

SIVIVI ka MAQUNGO

<30.6.1905>

File 62, nbk. 74, p. 15.

- 15 Sivivi of the Malunga tribe of Amahlubi people. Living at eMzumbe, *in the bush country*. Chief: Charlie Fynn; pays hut tax at eSayidi (Lower Mzimkulu). Familiar with Zulu affairs; of uKokoti regiment (Dingane's). Hale and hearty; has wounds. Fought at Maqongqo.¹

6.3.1907. 3 Norfolk Villas, Musgrave Road.

File 62, nbk. 83, pp. 5-10.

Also present: Nguboyelanga

- 5 Sivivi [see notes in a small notebook, date about 28 February²] with his son Nguboyelanga.

Dingana made a rule not to take the milk or eat the meat of any beast that was captured by his forces from a neighbouring country, but only those belonging to the Zulu tribe proper, i.e. *a beast that originated at the place of their people (inkomo yo ku dabuka, e ya kubo)*. I know nothing about Tshaka and Mpande in this regard. Nomahawu also did the same as Dingana.³

We separated from the Hlubi tribe in my ancestor Tulisa's time. Tulisa *disputed (banga'd)* with Bungane, was defeated, and then his son Nkweba went to Zululand (Zulu tribe).⁴ This happened in Tshaka's time. He failed to say he was the son of a king, and so lost his rank and became an ordinary individual. My father Maqungo was later made an *induna* by Dingane. My father was already born when Nkweba crossed into the Zulu tribe.

- 6 Hlubi chiefs⁵
 Siyepu (living)
 Langalibalele
 Mtimkulu
 Bungane
 Nsele
 Busobengwe

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Mashiya
Dhlomo
Ndhlovu
Mntungwa

<Descent-line of the informant - eds.>

Sivivi (my informant)
Maqungo
Nkweba
Tulisa
Nqondo
Mwelase
Mapanga
Mbizankulu
Gengezi
Ndhlovu
Mntungwa

I am related to the Hlubi (not Hlube) through Ndhlovu. I cannot recollect further ancestors. We no longer call ourselves amaHlubi but *a ba kwa Malunga*. This change of name is due to our quarrel.

Nkweba went to *konza* to Tshaka; he went with a number of people. He was not raised by Tshaka, i.e. made an *induna*. His people scattered and lived under other chiefs in Zululand.

We say to our children, '*Hush, Malunga! Hush, Mntungwa! (Tula, Malunga! Tula, Mntungwa!)*.' These are our *isitakazelo*, our *isibongo*, which makes a child happy. *Takaza is to make happy.*⁶

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

7 My grandfather Nkweba went to live at eMandeku (stream - near Matikulu), at the Ndulinde.⁷ Maqungo, my father, had a kraal at the eNembe stream near *the place of the White Hlomendhlini*.⁸ That is where I grew up. *The place of the White Hlomendhlini* is called also Kwa Rodobe - this is a nick-name or *isitakazelo*.

Dingana never came to Hlomendhlini. He used to be at Mgungundhlovu, but he visited at Siklebeni, but did not sleep there.⁹ He used to be accompanied by regiments when he went there. He used also to go to Kangelana and then to stay there, and when he went he used to take all his *amabuto*, also his *izikulu* and *izinduna*, as if going on a warlike expedition, for it was a long way.¹⁰ The king would walk along with the *izinceku* on either side of him but at a distance of 50 or more yards from him. Others would be in the front, *flattening* grass, sweeping, cutting apart, removing small pebbles. They thoroughly cleared the way.

The *izinduna* would keep with the regiments, keeping the men back so as not to come too close on the king and *fudumaza him* (cause to be warm or heated). One would always know at once, even though out of sight, that the king was travelling,

for there would be an *imbongi* shouting his praises.

Dingana used to go to Mbelebele - close to Mgungundhlovu, Sixebe and Kangel. ¹¹

8 Dingana used to get tired when on the march. He would then sit down, and a large white shield would be held out over him to make a shade.

I never saw Dingana eat - although I was an *inceku of the upper end (ya senhla)*. ¹² At meal times *the shanks of hoes* would be sounded to give warning that the king was eating. The hoes were loudly beaten, and when the hoes rang out no one was allowed to spit. This ringing went on the whole time the king was eating so that the people might all know and therefore not spit or cough. A girl who did the cooking would beat the hoe - a girl good-looking and who had not *reached the age of puberty*. The king's meat was cooked by a *mature man (indoda)* but *the rest of the food* was cooked by a girl, i.e. *pumpkins, isijingi*. ¹³ *Curds (amasi) were carried by a man, (viz. an inceku, king's)*.

I have seen D. laugh. He however never showed his teeth as he laughed, and when he laughed his head nodded to and fro and then all the men about him would laugh.

He had a *snuffbox (itongwane, isigubana)* about 8 inches in diameter, of *gourd (uselwa)*. It was kept in a *basket (imbenge)*, and this was carried by the *inceku*

9 Lubara. Dingana had a chair, given him by Captain Gardiner and John Cane (uJana). ¹⁴

Tshaka used to sit *on an umqulu*, i.e. mat roll (rolled up) - no chairs (European) then.

Nguboyelanga says: My father usually sits on a mat rolled up, a practice he adopted from Zulus, and when a big man does this the mat is not unrolled except by the owner for his own use.

Dingana had no horse, much less did he ride one.

D. was of large size. His *ibilo* always *sweated*, i.e. the flesh under his chin, which was very big. He used to scrape the sweat off himself with his *snuff spoon (intshengula)*. And when he spat his *inceku* would rub the spittle or phlegm into the ground so that it might become invisible. This was done so that the king might be *awe-inspiring (inzima)* and *fearsome (sabeka)*. This act was for *the fearsomeness (isinzima)* of the king.

He used to *ncweda with isiziba* (i.e. a piece of well *softened* ox hide - like a woman's skirt but not rubbed with *umsizi* as hers is). ¹⁵ This was then sewn, with a small mouth, for the king's use. This hide was spoken of as *isiziba* and not *isikumba*. ¹⁶ All Zulus *ncweda'd with isiziba*. The *izigude* were brought in by
10 Cetshwayo. (The *isigude*, i.e. wild banana, like *ukova* - ordinary banana - would be *stripped off* and *woven*. ¹⁷) Tshaka and his people, all of them, used to *ncweda with isiziba*. The *penis-cover (umncwedo)* of *isiziba* was bigger than the present *inkamanga* - longer. ¹⁸ I could sew it. I *ncweda* with *the leaves of the ilala palm*; these are black, and found on the seashore. I left off using the *isiziba* years ago.

To *ncweda* is an act of modesty - we do it to hide *the penis*.

7.3.1907

File 62, nbk. 83, pp. 10-14.

Also present: Nguboyelanga?

*The ukucwala of Dingana.*¹⁹ This took place in the place of assembly (*enkundleni*), outside the *isigodhlo*, generally whilst he was talking to a man like Ndhlela.²⁰ He would sit at ease, and the *inceku* would *cwala* at fit moments when he got an opportunity and then run off a yard or two. He might move in front and about the king in every direction, but every time fly off as soon as he had done anything, the king being engaged in talking all the time. The same method was adopted as to shaving. The *inceku* held the *razor* (*insingo* or *impuco*) in his right hand, and a *basket* (*imbenge*) in his left, and stealthily approached the sovereign, jumping aside after
11 shaving off a bit of hair, and so he goes on until completed.

Meals. When the king was in the assembly (*ibandla*) he would be summoned to his food when it was ready (cooked) by a girl striking together two *shanks of hoes* (in the manner I have indicated), the blows being made in rapid succession, say 2 a second. When the king was actually at his meal, and until he had finished *xubaing*,²¹ the blows would be about one a second. During the latter process no one in the whole kraal might *spit* or cough, and if you felt inclined to cough you must drop on the ground and, putting your two hands together on the ground, bury your face in them so as to prevent all sound of your coughing. Only the girl was present with the king during his meal. The beating of the hoes during the meal took place in the hut in which the king was seated.

Ukucwala. After finishing, the *inceku* will hand the *basket* (with hair in it) to another *inceku* and the latter will take the hair off and burn it. This takes place in the
12 *isigodhlo* where the king lives. After the hair had been burnt the *inceku* would carry the ashes off and throw them into a running stream of water.

Roof-props (izinsika). There was only one *insika* in Dingana's sitting and sleeping and eating hut. This was ornamented by having bead-work all round it, similar to what one sees on a *sjambok*.²² The *umdhlunkulu*, i.e. his concubines (one must be careful not to say his wives for they were not wives), were summoned one at a time into this hut when D. wished to *hlobonga* with them. The *insika* referred to was of *ipahla* wood - not a very big one.²³ The *umdhlunkulu* wove or plaited round the *insika* with *ubuhlalu* (beads). White and red (*umgazi*) beads were used for this purpose - patches of colour here and there.

The beads used for the *insika* are only allowed to be worn by the *umdhlunkulu* alone; no one else in the country might do so.

These white beads were called *itambo*, the red *umgazi*. The *insika* was covered from top (*from where it met the roof*) to bottom with beads.

13 This hut is called *the ilawu of the king*.²⁴ It is called *ilawu* because the king had *no wives* (*abafazi*). I had occasion 3 times to enter this *ilawu*. I had been sent there by Nomahawu, Dingana's aunt, and each time to Mpande (who afterwards became

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king). This happened at Mgungundhlovu. I was to go secretly to Mpande and to say the *amaKafula* (this word was actually used by Nomahawu as well as by Dingana, and it referred to the Natives of Natal) wanted to *cross the river*, or cross into Zululand, with the intention of killing us.²⁵ 'I want to tell you this, that you may know it.' I was also to ask Mpande to take me on to Dingana. Mpande then took me on to Dingana. We entered the *isigodhlo*. [Note.] If anyone, on any occasion, was going to the king's hut, i.e. when the king was there, he would not *go in silence* but would *give praise to the king*. I therefore, when accompanied by Mpande, had to do the *praising*. I had found Mpande in his hut, which was not in the *isigodhlo* but down by the gate of Mgungundhlovu. Now, I was sent from the *White Hlomendhlini* to

- 14 Mgungundhlovu - the distance being over 80 miles - and I slept twice on the road before reaching my destination. Mpande took me to the *isigodhlo*, and as I went I *praised* Dingana. I had to do this even though I came on a secret errand, and when one left the king one would go off *praising* him. There is an *inceku* posted at the gate of the *isigodhlo* who is called *ugqayinyanga*.²⁶ He will then take us in. He would go and take us to the king's *ilawu*, and sit at the door outside, allowing us to enter. I told Dingana that I had been sent by the *inkosikazi* (I did not say *inkosazana*, which she was in fact, for it was better to call her *inkosikazi*), that is, his father's sister.²⁷ [Note: She was not and could not be called Dingana's 'mother'.] I said, '*Nomahawu says that the amakafula are troubling her; they want to cross into the Zulu country.*' Dingana said, '*Mpande, watch them. Let them come across to us, and we shall kill them.*' He said to me, '*Go and tell Nomahawu to send out spies to watch them, so that we may kill them.*' Mpande was also directed to *send out many spies*, for M. lived at eNtumeni, *below Ndhlela*, in his Mahambehlala kraal.²⁸

(10.3.1907. I found Mpande at Mgungundhlovu whence he had gone to *konza*. Each time that Mpande took me to Dingana, I found him at Mgungundhlovu.)

8.3.1907

File 62, nbk. 83, p. 15.

- 15 <Praises of Fokoti kaSobhuza omitted - eds.>

<8.3.1907? - evidence given 7.3.1907?>

File 62, nbk. 83, p. 16.

Also present: Hartry Bazley, Norman Nembula, Mbovu.

- 16 Bazley, Sivivi, Norman Nembula and Mbovu were present when we discussed the question (last night) about the phrase: *amaNtungwa ehla ne silulu* (not *nge silulu*).²⁹ Sivivi said he belonged to the *amaNtungwa*, for he is of the *amaHlubi* tribe. He says there is a misconception here, for the *amaNtungwa* did not come down in the *isilulu*, but what is meant is simply that these people were the ones first to introduce the *isilulu* for keeping mealies in instead of in holes. But Sivivi had to admit that *ehla* implied a coming from the north, even though not in the *isilulu*. I observed if they

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had come in the *isilulu* the phrase would be *ehla nge silulu*, which is not used. Sivivi cannot suggest where the amaNtungwa came from.

10.3.1907, Sunday.

File 62, nbk. 83, pp. 16-24.

Also present: Nguboyelanga?

'Let me kiss your hand and thank you': so said Sivivi on my telling him the name of Gendeyana's son (Ngwadi) per Nandi, which we had in vain tried to recollect when at Port Shepstone.³⁰ This shows the form which gratitude and delight may spontaneously take among Natives.

Insizwa = *ingqukuva*, *unqatsha* = *isidiya*, according to a Lala dialect.³¹

- 17 My second errand was to report the death of a certain two oxen. I had to do this through Mpande. One of these was an *insizwa* beast, *incu*, killed by *quarter-evil* (*unqatsha*).³² The other was an *ilunga*,³³ horns thus:

It had fallen down a precipice or into a hole. I was to ask by direction of Nomahawu if the hides, which were nice ones, might be cut into shields. I went to Dingane. Mpande introduced me, and told Dingane what I had come about. Dingane said that shields were to be cut. The cattle at *the White Hlomendhlini* belonged to Dingane, as indeed practically the whole of the cattle of the country. The *izikulu*, however, each possessed a few, also the *izinduna* and *izinceku*.

- My third visit was to take 7 youths (*izinsizwa*), each with a bundle of *amabele* (*isangcobela*) to Mndibili (Senzangakona's daughter). *Isangcobela* means those *amabele* which lie at the bottom of the pit and cannot grow if sown. These *amabele* were carried in *amaxamba* (*woven from ikwani*).³⁴ The *inkosazana* had a kraal of her own called eGumeni which was quite close to Mgungundhlovu. She never married. I personally carried no bundle. I got to eGumeni with the 7, and sat down at the gate of
- 18 the kraal. I called to a girl in the *isigodhlo*, who told me to enter the *isigodhlo* with the *amaxamba*. I then gave the bundles over to girls in the *isigodhlo*, and then went to where Mndibili was. She directed me to *give praise on her behalf* to her sister. She was very grateful indeed. She gave me some meat, the *rib-meat* (*umhlubulo*), and told me to go and *roast it outside*. We did so, with *aloe* (*umhlaba*), for there was no wood available. I then went on to Mpande, who was at Umgungundhlovu. I had been told by Nomahawu to report to Dingane that she had given Mndibili *amabele*. Mpande took me to Dingane. He told Dingane, who was very pleased. Dingane then told his *inceku*, Lubara, to go and *find for us the foreleg* of a beast to eat on the way; this was done.

Nomahawu had been asked for *amabele* by Mndibili, and it became necessary for the former to report giving some to the latter because Dingane had told off boys to go and *cultivate* them for Nomahawu, and they therefore were Dingane's property.

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I have stayed 2 and 3 months at a time at Mgungundhlovu; I had gone to *konza*, having been called by Mpande, then still a prince.

I used to stay in Mpande's quarters at eMgungundhlovu, and I only went to the 19 capital by Mpande's orders, and continued there only during his presence.

Inkata yezwe.³⁵ The *refuse (izibi)* where the men are in the habit of sitting is collected and bound round into an *inkata* with a *skin of a python*. This is then *smearred with body dirt (insila) of the king, and with medicine*. This *insila* comes from the king being *paqula 'd*, i.e. rubbed down. It is collected into some dish etc. (Nowadays we wash with soap and have no *insila*. Formerly the king wore *skin cloaks (izipuku)* and put on fat.) The *bits of refuse* were constantly collected; that is, when any men came on business, the grass etc. on which they had sat would - some of it - be added to what had been previously got, and so with later groups of men. And this *inkata* would be put into a hut of its own in the *isigodhlo*. Only one man is set apart to look after the *inkata*, and he alone stays there. This person must be one who has never *tomba 'd*, *who has not fathered, who has no sons*.³⁶ In this hut all *imisebenzi of the king* are put.³⁷ I do not know the guardian's (of this hut) name. The *inkata* was about 18 to 22 inches in diameter and in thickness as thick as a leg below the knee. People were said to be *songelwa 'd enkateni*, bound up into it. This *inkata* 20 only ceased to exist when the king died. The next king got his own doctors to continue it.³⁸ An *inkata* is never thrown away. It is never buried with the king. *Dinuzulu u ku yona* ('is on it').

Mahlungwana ka Tshoba of the eMabeleni people is the one who gave me information about the *inkata*, for he was one of those responsible for making it; he was an *inyanga of the kings of the Zulu country*. Mahlungwana ka Tshoba ka Gudhindhlu - all these in their turn were great doctors of the Zulus. Mahlungwana doctored (*elapa 'd*) us when we fought against Dingana at eMaqongqo.³⁹ He it was who *burnt a patch of grass (tshisa 'd ihlungu)* so that in the event of Dingana's force treading there we should get the better of it. Dingana's *impi did tread there* and we defeated it.

This man was called Mahlungwana because of his making this *ihlungu*.⁴⁰ His proper name was Bahle, by which he was known by Dingana and Tshaka. Now, however, he is commonly known as Mahlungwana.

Madevu - my name according to boys. *Sirili, chief of the abeNguni* - Sivivi proposes this name for me.⁴¹

As far as I remember there were 4 rows of huts at Mgungundhlovu, but here and 21 there there were more. The kraal was between the uNzololo stream (*west side*) and the Mkumbane (*east*). The *umdhlunkulu* were killed in the uNzololo, a stream with *dongas*. The Mkumbane is a much bigger stream than the uNzololo.

Dingana's drinking water was drawn up the *Mkumbane*, in the spring. The *umdhlunkulu* got water there too. *Izinkomo zo mlomo*, i.e. slaughter cattle, grazed near the king's spring.⁴²

The little kraal above Mgungundhlovu was known as eBeje. (Mpande's was

eMapotweni.) The Beje kraal was used for *storing amabele in pits*. The cattle kept at eBeje were those of the original stock (*ezo ku dabuka*), those of the place of Punga, Mageba and Jama, i.e. the very oldest stock.⁴³ These are the cattle which are known as *ezo mlomo*. The king did not sleep at eBeje, but in his own hut *in the isigodhlo*. [Agrees with Tununu.⁴⁴] Women only slept at eBeje. When women were having their courses they used to retire to Beje (*be qakile, potela*), i.e. women belonging to the *umdhlunkulu*.⁴⁵ All the women of the *umdhlunkulu* used to go to this kraal and remain there till they had stopped menstruating.

- 22 Piet Retief and party halted on the burial places of the kings. They thus sat down where no one was allowed to sit. The grass there was never burnt unless the Boers did so. This place, where the Boers outspanned, was known as Kwa Nkosinkulu.⁴⁶ It was quite close to Mgungundhlovu, so close that the calves might go and graze there. The word 'Nkosinkulu' is not, I think, the name of a king but is *ukuhlonipa* for Punga or Mageba or both. No one may hurl a stick at a bird on this locality, nor may a buck be killed if it has taken refuge here. Nor may a person *walk touching the ground* with a stick. *He would be killed, for it would be said that he was stabbing the king*. Nor was a person, who had been ordered to be killed, killed if he managed to escape there.

*Idhlaka = ituna; the idhlaka of the king - proper Zulu for king's grave.*⁴⁷

.... <Notes on Latin salutations omitted - eds.>

10.3.1907, evening.

When Mnkabayi ka Jama died she left *pots (amabodwe)* at her kraal, eBaqulusini.⁴⁸ Dingana told us, the Kokoti regiment, all to go and fetch them. We went.⁴⁹

- 23 AmaLala and amaQwabes were picked out of the regiment and told not to carry, as only those born in the Zulu country (*abo ku zalwa kwa Zulu*), real Zulus, were required. The Qwabes were excluded on account of being *perfidious (na macebo)*, i.e. because they *stabbed* Tshaka. This however is untrue; it is slander, pure and simple. The Mtetwa people were also excluded on the ground that Tshaka had learnt the *evil pursuit (ubuqili)* of killing people from them. The *pots* were then carried by amaNtungwa, i.e. Hlubis and Zulus, who took them to Mgungundhlovu.⁵⁰

Mnkabayi bought dishes etc. from Europeans at Port Natal with elephant tusks. Mnkabayi was a tall, *light-brown (mpofukazi)* woman. She was seated with Mmiso (father of Kukulela of the amaKuze tribe; Kukulela was of the iHlaba regiment), her *inceku*. I saw her at her kraal, eBaqulusini. We had gone out to get *umnqandane*, i.e. wattles of a special kind with which to *construct (aluka)* Dingana's *isigodhlo*. (It was Mpande who used *umklele*; Dingana and Tshaka used *umnqandane*.⁵¹) We had to
24 fetch this plant *near eMvokweni* (a regiment's barracks - the Imvoko). We were passing by when I saw Mnkabayi. I never saw uMmama.⁵² I do not know if Mnkabayi was married. She died in Dingana's reign.

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The coming of Tshaka to the Zulu country, when he became chief.

Senzangakona went to fetch Tshaka from the Mtetwa, where he had grown up, having fled there with his mother. He became a *warrior (iqawe)* there. Senzangakona said, 'Let me go and see my child at Mtetwa; he left me whilst still young; he has now become famous.' He went. Dingiswayo *assembled* all his *impi* to come and see Senzangakona.⁵³ Tshaka was in that *impi*, but S. no longer knew him for he had *put on the headring (tunga'd isicoco)*. When Tshaka approached S., who, with Dingiswayo, was seated on a *mat of ibuma reeds*, he *danced (giya'd) among the iziNkondo* (Dingiswayo's *ibuto*). After *giyaing*, Tshaka concluded by *leaping over (eqaing) his father*. S. then *went home to the Zulu country*. He said to his men, 'Look here, Zulu, you had better allow Tshaka to reign after me, for I have seen he is *one who does harm (itshinga)*; he jumped over me.' S. had nominated Uzikatshana as his heir, but Uzikatshana did not reign. [Sigujana].⁵⁴

10.3.1907

File 62, nbk. 84, p. 1.

Also present: Nguboyelanga?

I Sivivi continues.

Senzangakona then died. Tshaka then *went up-country to rule*, Dingiswayo sending him up and presenting him with cattle. He came with many cattle, driven up by Dingiswayo's *amabuto*. Tshaka asked the names of all the *izikulu of the place*, and the names were all given him, for he had left the tribe whilst still young. He distributed the cattle he had come with among the men. He then began *destroying the peoples (izizwe)*, and captured their cattle. He also killed uZikatshana. (I do not know of Sigujana.)

Ngomane ka Mqomboli ka Sotshaya.⁵⁵ Sotshaya may, however, be another name for Mqomboli.

I have never heard of Tshaka being illegitimate. I think Ndhlovu must be *nyundela-ing* (slandering) Senzangakona's house.⁵⁶ I don't think others would support Ndhlovu.

12.3.1907

File 62, nbk. 84, pp. 1-5.

Also present: Nguboyelanga

'*Njunju of the Tolatoli*', i.e. a *praise* of Dingana's, the Tolatoli being a regiment of his.

2 These were *an ibandla of his (Dingana)*, formed of *izinceku*; it did not have an *umuzi*, i.e. not a regular regiment, but still always about him.⁵⁷

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

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My mother was a girl of the emaBeleni people. Her father was Magwamanda ka Faye. Her maiden name was Nombuto. My father's and Tulisa's kraal was eziJamaneni. My present kraal is called eMzinyati, for all my ancestors had their origins (*dabuka'd*) there, i.e. at the Isandhlwane. My grandfather Tulisa was buried at Isandhlwane.⁵⁸

Nguboyelanga says: My father's mother was chief wife of Maqungo. The ceremony of making her chief wife consisted in a *leopard's tail* being got and bound round a stick; it was then, on the day of the wedding, fixed in the ground some little way at the side of the *isigcawu* or dancing plot. The bride (my grandmother) then went up and pulled it out of the ground; as soon as she did this the *husband's* party closed round her and took her off to the *isigcawu*. Afterwards she emerged from the party and then began to dance round about the company and *kikiza'd* (said, 'Ki, ki, ki, ki, ki, ' etc. etc.) as she held the same tail in her right hand. She would then be known as *inkosikazi*, and would bear the chiefs.

Sivivi speaks. In our tribe (Hlubi and Malunga) we danced (*sina'd*) with the *leopard's tail*, but the Zulus used the stump of an *assegai*. The knife (*umese*) was unknown.

I do not know why Isandhlwane or Umzinyati were so called. The name had attached to these places before my birth. There are *iziwa* on the Isandhlwane hill just as there are *iziwa* in the *second stomach (isandhlwane)* of a beast.⁵⁹

4 My great grandfather Tulisa quarrelled with Bungane, head of the Hlubi tribe, at Isandhlwane. Tulisa was old and died at Isandhlwane. It was Nkweba who went to the Zulus to *konza* with his people. Nkweba was buried at the Mandawe. That is where his kraal was. He was a hereditary *chief* but was afraid of speaking of himself as a *chief* for fear of being accused of having an *isigodhlo*, or *stirring up (pehlaing) water*. Hence, though having a number of followers, my grandfather caused them to be scattered among other tribes.

The amaHlubi lived about the Inqutu hills, under Bungane.⁶⁰ Mtimkulu, father of Langalibalele, lived at Nqutu too.⁶¹ Langalibalele grew up in the Zulu country; he ran off when his father Mtimkulu was killed by amaNgwane. Langalibalele was one of the Ihlaba regiment; I followed him in age.

Umvelase ka Ngobizembe ka Mashwabade ka Dhlamini ka Mntungwa - this Umvelase lived at eNdumeni and eTangeni, i.e. in the vicinity of Dundee. Umvelase was of the Radebe tribe, but fell within the larger Hlubi tribe. These lived about 5 Ndumeni, whilst we, my great grandfather Tulisa, lived near Isandhlwane.⁶²

Tulisa disputed with Bungane, but Tulisa at that time was very old, so old that when he wanted to *doctor his impi* he was carried up on to the top of the hut. Bungane was also old. In those days there was not the constant fighting that occurred in Tshaka's day. They lived at peace with one another - only occasional quarrels. What occurred was that Mvelase and Bungane fought. Bungane wanted to put an end to Mvelase's being a *chief*. Tulisa, seeing this, intervened, whereupon Bungane directed his forces at Tulisa, with the result as stated.

SIVIVI

*He has a tumour (itumba) inside; it is growing = consumption - but a new disease among us.*⁶³

13.3.1907

File 62, nbk. 84, pp. 5-7.

Also present: Nguboyelanga

I was told by my father that Bungane *had an association with Dingiswayo*⁶⁴, that he used to *take dancing songs (amagama okusina)* from him (i.e. the choruses). Mealies too were fetched by Bungane and his people from Dingiswayo, as the Hlubis did not *cultivate* it. I did not ask what led to the one associating with the other in this way. I forget the name of the man Bungane used to send to Dingiswayo to fetch mealies. (His name was Ndukumanqashi *of the Malunga people - an envoy (inxusa).*)⁶⁵ Mealies were not got from the Qwabes, for instance, who were nearer, but only from the Umtetwa. I never heard that Dingiswayo went and stayed with Bungane. The mealies were carried by *amaxamba*, woven, like *sacks (amasaka)*. Mealies were not planted in the Hlubi tribe; only *amabele* were eaten and planted. Mealies were looked on by Hlubis as *medicine for treating people who were ill* and were not originally *cultivated*. They were used for *umkuhlane* illness.⁶⁶ Presently those who used mealies as medicine discovered that they could be eaten, and so fields of them were planted.

Nguboyelanga says it is very common talk among the Hlubis and others to the effect that at first the Hlubis used not to *cultivate mealies*. The coastal tribes speak of mealies as 'theirs', whilst we (amaHlubi) are referred to as owning *amabele*.

Sivivi continues. The reference to our coming down (*rolling with a grain basket - gingqika ne silulu*) is *an insult to us*, for we did not come in that way. But we did use the *grain basket (isilulu)*, for it was our '*grain pit*' (*umgodi*), not at first for storing mealies (which we did not have) but *amabele, izindhlobu nuts and izindumba (imbumba) beans* (not *amadumbe tubers*).

7 I know nothing of the coming of Sirayo and his ancestors to live on our old kraals sites about Nqutu and Isandhlwane.⁶⁷

Bungane lived on the Umzinyati and near Nqutu and Jonono hill, whilst his people stretched towards the Black Umfolozi.

The Hlubis *cultivated only amabele*, and only in later years took to cultivating mealies.

The pumpkin, beans (*bontshisi*) and *sweet-potato (batata)* were brought into the country by Europeans. We amaHlubi *cultivated amabece melons, amaselwa gourds, and amapuzi pumpkins*.

The coastal tribes laughingly said that in the early autumn we Hlubis were obliged to eat only *sweet-reed (imfe)*, and had to depend on them for mealies.

14.3.1907

File 62, nbk. 84, pp. 7-10.

Also present Nguboyelanga

I do not know where Dingana *defecated, inside the hut or outside*. He was always accompanied by someone, Lubara - I do not know his father or *isibongo*.

When the king had left his hut and had been joined by all his *izinceku*, one of them would then shout out in a very loud voice, 'Let the *umpakati* come up,'⁶⁸ say two or three times, when people would emerge from their huts in every direction. The people would all meet the king in the cattle kraal, *at the top end*, near the *isigodhlo, in the cattle enclosure, at the place used by the assembly (inkundla)* where
8 the grass had been *cut away*. People would not come to the meeting without this invitation or summons. This calling-out took place every time Dingana wanted his *umpakati*.

At these meetings the talk was about war affairs, with *dancing (giyaing) of warriors*. They would count over the names of the *chiefs* they had 'eaten up'. All matters, including proposed laws, were discussed. The way in which Senzangakona and Punga and Mageba was also referred <sic>. There is no *loud talking*. Only the king and the *induna* speak. The *induna* then says, 'Do you hear the king!', and goes on to repeat, whereupon all the men say, 'Yes, father' ('Yebo baba'). The *semi-circle (umkumbi)* would be at a distance of say 25 yards from him:



The *induna* who says what the king states to the *umpakati* was Ndhlela. The *izinduna* and *izinceku* sat as above shown.⁶⁹ The minor *izinceku* repeated to the men in their rear what the king said, even though they had heard perfectly well. When the king laughed,
9 all the company laugh. When the king went off, the whole lot would shout out, 'Bayede!', and add a few of his praises. When the king required anyone (i.e. when the *umpakati* was not sitting), he would be shouted for by an *inceku*, thus: 'Nang' ubani bo!'⁷⁰ Answer: 'Numgane! You who grew up while others were tarrying; you who were hurrying after the mountains; you hurried after Mpehlela and Maqwakazi.'⁷¹

No one was allowed to speak in the *umpakati*; only Ndhlela spoke to the king. Anyone who wished to stay away from the *umpakati* could do so, as when otherwise engaged. *Umvala-sangana*, i.e. those who do not go out on military expeditions, that is, those who cook, *collect firewood* etc., do not attend the *umpakati*.⁷² The word *umkandhlu* was the proper name for a council, the old Zulu word, but when Tshaka came from the Mtetwa, he brought with him the word *umpakati* which means the same thing.

SIVIVI

No *giyaing* takes place when affairs of state are being discussed, only when *war* is *discussed*. A week or so might pass without *war* being *discussed*, then on two days in succession *such discussion* would occur.

10 Nzobo, alias Dambuza ka Sobadhli, used to sit at the gate - for that is where his quarters were - and to anyone coming in he would say, '*Who are you bothering?*',⁷³ and so to any others, when you must say whom you are visiting. I always found Nzobo, with his whiteish blanket on, seated at the gate, and he it was who put these questions - to anyone who entered the kraal as from the neighbouring kraals or far off. People were encouraged to *konza the king*, to '*warm themselves*' from his presence (*ota inkosi*).

No one ever entered the *isigodhlo*, only *izinceku* who filled milk-gourds (*amagula*) and *cut up meat*. A man like Ndhlela might enter only when specially sent for. It was Nomahawu who chose me to be an *inceku*.⁷⁴ The *izinceku* as a rule were chosen by the *izinduna*.

*'The inkosi has xaba'd me' = ukusola.*⁷⁵

Notes

¹Mzumbe is a location on the lower south coast region of KwaZulu-Natal. Charlie Fynn was chief of the Nkumbi people in the Alexandra and Lower Umzimkulu divisions. In a battle fought in January 1840 near the amaQongqo hills, south of present-day Magudu, Mpande's forces defeated those of Dingane.

²We have been unable to trace this reference.

³Nomahawu was a wife of Senzangakhona, the father of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.

⁴Bhungane kaNsele was chief of the Hlubi in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁵The names given in the list that follows are in reverse chronological order. In the original, Stuart indicates that the Ndhlovu in this list is the same man as the Ndhlovu given in the list of Sivivi's forebears, which follows.

⁶The noun *isithakazelo* (see Glossary) derives from the verb *ukuthakaza*, which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 607, gives as 'Show kindness or geniality...'.
⁷The Amathikhulu river flows into the sea some twenty kilometres north of the Thukela. The Ndulinde hill overlooks the lower Amathikhulu from the south.

⁸The White Hlomendlini was a body of armed men formed by Dingane.

⁹EmGungundlovu was Dingane's principal *umuzi*. EsiKlebheni was one of the ancestral *imizi* of the Zulu.

¹⁰KwaKhangela was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.

¹¹EmBelebeleni was another Zulu royal *umuzi*.

¹²The reference is to the king's enclosure at the upper end of a royal *umuzi*.

¹³Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 230, 279, gives *isijingi* (= *isihya*) as 'Mixture of pumpkin or mashed sweet-potato with crushed mealies or *mabele*...'.
¹⁴In 1835 Captain Allen Gardiner became the first missionary to visit the Zulu kingdom. John Cane was one of the British hunter-traders who operated from Port

Natal from the mid-1820s onward.

¹⁵The verb *ukuncweda* means to wear a penis-cover, or *umncwedo*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 593, gives *umsizi* as 'Black ash...left after grass burning...; black from smoke or soot...; any medicine, etc., when burnt and ground up into a black powder...?'

¹⁶*Isikhumba* is the Zulu word for skin or hide generally.

¹⁷Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 174, 205, gives *isigude* as the equivalent of *isigceba*, the wild banana tree, the leaves of which were used for making the type of penis-cover called the *ingceba*.

¹⁸Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 289, gives *inkamanga* as '= *i-nGceba* (which latter is the politer word to use...'. For *ingceba* see the previous note.

¹⁹Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 85, gives *ukucwala* as 'Dress the hair by picking or combing it out with any pointed instrument, as is commonly done to the hair below the heading...?'

²⁰Ndlela kaSompisi was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*.

²¹Stuart's old-style orthography renders the meaning of '*xubaing*' uncertain. It could derive from either *ukuxuba*, to mix, or *ukuxubha*, to rinse the mouth after eating.

²²Sjambok is an Afrikaans word for a short whip made of hide.

²³Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 479, gives *iphahla* as 'Certain strong-wooded tree along the coast (*Brachyloena discolor*)...?'

²⁴Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 351, gives *ilawu* as 'Hut of unmarried man or boys, or unmarried girls, in a kraal; private hut of a married man...?'

²⁵*Ikhafula* (pl. *amakhafula*) was a term of contempt applied by people in the Zulu kingdom to Africans in what became the colony of Natal. The word is usually supposed to have derived from the Afrikaans 'kaffer' or the English 'kaffir', though the argument is sometimes put forward that it derived from the Zulu verb *ukukhafula*, to spit out.

²⁶Literally, the one who watches the moon.

²⁷Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 319-20, gives *inkosikazi* as 'Chief or great wife of a chief; applied, by courtesy, to any one of a chief's wives; also to the chief wife of an ordinary kraal-owner; also, as a term of courtesy, to any married woman'. He gives *inkosazana* as 'Eldest daughter of a chief wife...; any daughter of a chief or important personage...?'

²⁸Entumeni is a locality some fifteen kilometres west of present-day Eshowe.

²⁹Norman Nembula was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears elsewhere in the present volume. Mbovu was presumably Mbovu kaMshumayeli, also one of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 3 of the *Stuart Archive*. For discussion of the term Ntungwa see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom', ch. 5; Hamilton & Wright, 'The making of the *amalala*'; Wright and Hamilton, 'Ethnicity and political change before 1840'. *AmaNtungwa ehla ne silulu* translates as 'The amaNtungwa came down with a grain basket.' *Nge silulu* translates as 'by means of a grain basket'.

³⁰Nandi was a wife of Senzangakhona and the mother of Shaka. Numerous traditions recount that she bore a son, Ngwadi, to a man named Gendeyana.

³¹The notes in this paragraph occur in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 17. *Insizwa* here means an ox without horns (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 654); *unqasha* (*unqatsha*) means quarter-evil, a type of disease affecting cattle (Bryant, Dictionary, p. 444).

³²For *insizwa* see the previous note. We have been unable to establish the meaning of the word *incu*.

³³Bryant, Dictionary, p. 368, gives *ilunga* as a black beast with certain white markings.

³⁴We have been unable to establish the precise meaning of *ixamba* (pl. *amaxamba*). Bryant, Dictionary, p. 337, gives *ikhwani* as 'Kind of bulrush, used for thatching and mat-making...'

³⁵An approximate translation is 'the grass coil of the nation'.

³⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 641, gives the verb *ukuthomba* (*ukutomba*) as meaning 'Pass the first genital discharges of puberty...'

³⁷*Imisebenzi* is the plural of *umsebenzi* which normally means 'work'. In this context it seems to mean 'goods'.

³⁸In the original the word 'continue' is preceded by the words 'start another', which are scored out.

³⁹In January 1840, at the amaQongqo hills south of present-day Magudu, Mpande's forces defeated those of Dingane.

⁴⁰The name Mahlungwana is derived from the diminutive plural form of *ihlungu*, an area where the grass has been burnt.

⁴¹The notes in this paragraph occur in the original in the top margin of p. 20. Stuart here appears to be writing about himself.

⁴²*Izinkomo zo mlomo* literally means cattle of the mouth.

⁴³Phunga, Mageba and Jama were ancestral Zulu chiefs.

⁴⁴Thununu kaNonjiya was another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in volume 6 of the Stuart Archive.

⁴⁵Bryant, Dictionary, p. 524, writes of the verb *ukuqaka*, 'Menstruate - this being the proper word for the function, it is not liked, and is therefore in conversation replaced by euphemisms, such as, most commonly, *geza*, *potela*, *pambuka*, all of which may be used in respectable society'.

⁴⁶In some traditions Nkosinkulu ('Great Chief') is named as an ancestral Zulu chief.

⁴⁷This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 21. *Ithuna* means grave.

⁴⁸Mnkabayi was a sister of Senzangakhona, the father of Shaka. The ebaQulusini *ikhanda* was situated near present-day Vryheid. *Amabhodwe* (sing. *ibodhwe*) are metal cooking-pots of the kind first introduced by Europeans.

⁴⁹The uKhokhothi was an *ibutho* formed by Dingane.

⁵⁰For discussions of the term 'Lala' see the references cited in note 29 above.

⁵¹Bryant, Dictionary, p. 557, gives *umklele* (*umrrele* in his orthography) as a species of bush with red, edible berries. On p. 444, he gives *umnqandane* as 'Certain shrub (*Royena pallens*), bearing red edible berries and whose sticks are sometimes used as wattles...'

⁵²Mama was a daughter of Jama and sister of Mnkabayi.

⁵³Dingiswayo kaJobe was chief of the Mthethwa in the early years of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁴Numerous traditions give Sigujana as Senzangakhona's son and heir. 'Uzikatshana' was probably the informant's pronunciation of 'Sigujana'.

⁵⁵Ngomane kaMqomboli(o) of the Dletsheni people gave protection to Shaka and his mother in the Mthethwa kingdom.

⁵⁶Ndlovu kaThimuni was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 4 of the Stuart Archive.

⁵⁷The notes in this sentence appear in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 2.

⁵⁸The Mzinyathi river is marked on most maps as the Buffalo. Isandlwana (isAndlwana) is the name of a hill a little to the east of the river in the Nquthu region. It is famous as the scene of a Zulu victory over British forces during the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in 1879.

⁵⁹The usual meaning of *isiwa* (pl. *iziwa*) is cliff, precipice. We have been unable to establish its meaning as used in the second of the contexts referred to by Sivivi.

⁶⁰The Nquthu hills lie to the south of present-day Nquthu village.

⁶¹Langalibalele was chief of the Hlubi in the colony of Natal in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

⁶²Stuart here emphasizes Sivivi's variant pronunciation of Isandlwana. Ndumeni is a hill a few kilometres south of Dundee.

⁶³This note occurs in the original as an insertion in the top margin of p. 4.

⁶⁴'Bungane had an association with Dingiswayo' is our translation of 'Bungane waye *hlangene no Dingiswayo*'.

⁶⁵The words in parentheses occur in the original as an interlinear insertion.

⁶⁶Bryant, Dictionary, p. 325, gives *umkhuhlane* as 'General name for any acute disease accompanied by fever, etc., such as ague, influenza, enteric, small-pox, pneumonia, pleurisy, severe cold, etc.'

⁶⁷Sihayo kaXongo was chief of the Qungebeni people at the time of the British invasion of Zululand in 1879.

⁶⁸Bryant, Dictionary, p. 481, gives *umphakathi* as 'All the commoners or "people" of the land (exclusive of the *izinDuna*, *iziKulu*, or others in official position) who would at different times be called up to the king's kraal for the *um-Kosi* festival, promulgation of laws, or any other necessity...'

⁶⁹The verb *ukuthunga* (*ukutunga*) as used in the caption to the illustration means to put on the heading.

⁷⁰I.e. 'Here, So-and-so!'

⁷¹The original Zulu reads, '*Numgane <Mngane?>! wen' o wa kula be libele, wen' o wa pangel' izintaba, wa pangel' uMpehlela no Maqwakazi*'.

⁷²*Umvala-sangana* (*umvalasangwana*) literally means 'the one who closes the little gate'.

⁷³Nzobo, or Dambuza, was one of Dingane's principal *izinduna*. In the original his query reads, '*u Kwela ngoba?*'.

⁷⁴For Nomahawu see note 2 above.

SIVIVI

⁷⁵*Ukuxaba* means to place in a difficult position, to make trouble for. *Ukusola* means to find fault with.