

NOMBANGO

<18.4.1903>

File 60, nbk. 18, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Ndukwana

20 Nombango (Topsy) and Ndukwana.¹Nombango was born in Mpande's *umbango*.²*Ilanga* - the *hlonipha* form is *icatabo*. Dhlozi's father is Langa.³ Mangala is my son-in-law. I say for *ummango*, *umdonso*.⁴ Babili is another son-in-law of mine. I21 say, when I speak of two (*ku bili*), *ku ngonqe*.⁵ Matshibi, my son-in-law, I *hlonipa* with *manibi*.⁶*Umungcu* is *hlonipa* for *umuntu*. Some say *umutsho*, others *umabi*. Some say a big (*nkulu*) thing is *ku ndomi*, some *ku mvama*. *Ku ncane* is *hlonipa* 'd with *ku botane*.*Hlonipa* only applies to women. Men do not *hlonipa*.Nyangambili is Dhlozi's wife's mother (*umkwekazi*).⁷ Dhlozi paid her for the privilege of using her name: he gave one shilling. He was afraid of using the word *inyanga*, and yet he often had occasion to use such a word: 'Yetwas' *inyanga*'.⁸ He gave the money to Nyangambili.

22 My name has not yet been bought, but as my daughter has been married I expect it to be. Whilst I was a girl, this buying used to go on. There is no necessity for paying again. Even a goat might be given for this privilege, or beads. Ndukwana does not know of this.

A wife will *hlonipa* her father-in-law and his brothers.⁹ She will *hlonipa* as well her husband's brothers. The brothers in their turn will *hlonipa* the wife, and not call her by name. They say simply, 'The daughter of So-and-So (*Uma-bani*)', giving her father's name.I think it objectionable that whilst on the one hand a woman *hlonipa*'s her husband's brothers, yet, if her husband dies, one of the brothers *ngena*'s her, that is, makes her his wife. A beast is killed before *ngenaing* in order to *render* 'clean'

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(geza) the woman, but even that does not get over the feeling of respect the woman
23 owes her husband's brother. And yet if she, on the death of her husband, leaves her children and kraal and marries another man (a stranger), she is spoken of as *ungovernable (uhlanya)*. But *ngena* is practised all over the country, so there is nothing to be ashamed at in it.

Dhlozi is also Mankulumana. His wives' mothers (*bakwekazi*) say for *kuluma, ukunumayela*; then instead of *idhlozi* they say *itongo*.¹⁰ Both names are *hlonipa'd* because they were *bestowed together* by his father. Dhlozi has 'small' names - Mhlokonyelwa, Zarozi, Kambi, Nogcina. He gave himself these names. He objects to Kambi; he was given it by people. None of these 'small' names will be *hlonipa'd*.

24 Thus it is that people *hlonipa* the names of common things etc. because they are, or are contained in, the names of their husbands.

Mata is *hlonipa* for Nkomo, another name for Dhlozi's father.¹¹

Timba is Dhlozi's brother. Dhlozi got his name thus. Langa, alias Nkomo, married three wives, but none of them bore children. A doctor was consulted, who said such a state of affairs had been caused by the *idhlozi*, and that it would be necessary to kill a beast and a goat for it. The advice was followed, and each woman poured over with the *gall*. They after this all conceived together in the same month, and afterwards bore two boys and a girl. Dhlozi was then so called because of this incident.

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File 71, pp. 85-6.

85 Conversation with Nombango, alias Topsy (Dhlozi's wife).

I had a talk with her this evening, she having come here on a visit a few days ago. She expresses the opinion that even though I may gain a great amount of information in regards to the natives, the white people will bring pressure to bear on it and keep down facts I am desirous of bringing to light. Europeans will not allow such a matter to take up their attention.

The people are by degrees falling to pieces in every direction as a result of European government, but this is not all. There is another side almost as bad, and that is the indiscriminate and fearless way in which people go about *takataing* one another. They *genca* (hack) at one another. Whilst, on the one hand, the European
86 government is loosening the various ties of life and thereby killing the people, they are themselves busy doing their best taking one another's lives. That *takataing* is very widespread is beyond all question. The courts refuse to take cognizance of complaints about *takataing* unless there is positive evidence that the person accused was actually seen administering the poison. So aware are *abatakati* of this refusal on our part, that they actually use threats against a person they dislike that they will poison him, no notice being taken of the matter should the man go to court to complain. And we are met with the spectacle of a single person going up and down the country killing as many persons as he likes, himself escaping without injury. In former days there used to be *abatakati*, but not nearly as they are now, for they would be found out by a recourse to *bulaing*. Nowadays people are perpetually

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sprinkling (celaing) their kraals with *intelezi medicines* so as to resist the effects of evil-doer's drugs.¹²

20.4.1903

File 60, nbk. 20, pp. 1-4.

Nombango.

1 *Sprinkling of medicines (ukucela)*. There is much *intelezi* in the field - do not need (*dinga*) it. In the old days those who knew the proper *intelezi* would *pound* it and put it in a *pot (imbiza)*, and as soon as night set in, would sprinkle the kraal. During the night an *umtakati* might come, and next day one would find him sitting at the kraal bound (spell) by that drug. The old *intelezi* is no longer in possession of people. People were secured by *intelezi*, not by *bulaing*. Doctors could not *bula* correctly, many of them. People who are not *izangoma* would know *intelezi*, just as *abatakati* who carry drugs are not *izangoma*. Some however do possess *intelezi for catching abatakati*. We *sprinkle medicines* at our kraal; there are many enemies about us. It is a place from which one would like to remove without *taking one's leave (valelisaing)*.

Vuvuzela medicine and then go.¹³ Anyone going out would *pass over it*.

2 Mapangela *passed over* what is called *umbulelo*.¹⁴ If a person *passes over* that, blood flows from the nose and mouth. Mapangela *did so* some years ago. Blood came only from her nose. She was *treated (elapa'd)*, and *recovered*. She was *treated by an inyanga*, Dotela, younger brother of Sotimelo. (I do not know where Sotimelo is - he is said to be at the goldfields.)

At beerdrinks there is medicine which is poured into a beerpot with a little beer left in. This is given to a married woman, and when she goes to cohabit with her husband he gets ill. This is *uminya* poison, to *be drunk by a wife*.¹⁵ The husband gets a sickness called by the same name. This is separate from *ujovela*.¹⁶ From *uminya* a man dies at once. The wife does not die. This is given to the woman so that the husband may be killed.

3 This *takataing* is very widespread. Those chased away from other places come to where we live.

Kolwas themselves *takata*. *It is they who have finished us off*. When he *became a Christian*, his heart was *spoiled by ubutakati beforehand*. Such a heart can never die out or be eradicated. *Kolwas takata* with their own drugs, not Europeans'. They get *utshevu poison* from Europeans.

Even women have *medicines (imiti)*. I cannot think how this came to be. Formerly women rarely carried medicines. They give a *disease of the chest (ukufa kwe zi fuba)*. When at beerdrinks, she will take out *her little bundle (isitshuqulwane)*, and, when no one is looking, sprinkle it into the beer and give it to someone, who will then get a lung complaint, *shrivel up*, and become reduced to a skeleton, and die.

4 Wives do not show their medicines to their husbands, and so are not given any orders. Women *takata* both women and men, including their own husbands.

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25.4.1903

File 60, nbk. 20, pp. 4-7.

Also present: Ndukwana

Nombango (Topsy) and Ndukwana together.

If a woman mentions the name of her father-in-law, she *forfeits (hlaula's) a beast*. This beast will be got *from the place of her people (kubo)*, where she was born. This would be given to *the husband*, but if the father-in-law is not dead it will be given to him. This beast will not, however, live; it will be stabbed and eaten. If a woman is perhaps quarrelling with her husband, she may swear at him, using her father-in-law's name. The fine is paid only when she intentionally used the name,
5 being in anger at the time. If, in the course of ordinary conversation, she makes a slip, that is excused. She will correct herself at once by spitting out, exclaiming, 'Ha!', meaning by this that she had called by name one who may not be called by her.

The *king's name* was avoided, e.g. *Mpandu (Mandulo)* was the name of a month. *Izimpane (izingxabo)* was also not used, but no one was killed for using *mpandu* or *mpande*.¹⁷ A man could *make oath* by *Mpande* or *Dingane* or *Tshaka*. Instead of *dinga*, *zula* or *ntula* would be used.¹⁸ A word like *ndinda* would not be avoided as being too much like *Dingana*.¹⁹

In matters of this kind re kings, all would *practise avoidances (hlonipa)*, men as well as women. The royal household *hlonipa'd* *Senzangakona* by *enga* instead of *enza*, e.g. *Ungengil' ubani*.²⁰

6 Even when by themselves, people, in speaking of *izimpane* and *mpandu*, would *hlonipa* on behalf of *Mpande*. The initiation of the new name has in time largely displaced the older one. *Sojisa* was *hlonipa'd* in the word *jiya*: instead of 'Ku *jiyile*' one would say 'Ku *gonqile*', or 'Ku *tshubile*'.²¹ All those in the north of Zululand would *hlonipa* him this way. *Sojisa* would be called *mtanenkosi*; *Zibebu* would be called *Zibebu* or *mtwana*.²²

The word *amakwata* is not *hlonipa language* for *amacebo* on account of *Cetshwayo*.²³ The *hlonipaing* of chiefs came into force chiefly in *Tshaka's* day, e.g. *Mgudhlane*, father of *Nquhele* of *Empangisweni*, was not *hlonipa'd*, but *Ndukwana*
7 is not certain.

Notes

¹Nombango, alias Topsy, was the wife of Dlozi kaLanga, who worked for the Stuart family. Ndukwana kaMbengwana was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 4 of the Stuart Archive.

²*Umbango* means dispute. The reference is presumably to the confrontation between Dingane and Mpande which led to the latter's flight across the Thukela in 1839.

³Dlozi, Nombango's husband, was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the Stuart Archive.

⁴*Ummango* means slope or hillside; *umdonso* is a *hlonipha* form.

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⁵*Kubili* and the *hlonipha* form *kungonqe* mean 'There are two'.

⁶*Umatshibhi* (*umashiba*) and the *hlonipha* form *umanibhi* are names for a species of bush.

⁷This paragraph has been scored out in the original, which indicates that Stuart wrote it up elsewhere in more extended form.

⁸Literally, the new moon is appearing.

⁹This paragraph has been scored out in the original, which indicates that Stuart wrote it up elsewhere in more extended form..

¹⁰*Ukukhuluma* and *ukunumayela* mean to speak; *idlozi* and *ithongo* mean ancestral spirit.

¹¹The original has 'husband'. In the next paragraph Stuart indicates that Nkomo was an alias for Langa, Dlozi's father.

¹²Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 620, gives *intelezi* as 'General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil by rendering its causes innocuous, unsuccessful...and gen. administered by a "sprinkling process..." '.

¹³We have been unable to establish the meaning of *vuvuzela*.

¹⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 55, gives *umbulelo* as 'Certain class of poisons or injurious medicines placed in a kraal, along paths, etc., by an *umtakati*, for the purpose of causing fatal disease in those who should come in contact with them'.

¹⁵Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 387, gives *uminya* as 'Very poisonous plant, put into *utshwala* to kill a person'.

¹⁶Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 281, 725, gives *ujovela* as equivalent to *izembe*, which he gives as '...certain disease (really several different diseases), appearing as dysentery, bleeding from bladder, bleeding from the stomach, kidney diseases, culminating sometimes in insanity, and so on, and contracted only by men, as below...'. He goes on to detail some of the circumstances in which the disease can supposedly be contracted.

¹⁷The references are to *hlonipha* terms which were used in place of words which resembled the name of the Zulu king Mpande. *Izimpende* means roots.

¹⁸The reference is to *hlonipha* forms which were used in place of *ukudinga* (i.e. to need, be in need of) because of the word's resemblance to the name of the Zulu king Dingane.

¹⁹The verb *ukundinda* means to rove about, wander.

²⁰Senzangakhona was chief of the Zulu in the early part of the nineteenth century. The verb *ukwenza* and the *hlonipha* form *ukwenga* mean to do, make. The statement '*Ungengil' ubani*,' means 'So-and-so has done this to me'.

²¹Sojisa (Sojijisa) was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house in the early nineteenth century. Under Shaka the Mandlakazi were established in the northern marches of the Zulu kingdom. The verb *ukujiya* means 'Become thick, firm, stiff...as porridge when mixed with an excess of meal...; become hardened or more difficult to deal with...; attain one's full growth and become physically set...' (Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 279).

²²*Mtanenkosi* literally means child of the king. *Mtwana* (*umntwana*), literally 'child', translates as 'prince'. Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was head of the Mandlakazi in the mid- and later nineteenth century.

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²³The name Cetshwayo is derived from the same root as the noun *icebo*, which Bryant gives as 'Plan, device, stratagem...', and whose plural form, *amacebo*, he glosses as 'fabrications, deceits, deceptive tricks, plans to deceive or mislead, lies' (Dictionary, pp. 70-1). Bryant gives *ikwata* (*ikhwatha*) as the equivalent of *icebo*, and comments, 'this word was generally used in Zululand by men and women during Cetshwayo's reign in order to *hlonipa* the king's name; it has already fallen into disuse' (Dictionary, p. 338).