the basis of the account published by Stuart in uBaxoxele (1924), pp. 110-22.

³⁴⁵Mnkabayi was a sister of Dingane’s father, Senzangakhona.

³⁴⁶The Nkomazi or Nkomati river is marked on many maps as the Komati.

³⁴⁷The passage in parentheses appears in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of p. 14.

³⁴⁸I.e. Piet Retief.

³⁴⁹The original of the praise reads, ‘*uDulela ba ngezwa, insele ka linda mkonto*’. On the latter part of this praise, see Bryant’s comment under *i-nTsele* in his Dictionary,

p. 646.

³⁵⁰Ngalonkulu was Andries Pretorius. Mpande's flight to the Boers in Natal took place in about September 1839.

³⁵¹For *umpakati* see note 315 above. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 568, gives *umsengi* as 'Person of a pleasing though not distinctly handsome appearance; any commoner who is a favourite at court, though occupying no high position, being somewhat inferior to the *isi-Lomo*'. (See *isiLomo* in the Glossary to this volume.)

³⁵²The *isicamelo* was that part of the arc of huts in an *umuzi* immediately adjacent to the *isigodlo*.

³⁵³Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 663, give *iphini* as 'Underling; inferior officer; personal representative'.

³⁵⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 557, gives *imiklezo* (*imirrezo* in his orthography) as 'covering of long cow's-tails (*ama-shoba*) worn round the neck and falling over the chest and back...'

³⁵⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 32, gives *umbembeso* as 'Broad belt of stiff white ox-hide worn round the waist by the *um-Twisazwe* regiment, but from its inconvenience to the active soldier, afterwards abolished and cut up into a certain skin head-dress...'

³⁵⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 691, gives *iwaba* as 'Black ox...with a white patch under the belly and running slightly up the flanks or about the stump of the tail; black shield having a white mark at one or both sides...'

³⁵⁷*Ikwa* was a type of broad-bladed assegai. *Isijula* was a kind of assegai with a long shank and small blade.

³⁵⁸*Ukuthola* usually means to find, or to take under one's patronage. Here it appears to mean simply to take care of.

³⁵⁹OkaNtanase means the daughter of Ntanase.

³⁶⁰The original of the praises reads, '*Umzac' o komb' amaNgwane, Umwelela kwe li petsheya, uZinsonge zi nga petshaya kwo Tukela*'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 694, gives *umwelela* as 'Certain shrub, whose roots are used as a love-emetic, dream-medicine, etc., by young-men in their dealings with the girls...'. He continues, 'N.B. In spitting out the charm in the direction of the girl he wishes to make dream of him, the young man would say, "*hamba! Mwelela-kwelipesheya, 'mzaca osikomb' amaNgwane!*"'. On p. 655 Bryant gives *insonge* (pl. *izinsonge*) as 'Bend, curve, winding, as of a river, road, stick, etc., such a river, road, stick, etc., itself; person with a crooked spine...'

³⁶¹The original of the praise reads, '*Inkomankoma i sembizeni kwa Nandi*'.

³⁶²The original of the praise reads, '*uZandhlela, itshe lo ku gingqa, uGingqimpi*'.

³⁶³Manyosi kaDlekezele was a notable warrior in the reigns of Shaka, Dingane, and Mpande.

³⁶⁴Thununu was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence will appear in volume 6 of the *Stuart Archive*.

³⁶⁵Ngwadi was a half-brother of Shaka by a different father. He was put to death by Dingane and his fellow assassins soon after the killing of Shaka.

³⁶⁶Mjokwane was another name for Senzangakhona, father of Shaka.

³⁶⁷The name Cocozibili means 'two headrings'.

³⁶⁸Dingane's umGungundlovu *umuzi* was situated between the Mkhumbane and Nzololo streams. Matiwana(e) had been put to death by Dingane early in his reign.

³⁶⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 657, gives *itubesi*, of which *itubesikazi* is a feminine form, as 'Person, etc., with a sleek, softly-fat, prime-conditioned body'.

³⁷⁰Probably a reference to Phuthile, chief of the amaNgwe people, whose territory lay near the upper Phongolo river.

³⁷¹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 14, gives *ubabekazi* as 'Any brother or half-brother of my or our father, i.e. paternal uncle...; any sister or half-sister of my or our father, i.e. paternal aunt...; any *um-Zala* (male or female) of my or our father'. On p. 720 he gives *umzala* as 'Cousin, i.e. male or female child born of one's father's sister (not brother - see *um-Fo*) or any other child of such woman's kraal; also any child of one's mother's brother (not mother's sister - see *um-Ntaka 'mame*)'.

³⁷²The word 'Butelezi' appears in the original as an arrowed insertion in the top margin of p. 17. Stuart no doubt made the insertion, probably at a later date, to correct the informant's identification of Klwana as being of the Mthethwa.

³⁷³The original of the praises reads '*kwa Nomgabi, itung' e li gaba li nga zele, iqalashu lat' ukuvuka la kwel' intaba, amany' amaqalashu et' ukuvuk' eus' umfula*'.

³⁷⁴It is not clear whether the original has uMbambangwe or uMbambongwe.

³⁷⁵This note appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 17. Nqoboka was chief of the Sokhulu in the time of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.

³⁷⁶The reference is to File 62, nbk. 81, p. 2: see above.

³⁷⁷Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 429, gives *uNgulazibuya* as the month beginning about the middle of March.

³⁷⁸Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 377, gives *uMaquba* as the month beginning about the middle of June.

³⁷⁹The list of months appears in the original as an insertion at the top of p. 18.

³⁸⁰During and after Mpande's reign, people living in the Zulu kingdom would have been expected to avoid the use of the word uMpandu in accordance with *hlonipha* practices.

³⁸¹The reference is to File 62, nbk. 81, p. 2: see above.

³⁸²Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 370, gives *uLwezi* as 'Month following *u-Mfumfu*, about the end of October...'. On p. 136 he gives *ulwezi* (*ulw-Ezi* in his orthography) as 'Larva of various kinds of frog-hopper, found, about October time, enclosed in a ball of froth upon trees and grass-stalks'.

³⁸³Retief's first visit to Dingane took place towards the end of 1837. His second, during which he and his party were put to death, took place in February 1838.

³⁸⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 378, gives *uMasingana* as 'Month beginning about or after the middle of November...', but in a note on the list of months which Stuart records as given by Bryant (see Appendix 2 to this volume), Stuart comments 'wrong - should be January'.

³⁸⁵The original of this song reads:

Izinkondhlo zetu zimbili zintatu
Zinga matshwilitshwili
Zi tshwilene zipi?
Si za u keta nga lena

Si yeke nga lena.

Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 303, gives *ukukhetha* as ‘...perform certain show dances...’.

³⁸⁶The reference is to an attack launched by a Zulu force on a Boer lager situated near the Mtshezi (Bushmans) river near what is now Estcourt in August 1838.

³⁸⁷Mpofana is the Zulu name for the Mooi river.

³⁸⁸Bryant, *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’.

³⁸⁹For *isibotho* see note 263 above.

³⁹⁰Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 727, give *isengetsha* as ‘Species of white felspar or granite rock, used in sharp chips for cutting’. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 603, gives *umsuzwane* as ‘Shrub (*Lippia asperifolia*), having a disagreeable smell and used as a specific for measles, and also smeared on the body of a traveller for preventing crocodiles and dogs from biting him’.

³⁹¹The *umfece* was made from the cocoon of a caterpillar, the *ithongwane* from the hard shell of a kind of fruit. For the *umklezo* see note 354 above.

³⁹²Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 240, gives *isihlandla* as ‘Mat roughly made of *i-nTunga*, or *u-Mabobe*, grass and used chiefly for covering over the outside of huts, also for wrapping bundles of hemp or tobacco in...’.

³⁹³The original has ‘*Izimpangele*’ but this is clearly a mistake on Stuart’s part.

³⁹⁴The informant is referring to the Zulu campaign against the Swazi in 1836.

³⁹⁵*Umkhetho*, from the verb *ukukhetha*, to choose or pick out, means those picked out.

³⁹⁶The reference is fairly certainly to Sambana(e), chief of the Nyawo people who lived along the Lubombo mountains north of the Phongolo river.

³⁹⁷For Nyamayenja see note 337 above.

³⁹⁸We have been unable to identify Zidubele.

³⁹⁹Sobhuza was chief of the Swazi until his death in 1839. His eLangeni *umuzi* was near Lobamba.

⁴⁰⁰Ndungunya was chief of the Ngwane (or Swazi) in the later eighteenth century.

⁴⁰¹Mdlaka was one of Shaka’s principal *izinduna*.

⁴⁰²Ngcaphayi kaMadikane was chief of the Bhaca who lived near the middle reaches of the Mzimvubu river.

⁴⁰³In 1833.

⁴⁰⁴On *ubabekazi* see note 371 above.

⁴⁰⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 456, gives *umntwana* as ‘...any person (child or adult, male or female) of the Zulu royal house...’. On p. 319 of his *Dictionary* he gives *inkosazana* as ‘...any daughter of a chief or important person...’. EsiKlebheni was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.

⁴⁰⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 480, gives *impaka* as ‘Cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a “familiar”, and sent by him on villainous errands...’.

⁴⁰⁷Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 860, give *isixebe* as paramour, concubine, sweetheart. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 40, gives *imbiza* (pl. *izimbiza*) as ‘...generic name for a large number of herbs used as boiled decoctions, for scrofula, chest-complaints, and blood-purifying purposes generally...’.

⁴⁰⁸Wohlo was Henry Ogle, who had come to Port Natal in 1824 as a member of the first party of British traders to operate there.

⁴⁰⁹The reference is to the Zulu expedition against the Swazi in 1839.

⁴¹⁰The reference is to Mpande's flight to the Boers in Natal in about September 1839.

⁴¹¹On the engagement at the uPhathe stream see note 87 above. The emThonjaneni heights overlook the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi from the south.

⁴¹²Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 424, gives *ingoso* as a shrew-mouse. On p. 546 he gives *isiqhude* as 'Member or members of a community or assembly of any kind who rarely appear there, those who generally stay at home, the cast-outs from ordinary society...'.¹

⁴¹³Ntabankulu mountain lies some twenty kilometres east-north-east of present-day Ulundi.

⁴¹⁴Somaphunga was chief of a section of the Ndwandwe people.

⁴¹⁵The iVuna river rises to the north-west of Nongoma and flows southward to join the Black Mfolozi.

⁴¹⁶Sobhuza, king of the Swazi, died in 1839. His son and successor, Mswati, did not assume effective power as king until after 1845.

⁴¹⁷The Ngome mountain lies some thirty kilometres west-north-west of Nongoma.

⁴¹⁸*Isibubulungu* is the Zulu name for Durban's Bluff. Ntaba kaMyebu was chief of the Thuli who lived in what is now the Pinetown-Durban region in the early nineteenth century.

⁴¹⁹Ntunjambili mountain is near Kranskop village.

⁴²⁰Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu was chief of the Hlubi, first in the Zulu kingdom and later in Natal, from the late 1830s until his deposition by the colonial authorities in 1873. Bheje kaMagawozi (Magawuzi) was chief of a section of the Khumalo in the time of Shaka and Dingane.

⁴²¹Early Portuguese navigators referred to the coastlands of what is now northern KwaZulu-Natal as the land of *fumos*, or smoke.

⁴²²Sothobe was a leading figure in the Zulu kingdom in the reigns of Shaka and Dingane.

⁴²³On the term *ubabekazi* see note 371 above.

⁴²⁴Bryant, *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...'.¹

⁴²⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 697, gives *umwowane* as 'Certain kind of trap for catching large animals, as leopards, hyaenas, etc., in which heavy logs and stones fall crushingly upon them...'.¹

⁴²⁶The Mkhukhuze stream rises near Eshowe and flows into the Mlalazi.

⁴²⁷The Mfule river rises near Melmoth and flows south-east to join the Mhlathuze.

⁴²⁸*Hwanqazana* derives from *hwanqa*, which means black with grey markings.

⁴²⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 456, gives *umntwana* (pl. *abantwana*) as '...any person...of the Zulu royal house...'.¹

⁴³⁰William Fynn traded at Port Natal from 1829 to 1834. See also note 212 above.