

TUNUNU ka NONJIYA

1.6.1903 - <evidence given 28.5.1903>. Durban.

File 70, pp. 94-9.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana, Sithuntu kaMagidi

94 1.6.1903. Conversations with Tununu ka Nonjiya on Zulu history, etc., especially during the times of Dingana.

On 28.5.1903, at 2 Norfolk Villas, Musgrave Road, Berea, Durban, Tununu spoke as follows, Ndukwana being present, also Situntu, son of Magidi ka Ngomane, the boy who had been sent by Magidi to bring Tununu from Zululand.¹

I never saw Tshaka. Dingana and Tshaka, being *mature men (amakehla)*, *disputed (banga'd)* when Senzangakona nominated Sigujana as his heir. Dingana said, 'I am going to the Qwabe people whilst Tshaka said, 'I am going to the Mtetwa people.'

I (Tununu) am a Qwabe man. It was to us that Dingana came. Dingana was given by Pakatwayo to my father Nonjiya to look after. Pakatwayo was king of the Qwabe people. Pakatwayo's father was Kondhlo whose father and ancestors were as follows: Mncinci ka Lufuta ka Simamane *se' Ngwe* ka Kuzwayo ka Sidinane ka Mahlobo.² I am not quite sure as to the sequence after Kuzwayo although the 2 names given are undoubtedly great and ancient names and beyond the days of Kuzwayo.

My father belonged to the iziNkonde regiment, a regiment belonging to Pakatwayo. I never saw Pakatwayo.

My father and ancestors run as follows: Nonjiya ka Tuzuyu [Tuzuya - per Mmemi] ka Mpotsho ka Myangatshe.³

Dingana fled away from Senzangakona's kraal at the same time that Tshaka did. Dingana stayed a number of years with the Qwabe people and, as already stated, in my father's kraal. The name of that kraal was Ebuqoloqolweni.

Tshaka and Dingana took different routes after leaving Senzangakona's kraal, one saying, 'I am going to *konza* here' (Qwabe), the other saying, 'I will *konza* here' (Mtetwa). T. and D. objected to S. nominating Sigujana as his heir, seeing they were each older than he was. Both T. and Dingana were of the iWombe regiment.

Sigujana's mother's name was uBibi ka Nkobe. [Ndhlela ka Sompisi ka Nkobe.]⁴

As regards Tshaka's birth, I have always heard he was *born at Senzangakona's home* and when Nandi had already become his lawful wife.

TUNUNU

When Tshaka ran away to *konza* he was accompanied by his mother as well as *people of their place (ba kwabo)*.

I have heard of no quarrel that ever took place between Nandi and Senzangakona.
95 The name of Dingana's mother was Mpikase [ka Myiyeya, p. 11].⁵ I do not recollect her father, but she was *of the eMaqungebeni people*.

People, Ndukwana observes, used to *make oath (funga)* by Mpikase.

I am certain Tshaka and Dingana *left their father after they had put on the headring (be tungile)* but before they had been *married (ganwa'd)*.

I heard of these things from Dingana himself. He used to say, 'I was "killed" by the Zulu people and found a refuge among the Qwabe people', referring especially to my father.

I knew Dingana well. I was born whilst he was still *at our home (kit' ekaya)*. I got my name of Tununu from him. At the time of my birth there was a *dearth of food (indhhlala)*. *Izitununu* went about *hungry* to various parts of the country, carrying food or seeking for it.⁶ They *suffered (hlupeka'd)*. One morning, hearing my father's wives laughing, Dingana, emerging from his *ilawu*,⁷ asked the *amakosikazi of the umnumzana* (my father) what was the matter. They told him one of the women had just been delivered of a child, a boy. That boy was myself. Dingana thereupon gave me the name of Tununu.

I was his *inceku*. He caused me to put on the headring.

I am a member of the Imkulutshane regiment.⁸

As *inceku* my duties were to milk, *cut up* slaughtered beasts, etc., this taking place at Mgungundhlovu.

I was present at Piet Retief's death.⁹ Piet R. and party were killed not with assegais but with sticks. I was an *inceku* at the time.

The Imkulutshane regiment *follows the uDhlambedhlu in age*, then come the Izinyosi, IziMpohlo, which were composed of uNdabenkulu, Dibinhlangu, Gibabanye, Ngqobolondo. The iziMpohlo were *buta'd* later. Tshoyisa was *buta'd* before the IziMpohlo, as also the iziBolela, uFasimba. The amaWombe were *buta'd* by Senzangakona; a section (*isigaba*) of this regiment was known by the name of Isipezi. As regards Jubingqwanga: this word was applied indiscriminately to those divisions of the iziMpohlo already named who were directed by Tshaka to cut off their headrings and again to *kleza*.¹⁰ There was no separate regiment or section which went by this name. The name uNomdayana refers not to a separate regiment but merely to a *section (isigaba)*.

Ndukwana disputes this, contending Nomdayana was a separate and independent regiment.

96 AmaGovu and iziBawu are Mpande's regiments. Dingana can be said to have had only 3 regiments. He had a way of recruiting and then *pouring together (telaing ndawonye)* with the older regiments.

TUNUNU

It was Tshaka who *buta'd* the izinNyosi, though not under that name. He knew the *inkwebane* (cadets) as iNgcobinga, and before they had an *umuzi* of their own he was assassinated.¹¹ Dingana then gave them their regimental name of izinNyosi.

Dingana's three great regiments were izinNyosi, uDhlambedhlu and Imkulutshane.

The iMvoko *built an umuzi*, eMvokweni, but, as a matter of fact, were part of the iMkulutshane regiment.

The iHlaba was *buta'd* and *incorporated (telwa'd)* in the imKulutshane and uDhlambedhlu regiments. They did not form a separate regiment.

On 28.5.1903 in the evening, Ndukwana present, Tununu gives the following:

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

98 28.5.1903 [continued]. Dingana was *light brown (mpofu) in colour*, somewhat of the same build as Magidi (chief) but rather stouter and larger, say 5 ft. 8 in. tall. He had *put on the headring*; <he was> of the iWombe regiment of Senzangakona. Was good-looking. *He was very stout (zimukile)*. He spoke the Qwabe dialect; he said, e.g., *inkonana* for *inkonyane*, *inama* for *inyama*.¹² He had a temper. He once beat me all over with a stick for sleeping with *isigodhlo in the long grass (esikoteni)* in the day-time. He, on one occasion, caused about 20 of his brothers to be put to death. Among these were: Ngqojana, Ndunge, Somapunga (not Zwide's son of that name),¹³ Nzibe (*followed Mpande in age*), Gqugqu, Nomkwayimba, Sondondo, Mhlangana, Kolekile.¹⁴ These men were killed when I was 20 or so years old. He paid taxes to the Boers with *elephant tusks*, i.e. after he had been *driven out (citwa'd) from eMgungundhlovu*. He was killed by the Swazis *at the uBombo*.¹⁵ [Query. Was not Mhlangana killed at a different time - earlier?] I did not follow him but Mpande. Dingana gave me 30 *blue monkey skins* and Mpande added 10 to these, all of which were used for the purpose of *dressing up in finery (vumulaing)*. I had gone to Mpande to *cut (klaya) my dancing dress (umqubula)* and was then advised not to rejoin Dingana as I would be killed at the Mhlatuze before I could reach him. I consequently threw in my lot with Mpande. Mpande liked me. He made me presents of cattle.

Dingana has given me as many as 40 cattle. He used to live at our kraal as already stated and so knew me and about me. His great *inceku* was Masipula, who afterwards became Mpande's chief *induna*. Bara was also an *inceku* and Mtweni, Nkunga, Mnyabase, Mzilikana *who were mature men (izinceku z'amadoda)*. Mapemvu ka
99 Vukuza, Vumandaba ka Nteli, Nhlekele ka Mudhli, Makedama, Kalakahla, Matunjana, Tununu ka Nonjiya (i.e. myself) - these were *izinceku who had not put on the headring*.

Matshekana, Mgudu, Tshabu, Mnwana were among the smaller *izinceku*.

There were 50 or more of these servants.

Thirty *brought him food in his hut in the isigodhlo*.

Those who *milked* were also numerous. This can be seen from the fact that there were 800 cows and all these were milked.

TUNUNU

IBeje was a collective noun or name applied to the king's women and favourites (*izixebe*) who lived in a small kraal *above* and apart from uMgungundhlovu.¹⁶ The *induna* at eBeje was Vumbi ka Mkele ka Zincuma.

I was sent by Dingana with 7 girls (*amaqikiza*) *from the isigodhlo*;¹⁷ two boys accompanied us. I was directed to proceed to the Rev. A. Grout at Mvoti in order that I might learn the use of the gun and how to drive a waggon, whilst the girls were to learn how to sew clothes.¹⁸ The girls returned with me to Dingana when his *impi* went off to *attack (hlasela) Mzilikazi*. That *impi* was the one which seized cattle known as *ubelu*, the *ubelu* being a large and fine kind of beast.¹⁹

29.5.1903, Friday.

File 70, pp. 99-101.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

Friday morning, 29 May 1903. Tununu continues. (Ndukwana present.)

I knew Grout (Gilawoti) and he knew me. He could speak Zulu well. Dingana himself sent me with the 7 girls referred to - these girls were sent merely to learn how to sew. They were not sent to be taught Christianity, etc.

I remember uMtshumayeli (an *mfundisi*) coming to eMgungundhlovu.²⁰ He built a house, i.e. hut, *at some distance from the umuzi, at the Nzololo* (stream). He was given 4 girls to teach. This missionary *raised the alarm for Dingana* by informing us the Boers were an *impi*. They would otherwise have killed us, innocent all the time of any knowledge of danger (not knowing anything was amiss). Dingana advised the missionary to leave and take with him all his belongings. He accordingly procured 2 of Grout's waggons. D. advised the missionary to go as an *impi* had begun to *make war (hlasela)*. He was to go off to his own people. The missionary went.²¹ I was then sent by D. to a missionary at Empangeni called Jana, a European missionary.²² I had
100 to tell him to *wela, 'cross the river; go to your people; go down and meet up at the Matigulu with Mtshumayeli'* (i.e. Owen). I gave the message and Jana *inspanned while I was still there*. He asked me when the Boers had arrived, I replied, *'Two days ago' (kutangi)*. He, up to then, had heard from no one. He had a small waggon. Grout had 3 waggons; 2 of these came to Jana's place. Empangeni is *down the Mhlatuze*. Jana was alone at Empangeni. Missionaries had, however, built *on the flat country (etafeni)*, i.e. all about the Nyoni. These had built at eNtonteleni (king's kraal) and kwa Hlomendhlini (also king's kraal). Grout had built at that place - 4 houses of brick. These houses were on the Msunduze, south side, near kwa Njanduna (king's kraal), *the black Hlomendhlini and the white Hlomendhlini*.

Grout was sent to eMvoti after the Boers were killed; he was permitted to settle there by Dingana. Grout withdrew from his station in Zululand.

The missionary at Mgungundhlovu was Mtshumayeli [Rev. F. Owen].²³ I do not know his proper name. I have spoken to him. He had his wife and children with him, viz. 3 children, including a baby born at that place.

Wohlo, Mbuyazwe, Gadeni were the first comers at Port Natal and these three paid visits to the king.²⁴

TUNUNU

Gadeni had a place at the Tongati known as oGoqweni (name of a *forest*) where Dingana had given him permission to settle.²⁵ He was not a missionary. Gadeni afterwards returned to his own country. I do not know of Gadeni being given a place in Zululand.

I never came to Durban in the time of Dingana.

When Mpande *crossed over* I came with him and lived at the Tongati.²⁶ We did not come on as far as the Umgeni. We *got stopped (tiyeka'd)* at the Mdhloti. We merely *goba'd* and *built temporary kraals*.²⁷

Wohlo built at the Lovu and the Mkomazi. He had native wives.

I afterwards ran away from Mpande. My mother was 'killed' by Dingana; he said she was to go off and be eaten by a hill.²⁸ My mother then remembered Grout where I had previously worked with the 7 girls.

I took part in the battle at Maqongqo.²⁹ I *crossed* into Natal *after I had married*. My mother *crossed over* before I did. She sent for me.

101 On my return to Zululand I built *on this side of Kangela*,³⁰ at the Mlalazi, not far from the present soldiers' camp at Eshowe.

Grout, Mtshumayeli, Gadeni and Jana were the only *missionaries (abafundisi)*. Gadeni was in league with the 3 others. Gadeni asked for a place for Mtshumayeli; this was given, and when Mtshumayeli came he had the *isigodhlo* girls for his congregation - *the isigodhlo girls came down*. The *ibandhla* also went to *attend service (sonta)*.³¹

29.5.1903, evening.

File 60, nbk. 22, pp. 17-20.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

17 ... <Praises of Dingane omitted – eds.>

18 Mgungundhlovu was the biggest of all Zulu kraals in Tshaka's, Dingana's, Mpande's or Cetshwayo's days.

The site of M. was on eMkumbane stream north of present road and south of White Umfolozi. The *hearthstones (amaziko)* are still there, also quantities of beads.

Dingana killed off a great number of persons (*mpakati*) for *lying* with *isigodhlo girls*.³² This occurrence is known as *idili*,³³ *when people at Mgungundhlovu were killed off*.

Bongoza belonged to Fasimba regiment.³⁴ He lived with Boers at eMtshezi (Estcourt). The Boers knew him. He went to them to *konza*. They received him kindly and allowed him to live with them.

19 The *idili* happened long after Tshaka's death [say 1834].³⁵ Dingana 'remembered' what the Mgungundhlovu people had done. Mgungundhlovu *was built by Tshaka's regiments* (was composed primarily of T. regiments). The *mpakati* were killed all one day and the massacre was continued next day. This was not the occasion on which D. killed his brothers.

TUNUNU

D. was told by his *guards (abavakatshi or gqayinyanga)* of those sleeping with *isigodhlo girls*. D. killed off with uDhlambedhlu, Izinnyosi and Imkulutshane regiments. They killed only with *sticks (izinduku)*, not assegais. They, offenders, were *carried to kwa Matiwana*, i.e. a hill *opposite Mgungundhlovu*. Matiwana, *chief of the Amangwana*, was killed there by Dingana.

I was at Mgungundhlovu, a *very young man (insizwana)*, when the *idili* occurred, herding *izinkomo zomlomo* (eating beasts), king's milking and eating cattle. I saw this affair. The best eating beasts are heifers not *mounted*, and young oxen.

20 Among those killed were Madhlanga, Mkumuza ka Ntusi, Myakayaka. *The king's people* were not killed on that occasion, they were killed afterwards.

30.5.1903, morning.

File 60, nbk. 22, pp. 20-4.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

30th May 1903, morning. Tununu and Ndukwana present.

Tununu, as before, speaks. I was present at the Maqongqo *impi*. The *spies (izinhloli)* saw the other spies at dawn, also *izimbongi*. The fight began *early in the afternoon*, was not *set on by the izinduna* but *by the minor izinduna*. The *izinduna* themselves *were agitated* and *they defecated* and *urinated*, for an assegai would not *be forgiving (ncenga)*; even though they were *izinduna* they would not escape. They knew that I fought for Mpande that day against Dingana. Mankaiyana, Mqundane, Nkayitshana, Nongalaza, Mtweni (*induna of the Zwangendaba*), Ngozane ka Busobengwe (Ngozane was our - imKulutshane - *induna*); these were all Mpande's *izinduna*. Ndhlela ka Sompisi, Ntengo ka Mtshido (*of the Zulu royal house - woku*
21 *zalwa wakwa Zulu - of the Dhlambedhlu*), Nozitshada ka Maqoboza, Mvundhlana ka Menziwa, Nonsukwana [Sonsukwana?] ka Ndhlela ka Sompisi, Silwana ka Ndhlovu, Fika ka Mncongo, Mbangulana ka Dhlozi (*induna of the Dhlambedhlu*), Mamini ka Mpika (also *of the Dhlambedhlu*), Msongane [see nbk. 23, p. 4]³⁶ (*induna of eMgungundhlovu*), Mfusi ka Manyala (*induna of eMlambongwenya where Mpande was born, at Kwa Mahambehlala, when Mpande was a man*).³⁷

Maqongqo is a hill, *at the Mkuze, above the Magudu* - south of Mkuze, say 18 or 20 miles from office of Nongoma.

We were *on a ridge*, and *with our backs to Maqongqo*, Dingana's *impi* had its *back to Empisini hill*. There was no time for us to go up to top of Maqongqo, our object being to go towards the Mkuze. Mpande's *impi* was acting on the aggressive, following D. who was fleeing to *the uBombo*. D. was himself *at the uBombo*. He could see what was going on. Ndhlela and Silwana were the chief men in charge of
22 D.'s *impi*; Nzobo ka Sobadhli had already been killed by the Boers. Nzobo had also the name Dambuza.³⁸

The two *impis* were *equal in strength (lingana'd)*. Mpande's *impi*: Imihaye, Zimpohlo, Zwangendaba, Mlambongwenya, Dukuza, Siklebe regiments.

Dingana's were: uDhlambedhlu, Izinnyosi, Imkulutshana (Dulela) - all great regiments. The Imkulutshanas were the largest regiments.

TUNUNU

Imihaye came from Kangela - were the Imkulutshane of *Kwa Kangela*. The Invoko was also a section of the Imkulutshana, with a kraal of its own - it was the *isibay' esikulu of the Mkulutshane*.³⁹ The Dulela section lived at eMgungundhlovu. I used to live at Kangela near Eshowe *for it was the place of my people (kiti), but I was sent up by the king to be an inceku at eMgungundhlovu*. The Imhaye belonged in the outlying areas (*etafeni, emapandhleni*), and most crossed over with and joined Mpande.

The battle continued till nightfall. D. was defeated. Many people were killed there.
23 Dulela did not *engage* and <were> therefore not killed much.

Marwanqwa was not *stabbed* at eMaqongqo. Izinnyosi and Dhlambedhlu were *stabbed in the back* as they ran. Dhlambedhlu *engaged with Zwangendaba and Sihlalo (Ndabakawombe)*; they *defeated* them. We Imihaye *defeated Imnyosi*, going off in an opposite direction, we being with Amagovu (*of Mpande*); were *inhlanganisela of eMlambongwenya, the great umuzi which was still igugu*.⁴⁰

The Dhlambedhlu cried, '*Wu huhu!*' - *their chant (irubo), which they had come back with from the Swazi country; they took it from the amaSwazi*.

We fought the Dhlambedhlu when the sun had set, but the Dhlambedhlu was no longer in order, having already chased others and in some disorder.

I worked for Somsewu, was his *umpakati* in Ngoza's time.⁴¹

Saturday, 3.10 p.m., 30.5.1903. Tununu and Ndukwana.

'*Do not sing (hlabelela); there is no occasion for it*' - *on the death of the induna (Masipula)*.⁴² *A reed mat (uhlaka) was woven, and they carried him away to bury him.* [Per Ndukwana.]

24 Masipula, Lukwazi ka Zwane, Mbilini (father of Mayindi) - belonged to Mayanda ka Velane - all killed.⁴³

The old *indunas* were killed on the new king coming to throne. That was the rule. Mnyamana was an exception.⁴⁴

Per Ndukwana: Mjwapuna ka Malungwana ka Mpangwa *of the Emambateni people* asked Mnyamana, '*You have long said that you are umbeleti. Where did you carry the kings to?*' Said this at oSutu. M. died a natural death. Tshingana *answered*, '*We are causing the country to quarrel;*' also Ziweddu said this. All this took place at oSutu.⁴⁵

Ziweddu still living - *at esiGwegweni near Nongoma. He and Cetshwayo were of the inhlabamasoka, the isibay' esikulu at kwa Tulwana*.⁴⁶ *They kleza'd at Emlambongwenya.*

[See next book.]⁴⁷

TUNUNU

30.5.1903

File 60, nbk. 23, pp. 1-9.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 1 30.5.1903, Saturday afternoon (continued). Tununu and Ndukwana present.
Dingana ruled (busa) by means of isigodhlo, and umpakati and amabuto. He built uMgungundhlovu, his great umuzi, bigger than all amakanda. He lived at Emgungundhlovu.
Mpangazita ka Mncumbate *left the Ndwandwe country to come and konza in the Zulu country. He was made induna of the Fasimba in the uhlangoti at Mgungundhlovu.*⁴⁸ Mayanda of the Mpukunyoni people was also made an induna, he was a greater induna than Mpangazita.
He established (beka'd) amakanda - said amakanda were to be built. The old Kanga kraal which he had built as an umnumzana still existed. He revived (vusa'd) imizi of Tshaka and Senzangakona and started his own amakanda. He revived (1) Siklebe, (2) Mbelebele, (3) Nobamba, (4) Dukuza ka Nombayo, (5) Bulawayo alias Gibixegu, (6) Mgumanqa, which he incorporated (tela'd) into kwa Kanga - isiNyanja, (7) Ntontela, (8) the White Hlomendhlini, (9) the Black Hlomendhlini, (10) Njanduna, (11) Dhlangezwa, (12) Mkandhlu, (13) Enzimazaneni (his mother's home, built near Mgungundhlovu), (14) Egumeni alias kwa Gociza, (15) Ekuqobekeni, (16) Enzondeni, (17) uGuqu, (18) Ntekelo, (19) uZwela, (20) eMpangisweni.
Most of these were built about the Mahlabatini.⁴⁹ No. 1 was Senzangakona's kraal, died during T.'s reign, revived by D. at Emahlabatini. No. 2, S.'s kraal, existed during T.'s reign, revived by D. - lower down the White Mfolozi, at Emahlabatini. No. 3, where all were born, the place of their people (kwabo), was Jama's kraal, where Mkabayi, Mmama, Mawa - daughters - came from;⁵⁰ was S.'s kraal, continued during T.'s time, D. extended it at Emafipeni (Emakosini), at Emahlabatini. No. 4 was T.'s kraal - neglected (buntsha'd) and then revived by Dingana (Stanger). No. 5, T.'s kraal near Mhlatuze, at Emateku, D. rebuilt. No. 6, Mgumanqa was the name of a regiment of Tshaka's, alias isiNyanja, all incorporated (tela'd) by D. into Kanga, built in flat country (etafeni). No. 7, T.'s kraal, did not sink into neglect (bohla), built in flat country at the Matigulu on the Nyezane. No. 8, D.'s kraal, this side of Msunduze. No. 9, D.'s kraal, near no. 8. No. 10, D.'s kraal, near nos. 8 and 9. No. 11, T.'s kraal, revived by Dingana. No. 12, on the other side of the Mhlatuze near Entondweni hill T.'s kraal, near no. 11. No. 13, D.'s kraal, at Emahlabatini near Mgungundhlovu, at the Emkumbane, his sister Bayeka's kraal, a large umuzi (inxulumu) the size of an ibuto; Bayeka married Mfanawendhlela ka Manzini ka Tshana of the Zungu people. No. 14, D.'s kraal, his sister Nozilwana's kraal; she died at kwaVuma in the Nyawo country with her brother Dingana; above Siklebeni. No. 15, D.'s kraal, in bush country on the Mhlatuze, below the Mandawe hill. No. 16, D.'s kraal, near Mandawe hill and no. 15. No. 17, D.'s kraal near Empisini hill, near Nkongolwane. No. 18, iNtekelo, and No. 19 - built near Swaziland in the north; D.'s kraals. No. 20, Empangisweni, built by T., revived by D. at the Black Mfolozi.

TUNUNU

- 4 All the kings' kraals *died out (buba'd)* when Cetshwayo was defeated. *The ekuBazeni kraal only existing - Cetshwayo's when he was a 'prince' (umtwana). Many amakanda built about Mgungundhlovu. Danced amajadu, formed hunting parties (zingel' inqina); raywa'd - Dingana himself danced.*⁵¹

[This must be read with Mtshayankomo ka Magolwana's evidence of 11.1.1922 in dirty yellow exercise book.]⁵²

- Boers very nearly killed D. at his own home, Mgungundhlovu. Mtshumayeli said to Dingana, '*Here is an impi. The person who gave the alarm was a white man. He said, 'You see the way they surround the kraal; they are hunting (zingela) you.' The king then put himself out of sight. He put Msongane of the eLangeni people [see nbk. 22, p. 21] in front of the assembled Zulu at eMgungundhlovu [p. 9].*⁵³ A white
- 5 *headrest was carved - long and high. D. placed this man in this way. He was to be a figurehead. We boys were seated about near Msongane; Dingana was behind, out of sight. The interpreter the Boers were with was Damuse [Thomas (?) Halstead],*⁵⁴ they had got him from the English at the bay (Durban). They *asked that we should keta.*⁵⁵ On the day of their arrival 50 Boers *broke off* and went this way, and 50 more another way. They *disappeared* on one side of the kraal and also on the other and then fired their guns. After this they *asked for a place to camp. D. gave them the isibay' esikulu.*⁵⁶ The Boers asked if there were any *white people's houses* there. D. then said they were his. Now this was not D. at all who was speaking but Msongana. They then
- 6 *camped at a euphorbia (tree) at the gate - a clump of them. They then had amasi poured out* for them, also beer. We also took two brown oxen to them. We no sooner got to them with these than they fired at each with guns and killed them. What helped that they should not be killed at once was *the weather*. After sleeping two nights, on the 3rd day *there was a storm*. The storm killed 12 horses. The Boers *ran for hoes so they could bury the horses which had been struck by lightning (a dhliwe izulu)*. They buried them. The Boers *walked all about the umuzi. The openings to the isigodhlo were then closed, in the day-time*. The Boers, notwithstanding they were provided with oxen and that they killed them, must needs go out *for steenbok and*
- 7 *rhebok*. They also ate their *amasi* and drank their beer. *It was then that the missionary (umfundisi) spoke. The king summoned him, saying that he should not go to his place but come to him. Mtshumayeli came and said, 'Do you see these white men? They travel with an interpreter from our people. Be wise (hlakanipa)!' It was he who saved the day (wa siza du!).* But for what the missionary said, the king would have been killed by the Boers. It was this that suppressed the plot. They were called the next day, *they came to say their goodbyes*. Damuse had come to ask to *return home* whereas as a matter of fact he was going to kill us. D. said, 'Damuse, I will see you tomorrow,' i.e. the day of their massacre. They went to the king early in the
- 8 morning. They arrived. Beer and *amasi* came from different sides. He told them all to come as he wanted to see all. All came, leaving guns behind except 3 *amalawana.*⁵⁷ They arrived and seated themselves. The king came to them. When they *finished the beer and amasi the commotion (isidumo) occurred and they were killed. An inkondhlo was being sung and an ukuketa dance was being performed for them;*⁵⁸

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they were surrounded. D. went off suddenly at the back. Then the ubedu came together, i.e. the ring of people. They were killed with sticks, not assegais. They stabbed with knives. I was not stabbed. I did not strike them. The amabuto were
9 *hidden near the kraal; they arrived just as the disturbance began and in an extended movement. Being an inceku, I took no part in the slaughter.*
Msongane was an *induna of kwa Dukuza* [p. 4].⁵⁹

31.5.1903, morning.

File 60, nbk. 23, pp. 9-24.

Also present: Ndukwana

Tununu and Ndukwana present.

Owen was called and asked if he knew the Boers who had come. He replied he knew the interpreter, Damuse, whom the Boers had procured from Mbuyazwe, Gadeni and Wohlo at the Bay. Owen however denied knowing the Boers themselves. Damuse was *interpreter for Gadeni*. Gadeni consented to his going. There would have been no fight had the English come. The fight arose out of the Boers having come to *fetch the cattle of the amarole*.⁶⁰ This fact caused them to be regarded suspiciously from the outset.

10 [Boers under Retief leave Port Natal on first visit to Dingana, 24th October 1837. Massacre of them, 6th February 1838.]

Boers came to Dingana to ask for the return of cattle taken along with those D. had seized from Mzilikazi. D. was prepared to give them these things; as a matter of fact *isiklabu* (sheep) was returned Klwana ka Ngqengelele and Mvundhlana ka Menziwa <sic>.⁶¹ There was a large of sheep <sic>.

The cattle seized from Mzilikazi *had become scattered; they had already been given out (zabiwe)*. D. therefore could return no cattle. Only the sheep could be distinguished. Dingana in reality refused to return the cattle, for he could have given them a number of his own.

11 *The cattle of the amarole* were the cattle belonging to Boers seized by Dingana along with others from Mzilikazi. It appeared as if the Boers had come for their cattle. I heard nothing of wanting land.

Mtweni ka Sitibela, *inceku* of Dingana, went to Sigonyela with the Boers.⁶² They *appeared at the place of Jobe, at the Mankamane*, and arrived in 4 days at Emgungundhlovu.⁶³ A large herd of cattle came. I saw the cattle at eMgungundhlovu on their arrival with the Boers; they were red beasts.

The Boers must have made a mistake in advancing 2 requests at the same time, viz. re cattle and then land. The Zulus interpreted their object as to fetch their cattle and therefore the mission was looked on in a hostile sense. The Boers' cattle had as a fact <been> seized from the Boers by Mzilikazi and then by D. from Mzilikazi, and therefore the Boers no longer had any claim on the cattle etc., even though in the first instance they were theirs.

12 The king no doubt had conversations with the Boers but the substance of them never got out much, never became generally known. People looked upon the main

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object of the Boers' mission as to fetch their property; they knew nothing of wanting to ask for land. [See pp. 367-370, i, *Annals of N.*, also 361-366, i, *Annals of N.*, which throws a good deal of light on the visit of the Boers.]⁶⁴

Ematigulu, from uMagula, the mountains.⁶⁵ Tununu says no Qwabe people lived about there.

Sunday, 31.5.1903 (mid-day). Tununu and Ndukwana.

Dingana ruled from 23 September 1828 to January 1840, or a little over eleven years.

Pitana went with Nzobo, alias Dambuza; went to fetch Mpande when he ran to the Boers at Kangelana in Durban.

Dingana had many dogs. Makwedhlana, a very large dog which if it wanted to bite a man he could run away from it as it was so fat and large; Nozokoza, *castrated*, (about 15 inches high, *black and white - elunga*), *it used to bite*, a person raising a stick would *be attacked*); Mbendeni (*dun-coloured - mpofu*); Matshekana, not *castrated*, *dun-coloured*, large size; Matubana, *castrated*, large red dog 18 inches
13 high; Gambuje, *castrated*, *dun-coloured*; and a number that went out with me to *herd cattle*. The dogs had been brought by Amampondo *during campaigns in their country*. Rodiza, *castrated*, *black*; Mteno, *castrated*; Nkayitshana, *castrated*, a black-coloured dog, larger than a fox terrier; Jimu, *male*, *in the isigodhlo*; Nomantiyane (*their mother*), *she lived in the main part of the kraal (isigaba)*.

Makwedhlana, Jimu, Makwilana *were of the isigodhlo* - never struck.

The dogs were called *amagovu*. D. would call *amagovu* to kill some person.⁶⁶

The other dogs above stated *herded* with us and belonged to Dingana.

It was the *impi* Tshaka sent *to the Amampondo country* that returned with the dogs.⁶⁷

Ibeje, eMvazana, kwa Mbeceni - names of the 3 kraals immediately outside upper side of Mgungundhlovu. The two latter were *imizi of the gourds (amagula) of the*
14 *royal women (abantwana) at eBeje*. The Beje was inside. There were 8 huts in the iBeje. All these huts were large and accommodated many persons, who wore *ingxota* and *umnaka* (like *amasongo*) round necks; they put *inganekwane* (i.e. *ingoqo of beautiful brass - itusi*) on the upper part of left arm.⁶⁸ They wore *itambo* (white) and *umgazi* (red) beads.

Vumbi and Bungane *of the Mdhlalose people* were men who lived in the Beje and *cooked for* them. They had 6 *izimbiza pots* to *cook* with, a whole beast could be cooked in these pots in one day. Meat was very plentiful at eMgungundhlovu, so much so that men *rubbed* with it on their limbs (smeared).

Dingana did not *sleep* there (in Beje) but in Emgungundhlovu. The women would be sent for. There is *a particular place (isigcawu)* upper part and outside
15 Mgungundhlovu where they *sat in the sun, where erythrina (umsinsi) trees had been planted (gxunyekwa)*. I have entered the iBeje. I carried a chair, the king's, as big as an ordinary European chair. I put it *in the yard (egcekeni) in the shade* and then went and sat with Vumbi where the meat was being cooked. No men might go to the Beje, only Vumbi and Bungane and several *izinceku*.

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*It was at kwa Beja where Ngqengelele lived, i.e. the forest of Ngome. Beje was the name of a person.*⁶⁹

Beje ka Magaozi was a *minor chief (inkosana) of the Kumalo*, living at Ngome forest, i.e. his *stronghold*. Dingana attacked Beje; he then ran away into the forest. The forest was surrounded, the *amabele were pulled up, temporary shelters*
16 *(amadhlangala) were built and impi (D.'s) resided there. Beje's adherents left him from time to time to konza Dingana but he never left and rotted (bolela'd) there, i.e. died there. Ndukwana grew up with Mzamane (deceased), son of Beje, used to live with him.*⁷⁰ Mnyamana's Emahlabaneni is opposite the *stronghold* (Beje's); one crosses the isiKwebezi river and enters the *stronghold*.

The iBeje was also iBeja. Dingana named it after uBeje and called it iBeje because he *yeyeza'd. One who yeyeza's, i.e. spoke as the Qwabe people, he did not 'raise the tongue' (imis' ulimi), i.e. Dingana.*⁷¹

Dingana ordered the *inzawu to marry. The ikwani and inzawu were ordered to marry the izimpohlo, who went and fetched sinews from Mzilikazi to put on the headring with.*⁷²

Ikwani was ordered to marry us amabuto.

Icenyana, mvutwamini, incekeceke, Ntshuku were classes of girls *ordered to*
17 *marry by Dingana; these were recruited in Tshaka's day.*

Women (girls) who were *inkohlongo - one who is regarded as a mature woman although she is a girl, looking shrivelled and old. When you met one, she would say, 'My child (mtanami),'* and you would reply, *'Yebo, mame,'* and yet a girl.⁷³

Isihlabati was isigodhlo in Dingana's time; may have been ibuto in Mpande's time.

Msutu ka Sigonyela wanted to kill me. We had gone to *find seed (imbewu); we went with womenfolk, above the country of the amaHobe, up-country.*⁷⁴ *My assegai (ikhwa) was called uVuma - its name, with which I killed Msutu.*⁷⁵

I was saved by Nhlekele ka Mudhli, Gaqa, Zihlafu ka Mandondo; they prevented him from killing me. I was on the ground.

He struck me with a stone sewn on a stick. My *shield (irawu) doubled back and I fell. He trod on my front covering (isinene) and was about to stab me when he was attacked by the 3 named. I stabbed him with the above ikhwa and passing through intestines and stomach it broke his shoulder blade.*

All Zulu knew me because of this.

18 I was with 17. I saw cattle and rushed forward to prevent his getting away. He was whistling to them, *'pe pe pe'*, with an *imbanda whistle* (is a *bone instrument*). [See Bryant, *Z. Dict.*, under *imbande*.]⁷⁶ The cattle had already learnt the *mbanda*; that is the way with Basuto cattle. To this day the *mbanda* is used. A fast man must be chosen to lead the cattle, consequently Msutu was chosen. I followed, caught up to him, the cattle were following. I attacked, leading our party, with the result as above stated. Even though a person may have turned cattle used to the *mbanda*, and someone at a distance blows the *mbanda*, the cattle will break away and follow the
19 whistle. It is therefore necessary to catch the person blowing, etc. Those with Msutu had made off on either side of him so I found him alone. Snow and ice was on the ground. I had 4 assegais and an *ikhwa* and my *shield (isihlangu)*.

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This incident happened near where Dundee now stands, in time of famine and after Dingana's death. *We went out as an impi when Mpande was ruling.* Mpande was still at emLambongwenya. Siklebe was built but Nodwengu had not been built.

- We were to *seize imbewu from the Basuto* - various tribes I do not know the name of. Dingana had appointed Mqanjelwa ka Sonomo as chief over these various Basuto.
- 20 Mcekeceke and Ntshuku were *ordered to marry by Tshaka*; Mvutwamini was no sooner *ordered to marry* by Tshaka than he was put to death. *Icenyane was married off* by Dingana to Fasimba and Mgumanqa.

Dingana *made peace in the country (lamulela'd izwe)* - brought about peace. He also allowed girls to marry.

[It should always be remembered that the Zulu government was a recently formed system and therefore there were many points about it which would have been improved had things been allowed to consolidate themselves. This fact to be brought plainly out in judging the nation and its various institutions.]

31.5.1903, evening.

One king is *praised* by another king's *praises*. This was common in Zululand.

My father was of iZinkonde regiment at eMtandeni, Pakatwayo's tribe. My mother was of Zigenane *ibuto* of girls under Pakatwayo.

- 21 Pakatwayo *married off* girls and had *amabuto* of them. Zinkonde, Ubuyabaza, uKiyaza, uMtanda are Pakatwayo's regiments of men remembered by me.

Pakatwayo's kraals were: eMtandeni, Ebuyabazeni, Ntoyeya, eyiDedeni (kraal of his brother Godide ka Kondhlo, Godide, father of Mamfongonyana), eNdhlekezeni (kraal belonging to Godolozu, brother of Pakatwayo), Odibini (was Nqeto's kraal) also Emaganukeni (Nqeto's kraal).⁷⁷

Zulu was son of Malandela, also Qwabe ka Malandela.

Mncinci *guqula'd* a beautiful girl of our family, i.e. caused her to take a different *isibongo* as he desired to marry her.⁷⁸ She was called after an *old woman*, Gcabatshe, and from then to now we are known by the *isibongo* Gcabatshe for she belonged to our family, i.e. the girl. Mncinci wanted to marry her, and did. I am a Gcabatshe altho' of the Qwabe people. I do not know the girl's name or her father, though an ancestor of mine.

Ndukwana refers to the Biyela people being so called and yet they are Zulu people.

- 22 *Si uhlang' olukulu lwa s' Emhlatuze*, i.e. we Qwabe people - phrase or *isibongo* of the people.⁷⁹

Tununu knows nothing of the origin of the Zulu and Qwabe peoples, much less of such tribes as Mtetwa, Ndwandwe, aba se Langeni, and less still of the whole Native races.

No one ever inquired into these matters. Everyone lived in the present and concerned themselves with modern affairs only.

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- Kondhlo's grave is at Mhlatuze, Mncinci's is at Magula, Lufuta's is on *the sandy country of the Matigulu, down the road which goes to Ematigulu* - large waggon road. The water below there was not drunk by *amakosikazi of Mncinci*, Lufuta and
- 23 Simamane. Mlalazi also is not *drunk from* by *amakosikazi of Pakatwayo* on account of Pakatwayo's grave being near Mlalazi; they refuse to drink '*the chief*' - near and on sea side of Hloko Hill.

Kuzwayo, Sidinane and Mahlobo are all buried in the Qwabe district.

Tununu cannot connect the Qwabe with the Zulu people. He will not allow the Qwabes ever lived but in the neighbourhood of the Mhlatuze, Matigulu and Mlalazi, and yet he says both Qwabe and Zulu were the sons of Malandela and Zulu came from the north. He does not know where Malandela lies buried. He admits it is possible the Qwabes came from the north.

I do not know Nhlembeni ka Mqogqoza.

<The questions marked with an 'x' in the list that follows have been scored out in the original – eds.>

Queries.

Account of Mpande's flight into Natal, return, etc.

Nonjiya's life

Tununu's life - duties as *inceku*

What tribes did Tshaka *collect together*?

Who were Dingana's doctors, their duties, etc.

Intercourse with the Portuguese

- 24 x Where did cattle, dogs, sheep, cats, horses, goats and fowls come from.

x Who were Dingana's *izimbongi*.

x Cattle dancing among the troops, on what occasions?

x What men would you recommend as knowing about Tshaka's times, about Dingana's and his *izibongo*, about Mpande's earlier days?

x What *buto* did your wife belong to and where was she *jutshwa'd*? How much did you *lobola* with, had you children by her.

Was there any limit in *number of wives (isitembu)* in either Tshaka's or Dingana's day?

x <Had> Pakatwayo *a headring*? Had he an *isigodhlo*? When did the *isigodhlo* arise?

x Had Tshaka any kraal corresponding to the iBeje or Emapoteni?

Describe Emapoteni?

x Were you ever *inceku* to Mpande? Who were his principal *izinceku*?

x Mention Dingana's *envoys (amanxusa)*.

When was the *drought of Mbete*?

How was meat divided among regiments in Dingana's day?

When exactly was Imkulutshana *buta'd* and how old were its members?

[31.5.1903. Sunday.]

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1.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 24, pp. 1-24.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 1 Tununu speaks. (Ndukwana present.)

I do not know Buba. N. says Buba was *of the uDhlambedhlu*.
I do not know who Qwabe *fathered*. I know nothing about him.
I do not know where cattle originally came from. We call dogs *izimpisi* - of the same kind but of different colours.⁸⁰ Certain kinds came from Pondoland when Tshaka *attacked there*. We had no cats all over Zululand. Any one with an *impaka* was said to be an *umtakati* and was directed to be killed.⁸¹
We first saw horses in Tshaka's and Dingana's reigns. Mbuyazwe, Wohlo had horses - never seen before. Dingiswayo however came with a horse.⁸²
Goats and sheep have always been with us. Sheep did not only come from the Boers.
- 2 I saw no fowls in Zululand as a child. There were no fowls at all at Mgungundhlovu. Dingana would sometimes *appear* above the *isigodhlo* and *make a noise like a fowl, saying, 'Ki ki li gi!'* I have often heard him do this.

I do not know where Dingana learnt this as there were no fowls at our home.
Izimbongi (D.'s) were: Sikihli and Magolwana ka Mkatini, the latter being *the father of all izimbongi*. He would get up early, go into the kraal and start *bongaing* so as to *wake the king in the isigodhlo*. Magolwana was the greatest *imbongi*. I knew Magolwana very well. He was killed by Mpande. He was as tall as Ndukwana but *stout (zimukile)*. He would *bonga* during this month, saying the *impi* must *palaza* as
- 3 it is about to *go out*, i.e. be sent on an expedition.⁸³ The *imbongi* *cleanses (hlanza) the impi* when about to go out.

Magolwana would help himself to cattle seized *in war*, even in Dingana's presence, *pick out cattle* here and there. He had many cattle.
He, after *bongaing*, would sometimes say his throat was dry. Dingana would perhaps shout from the *isigodhlo* and tell him to wait as he was coming out soon. M. would then be given a large *pot (kamba)* of beer to drink.
He could *bonga* from before dawn to about 11 a.m. without leaving off.
Mpande killed him. I do not know why. N. says it was said he *takata'd*.
Magolwana had a hut of his own at Emgungundhlovu, *inside (ngapakati)*. His
- 4 women, those called by him, would live with him. He would *bonga* on 4 or 5 successive days and then *rest*. He knew when an *impi* would go out. An *imbongi* was of the same rank as the general *umpakati*, not an *induna*; he eats *amatwane (next to usu, inside)*.⁸⁴ He sometimes was caught by a thunderstorm *bongaing in the cattle enclosure*. He would not leave off. Afterwards he would be invited to come and have a pot of beer with *izinceku*.
Izinceku slept outside the *isigodhlo* but quite close to it.
I did not know Sikihli.
Magolwana had many *sons*. M. *lived* near Ntabankulu and Nhlazatshe, *between them*. I do not know his sons. N. knows more about this.
- 5 *Announcing the umkosi (zi mem' umkosi)*. Oxen were taken from *ikanda* to *ikanda*, i.e. Emahlabatini. The oxen were the king's and a large herd went. This only took place in Mpande's reign.

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The *umkosi* was *announced* by a man going from *ikanda* to *ikanda*. He would *bonga* and *bonga* and as he concluded would shout out, 'uMkosi!' and go on to the next place. This was done just before *umkosi* came on - 2 or 3 weeks before.

I never saw cattle mixed up with troops dancing. Cattle were often given to the regiments in numbers to be killed.

I know of no one who knows of Tshaka's days, or of Dingana's. I never meet anyone. They have all been killed off.

Msiyana was an *induna of Ndabakawombe*.

N. says: Sikota ka Malevu was *finished off* (*qedelwa'd*) by Mpande - he could no
6 longer see. It was said he *takata'd* Cetshwayo. A *hyrax entered Cetshwayo's hut at Tulwana*. A *puff-adder* and *hare* also entered. C. was away at Emangweni. This was reported. C. *bula'd* and heard. He sent a man to Emahlabatini, to Masipula - i.e. *to the king, he was taken inside* through Masipula - to *bula* and hear what this meant. No *bulaing* was done, an *impi* was sent to Sikota by Mpande to kill him. Magidigidi and Sikwana ka Kekile and Tulwana were sent by C. on hearing the *impi* had been to Sikota; he sent to Sikota. Tulwana, Nodwengu and Isangqu were sent to kill off Sikota, also his *sons* Macala and Matsheni. Qetuka was in charge with *izinduna*.⁸⁵

C. asked why Sikota was killed. He said he had himself *bula'd* and heard it was *umbango, a ku yile ku muntu* (it is a dispute regarding inheritance; no person can be
7 held responsible). This was long after the Ndondakusuka battle and before C.'s installation.⁸⁶

T. speaks. I do not know Tshaka's *izimbongi*. Magolwana did not *bonga* Tshaka. Magolwana was of the iWombe regiment.

Tshaka *buta'd* Isipezi and *incorporated* (*tela'd*) *it into the amaWombe*. Magolwana was *of the imteyeya*, i.e. those *telwa'd*.⁸⁷

I know nothing of Mpande's *izimbongi*.

N. says: Magolwana, Hlantele ka Qukaqa *of the kwa Tango people*.

T. says: <Hlantele> ka Somgomondo *of the Ntusi people of Mayakata*. Hlantele was short, was *of the Kangel*. Was an old *imbongi* of Dingana's.

N. says he must be referring to a different Hlantele.⁸⁸

Mahlangeni, N. says, was also Mpande's *imbongi*.

T. speaks. My first wife was *of the iKwani buto, ordered to marry by Dingana*; later wife, Nhlungula ka Mzuzu (killed at Encome by Boers),⁸⁹ was *of the Sitimane*
8 (*ordered to marry* by Mpande). The Sitimane wife, Nhlungula, *had run away* with Mankayiyana, *an induna of Mpande, an important one, an old man, who was an umnumzana*. I met her in Natal at Tugela. The Sitimane girl did not care for Mankayiyana.

My first wife of iKwani regiment, her name was Mtshopi. She is dead. I gave 10 head for her. I was an *isilomo* and had cattle;⁹⁰ I paid to Solatsha ka Menziwa, brother of Mvundhlana ka Menziwa. I gave a large number on account of Solatsha's high status.

I had children by her.

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I was *permitted to put on the headring (tungwa'd)* by Dingana. This was the same year as the burning of Mgungundhlovu [1839 (1838)], also after the Bongoza episode and when the country had settled down and Dingana had *sent tribute (tela'd)* to the Boers, viz. *tusks of elephants*.⁹¹

The Boers after this, receiving Dingana's allegiance, directed he was to cause us to *put on the headring (tunga)* as we 'did not hear', which referred to the occasion when they fought at oPate for they fired at us and we still persisted in attacking them even though killed in large numbers.⁹² We were *tunga'd* about the age of the Uve, i.e. about 40 years of age, which was prior to the ordinary time. My wife was about my own age when I married her. I know this because I had sisters who belonged to the iKwani as my wife did.

10 The Boers gave the directions about *tungaing* as they wanted to see if Dingana had really *konza'd*. The Boers found we were so determined, jumping and pressing over our own corpses to get at the Boers. The Boers no doubt wanted us to marry and settle down.

I was present at Encome - there was great slaughter, especially in the *dongas* there. The Boers put up *thorn bushes*. The *izikulu of the Zulu died at the Ncome*. That is where the Fasimba and Sipezi were cut to pieces. So great was the slaughter that there was no mourning in Zululand. No one went to mourn with others. Had Mpande not *crossed over*, D. would have *ruled* for he would have gone on paying taxes - elephant tusks.

11 At Encome, Magwaza, the son of Senzangakona by Langazana ka Gubetshe, was killed, also the *fellows with big bellies (izinsizwa e zi nemkaba)*, i.e. *who were fat* - Mapoloba ka Ngomane and Nkulukudhleni ka Ngomane, and large numbers of persons of rank. A great campaign was on and therefore the flower of the nation went forth to fight.

I knew Bongoza; he was of the uFasimba regiment. He had *put on the headring and married*. He went up to the Boers at eNzungeni, Emtongjaneni, after Mgungundhlovu, *which they had burnt a few days before*. He said he had gone to *konza*. He was sent by Dingana to do so, so that he might inform D. of what the Boers did and when they went away etc. B. was directed to *take them down a bad place*. B. went; he was well known to the Boers, for he lived near Estcourt where in time of peace the Boers lived. He then informed the Boers that there were cattle unherded down below and that they could go and drive them off, whereas the Zulus were thoroughly well prepared for the Boers' coming. They lay concealed behind trees, etc., and the Boers rode into them. The Boers fought well and a large number succeeded in getting away. I was present in this fight. I was a gunholder, *isitunyisa of*
12 *Dingana*, having been taught its use by Grout and Gardiner - not for the purposes of war but for hunting.⁹³ I myself was an instructor in the use of this weapon.

The fight went on in the neighbourhood of one Godhloza's kraal. One shouted from a hill as he saw the engagement, *'It has engaged with them' ('Ihlangene')*.

Bongoza's father is unknown by me. D. asked Bongoza if he could go to the Boers, he said 'Yes.' He was thereupon doctored with *izibango - medicines chosen by izinyanga*.⁹⁴ He was doctored in order that the Boers should *be 'soft' and greet him and give him meat*, i.e. the biltong *which they made in strips*. To this day the

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Boers inquire if Bongoza has any children as if wanting to avenge themselves on them for B.'s treachery. *They have their minds (azisa) on Bongoza.* Numbers of Boers were killed but some escaped. Bongoza, after leading them down a long steep hill, said, *'I am going outside,*'⁹⁵ and disappeared in the thorn trees. The B. asked, *'Where is Bongoza, where is Bongoza?'* whilst a married woman standing on an eminence shouted to the concealed Zulus, *'They are surrounded, men of the king!'* 14 *('Ba pakati, mabandhl' enkosi!')* The *imranga* of Piti drew together (*imranga* means white persons dressed in clothes).⁹⁶ They entered *the gateway* of Dhlambedhlu after following cattle track across drift. The track went to the *gateway* of Dhlambedhlu; others *headed for the* Amabedhlana hills. Most *crossed* at the drift of the Dhlambedhlu kraal and went there, proceeded to *the isigodhlo* and *forced their way* in there. *The (izinsizwa) youths engaged with them.* They followed the Boers to oDhlambedhlwini. The *izinsizwa* passed *Esiklebeni* and waited for the Boers. *They escaped for they were many. Those who arrived first they stabbed on their horses.* They forced a way through *the Zulu (uZulu) who were as numerous as locusts.* Only 15 a few escaped. Those at the waggons *inspanned* and returned the way they had come. The Boers there were in large numbers. Only *the drivers* remained with the waggons. The sun went down, that is why we did not follow.

The members of regiments had several assegais apiece. The Boers came down the bad, long stony hill mounted. *They got down because there were many of them.* The Imvoko were cut to pieces in front of Godhloza's kraal. They killed *the sons (izelamani) of the left-hand house of the people of Magunuza,* these being *of my age-grade (intanga). Magunuza was of the Zulu people by birth.* I was *on the other side of the river;* I had a gun and had to prevent these Boers from *going up the ridge* 16 *which leads to near Nodwengu. We checked them and drove them back to the Imfolozi.*⁹⁷ When they got to the drifts they found *the Zulu had blocked them;* they then made straight for the drift of Dhlambedhlu and went there as already stated.

There were 130 of us who had guns. We got all these guns from Piti. The *izinceku* guns were obtained from Gadeni *at eGoqweni down the Tongati.*

I knew Gadeni. I was sent to him by Dingane on various affairs. He lived at oGoqweni. He was living there as he liked that place. He was of importance among white people. He had a house at eTekwini (Durban).

17 The guns were loaded down the barrel and *caps (amatopi)* were used. We got the *gunpowder (umsizi)* from Wohlo, Gadeni and Mbuyazwe; it was brought in boxes. The king would give even ten oxen at a time for it. Gadeni was given 20 oxen for *gunpowder, young bullocks.*

I left my gun at Emgungundhlovu when I got ill. I went home, D. giving me medicine. I took a horse with me which had been given me by the king. This horse died at my place. I rode it. Sonsukwana ka Ndhlela gave me a saddle which was taken from the Boers after their massacre in Natal near Estcourt.⁹⁸ I put this saddle on my horse.

18 I also attacked the Boers in Natal. The things belonging to the Boers were carried back to the king.

We attacked the Boers at their homes in Natal immediately after killing Piti.

The Boers followed us at once to our own homes, not a month passed. They were to come on a Monday and true enough they came. *The spy was Bongoza.* Bongoza was *dark-brown (nsundu) in colour,* rather stout, as tall as I am - nearly six feet.

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Pakatwayo must have *put on the headring* for he was *an inkosi*. No *inkosi* is placed in power (*bekwa'd*) without having put on the headring.

He had *isigodhlo*. All *amakosi* have *isigodhlo*.

The *isigodhlo* originated with the people (*dabuka'd nezwe*); is an ancient
19 institution. *We originated with chiefship, the chief alone lived inside, he lived there with his womenfolk.*

Tshaka had uNyakamubi kraal, *up above*, corresponding with iBeje and Emapoteni, *the king's womenfolk (omka nkosi) and favourites (izixebe) stayed there.*

Tshaka had many *izixebe*. His only child was Mpande [?]. I have never seen Zibizendhlela, *there were simply rumours about him (udume nje)*, not existing, I fancy.⁹⁹

Whenever *one of Dingana's womenfolk (umfazi)* became enceinte she *had a pot cooked for her (was pekela'd imbiza)*, which she was made to drink to bring away the pregnancy (*isisu*).

Mankaiyana <was> an *induna* of Mpande, *induna of eNqakavini*, i.e. eMlambongwenya. Any woman *who became pregnant*, Mankaiyana would call an
20 *inyanga* and cause her to be given medicine to bring away the child. I do not know what medicine this was.

Mankaiyana, N. says, was always going backwards and forwards between Natal and Zululand. If the king (Mpande) spoke angrily to Mankaiyana he would *become sick (xwala)* and *cross* into Natal. M. would then send for him again. He would return and the same thing would happen. I know Mankaiyana. He was short, spare. N. knows him - he was *made induna at our place (kiti) when we were butwa'd, when we were youths (inkwebane)*.

I know nothing of Zibizendhlela. I do not know where he got off to.

There was no limit placed on the *number of wives (isitumbu)* in Tshaka's or
21 Dingana's day.

I was never *an inceku to Mpande*. His *izinceku* were Mfinyeli, Sonketshenketshe, Maqayingana, Vumandaba, Sinqamu, Dazukile.

Dingana's *envoys (amanxusa): to Esilungwini*, i.e. Natal - Nkomeziswebu, Mpunguyo, Cwayinyoni; *to the Boers - Bongoza, who lived with them.*

The Tongas were the king's subjects. They brought skins, *game (izinyamazana)*.

The Swazis fought against us. Their country was looked on as a place to get cattle. The Swazis had much food. Even girls and boys had their *grain-pits (imigodi)* of food.

I never went to Delagoa Bay. I did not know them in the early days.

22 The *preacher (Mtshumayeli)* - Owen - at Mgungundhlovu was placed there by Gadeni and Grout (Gilawoti) to *teach the isigodhlo*, with of course the king's permission. The *isigodhlo* was to *learn to sew with thread (uhala)*.

There was no *food-shortage (indhala)* in the Qwabe tribe when I was born - the *shortage* was in the north of Zululand and they came to fetch food from us. They came to buy, with beads, viz. *ingwele* (pink) and *isitimana* (black) kinds. I do not know where they got the beads. The *umgazi and itambo* kinds came from the Europeans at Durban in Dingana's day.¹⁰⁰

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- Sigcawu beads (dun-coloured) and imfibinga (dun-coloured, polished, well finished-off), latter being almost prohibited (nqumisela'd). Only the isigodhlo wore the imfibinga. People made oath (funga'd) by the imfibinga, the beads of the king.*
- 23 The *imfibinga* came from the English at the Bay. The Portuguese never made a regular trading ground of Zululand; *it was feared (kwa ku sabeka)*. They, Portuguese, sold only *utshodo*.¹⁰¹

N. says the *imfibinga* can be got in shops to this day.

The Imkulutshana regiment *made war (hlasela'd) in Mzilikazi's country*. I was an *inceku* at this time and did not *hlasela*. I remained at home. I *hlasela'd* in the days of the Boers. The king did not direct me to go and therefore I had to remain as *inceku*.

- The large chair belonging to Dingana was *carved by Cayana ka Maguya ka Mpotsha, the umnawe of my father, of the Gcabatshe people* [see next page].¹⁰² He received 5 head of cattle for this at kwa Kangela. He also got 9 head for a second
- 24 chair. The tree *carved out of was umganu*.¹⁰³

Cayana was *of the Qwabe people, also of the Gcabatshe people*. Cayana's kraal was *next to large trees in the bush-country (ehlanzeni)*.

The chair was placed *in the isigodhlo*. It was *marked with burnt-in spots (imbala)*.

There were *iziKulutshane, also iHlaba, Mvoko (had umuzi), Dulela (Mgungundhlovu)*. I belong to the *iziKulutshane which were iHlaba*. The great Imkulutshane wore *umtshwili, a wild plant like imbexa; it is dug up*.¹⁰⁴ [See nbk. 22, p. 4. See also nbk. 25, p. 23.]¹⁰⁵

1.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 25, pp. 1-8.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 1 1.6.1903 continued. Tununu speaks. Ndukwana present.
- Dingana had no *temper (laka)* except when people *lay with isigodhlo girls*. He would be friendly and cheerful. He once caught me and said I was to be killed - 73 people, *izinceku* and *milkers* and those in the small *imizi that surrounded the eBeje umuzi*. He accused us of sleeping with *isigodhlo*. We, who did not *do so*, were *picked out* one by one. Only 13 of us escaped. This was some time after his becoming king and before the war with the Boers. He did not kill off after beginning the war with the Boers. People did sleep with girls. Bojongwana ka Lugagane *of the eMaqungebeni*
- 2 *people* said, 'Let our girls in the *isigodhlo* come and point out who used to sleep with us; we shall then *be satisfied (dela)* for we did not sleep with the *isigodhlo*.' Dingana then beat him, until he bled, with a *stick*. He however was not killed. Bojongwana was an *inceku*.
- Pezisa ka Sikende also repeated what Bojongwana had said. He was also beaten. As a matter of fact an inquiry had already been held into this matter and those who had not been *pointed out (qoma'd)* but only *gwayiza'd* (quarrelling, angry, not laughing) had been singled out.¹⁰⁶

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Nomageja also only *gwayiza'd* - he too was beaten and bled. D. himself beat him.
3 There was always hope for a man beaten by the king; one would say, 'That man won't die.'

Then it was my turn. D. then said, '*Ask this fellow Tununu why he is disputing with the king over the isigodhlo girls.*' We were in the *cattle enclosure* and in the *semi-circle of men*. I said, '*Let the isigodhlo girls come and point me out in front of the Zulu people (uZulu).*' By doing this I had *put the fat in the fire*.¹⁰⁷ He said, '*What did you say?*' and he came to me. I *went forward to meet* him. The people said, '*Where are you going?*' He then struck me heavily with a stick about the head. I guarded my head with my hands, and 2nd and 3rd fingers of my right and 1st finger of
4 left hand were broken. I fell. He said, '*Are you going to open your mouth again?*' I said, '*I shall do so when the king says that I may speak.*' He then came, raised his foot as if to stamp on me, I laid my head on the ground and he got his foot on my cheek and squeezed me to the ground and, as he did so, struck me a heavy blow on the bottom; at this I made wind. He said, '*Do you hear, fucker of your mother Mamdwayi?*' (my mother's name). I said, '*Yes, Nkosi.*' They would kill us as we *bonga'd* them. He broke the first stick over me and the bystanding *izinceku* handed him several sticks from which he selected a new and still green *igxeba* stick which did not break.¹⁰⁸

5 The *semi-circle of men (bandhla lo mkumbi)* had come to *kill* us and was made up of iziMpohlo.

I am both Sitununu and Tununu.

The above incident happened the same year that Piti came by his death. I was still *insizwa* and *had been buta'd*.

Some *kleza'd* for as many as 3 years.

When Tshaka died I was *of the age of herding cattle* and had not begun to *kleza*. I remembered Tshaka being stabbed with an assegai, said to be by Qwabe. This happened at kwa Gibixegu, i.e. kwa Bulawayo. I was at Mlalazi below Mbombotshana, at that time on east side - not waggon road side - below *amakolwa*.

6 That is where Dingana's mother Mpikase died. Our kraal was Esiwedwini (we had left Ebuqoloqolweni kraal formerly referred to where Dingana lived - my father was dead). I was a boy *who was strong and well built*. I have never been to kwa Bulawayo; it was close to us.

I know Nandi's death, when the *gourds* were buried in the *manure in the cattle enclosure*, and the order was no cattle were to be milked. The cattle were milked by stealth late at night.

It was said the cows too were to *cry out in mourning for the inkosikazi*. *Amasi* were *stirred at night*. I was at kwa Kanga at the *place of Dingana's people* when Nandi died.

7 I was still *a child who could not see*, I could not walk when Tshaka *went up* with Ngomane.¹⁰⁹ I was *given a name (eta'd)* by Dingana, this shows that T. had not yet come back, for when he did Dingana went to him. Dingana and Tshaka *stuck to each other (tshelana'd)* when T. returned, i.e. on Senzangakona's death who had chased them away. Dingana went back *to the Zulu country after I was born* and left me with the name of Sitununu.

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Matiwana. This man was a kinglet over the Emangwaneni people. The Boers attacked or threatened him and he was obliged to flee.¹¹⁰ This he did to Mgungundhlovu. He reported himself to Dingana, said he was a king, that he *had no*
8 *cloak to wrap himself in*, by which he meant he had lost all his followers and he accordingly asked Dingana to kill him. He said he was a king and had contemplated attacking Dingana himself. D. asked why he did not remain and be killed by Boers; he said he wished to come and see D. and die at his hands. D. then caused him to be put to death on a spot (hill?) near Mgungundhlovu and that spot was called kwa Matiwana and was where people who had to be killed were always slain. It became the place of general execution.

2.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 25, pp. 8-16.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

Tununu and N.

Tobacco was cultivated on the sites of old imizi, both in bush country (ehlanzeni) and in open country (nkangala), especially the former. Dingana did not take snuff or drink beer. Dingana's women (abafazi) and girls did not take snuff, though his mothers did.

9 A buffalo once trod on my chest. I still feel the effects of this injury. I was out hunting. I was then in Natal. I had John Shepstone's gun with me and also a Boer, Piti ka Jan Hoko.¹¹¹ John Shepstone allowed his gun to remain with me till it *wore out*. I was then living at Mvoti, *up in the bush country*, near Mapumulo, *at the mill (emtshinini) at the place of Sigawuli.*

I was trodden on by an elephant before this when I *crossed* into Natal. I was asleep on or near the road when trodden on. My collar bone was broken. The elephant *was picked by the ancestral spirit (isituta) of my father. Our ancestral spirits refused* that I should *cross* and leave my elder brother Maqoqo. The *spirits* wanted to know why I *crossed*. I was with 3 of my wives at that time. This happened about 7.30 p.m. - bright moonlight. The women were *in a temporary shelter* with those I was
10 with. I did not kill it. *A person chosen by the ancestral spirits does not die*, even though attacked.

We were not at any kraal but at a rough *shelter* that Nongalaza had slept in.¹¹² The elephant came to this place to fetch me out, raising its trunk over me to *tap (gola) me like a fly*. I came out after taking my assegai whilst the others ran away. The elephant came over me and I stabbed at it underneath (belly) when it was over me. I *crept* on my *knees*. Only one elephant attacked me. I slept out in the open that night. I crept away to a *bush*, my right arm being useless. *Hyenas* came about me. I laid my head in my left arm, bent under. They came for me next morning, finding me *standing by means of a stick* - I had broken it. There was an *indhlonhlo* mamba snake quite close to me.¹¹³ I thought it was unfriendly and dangerous. I got a stick to *prod it and finish it off. It was in fact the snake that had woken me up.* No sooner did I take the

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- 11 stick than it broke to pieces, I took another and the same thing happened. I got a third (a stronger). It did not *break*. I stood up with its aid. The snake remained coiled up in great folds where it was. My friends came in search of me. I told them not to make a noise and directed them to see the snake, which they did, exclaiming it was an *indhlonhlo*. This snake was Dingana himself. It was this that saved me from the elephant at night. I dreamt of Pakatwayo and Dingana. Dingana said, '*Rise up; we go with your father.*'

All this happened after D.'s death *in the Nyawo country*. [See p. 12.]¹¹⁴

Ndhlela ka Sompisi was killed by Sofoca ka Mbelekwana at Maqongqo.

- 12 When my friends came, the snake came out of the *hole (isiningo)* and extended itself outside, raising its head now and then, which caused the *old woman* and my two Qwabe men (*youths*) to run. I directed them not to be afraid. I then began to *bonga*, also Robiyana (deceased). I *bonga'd* Dingana and *my father*, he *temeleza'd* and *bonga'd* Dingana, and Pakatwayo and my father.¹¹⁵ We *bonga'd* on the spot, it did not move. When they lifted me off, which was shortly after sunrise, the snake *stirred* and raised itself. I told them to wait whilst we *bonga'd*. As we *bonga'd* it subsided and coiled itself up. I told them to say to it that it was necessary to carry me away and *treat (toba)* me as I had been injured, and after this when they carried me the snake
- 13 no longer moved. We left it where it was.

Everyone in Zululand has *praises; mothers too are praised*.

Everyone is *tetwa'd* when dead, therefore everyone is *bonga'd*.¹¹⁶ A man who *makes salutation (kuleka's)* also *bonga's*. Even an *insignificant person (umfokazana)* has *izibongo*.

N. says it is evident the *idhlozi* came to aid Tununu. Dingana's *idhlozi* as a matter of fact is an *indhlonhlo*.

The above incident of the elephant happened *at the Mhlali, at eTete* (river near Mhlali) - actual place was the latter. This was before the Ndongakusuka [1856].¹¹⁷

- I *crossed over* after returning from the expedition *for seed* in which, as formerly
- 14 described, I had killed Msutu. For that act, *because I had stabbed* (distinguished myself by killing another), I received only one beast.

2.6.1903, evening; Tununu and Ndukwana.

The Imkulutshane *stationed at Kwa Kangela* were called Imkulutshane.

Those at Esiklebeni were called Imkulutshane.

Those at Mgungundhlovu were called Imkulutshane.

Those telwa'd at oDhlambedhlwini lost name and <were> called Dhlambedhlu.

Those telwa'd at Mbelebeleni lost name and <were> called Dhlambedhlu.

Those telwa'd at Emvokweni lost name and <were> called Imvoko

When Imkulutshane arrived at Mgungundhlovu they were all called Dulela - their collective name.

The Ihlaba *stayed at all the amakanda*.

Izinnyosi - had *their umuzi at Enhlungwana*, i.e. Ezinnyosini.

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Dhlambedhlu - had *their umuzi down the White Mfolozi*,¹¹⁸ but still close to
15 Mgungundhlovu and Mabedhlana hills, and near Nobamba.

Per Ndukwana. As *youths (inkwebane)*, the Indhlondhlo were known as Imsebeyelanga, Dududu was called Imbube, Mxapo was called Uhlwayi, Tulwana was called Inkupulana, they were after a time called Izinnyosi, *they had not yet been buta'd, they were at the amakanda*, Mbonambi was called uPondolondhlovu, Kandempemvu was called Ngangezwe.

Tshaka gave the name Ingcobinga after *butaing* in *inkwebane*; this Dingana changed to Izinnyosi.

In Dingana's day the *inkwebane* never went by a separate name as they did in Mpande's day, i.e. up to the time they were *buta'd*.

Per Ndukwana. Ingulube (not Izingulube) were called Inhlanhlasuki, *when they were inkwebane at the amakanda*.

16 To *buta* meant to collect from the various *amakanda*.

Per Ndukwana. *The uNomahala*, i.e. *the uDhlambedhlu of Mpande*, alias Imdhlenevu, *'those who sipped from the aloe-flower'*,¹¹⁹ *flowers which are sipped from by the birds*.

Ndukwana says the Nomahala name came from Dingana, but Tununu denies this. The Imdhlenevu or Dhlambedhlu *kleza'd under Dingana*.

*The famine of the iqwaningi - a name which became well known at the time.*¹²⁰ That was the *famine when the Nomahala ate aloe flowers*. They *hurried in* with the birds - woke early (early bird catches the worm).

This *famine occurred in Mpande's time*, at the beginning of his reign.

3.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 25, pp. 16-20.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

3.6.1903 (morning), Tununu and Ndukwana.

17 Anyone who was *alert (xwayile)* was *placed in charge of amabuto*, made an *induna*. A man who was *intelligent (hlananipile)* was placed in position, even though he was not of high birth. There used however to be enquiries as to whether notable men had sons and if not then the king would select someone from among the crowds who appeared able and active.

I never saw my grandfather Tuzuyu or Mpotsho. My father died as a child. I was *crawling* when Pakatwayo was killed [Say in 1815 (1812).]¹²¹ My mother told me this. My mother died after I had married, she died in Natal. I never saw my father's mother.

I know little or nothing of Senzangakona's and Jama's *amabuto*.

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Per Ndukwana. The *izimpohlo* were gathered together and put at Emdumezulu by Mpande.¹²² It was built for Nomantshali, the mother of Mtonga; she was Mpande's great favourite (*intandokazi*). She was daughter of Siguyana. Mbonambi was 'poured in' (*telwa'd*) there. Cetshwayo took out Mbonambi and built an *umuzi* for it at the *Nhlungwana* (stream). Amatshudu (uPondolwendhlovu when *klezaing*, same age as Mbonambi) were a section (*isigaba*) of Tulwana. Izipangane were also at Emdumezulu; these were taken out and *tela'd* into the *Dududu* and Mbonambi, whilst the *Izimpohlo* were *telwa'd* by C. at Esiklebeni.¹²³

- 18 The Mdumezulu *broke up* (*citeka'd*). There was much meat there owing to Nomantshali's generosity. The *inkosikazi* Nomantshali was an *ungovernable person* (*uhlanya*).

We (Dhlokwe) carried the huts of Emdumezulu and built with them at Kwa Gqikazi.

Mdumezulu was latterly close to Moore's store. This kraal <was> originally built several times at Kwa Sitshwili (hill near Nkonjeni).

Nomantshali was so great a favourite that even if Mpande had *reprieved* (*tetelela'd*) a man (*an ordinary person - umuntu*) and she objected to the decision, she would send out an *impi* herself and have that person put to death. Nomantshali was killed by Cetshwayo, it was because of a succession dispute, she wanted to make Mtonga the successor.¹²⁴

- 19 'He has sent against me commoners (*abafokazana*) whom I do not know,' said Mpande, referring to C.'s killing Nomantshali because he wanted to kill Mtonga whose pretensions to the succession gave rise to unrest and disaffection.

[Ndukwana ends here.]

The Bekenya was uNdabenkulu - among the *Izimpohlo*. The *Izimpohlo* were not named solely because they were not married. Dingana allowed them to put on the *headring*; many had already become bald.

Ndukwana says Zibebu killed *Izimpohlo* greatly at Ondini,¹²⁵ among them were Nhlaka ka Mtentezi, Magadeni and Matoko ka Mdamba.

Per Tununu. Siklebe was Senzangakona's first *ikanda* and was built by him. It came out (*puma'd*) from Kwa Nobamba. The Mbelebele followed and was also *ikanda*. The Siklebe was built by Senzangakona in the *mahlabatini* country, near Nobamba and Embelebeleni. Nobamba was north, not south, of the Mkumbane as Gardiner's map shows.¹²⁶

- 20 3.6.1903 (evening). Tununu and Ndukwana.
Regiments, per Tununu.
AmaWombe
Isipezi
Fasimba
Mbonambi
Dibinhlangu - *Izimpohlo*

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Gibabanye - Izimpohlo
Ndabenkulu - Izimpohlo
Ngqobolondo - Izimpohlo
Zibolela - not izimpohlo
Tshoyisa - not izimpohlo
iMfoloji - *a section (isigaba) of izimpohlo at Emgungundhlovu*
Ingcobinga
Bulawayo?
Nomdayana?

Jubingqwanga was not a separate regiment - those *who had put on headrings* and <were> told to *cut them off*.

[Was not Mfemfe one of Senzangakona's kraals?]

4.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 25, pp. 21-4.

Also present: Ndukwana

21 Tununu and Ndukwana present.

Mfemfe was Nzibe's kraal, *umnawe of Mpande*.¹²⁷ It was not Senzangakona's kraal.

Mlambongwenya (3), *a name which was given at Maqongqo when people said, 'The umlambo which was born at Maqongqo is filling up' - umlambo means nothing*;¹²⁸ Mahambehla (1); Inqahavu (2); there was also another name which I have forgotten. The names were given in the order above signified. The word Mlambongwenya was given at the time of the Maqongqo.

22 Imkulutshana. The Imkulutshana were the first of that name *buta'd* by Dingana, then Isigulutshana - these *followed in age after the Imkulutshane*. The Ihlaba was *buta'd* next; Imvoko was a section of the first Mkulutshana above stated. The whole were put together and called Imkulutshana and then placed (*telwa'd*) at different *amakanda* [viz. those given some pages back]. The Imvoko section of Imkulutshane are those who *kleza'd* at Emgungundhlovu. Imikulutshane were *telwa'd* at kwa Kangela, Siklebe, Mgungundhlovu, Mbelebele. As regards the *amakanda*, Ezinnyosini and oDhlambedhlwini, the Imkulutshane boys that *kleza'd* there did not *go out (puma)* but remained there and were swallowed up in the names Izinnyosi and Dhlambedhlu though they were a good deal younger.

Ndukwana, however, contends the young Imkulutshana were strictly speaking *tela'd* at Ezinnyosini and oDhlambedhlwini just as much as in the other *amakanda* for they must have been *buta'd* with the other Imkulutshana.

Tununu now considers there was no real difference between the Imkulutshane, Ezinnyosini and Dhlambedhlwini and those at the other *amakanda*. He agrees with Ndukwana.

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- 23 I *kleza'd* at kwa Kangela. Before I had finished *klezaing*, the king sent for me to come to Mgungundhlovu. I said to the king, '*I shall not abandon (dela) those of my age-grade' (intang)*. He indicated the Imvoko and said they were of my age. I said I had got used to the 50 in my *company (ixiba)* at Kangela. D. then said, 'Do you want me to fetch those 50 to come and live with you here?' I said, No, to move men from one place to another would not do, and there the matter ended and I remained at Mgungundhlovu. The Imvoko had already built their kraal at this time. I *went out (puma'd) with the Ihlab*a [see Nbk. 22, p. 4; Nbk. 24, p. 24; Nbk. 26, p. 8],¹²⁹ although I was old enough to belong to the Imkulutshane. D. here chaffed me, saying,
- 24 'Do you want to be an *induna*?' I said, 'No, I am afraid of *other youths (izinsizwa), ones of rank.*' And yet I was of their age, of the Imkulutshane.
Amankamane were *of the age-grade of the Imvoko.*
Amankentshane were also *of the age-grade of the Imvoko.*

*Amankamane - among the uFasimba at Mgungundhlovu.*¹³⁰
Amankentshane - in the isibaya esikulu at Mgungundhlovu.

The great *induna* of the Imkulutshane was Mjobo ka Bangu, Nduvana ka Nkobe also, like Mjobo an *induna* and both stationed at Emvokweni.

Dingana was in the habit of killing the *izinduna* of Kangela.

Buto ka Vumazonke *of the Emambedwini people* was an *induna* of Imkulutshane at Kangela. Fika ka Mncongo was also *induna* of Imkulutshane at kwa Kangela. Buto was killed by *ababomvana*. [See next page.]

4.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 26, pp. 1-2.

Also present: Ndukwana ka Mbengwana?

- 1 4.6.1903 (continued).

The Imkulutshane *of kwa Kangela* were called Imhaye. They said to the *amabuto* that *fought up-country with the Boers, 'You are always saying that you drove them off (susile); were they an umuzi, then? As for us we finished them off (qedile) on this side.'* They were talking about *Ndondakusuka*.¹³¹ The others answered, '*Whom did you meet there when you fought with those red people (ababomvana) who had to walk because they had no horses?*' Those *up-country* were known as *amaqadasi*, i.e. the Boers who had bad hats and bad [?] trousers.¹³²

All the lower *amakanda* were in Dingana's day known as uKangela, and the Imkulutshane of all those *amakanda* were known as Imhaye.

- 2 Buto then was shot at Endondakusuka in the engagement with the English from the Bay.

TUNUNU

5.6.1903, evening.

File 60, nbk. 26, pp. 3-7.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 3 Tununu and Ndukwana. Tununu speaks.
The elderly great people (princes and those of rank) of the Zulu tribe say, 'We were born (*zalela*) at *Siklebeni*, the *ikanda* of *Senzangakona*. We all belong there.'
The oldest kraal of *Senzangakona* is *Nobamba*.
I do not know if *Nandi* was *lobola'd*. Only older people than I know this.
I think *Senzangakona* must have gone to the *eLangeni* country and seen *Nandi* there and there become acquainted with her. (I do not know who her father is.)
Tshaka was born at the place of *Senzangakona*. I do not know who was
- 4 *Senzangakona's* eldest son (*isokangqangi*). *Tshaka* and *Dingana* were, I believe, of equal age by different mothers. At *Tshaka's* death *Dingana* had put on the headring, also *Ngqojana* ka *Senzangakona*, and *Somapunga* ka *Senzangakona*. *Sigujana*, not *Sigujwana*; he was followed in age by his sister *Maqukazi*; there was I believe no brother.
I never heard *Tshaka* had a brother in his own house, he had a sister *Nomcoba*.
Senzangakona had a daughter, *Nomzinhlanga*, who I fancy was followed in age by *Nomcoba* but may have belonged to another house. I believe she was *Tshaka's* own sister.
Nomzinhlanga went to the *Mtetwa* country to marry to a man of the *Ngqobolondo*
- 5 regiment. *Nomcoba* also married the same man. They married *Myandeya* ka *Tshangana* [*Ndukwana* says *Myandeya* ka *Mbiya* ka *Tshangana*.] *Nomcoba* and *Nomzinhlanga* later on asked for fat from *Dingana*. I at first was ordered to take 5 beasts to them, being sent by *Dingana*. I went a second time, taking 11 beasts, the last being an ox. I went a third time with 7 beasts. I have seen both *Nomcoba* and *Nomzinhlanga*.
Gendeyana, not *Ngendeyana*, *ngena'd* *Nandi* after *S.'s* death and she had by him *Ngwadi* who was killed by *Dingana*. It was the *Ingcobinga* who were sent to kill him, when they returned from this expedition they were called *Izinnyosi*.¹³³
- 6 I have never heard the story of *Senzangakona's* first meeting with *Nandi* and birth of *Tshaka* as given by *Ndhlovu*, *Mruyi* and *Jantshi*.¹³⁴ [I related the story.]
Mfemfe kraal is not *Senzangakona's* [*Jantshi* contends it is] but *Mpande's*. He built it for *Nzibe* his brother. It was *Nzibe's* kraal.¹³⁵
The *Siklebe* came out of (*puma'd* from) *uNobamba*.
I have never heard of *Tshaka's* coming to *Qwabe* tribe as a boy or of the breaking of the clay bulls. He could not have come there. I know *Dingana* came as already stated.

Ndukwana says he has heard of *Nandi* having a temper (*ulaka*). *Tununu* however has not heard of this.

[Did *Gendeyana* *ngena* or marry *Nandi*? In the first instance after *S.'s* death, in the latter during his life-time?]

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[Read Fynn's account, pp. 64, 65 of Annals of Natal, re Tshaka's birth.¹³⁶ The point is was he or was he not born *illegitimately* (*esihlahleni*)?]

7 [When does one say *A ngi bemi* or *Ka ngi bemi* - what is the rule for this negative?]¹³⁷

6.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 26, pp. 7-17.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

Tununu and Ndukwana.

I do not know Tshaka was called Sigidi by Dingiswayo.

Mfemfe was Mpande's kraal but only inasmuch as it was *that of his umnawe*.

Nzibe was his own brother. The kraal was lived in by Nzibe and he its owner.

Mfemfe was not a *kanda* or military kraal.

Ndukwana says: *Amazulu* is a word used in Natal - not used in Zululand. There they use *A ba kwa Zulu*, and where *they topa one another* [cf. Bryant, Dictionary, under *topa*] or *bonga* they use simply '*Zulu!*'¹³⁸

Tununu says the word *amaZulu* is not used in Zululand. If the king is spoken to a man will say, even to Dinuzulu, '*Yebo, Zulu!*'

Nomcoba was *dark-brownish* (*nsundukazi*) in colour, not *black* (*mnyama*) or *light-brown* (*mpofu*). The same applied to Nomzinhlanga.

Mkabayi was *light-brownish* (*mpofukazi*), also Mawa. Nomcoba and Nomzinhlanga cannot either be said to have been ugly. Neither Nomcoba nor Nomzinhlanga had children.

8 Mpande sent Bayeka, daughter of Senzangakona, to Myandeya.¹³⁹ She *gave birth*, viz. Sokwetshata.

Nomcoba was tall but not very tall, whilst her sister was *short*. These two lived on into Mpande's reign.

N. says Nomcoba died in Cetshwayo's reign.

I *reached the age of puberty* (*tomba'd*) when Dingana was *made king* (*bekwa'd ubukosi*), and before the Dhlambedhlu was *butwa'd*, so I was a boy who *herded* at time of Tshaka's death.¹⁴⁰

Dingana *held an iketo dance for my mother* at her marriage.

Tununu has not *had his ears pierced* (*cumbuza'd*).

Tununu is not quite sure if Dingana went to Tshaka immediately T. *went up* from Mtetwa or some time after.

9 Saturday, 6.6.1903 (afternoon). Tununu and Ndukwana

Per Ndukwana. When Zibebu and his army attacked Undi, people said that *Punga and Mageba* had *brought that impi* to kill Undi, meaning by this the *amadhlozi* of Punga and Mageba.¹⁴¹

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The men (*amadoda*) of Undi said, 'Serve out the beer, wetu, and let's drink; the *amabuto* will spill it.'¹⁴² And yet Mnyamana sent a messenger to them from the Isikwebezi but those at Undi would not listen.¹⁴³ They accused Mnyamana *of being afraid* and they would not listen to him.

Tununu. Dingana used to remark that I ought to *have my ears pierced (bobozu)*. I told him I objected to being 'cut' *while I was alive (ngi bekile)*. I said I would not cut a hole after having become old enough to become a warrior and especially as I had distinguished myself in warfare. I objected in boyhood to be *pierced (cambusa 'd)* and
10 it was as a *grown youth (insizwa)* that Dingana questioned me. The Qwabe people *cambusa 'd* as a rule.

Sotshangana was son of Zikode.¹⁴⁴ There was a song running:

Sotshangana ka Zikode might perform a dance,

Ayi, the amaqilikazana bring lies from Sotshangana ka Zikode.

This was an *igamu* (song) Dingana danced (*gida 'd*) with. [Used in *Vusezakiti*.]¹⁴⁵

Umlungu - this word arose out of people asking white people what they were and they replied, 'We are *abelungu*, white people.' [Ndukwana thinks the word is associated with 'whiteness'.] Mbuyazwe and Wohlo might have initiated this word.

Tshaka did not know who or what these people were and so there could have been
11 no word in use in those days in Zululand. The English were known as *ababomvana* or *izilwanyana*.¹⁴⁶ Tshaka accordingly sent Sotobe [and Mbozamboza -J.S.] to find out what these people were and where they came from.¹⁴⁷ Sotobe ka Mpangalala was a great, tall man, *umdudhla* [cf. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 118]¹⁴⁸ - could eat a goat himself alone. Could eat to the same extent <as> Manyosi ka Dhlekezele.¹⁴⁹ I have often seen him at Mgungundhlovu. He lived at Ekutwaizeni (name of his kraal). I was sent by Dingana to Sotobe to girls belonging to D. who were *isibaxa*, i.e. had become *amaqikiza* and who were there ill.¹⁵⁰ I took medicine to them. Sotobe used sometimes to eat walking about the kraal, having a boy walking behind him carrying a *meat-tray (uqwembe)* with a heap of meat on it. After finishing a goat (*a wether*), <he> would send for *isicumu* (basket) of beer and then drink that.

12 Sotobe when at Mgungundhlovu would be *in the isibaya esikulu section*, with Ndhlela ka Sompisi the great *induna*. Sotobe was an *induna*, was the 'father' of the king (Dingana) - said because he was *the oldest man of the place (umunt' omdala wa kona)*. Sotobe was tall and had *put on the headring*. He died whilst Dingana still ruled. He died after Ngomane, father of Magidi.

People in Zululand used to use the word *abalumbi* because of their *lumbaing* things. This word is now obsolete, but the phrase *abalumb' a ba lumba konke* is sometimes heard. But even though *abalumbi* was common yet the word *abelungu* was also used.¹⁵¹

When the Imhaye *attacked (hlasela 'd)* in Natal I accompanied them.¹⁵² We found
13 2 cannon in Gardiner's place *at oGoqweni at the Tongati* and carried these back to Zululand, viz. to Kangelana. D. had them fetched to Mgungundhlovu. This was done, and he saw them and there I believe they remained. The Boers may afterwards have taken the guns away when Mgungundhlovu was burnt. [It was the Boers who burnt

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Mgungundhlovu.] It took 4 to 6 men to carry the guns. They were taken into the *isigodhlo* and rolled in there, so that the women could see them.

I have never heard of any white man [Dr Cowan] having been killed in Pakatwayo's country; had there been, it would have come to my knowledge.¹⁵³ Nor have I ever heard of cannon being near Nobamba as stated by Cowie and Green.¹⁵⁴

I have never heard of Mfokazi as being a son or heir of Senzangakona.

- 14 The kraal 'Ukittakitani' [on Gardiner's map (in his book) which I take to be Ekucitekeni (this is wrong - I think should be Ekuketaketeni, one of Dingana's kraals)] was, according to Tununu, Tukwase's kraal, i.e. mother of Nomkwayimba (boy). Tukwase was an *inkosikazi of eSiklebeni* and wife of Senzangakona. Nomkwayimba was killed by Dingana on the ground that he disputed with him as to heirship to the throne. He killed him at Enhlungwane (river - enters White Umfolozi) near the Izinyosi *kanda*.

All the wives of the kings had kraals of their own, and these in time, with the property, *isizi* etc. belonging thereto, came to belong to her son and heir.¹⁵⁵ E.g. Monase, mother of Mbuyazi [Ndukwana observes], had the Intengweni kraal. That was where the Izigqoza came from - originated.¹⁵⁶ The badge of the Izigqoza was flaps of skin (*notched - qotshiwe*) placed along the temples and ears on either side, with two small *oxtails (amatshoba)* erect at top of flap.

- 15 Ndukwana points out that the Usutu found their origin at EkuBazeni, Cetshwayo's own kraal. The Usutu were called by Dinuzulu *abatshokobezi*, whilst Ndabuko spoke of them as ZiNdela. The *abatshokobezi* wore a tail (*tshoba*) on the head, i.e. on the crown of the head.¹⁵⁷

Tununu. Tshaka invited Pakatwayo to an *umjadu*, to dance with one another (*gidelana*). My father Nonjiya advised Pakatwayo not to consent, urging that T. was *deceiving (yenga'd)* him. 'Don't you see Mqalana, who came to *konza* you from the Nzuza tribe and who you were obliged to send away because he came with medicines of kingship by which, as he asserted, he desired to confirm you in your kingship, don't you see that after being sent away this man went and *konza'd* Tshaka and is at present with him?'¹⁵⁸ Well, T. has some scheme on against you so do not accept his invitation.'

- 16 The reason of T. quarrelling with Pakatwayo was because he was *disputing the kingship (banga'd ubukosi)*. He destroyed the peoples (*izizwe*) with the medicine of Mqalana. He destroyed Qwabe, Ndwandwe and other tribes.

Ndukwana says Zwide and Tshaka fought near Harry Osborn's house on Mhlatuze and on that side of river but on the banks of the Amazule (Amazuye) stream and near Kwa Gqori or Gqokli (some say one, others another), one of Senzangakona's kraals. Tununu agrees.

I do not agree with Jantshi, as regards his account of the conflict between Zulu and Ndwande, that Zwide descended Gcongco, it was Zulus that did that,¹⁵⁹ or that his father was a *spy* to Senzangakona, Tshaka, Dingana and Mpande.

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Ndukwana is also of opinion the Zulus *descended the Gcongco* and not Zwide's side.

- 17 Then again Gcongco, which is near Inkandhla bush on one side and Insuze stream on the other, is quite invisible from Kwa Bulawayo where Jantshi states T. was then living.

[I have noticed Tununu *tefula's* considerably; of course this is because he belongs to the Qwabe tribe. He is very disappointing as to where the inhabitants of Zululand originally came from. Says the wives of Pakatwayo did not throw light on the point of my search. They merely said Qwabe and Zulu came from Malandela, without giving the cause of their quarrel and still less as to where the various tribes in the country came from.]

[I notice Tununu speaks of Nomcoba as Tshaka's own sister, whereas Jantshi said she was by Gendeyana - in which latter statement Ndukwana agrees.]

[Questions. Tell all you know of Mqalana and the power of his drugs etc. Biographies of Ndhlela, Dambuza (Nzobo); go more thoroughly into the regimental system and locate all the *amakanda*.]

7.6.1903, Sunday.

File 60, nbk. 26, pp. 18-24.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 18 Tununu and Ndukwana.

N. says: The Bulawayo kraal near Nodwengu was built by Mpande. It was of course Tshaka's kraal of that name rebuilt.

N. says: Dukuza too was rebuilt *up the Mkumbane stream above Dhlambedhlwini*. This kraal was *revived (vusa'd)* by Mpande and existed till the war of 1879. The *izinduna*: Magidi ka Menziwa, Matunjana, *the great man of the place (indod' enkulu ya kona)*, Sigodo ka Mtshongwane *of the Mambateni people* (was an *induna* there) - he belonged to eSebeni, Mmama ka Jama's kraal. Sigodo was an iSebe and lived <sic>.

Kraals and homes were built by the force of arms in Zululand. That was the regular method. No one built without at the same time being prepared to defend. This is an ancient practice. Even to this day they *kwatshaza*.¹⁶⁰ Manzolwandhle wants *the umuzi of Ondini*, also his mother's.¹⁶¹ [See next page but one.]

- 19 *There has always been a garden (insimu) of the king at oPondweni* - from Senzangakona's day. Senzangakona as an *idhlozi* used to ask why his garden was no longer *cultivated*. People would then be directed to *cultivate* it, being given cattle to eat as they *did so*. They would finish it in a day, there being many told off to do it. This refers to the oPondweni ground. The name was given to the spot, not to any hill or stream.

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There is a *spring (umtombo) of Ndaba*, a spring close to Mfolozi and at the same time close to road. The ancient kings had *springs*.

There is a *spring of Kondhlo* near Yamela's Nkanini kraal.¹⁶² This, Tununu says, was called after a former king of the Qwabe people. It is on the Eshowe-Ntumeni road where the path turns off to go to Mhlatuze and Kwamagwaza etc. There are *umdoni* trees there.

20 [From next page but one back.] There is bad feeling existing which will yet manifest itself. The Cetshwayo family will fight between there <sic>.

Mpoyiyana ka Mpande, younger brother of Mtonga, was killed by Cetshwayo at the same time that he put Nomantshali, Mpande's favourite wife, to death. Nomantshali was a *great favourite (intandokazi)* of Mpande. (*Isixebe* as a girl, *intandokazi* as a married woman.) Nomantshali was a tall, pretty but fat woman. She at times would take a *stick* and smash a man on the head with it. Her kraals were Mdumezulu and Ndabakwombe. Tununu says, I saw Nomantshali. She once gave me a cow, on the day of her death.

Lumbo, *son of Somvokozana*, brother of Mboya *of the Hlabisa people*.¹⁶³

Nomantshali *ate up the cattle of Mdumezulu, those for eating (zo mlomo)*.¹⁶⁴ This notable woman lived at eMdumezulu. It seems two Europeans had outspanned their wagons at a place called Entukwini and that, owing to their oxen being alleged to
21 have got into *the king's gardens at eMdumezulu*, Nomantshali caused the cattle to be seized. The two Europeans at once proceeded to Nomantshali accompanied by their herd boy and explained that their oxen had not entered the garden, that they were merely making towards them when not only their herdboy but they themselves had followed at a run to turn them back. The Europeans then demanded that the herdboys belonging to Nomantshali should be brought forward. She sent for them, to find they had deserted. She then released the oxen. Now in addition to the oxen there were a number of other cattle seized, these belonged to the king and were *ezomlomo*, eating cattle or kept for milk purposes. Nomantshali seized these and sent them away to Nkonjeni, the reason being that they had eaten the king's gardens. Nomantshali was a woman who, although a king had settled a matter in favour of the man complained of,
22 i.e. discharged him, would send out the regiments both at Mdumezulu and Ndabakawombe - kraals which Mpande had given her - and practically subvert the king's decision.

On the occasion on which I was at her kraal, having come from mine at kwa Zungezwayo, and had received the beast, I was obliged to leave it behind because it was that day that an *impi* was sent to put her to death.

N. says: Cetshwayo, by looking into water that he had *stirred (pehla'd)*, said he saw an *impi* coming. This happened during the winter and in a few months the Zulu War broke out. The regiments, when Cetshwayo told them this, accused him of being afraid, saying that no hostile force could attack them in their own country.

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Tununu says, 'All chiefs see war in the water,'¹⁶⁵ i.e. in water they themselves *pehla*. Dingana used to *pehla in the cattle enclosure* where he *washed*. I have often seen him *pehla*. He *pehla'd* with *medicines of the izinyanga*, I do not know what
23 kinds. These things were kept secret. Mpande also *pehla'd*. A king would *wash* with the water he had been *pehlaing*. No one else but the king was allowed to *pehla*.

Dingana would be *pehlewa'd* for by *izinyanga*, viz. *sons of Mqalana*, viz. Sageba, Ngudwa and Sogobizitwana and Jiyana - all these were Mqalana's sons. Jiyana was my age.

As the *inyanga pehla'd* he would *bonga* the fathers and ancestors of the king. This would be done before the *impi* left to *attack*, and would be a sign that the *impi* was about to set forth on an expedition.

Mqalana used to *treat Dingana with medicines*. I have seen Mqalana, when he came to see the king. He used to send *his sons* to *pehla* for the king. The king would sometimes send for Mqalana and say, 'Why does he no longer come and *palaza* my
24 *impi?*' i.e. cause it to *vomit* before going to war. Mqalana would then go. Mqalana belonged to no regiment. *He lived as an inyanga in Tshaka's time, he was an inyanga of the king*, and exempt from military service.

N. says our army used also to *nqwamba* before going to war.¹⁶⁶ T. replies: But in Dingana's day the forces would only *nqwamba* after reaching the further boundaries of the country (their own). They would then be *turned about* and made to assemble together for the night and then *nqwamba*. To *nqwamba* was to kill beasts for the *impi* and *cut* the whole of it *into strips*, *roast* it and *smear* the whole with *imiti* by *izinyanga* until it became black. This meat would then be thrown to the *impi* by the *izinyanga* and those assisting them. The regiments would catch the meat, chew it slightly, swallow the juice and pass it on by throwing it to others. If any piece of meat fell it was to be left where it was untouched.

7.6.1903

File 60, nbk. 27, pp. 1-11.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

1 7.6.1903 (continued).

The beasts killed on such occasions were bulls. A man would take a bite and then throw the piece he had bitten from away to others standing about him who would of course catch it, being in readiness, and catch it in the air above their heads. The piece bitten off and chewed would be spat out after being chewed and not passed on. The man who has once chewed will remain standing where he is and not compete in catching the meat being thrown about. No one *bites off a big piece*, only very small pieces, and so it comes about that all get some of the meat thrown about.

On great occasions as many as 5 and even 10 bulls will be killed for such a purpose, for even though small pieces are bitten off all should *chew* a little, and as the numbers are large a large amount of meat is required even though none of it is actually consumed.

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- 2 The internal parts were not *cut up*, and they all belonged to the *izinyanga*. The troops would begin by *vomiting* first and return from *the river* to find the *cut and medicated (buqa'd)* meat ready for them and laid in heaps on skins.

N. says: I *nqwamba'd* at Ondini at the time of the Zulu War. The doctors were sons of Kondhlo; they lived *up the Nkongolwana* stream.

T. says: I *nqwamba'd* at our place at *Emgungundhlovu*; this was just after the massacre of Piet Retief and party. We *nqwamba'd* as we expected the Boers to attack us, but on that occasion we did not go to our boundaries as the attack was expected to be directed against ourselves.

- 3 The *impi* after *nqwambaing* is *treated with intelezi*.¹⁶⁷ This *intelezi* would be *carried in baskets (amaqoma)*, for our forces used to *make war with medicines (hlasela nge miti)*, and after the attack was over these medicines would be brought back in the baskets. A '*pathful*' (*umzila*) of *izinyanga* always accompanied the troops to the front.

I remember the Great Imkulutshane - *Imkulutshan'enkulu* - going off to attack Mzilikazi. They *nqwamba'd* at eMgungundhlovu after *vomiting (palazing)*, and when it was on the confines of Zululand, *going into the country of the enemy* - hostile territory - it *nqwamba'd* again. I saw the bulls driven off which could have been for no other purpose but to *nqwamba*. Members of that *impi* told me they *nqwamba'd* when they reached the limits of our country.

The great *nduna* of the Mzilikazi *impi* was Ndhlela, also Silwana and other *izinduna*.

- 4 The process then was first to *palaza*, then to *nqwamba*, then to be *sprinkled with intelezi*. And when the *intelezi* was being *sprinkled* on them the doctor would caution them against associating with women for if they did so they would destroy or subvert the power of the *intelezi* by which they were *caught (banjwa'd)*. And so it was that after receiving the *intelezi* none of those *sprinkled* would go to the women.

Vomiting, nqwamba and *intelezi* would all take place on the one day. They would *vomit* in the morning, *nqwamba* at midday and have the *intelezi* in the afternoon, after which the regiments would scatter and return to their respective *amakanda*. Whilst away *palazing*, the *inkwebane* and *matbearers (udibi)* would be *gathering wood* for cooking the meat which the doctors at the same time would be preparing, blackening etc. with their drugs.

- 5 When a king bethought himself that it was advisable to attack some particular people he would send out notice to the whole country, saying they were to meet together as there was to be *impi*. The regiments would thereupon assemble, not at the king's kraal, but at their respective *amakanda*. The process might take some days. An order will then be sent round that the forces are to assemble at the king's kraal, and after arriving there the ceremonies above described or referred to would take place. The forces would then be told to go home by which was meant its various *amakanda*, where they would remain a few days - rarely over a week - when they would be *sent out (paka'd)*. Not more than a week elapsed for fear lest the power of *intelezi* should be 'spoilt' as by men *lying with women*. For when the *impi* had attacked an enemy,

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- 6 and if it had come badly off, that failure would often be attributed to men having disregarded the instructions of the *izinyanga* and *lain* with women.

Ukupaka is to *send off (susa)* the *impi*. *It is sent off in its assemblies (amabandhla)*.

After the *intelezi* and going home to *amakanda* the forces will once again be called up to be *pakwa'd*. They will then come prepared and actually in readiness to go forward to war. They will come to the king's kraal. The king will *adorn himself (vunula)* to the full, carry his shield, *bundle of assegais*, etc. The abundance of his *finery* etc. will *become tattered* as he walks about. He will speak to his forces and they will reply in suitable terms assuring him as to what they will do. They will say, '*You will hear about us, you will see what we do!*' All the *amabuto* would enter the *cattle enclosure* and *form a semi-circle (umkumbi)* there. The king has *adorned himself for his army*.

- 7 The *izinceku* would then direct that an opening be made in a particular part of the *mkumbi*, choosing that portion of men which the king intends to follow in the rear. Such men will then separate, leaving a large distinct opening or *intuba*. Through this *intuba* the troops will now have to pass in the order proclaimed by the king, and as each regiment moves to go out the king himself will accompany it as far as the said *intuba*, <and> allow them to go out but not go through himself. He will then do the same to the various other regiments until the last, viz. that making the *intuba*, who will then be directed to move off following the regiments already gone forward to war.

- 8 In the meantime the *group of mat-bearers (udibi)* has gone on ahead and is waiting for the regiments on the route they are travelling by, and they have driven on the army cattle with them. After being *paka'd*, the *impi* makes straight for its destination and the campaign has actually begun. When they arrive at their destination the *izinduna* will of course *paka* on the field of battle.

The king also had a *stick of war (induku yempi)* which, when *pakaing*, he *pointed with*.

The king is alone *in the umkumbi*; the *izinduna* are with their respective regiments.

The king gives the order to move out of the *intuba*. He accompanies the regiment towards it, they get there first then turn back and follow the king and cause him to *draw back*, saying as they do so, '*You will see what we do,*' etc. and then make their exit. They will now all be 'angry' for war and warn the king warmly as to what they will do.

- 9 7.6.1903 (Sunday), evening. Tununu and Ndukwana

<In the original it is not always made entirely clear which of the statements that follow were made by Thununu and which by Ndukwana – eds.>

'*Umnguni of our place; uSimakuhle*' - these are *praises of the kings*. [Noted Bk. Eulog. i.]¹⁶⁸

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N. says: Kandempemvu regiment - *their isiqubulo*:¹⁶⁹
Mnguni of our place is rejected among the people (uhlanga),
We ask you what you said [x] at the Ncome on the day when you were fighting,
Was he there? He was not there.
*Mnguni of our place is rejected among the people.*¹⁷⁰

[x] *Sikexeni*, i.e. the middle of the singing part whilst standing singing; *klaza*, i.e. the way women or men sing in answer to the men.¹⁷¹

Mbonambi regiment *isiqubulo* went as follows:
Take up arms and make war at ekuBuyangwe,
Take up arms and make war at Emhlongamvula up-country,
Go, Elephant, and make war there up-country,
You drive them in at the Balule,
Iwu! Iwu! Iwu! We drive them in at eMpama,
They are bringing the cattle, Nkosi of Mnguni,
*Mnguni, take up arms and eat them up!*¹⁷²

10 Those of Swaziland refer to us as abaNgunyana.¹⁷³ The Tongas would use the same word.

When the king was *bonga'd* we always heard it said, '*Mnguni of our place!*' (*Mnguni wa kiti!*).

The statement that the Zulus, Qwabes etc. came from *up-country* (*enhla*) is supported by the fact that Mzilikazi, Sotshangana, Sikunyana, Somveli etc. all went to the east side of Africa and in the direction of the Angonis of Lake Nyasa.

N. says that Matshwili (chief) says Mtetwa tribe first built at Emagudu;¹⁷⁴ when they left there they *lived at eWome (forest) at the place of Mfusi of the Mdhletsheni people, at the Mtekwini.*

We do not know much about our origin, we were too much engaged with modern government battles etc. to search deeply into our past.

11 Mgcobo, Mngoye, Nodanga (of Inkamane *section - isigaba - of the Fasimba of the Mkulutshana at Emgungundhlovu*), Sonkonde, Myomo are a few of Dingiswayo's many sons. These sons belonged to the Imkulutshane, Izigulutshane and Ihlaba regiments. Mgcobo, N. says, was killed by Usutu; Mgcobo was *the principal induna of the uhlangoti at ekuBazeni*. Mgamule was *the principal induna of the isikulu*.¹⁷⁵

9.6.1903, evening.

File 60, nbk. 27, p. 11.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

Tununu and Ndukwana.

N. says: *Emagutshini, isisu* - middle portion of kraal.¹⁷⁶ *Branches* were put in between huts if close together to prevent people rubbing past them.

Ufundo - back of hut

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*Mhlubulo*¹⁷⁷

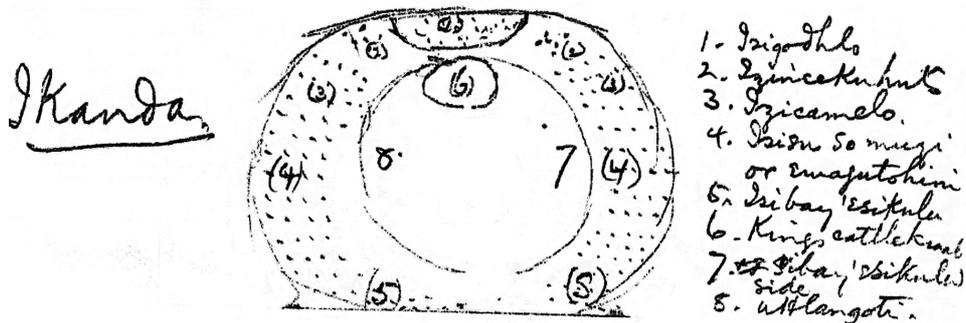
Chest and foreleg for one beast

Leg

Head and foreleg and isixanti¹⁷⁸

Udder for *induna*

It is 'xaba-xobele' in the *isigodhlo*, i.e. not in rows, referring to huts, jumbled together without system.



<Key to illustration>

- 1 *Isigodhlo*
- 2 *Izinceku* huts
- 3 *Izicamelo*
- 4 *Isisu so muzi* or *emagutshini*
- 5 *Isibay' esikulu*
- 6 King's cattle kraal
- 7 *Sibay' esikulu* side
- 8 *uHlangoti*

10.6.1903 File 60, nbk. 27, pp. 12-15.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

12 Questions.

What were Pakatwayo's regiments? Zinkonde, Ubuyabaza, Kiyaza.¹⁷⁹

Kondhlo's regiments and kraals?

Mncinci and Lufuta's kraals?

Simamane, Kuzwayo, Sidinane and Mahlobo's graves?

Who was Pakatwayo's heir?

Who were and are Mamfongonyana, Musi, Godolozu, Meseni and Siziba?

You can write and remember but for our part we are simply *izitungutu*.¹⁸⁰

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Pakatwayo's kraals were Entoyeyeni, eMtandeni (great kraal), Ezinkondeni (*ikanda*).

Pakatwayo threw many together in one regiment (*gqibanela ndawonye*). The sections (*izigaba*) stood according to age-grade (*intanga*) inside at eMtandeni.

N. says. Formerly they were recruited according to *companies (amaviyo) by age-grade (ngo buntanga)*, and belong to the kraal where they were. They would not be sent out to build a kraal of their own as the Zulu regiments afterwards did. *They stayed in their amaviyo at home.*

- 13 *To cubuza is to hlepula*, i.e. make a regiment into *izigaba in the amakanda*.¹⁸¹ The Mxapo was *cubuza'd* and 'poured in' (*telwa'd*) at all the *amakanda*.

Tshaka took *those of one age-grade (abe ntanga)* and made them go and build their own kraal away from other regiments. T. learnt this from D. and D. from Europeans.¹⁸²

*The uNdabenkulu wore izimbenge on the head like the peak of a hat, with umncono (about 9-10 inches high) sewn and stuck into the imbenge, and on top would be isidhlo dhlo (feathers of various birds) about as large as one's hand.*¹⁸³ This finery (*vunula*) was called *ubuyungu* because it was said to have been obtained from the *abelungu* though no one seemed to know what and where the *abelungu* were.¹⁸⁴

Tshaka first called Ndabenkulu Ngangezwe, afterwards this name was discontinued and then they, in Dingana's day, were merged with others into the *izimpohlo*. The name *izimpohlo* came into existence when they had killed him (Tshaka).

- 14 N. denies this, saying the name *izimpohlo* arose in Tshaka's day.

Dibinhlangu, Gibabanye, Ndabenkulu, for instance, were all called *izimpohlo* by Dingana.

Ndabenkulu was sent by D. to Esiklebeni to *build* after T.'s death.

Dingana 'poured in' (*tela'd*) Gibabanye and Dibinhlangu at Emgungundhlovu, the Ndabenkulu was sent to Esiklebeni. I do not know where either of these regiments resided in T.'s day.

Dibinhlangu and Gibabanye were *isibay' esikulu*. Ngqobolondo was put in the *uhlangoti*, i.e. of course at Emgungundhlovu. Tshoyisa and Zibolela were an *izigaba inside at Emgungundhlovu*.

Nomdayana did not belong to *izimpohlo*. Isipezi did not belong to *izimpohlo*. Amawombe did not belong to *izimpohlo*.

- 15 The iSipezi were *telwa'd* into amaWombe at Emgungundhlovu and became *isibay' esikulu at the gate*. Above were the *izimpohlo*.

N. says the imiKulutshana belonged to all kraals (*amakanda*). They were not *telwa'd at Emgungundhlovu*. They only became Dulela when called up to Mgungundhlovu.

T. says: D. got rid of the names given by Tshaka and called the regiments *izimpohlo*. I deny that the name *izimpohlo* arose in T.'s day, it arose in Dingana's.

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N. says: T. *tela'd into one place (ndawonye)* and called them *izimpohlo*.

Isilalo - where a person got hurt.¹⁸⁵

11.6.1903.

File 60, nbk. 27, pp. 15-19.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

Tununu and Ndukwana.

The Ihlaba and Imkulutshane wore *izidhlodhlo of vulture feathers*.

The Izinyosi were directed to leave off wearing the *isidhlodhlo of vulture feathers* and only wear *ostrich feathers*.

- 16 The uDhlambedhlu were given *imnyakanya of widow-bird feathers* - stick it into the headband (*umqele*), stick out at back. The feathers would be fixed on a stick about 12 or 14 inches long.¹⁸⁶

They carried a headband of otter skin, on the face, a large one.

The *izimpohlo* wore *iziqova*, rolled into a ball about 8 or 9 inches in diameter; they covered the head. [*Diywa* = cut; not hanging loosely (*amayabayaba*).] They were given *amagubela of crane feathers*, worked along their spines, made soft so that the feathers hang over, and *imngqiti* (15 inches high bird, with grey feathers).¹⁸⁷

Ndabakawombe was *buta'd* by Dingana and called them uKokoti.

Ndabakawombe was so called by Mpande. Ndabakawombe wore *ostrich feathers*, white *imbangaiya*, also *amaqolo* of black *ostrich feathers*. The *imbangaiya* would be stuck into the *amaqolo*.¹⁸⁸

- 17 The Kokoti was the name of a *buta'd* regiment, but only just *buta'd*. They did not fight, they remained with Dukuza.

They were prevented from going to fight, i.e. to fight with Boers. They, Kokoti, were quite old enough to fight. The Kokoti fought for Mpande at eMaqongqo but that section of the regiment that remained with Dingana did not fight as they were with the king. They went to the uBombo. They carried things. They were also sent for dogs of the *xoza kind* at eMgungundhlovu.¹⁸⁹ Mgungundhlovu was afterwards called Kwa Denge near Ivuna this side of Cheesman's and right on the road. Kwa Denge is the name of the district. D. built Mgungundhlovu there as Mpande fled into Natal.

[Baleni says Mgungundhlovu was first of all built at Ivuna; this must be an error.]¹⁹⁰

- 18 Mpande afterwards broke up (*cita'd*) the kraal, that took place as a consequence of the Maqongqo battle.

Mpande changed the name Kokoti to Ndabakawombe.

The Dhlambedhlu (or Imdhlenevu) of Mpande were, whilst *klezaing*, called Nsewane, also Nomahala.

The Imdhlenevu name was only given on account of their *beards (izilevu)* but not the king's name and yet the king himself used that appellation.

This regiment wore *ostrich feathers (faka'd intshe)* - *amaqolo* - just as the Izinyosi wore them under Dingana.

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The *ostrich feathers* and *crane feathers* were got from *amankengane* - Tongas.¹⁹¹ Cattle were sent to barter for them. One would go for *ostrich feathers* in the direction
19 of and beyond eNcome. They got the feathers from *amahobo*, i.e. *amankengane* who
trapped the *ostriches* in their country.¹⁹² Not procured from Europeans.

13.6.1903, morning.

File 60, nbk. 27, pp. 19-24.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana, Jantshi kaNongila (for latter part of interview)

Tununu and Ndukwana.

Questions.

What was Jubingqwanga?

What did Fasimba, Zibolela, Tshoyisa, Ndabenkulu, Mbonambi, Nomdayana, Isipezi, Izinnyosi and amaWombe wear?

Enumerate once more the *izimpohlo*.

What was Mbayimbayi? *Isicamelo of the hlangoti* of the Izinnyosi.¹⁹³

[Ask Jantshi: Mfemfe; Tshaka's birth.]¹⁹⁴

Ingqwanga is oqondo, the *ilala* part, i.e. what the string is bound round.¹⁹⁵ I have seen those who had cut off headrings. T. gave this order. After *they had put on the headring he cubukeza'd them* and caused them to *cut them off*, i.e. said they were too small; *he showed contempt for them (eyisa)* or *found fault with them (sola)*.¹⁹⁶ The Jubingqwanqa were the *izimpohlo*.

The word *izimpohlo* was merely a name - not specially because not married, for all regiments did not marry.¹⁹⁷

20 Ndabenkulu, Ngangezwe, Dibinhlangu, Gibabanye were *izimpohlo*. Dibinhlangu and Gibabanye were the older *izimpohlo*, followed by Ndabenkulu, alias Ngangezwe. Tshoyisa and Zibolela were not *izimpohlo*, they preceded the *izimpohlo* above mentioned.

Ngqobolondo were *broken off (hletshulwa'd)* from the Dibinhlangu and Gibabanye and *telwa'd into the uhlangoti where they became isicamelo* - with Fasimba. The Zibolela were also on the *uhlangoti* of Mgungundhlovu.

Buto ka Mpunzi *of the eMambedwini people* was a member of the Ndabenkulu.

Sidada ka Manzini - father was *chief of the Zungu people* - was Dibinhlangu.

Borolo ka Sigungu was the great *induna* of the Zibolela.

Mbopa alias Somvokozana ka Wolizibi was a *lesser induna* of Zibolela.

21 I do not know what regiment Mbopa ka Sitayi was.¹⁹⁸

I know there was uMbayimbayi, a section of Izinnyosi.

I believe T.'s first regiment was the Isipezi, that's what I have heard, then came uFasimba, then Zibolela.

Mbonambi was *telwa'd* at Mgungundhlovu by Dingana.

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N. says Nomdayana belonged to Mbelebele kraal. T. *removed* some from Nomdayana and called them Nhlokonkulu. I do not know much but imagine they were a separate regiment.

13.6.1903 (afternoon). Tununu, Jantshi and Ndukwana.

Jantshi says Tshaka was born *at the place of the Langeni*.

Tununu says: Tshaka was born *at the place of the Zulu*.

- 22 Jantshi: Tshaka's mother never *gcagca'd to Senzangakona*.¹⁹⁹ T. was sent for by the Zulus (to see how big he was), and when this was done he was *among the eLangeni*.

T. replies: I heard from *Zulu people (aba kwa Zulu)*. Dingana told me this. I deny that Tshaka ever came to Qwabe. All I know is T. went *to the Mtetwa* and Dingana to Qwabe.

J. replies: I am in no doubt. My father was present before Senzangakona married. My father *left the kwa Mabaso country* and went to *konza Jama*,²⁰⁰ saying that the Mabaso people had no pluck and would not fight.

My father belonged to the Ntontela (Senzangakona's) regiment; he was *tela'd* there, for he *came from another people (ezizweni)*. There was another regt. before the Ntontela but I do not know it. The Ntontela was *followed in age* by Amawombe, S.'s last regiment.

- 23 My father was not married when he came to Senzangakona - about same age. I am sure the Ntontela was S.'s regiment.

Tshaka buta'd the uDhlangubo and telwa'd into the iNtontela, S.'s regiment. When *klezaing* <they> were called iSiyembe, and then Dhlangubo. Mkanyile ka Zivalele, Mapita etc. were amaWombe.²⁰¹

T. agrees as regards Dhlangubo.

Tununu, J. says, is a 'boy' to my father. Tshaka was not born *at the place of the Zulu* but *esihlahleni*.²⁰²

Nomzinhlanga not daughter of Nandi. I forget the name of her mother.

T. says: I know Nongila, Jantshi's father.

Tshaka *made* Ngwadi and Nomcoba *induku yomgawuli*. Cetshwayo however disallowed this custom when still a prince - so says Ndukwana.²⁰³

My (J.) father says Jama had only 4 regiments.

No one has ever seen Zibizendhlela. Tshaka is supposed to have *fathered* him but my father did not know who his mother was.²⁰⁴

Mfemfe kraal. This became Nzibe's kraal under Mpande. Mpande built it for him, as I understand, to resuscitate a kraal if not of that name but another existing in Senzangakona's time and belonging to him.

14.6.1903, Sunday.

File 60, nbk. 27, p. 24.

Also present: Ndukwana kaMbengwana

- 24 Sunday morning 14 June 1903. Tununu and Ndukwana.

TUNUNU

<Captions to diagram>

White isigodhlo (isigodhlo esimhlope)

Black isigodhlo (isigodhlo esimnyama) - walls of *umklele* and *igagane* ²⁰⁶

Tununu lived here.

5 or 6 *izinceku* huts; boys slept with *men (amadoda)*, i.e. on each side.

Opening (intuba)

Ngqobolondo

Izimpohlo

Isicamelo

Cattle stood about here, i.e. *milking (senga)* beasts.

Cattle kraal

Amankamane

Imkulutshane

To come and *sit in the sun (tamela)* etc. etc.

The isisu section of the umuzi (isisu somuzi)

The 'great enclosure' section (esibayeni esikulu)

Amankentshane

Imkulutshane

Dukuza

The uhlangoti section (ohlangotini)

Red cattle (amabedezezi, nkone ebomvu)

Fasimba

Tshoyisa

The path made by the cattle (umzila we zinkomo).

No fence here

There were *openings (izintuba)* in the *enclosure (isibaya)* as well as in the outer fence (*utanga lo muzi*), latter to enable men to go 'outside' - 'nga phandhle' (to *relieve themselves*).

Gate about 20-25 feet wide.

*Ambedezi, emtshezi, nkone cattle - red, Dingana's.*²⁰⁷

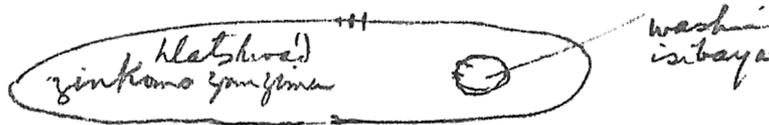
- 2 Ngomane *gcwala'd at Emgungundhlovu; his headring (isicoco) was taken.*²⁰⁸
When a great man died his cattle would be appropriated by the king.

T. says: I have seen Ngomane. He was a *light-coloured (mpofu) man*.

Vumbi and Bungane only were married under Dingana, i.e. among the *izinceku*.

N. says under Mpande there were many *izinceku (men)* who were married.

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<Captions to diagram>

Where the beasts of the spirits (*umzimu*) were slaughtered.
Washing enclosure.

High fence - cut along top.
Five rows (*izinhla*).

N. says: *The oBe was a section (isigaba) at kwa Nodwengu.*

T. says: *The stone for rubbing the feet was in the washing enclosure.*

- 3 Huts faced the backs of others but *in the enclosure* they tended to face outwards.
A girl goes up on the side of the *isibaya esikulu* - so Ndukwana says, also Jantshi.

A notable man would cut across the section (*isigaba*). Msongana, *induna* of Dukuza, cut across Dukuza and amaWombe. Mpata ka Tshunyayezwayo cut across Dukuza and Amankentshana; also Dangazele ka Tshunyayezwayo, latter's elder brother, also cut across there.

Not necessary for *induna* to cut across, matter of choice.

The king used to inspect (*hlola*) the whole kraal (Mgungundhlovu.). He liked well-built huts. He inspected how they were built and how they were thatched. Would give orders for repairs etc.

- N. says: The *uhlangoti isicamelo* moves off first, e.g. from *ikanda* on proceeding to king's kraal, then next, and so on to the *isibaya esikulu* of the *uhlangoti*, then
4 follow the *isicamelo* of the *isibaya esikulu* side, and so on down to the section properly known as *isibaya esikulu*, who bring up the rear.

The semicircle of men (umkumbi) was formed about middle of enclosure.

Go to bask in the sun (tamela) through the openings (izintuba).²⁰⁹

- J. says: I have heard Nongila, Timuni, Mzanywa ka Sogobile of the *Sibisi* people, Nonkobo (came from Mtetwa with Tshaka, belonged to the *izimpohlo*). All these I have heard say T. went to the *Qwabe* country, leaving the *eLangeni* country. I do not know man he went to but he quarrelled there and returned to the *eLangeni*, to the home of his mother. I am not sure if Nandi by this time had married Gendeyana. I have heard something to the effect that Nandi went off to marry Gendeyana shortly
5 after bearing Tshaka, for Senzangakona had not been *jutshwa'd*. But I am not quite sure of this.

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When T. went to Qwabe he was already a *young man (insizwa)*. It was after getting back to eLangeni that he was sent for by Senzangakona who by that time had married wives.

S. was *jutshwa'd* immediately after the destruction of the kraal eMangeni (I do not know why it was so called), i.e. after it became known that the boy (Tshaka) had been born.

I am not sure if the girls (with Nandi) went of their own account to see S. or whether they were sent by Mbengi.²¹⁰ They went with 2 men and these men disappeared when S. discovered the party. I believe Nandi went of her own account. It is nothing unusual for a girl of Zululand to go in this way to see some person whose
6 name was well-known.

N. agrees and says a girl would sometimes *carry* food etc. for a man of her tribe even though not her brother in order to see some man she wanted to become acquainted with.

Dhlangubo (Dingana's regt.) belonged to eNtonteleni.²¹¹

J. says: I was born shortly after the return of Mpande from Natal.²¹² I was born before Ndondakusuka. Would belong to Indluyengwe regiment or the older Kandempemvu (say 50 years old now). I have never heard of Dingana going to Qwabe.

T. insists D. did go to Qwabe.

J. says: Gendeyana belonged to Qwabe tribe.

In old days a woman *who was driven away (xotshwa'd) and who had married (gcagca'd)* never married again.

N. thinks that even though Nandi had married S. she might have gone to marry
7 Gendeyana for of course she belonged to a different and an independent tribe. She would not be content with merely an illegitimate child (*umlanjwana*).

J. says: Everyone knows <Tshaka> was *born in the eLangeni country*.

*Ilunga is an ixegu. Ilunga is an old word.*²¹³

J. denies S. had an *isigodhlo*.

Nonkobo, *'the one who didiza's the sea' (his praise)*,²¹⁴ *was a great warrior (iqawe) in Tshaka's time*.

T. says he was of the isiFazana regiment under Dingiswayo. Became *impohlo* under Tshaka, viz. uGibabanye.

N. says: An *umlanjwana* would go with mother to her husband. The father of this *umlanjwana*, when allowed to marry, would go and fetch it but he would have also to *lobola* to child's mother's father, say with 2 beasts, and this *umlanjwana* would be spoken of as *the father (uyise)* of the true father's other children.

8 Tshaka became king not of right but because assisted by Dingiswayo. Sigujana, *who was followed in age* by Maqukazi, his sister, was the heir.

T. says: I do not know Mfokazi, nor the *isibongo* of Sigidi.

Kwa Wambaza (Ngwadi's kraal) <was> built at Emlalazi near Kangel kraal.

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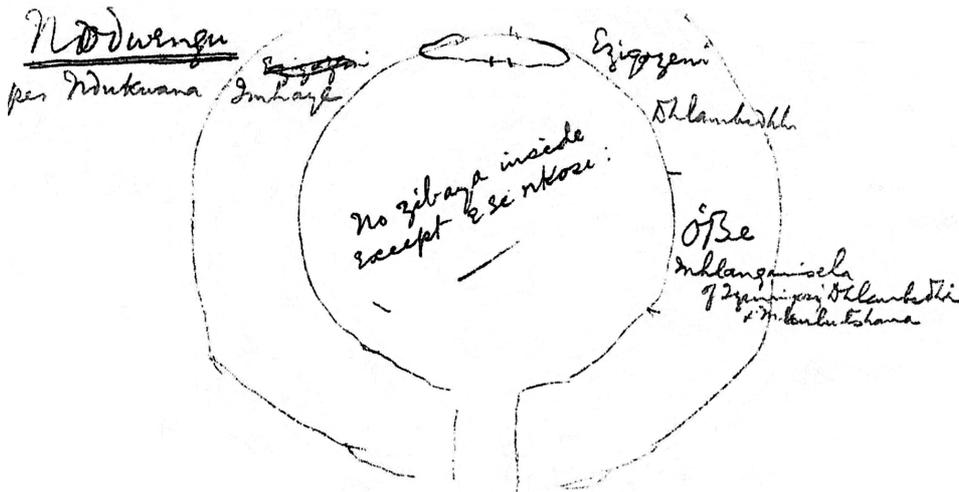
Ngwadi was killed by Dingana near White Mfolozi. He was killed at Kwa Wambaza - this kraal built in two places from Mlalazi to White Mfolozi. Great fight took place at Kwa Wambaza - the assailants were obliged to *tapa the umuzi*, pull it to pieces to effect an entrance.

You will always nkona, saying that they are refusing, etc. Nkona means to doubt.

J. says: Jama had 4 kraals, viz. Mbelebele, Bulawayo, Siklebe, Nobamba.

T. and Ndukwana disagree as regards Mbelebele, Bulawayo and especially Siklebe which was S.'s *kanda*. Nobamba was Jama's because that is *the place of the people of Mkabayi* and Mmama ka Jama.

- 9 Nongqekeza, Nongozi, Mpisendhlini, Ngqayipele, Nohleko: Tununu's sons and daughter living in Durban.



<Per Ndukwana. Captions to diagram>

No cattle enclosures inside except that of the king

Imhaye

Eziqozeni

Dhlambedhlu

oBe -A mixed group (inhlanganisela) of Izinyosi, Dhlambedhlu and Mkulutshana.

Ndhlela was *induna* of Mgungundhlovu.

Nzobo alias Dambuza (*his name as a warrior - ibizo lo bu qawe*) was *induna* of the *isicamelo (izimpohlo)*.

Mayanda ka Velane was *induna* of the Fasimba in the *isibaya esikulu (in the uhlangoti)*.

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- Mpangazita ka Mncumbata was *the lesser induna of the Fasimba*.
10 The Mgumanqa alias Sinyanja was *telwa'd at kwa Kangela*.
There were not 5 rows all round Nodwengu - 3 some places, then 5, but not more than 5. Not as big as Mgungundhlovu.

J. says all *all peoples (izinhlobo) divided off (dabuka'd) below the Kahlamba* - divided from Basutos.²¹⁵

We speak of Mvelinqangi as *a man (umuntu)* - we know nothing of Nkulunkulu.²¹⁶

J. says: I am an *intungwa, of the Mabaso people. We came down with a grain basket (ehla'd ne silulu)* but only from uKahlamba.²¹⁷

Isifumbu is a hump.

He was killed by an intando, i.e. Matshwili (chief), like his father Nongoye (Mngoye).²¹⁸

[Jantshi here goes away.]

T. speaks: Mgumanqa alias Sinyanja *followed after (landela'd) the Fasimba*, and with that *followed in age (elama'd) the amaWombe*.

Isipezi comes first of T.'s regiments, then Mgumanqa, then Fasimba. Mgumanqa *built* their kraal, eMgumanqeni, and when Dingana *became king* he *tela'd* them at

- 11 Kwa Kangela because their kraal was too small.

I have visited all the following of Dingana's kraals:

- 1 Mgungundhlovu
- 2 Siklebeni
- 3 Mbelebeleni
- 5 Nobamba
- 4 Kwa Kangela (*the place of our people - kiti*)
- 6 Ntontela
- 7 *Hlomendhlin' omhlope - The White Hlomendhlini*
- 8 *Hlomendhlin' omnyama - The Black Hlomendhlini*
- 9 Njanduna (*ikanda of kwa Hlomendhlini*)

The numbers show sequence as regards sizes.

Senzagakona, Sojisa, Zivalele, Mkabayi, Mmama, Sitayi (father of Mbopa) were all the children of Jama - also Sigwebana.

- 12 N. and Tununu strongly disagree with the assertion of Jantshi that Tshaka was *umlanjwana*. Had he been so, when killed there would have been some contemptuous expression about his being an *umlanjwana* and unworthy to reign. Nothing has ever come to our ears that he was *umlanjwana*.

Nomcoba was *placed* by Mpande over the Tulwana regiment - at their kraal - as being one they would respect even though <there> were many of high rank among them. She would manage to keep the *ingxongolo of the izikulu* in order. [Noted in Bryant, *Dictionary*.]²¹⁹

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*Ingxongolo of the izikulu = faction, party.*²²⁰
The progeny (uzalo) of So-and-so - ingxongolo is of this size.

*Women who were klazaing sang thus:*²²¹
I remained in the open space (ebayeni) of the umuzi,
The place belonged to our fathers before,
Now we sit at the doorway.

*Men:*²²²
I ha yehe,
They know it was we who were given protection in times gone by,
Even though, people, i ha yehe,
They know ... etc.

- 13 This, N. says, was a *chant (irubo) sung when dancing, when they were finishing the ukuketa* - sung by Butelezi people.²²³

This was about Mnyamana, the son of Ngqengelele, he *cooked at Nobamba* - cooked for *amakosikazi of Senzangakona.*²²⁴

When Masipula handed a *beerpot (ukamba)* to Mnyamana he would do so with one hand or arm; Mnyamana, because he considered himself of equal rank, would hold out one arm to receive it and the *ukamba* would fall to the ground.²²⁵ This is alleged to have happened. Now at the time this happened Masipula was *the great induna (induna yezwe)*. Masipula, it is believed, was poisoned. Mnyamana was by some suspected of having caused his death.

- 14 Now to return to the foregoing *irubo*. This song was sung before the Ndondakusuka battle. Mpande put a stop to it by asking, 'Who is it says Mnyamana sits at the door?'

17.6.1903, morning.

File 60, nbk. 28, pp. 14-18.

How did regts. pass time at Mgungundhlovu?

How at Kangela and other *amakanda*?

Were all kraals known as *amakanda*, what was Mgungundhlovu called? Were many troops always assembled at Mgungundhlovu?

How was a message to arm generally sent out and to whom?

Are your children deserting you? What grievances have you with the British Govt.?

Every kraal was called *ikanda*; this means a *great umuzi*. And a young *inkosana*, of man of importance, was said to *go out (puma) with an ikanda*, because it was a big kraal, but all the king's kraals were known as *amakanda*. Even Nobamba in Senzangakona's days would be known as a *kanda*.

- 15 There were always many in Mgungundhlovu, although sometimes said to have *dispersed (hlakazeka 'd)*. There were always *izikonzi* there belonging to each *section (isigaba).*²²⁶

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The *isigaba* was a section of the kraal itself, not a section of a regiment away from kraal.

No work was done except by direction of the king whilst troops were at Mgungundhlovu. Day after day they simply *stayed* (*hlala'd*). People's custom was to *konza*. They would often be apportioned food: '*Let such-and-such a section take this*' ('*A ku bambe ukuti*'). Then sections would be sent for. '*Let such-and-such a section come up*' ('*A ku kupuke ukuti*').

Even old people *konza'd*. I would still be *konzaing* and ask for food etc. and be *apportioned cattle* if he [D.?] was still alive. He would say, '*When will you get home, old man?*'

16 *Umklele, posts, branches* were the only things men had to go and fetch.²²⁷

Singing (*rubaing*) did not always go on. Would go and *peep at the king* to see if he has come out, then they would *go up* and *join the assembly* (*ot'ibandhla*). When the king saw that many had congregated he would give them a beast. '*Ba ningi ba ne nkomo!*' i.e. there are enough to consume a beast between them.

Dingana visited and stayed and *danced* (*gida'd*) and *held umjadu* there <at> Kangela. He also visited Esiklebeni and Mbelebele, also Ezinnyosini, and oDhlambedhlwini.

D. had no kraal *near the Mtetwa country*. He only visited the near kraals. The furthest he visited was Kangela. He did not visit Ntontela even though Mawa, his
17 sister, lived there.²²⁸ D. once visited Emgumanqeni, *down the Mlalazi*, near Mbilini's kraal, *the father of Malindi*.²²⁹ He went to see the sea. He *went down with isigodhlo women*. The Imkulutshane of Kangela caught a *crocodile* alive. The king directed it to be driven home to eMgumanqeni where king was staying. On way it caught a man by the arm and smashed it. The alligator was thereupon put to death.

At the seaside, at D.'s request, Macambeya of eMgumanqeni was told by Mbilini to go into sea to the dark part of it as D. doubted if this could be done. M. *went in with a stick, and beat the water as he went. He was given ten cattle*. He was in
18 addition to have an ox to kill at home. D. stayed about 10 days at Emgumanqeni. *Amabuto* accompanied him and *put up* in adjoining kraals *on the plain*. I accompanied D. on this occasion.

At this time the *Boers* (*amabumu*) were unknown.

'*Let food be taken when people go and bathe* (*bukuda*) *at the sea.*' Cattle were driven along to be eaten at the seaside.

D. *went into* the sea; the regiments (Imkulutshane) ranged themselves in front so that he would bathe in safety.

Amadhlambi, zingongolo - ridges of sea, 'rollers', 'combers'.²³⁰

There would be many *izikonzi* at the *amakanda*, especially *in the summer* (*ehlobo*) when there was a lot of milk. They would go, as they said, to *vumela the cattle*, i.e. *dance* (*gida*), in the afternoon, or morning, when the cattle had returned at *the inhlanzane*.²³¹

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[Tununu went off with Nongqekeza from Durban on 19.6.1903, having left my place 17.6.1903.]

Notes

¹ Ndukwana kaMbengwana and Magidi kaNgomane were others of Stuart's informants. Their testimonies appear in volumes 4 and 2 respectively of the Stuart Archive.

² Simamane *sengwe* means Simamane 'of the leopard', a praise-name.

³ The words in parentheses appear in the original as an interlinear insertion. Mmemi kaNguluzane was another of Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 3 of the Stuart Archive.

⁴ The words in parentheses appear in the original as an interlinear insertion, together with brief notes on Bhibhi which have been scored out. Stuart's informant here seems to have been Mmemi.

⁵ The words in parentheses appear in the original as an interlinear insertion. The reference should be to p. 10, not p. 11, of File 70, where Stuart records a statement made by Socwatsha kaPhaphu on 28.12.1901 to the effect that Myiyeya was the father of Dingane's mother Mpikase. See Socwatsha's testimony in this volume, p. 12.

⁶ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 664, gives *isithununu* (pl. *izithununu - isitununu, izitununu* in his orthography) as 'Person of utterly no account, who can be treated with contempt, whether from lowness of state (as a poor menial, beggar, or slave), or from weakness of intellect (as a dolt or simpleton)'.

⁷ An *ilawu* was a hut occupied by boys and unmarried men.

⁸ According to Bryant's reckoning, the umKhulutshane *ibutho* was formed by Dingane in c.1833 of young men born some twenty years earlier (Olden Times, p. 645).

⁹ Retief and his party were killed at Dingane's emGungundlovu *umuzi* in February 1838.

¹⁰ The name uJubingqwana derives from *ukujuba*, to give an order, and *ingqwanga*, the framework of a headring. In his notes of Thununu's evidence, Stuart sometimes writes of the iziMpohlo with a capital 'M' and at other times of the izimpohlo with a lower-case 'm', reflecting his uncertainty about their status as an *ibutho*. The word literally means unmarried men.

¹¹ In September 1828.

¹² *Inkonyane* means calf; *inyama* means meat.

¹³ Zwide kaLanga was ruler of the Ndwandwe kingdom until his death in c.1825.

¹⁴ Thununu is here conflating events from different periods. Nzibe is usually said to have died on Shaka's expedition against Soshangane, ruler of the Gaza kingdom, in 1828. Mhlangana was assassinated on the orders of Dingane in late 1828 or early 1829. Gququ was put to death by Mpande in 1843.

¹⁵ Dingane abandoned umGungungundlovu after his defeat by the Boers at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838. He was killed near the uBombo mountains after his defeat by Mpande in January 1840.

¹⁶ Bryant, Dictionary, p. 27, gives *ibheja* or *ibheje* (*ibeja, ibeje* in his orthography) as 'One of the *ama-Beje* group of Dingane's *isigodhlo* girls'. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 30, extend the meaning to 'A member of one of Dingane's regiments of

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girls'. There is no evidence in Thununu's testimony to indicate that the amaBheje constituted a 'regiment'.

¹⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 536, gives *iqhikiza* (*iqikiza* in his orthography) as 'Girl, anywhere between the ages of about 16 and 25, but not yet wearing the topknot ...'.

¹⁸ For 'Mvoti' Thununu probably meant to say 'Msunduze'. Aldin Grout of the American Board Mission worked at Nginani mission station on the Msunduze river a few kilometres north of the lower Thukela from September 1836 to about September 1837. From May or June 1841 to July 1842, after the overthrow of Dingane by Mpande, he worked at Nkanyezi mission station near what was later Empangeni. He worked at a mission station near the Mvoti, south of the lower Thukela, from 1845.

¹⁹ Dingane sent a cattle-raiding expedition against Mzilikazi, ruler of the Ndebele kingdom, in mid-1837. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 31, gives *ubhelu* as 'Afrikander cattle ... first brought down from the Transvaal Basutos about the time of Mzilikazi's raiding there, and hence also called *u(lu)-Sutu ...*'.

²⁰ *Umshumayeli* means preacher; *umfundisi* means teacher, minister, missionary. The reference here is presumably to the Rev. Francis Owen of the Church Missionary Society who was permitted by Dingane to establish a mission station near umGungundlovu in October 1837.

²¹ Owen left umGungundlovu in February 1838, a few days after the killing of Retief and his party.

²² Jana was John Cane, who hunted and traded from Port Natal from 1824 until his death in April 1838. He is not known to have had any connection with missions in the Empangeni area early in 1838. Thununu is referring either to George Champion, who worked at the American Board mission station of Nginani near the Msunduze from September 1836 to February 1838, or to Henry Venable or Alexander Wilson, who worked at another American Board station, Thembalihle, near the Mhlathuze, some 50 kilometres from Nginani, from October 1837 to February 1838.

²³ The words in parentheses appear in the original as an interlinear insertion.

²⁴ Wohlo was Henry Ogle; Mbuyazwe was Henry Fynn; Gadeni was Allen Gardiner. Ogle and Fynn arrived at Port Natal with the first party of British traders to establish themselves there in 1824. Gardiner, a missionary, arrived in 1835.

²⁵ Gardiner operated a mission station near the Thongathi river from June 1837 to March 1838.

²⁶ Mpande's flight from the Zulu kingdom into Natal took place in September 1839.

²⁷ *Ukugoba* means to bend, to bow down.

²⁸ *Ukudliwa yintaba*, literally to be eaten by a hill or mountain, meant to be exiled into the wilderness.

²⁹ Mpande's forces defeated those of Dingane in a battle near the amaQongqo hills near the Mkhuze river in January 1840.

³⁰ KwaKhangela was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.

³¹ *Ibandla* means 'assembly'. The reference here is presumably to people who from time to time attended the assembly at umGungundlovu.

³² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 481, gives *umphakathi* (*umpakati* in his orthography) as 'All the commoners or "people" of the land ... who would at different times be called up to the king's kraal ...'.

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³³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 110, gives *idili* as ‘Great multitude or mass abundantly about on all sides, as of food at a feast ..., people flocking into or attending an assembly, etc.’.

³⁴ Bhongoza kaMefu achieved fame in the Zulu country for decoying a party of Boers into an ambush after their victory over a Zulu army at the Ncome (Blood) river in December 1838.

³⁵ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

³⁶ The reference is to Thununu’s testimony in File 60, nbk. 23, p. 4: see p. 260 below.

³⁷ Ndlela kaSompisi was one of Dingane’s chief counsellors, and commanded his forces at the battle of amaQongqo. The names that follow in this list are presumably those of others of Dingane’s *izinduna*.

³⁸ Nzobo or Dambuza kaSobadli was another of Dingane’s chief counsellors.

³⁹ The *isibaya esikhulu*, literally ‘the great enclosure’, was the main section in the arcs of huts of an *ikhanda*, as distinct from the *izihlangothi*, or ‘sides’.

⁴⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 634, gives *inhlanganisela* (*intlanganisela* in his orthography) as ‘Miscellaneous collection, collection of things of various kinds, ... a composite regiment ...’. On p. 206 he gives *igugu* as ‘Anything “dear” to one’s heart ...’.

⁴¹ Somsewu was Theophilus Shepstone, who was successively Diplomatic Agent and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. Ngoza kaLudaba was his chief *induna* from the mid-1850s until his death in 1869.

⁴² Masiphula kaMamba was Mpande’s chief counsellor. He died in August 1873.

⁴³ Lukwazi and Mbilini were among Mpande’s chief counsellors early in his reign.

⁴⁴ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was Cetshwayo’s chief counsellor.

⁴⁵ *Umbelethi*, meaning ‘carrier’, derives from the verb *ukubeletha*, to carry an infant on the back. USuthu (loc. oSuthu) was a Zulu royal *umuzi*. Shingana (Tshingana) and Ziweddu were senior sons of Mpande.

⁴⁶ The uThulwana was the *ibutho* to which Cetshwayo belonged.

⁴⁷ The reference is to Thununu’s testimony in File 60, nbk. 23.

⁴⁸ *Uhlangothi*, or ‘side’, here refers to the lower portions of the two arcs of huts in the *umuzi*.

⁴⁹ *Emahlabathini*, ‘the place of sands’, was the sandy plain about the middle reaches of the White Mfolozi river.

⁵⁰ Mnkabayi, Mmama and Mawa were daughters of Jama.

⁵¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 275, gives *umjadu* as ‘Dancing competition, in which, according to a custom now dying out, the young-men and girls of one locality would, generally during the summer time, arrange with those of a neighbouring locality to meet together at any particular spot, usually out on the veldt, for a dance-competition ...’. *Ukuhaywa* (*ukuraywa* in Stuart’s orthography) is the passive form of *ukuhaya*,

which Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 225, gives as ‘... make up i.e. compose, as a dance-song ...; “sing” a person ... i.e. compose a song in reference to him; take up i.e. set about performing, as men a song ... when learning it from a teacher, or when going through it at a dance ...’.

⁵² The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion. Just above these words Stuart has written ‘?Look for this’. Mshayankomo was another of

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Stuart's informants. The passage alluded to in the marginal insertion appears in File 58, nbk. 27, pp. 23-4 of the Stuart Collection, and, in translation, in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, p. 112.

⁵³ The reference to nbk. 22, p. 21 is to Thununu's testimony where he identifies Msongane as *induna* at umGungundlovu: see p. 257 above. The reference to p. 9, which appears in the original as a marginal insertion, draws attention to a further mention of Msongane: see p. 261 below.

⁵⁴ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁵⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 303, gives *ukukhetha* (*ukuketa* in his orthography) as '... perform certain show dances ...'.

⁵⁶ Literally, 'the great enclosure', i.e. the section of the *umuzi* occupied by the senior *amabutho*.

⁵⁷ *Amalawana* is the diminutive plural of *ilawu*, a coloured person.

⁵⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 315, gives *inkondlo* (*inkondhlo* in his orthography) as 'Kind of dance, ... with gradual forward and backward movement ...[and] of a quick, spirited nature ...'.

⁵⁹ The reference to p. 4, which appears in the text as a marginal insertion, draws attention to a previous mention of Msongane: see p. 260 above.

⁶⁰ The cattle of the *amahole* (*amarole*) were cattle which had been raided from the Boers by Mzilikazi's Ndebele and subsequently (in mid-1837) seized from the Ndebele by a force of Zulu.

⁶¹ Klwana and Mvundlana were leading figures in the chiefly houses respectively of the Buthelezi and the Biyela.

⁶² Sigonyela (Sekonyela) of the Tlokwa ruled a large chiefdom in the upper Caledon river region.

⁶³ Jobe of the Sithole people was an important chief in the western marches of the Zulu kingdom. The amaNkamane are a range of hills near what is now Helpmekaar.

⁶⁴ The reference is to documents published in Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1.

⁶⁵ The Matikulu is a river in south-eastern Zululand.

⁶⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 194, gives *igovu* as '... certain variety of large powerful dog, a Dutch hound - Dingane's favourite breed ...'.

⁶⁷ Shaka raided into the Mpondo country in 1828, and possibly also in 1824.

⁶⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 218, gives *ingxotha* (*ingxota* in his orthography) as 'Heavy brass plate with roughly notched exterior, worn round the lower arm above the wrist by old warriors in Zululand, and shaped like the upper part of a gauntlet ...'. On p. 399 he gives *umnaka* as 'Neck ornament formerly worn by the Zulu king and his favourites and consisting of one or several hollow brass rings worn one above the other, like a stiff collar, round the neck ...'. On p. 597 he gives *isongo* as 'Brass or copper ring worn in former times on the upper-arm ...'. On p. 418 he gives *inganekwane* as '... certain kind of brass ring worn, in former times, by men and women, as an ornament on the upper-arm ...'. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 259, give *umgoqo* as 'Rolled up or coiled object'.

⁶⁹ Bheje kaMagawozi (Magawuzi) was a Khumalo chief who, in the time of Shaka and Dingane, had a stronghold in the Ngome forest, which lies some thirty kilometres west of Nongoma.

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⁷⁰ For biographical information on Ndukwana see Wright, 'Ndukwana kaMbengwana', pp. 346-52.

⁷¹ This latter sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 714, gives *ukuyeyesa* as 'Speak as some tribes, substituting a *y* for every *l*, as do the Qwabe and Zulu coast clans generally ... (= *tefula*)'.

⁷² The iKhwani and iZawu were *amabutho* of women. Thununu discusses the meaning of the name *izimpohlo/Izimpohlo* later in his testimony. In the text we follow Stuart's inconsistent use of lower-case and upper-case initial letters for these and other collective names. To 'fetch sinews' means to raid cattle.

⁷³ The notes in this paragraph appear in the original as a marginal insertion on p. 16. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 310, gives *inkohlomba* as 'Crisply dried-up, shrivelled-up thing (mostly used of living things), as an old woman or a very lean beast'.

⁷⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 264, gives *ihobe* (pl. *amahobe*) as 'Man destitute of cattle'.

⁷⁵ *Iklwa* was a broad-bladed assegai carried in war.

⁷⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 20, gives *imbande* as 'Musical pipe or flute, made of the shin-bone of a reedbuck or goat (now no longer in use) ...'.

⁷⁷ Khondlo was ruler of the Qwabe chiefdom before being succeeded by his son Phakathwayo. Nqetho was another son of Khondlo.

⁷⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 209, gives *ukuguqula* as 'Change (*trans.*), as one thing (*acc.*) for another; change a thing into something else...'

⁷⁹ The phrase translates as 'We are the great *uhlanga* of the Mhlathuze'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 241, gives *uhlanga* as '... original stem or stock from which mankind generally is supposed to have taken its rise ...; stem or stock (i.e. particular house or family) from which a clan or tribe has taken its rise; genealogy or pedigree, of any family or house; dynasty ...'. For a discussion of notions about the origins of the Qwabe see Hamilton, 'Political centralisation and the making of social categories east of the Drakensberg', pp. 293-5.

⁸⁰ *Izimpisi* (sing. *impisi*) means 'hyenas'.

⁸¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 480, gives *impaka* as 'Cat possessed by an *um-takati* as a "familiar" and sent by him on villainous errands ...'.

⁸² Dingiswayo kaJobe was ruler of the Mthethwa kingdom in the early nineteenth century.

⁸³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 482, gives *ukuphalaza* (*ukupalaza* in his orthography) as '... vomit or spew up from the stomach; clear the system when seedy, or 'make oneself nice', by taking an emetic ...'.

⁸⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 669, gives *itwane* (*itwani*) as 'Fourth or digesting stomach of cattle ...; hence, tripe ...'. On p. 599 he gives *usu* as 'First stomach or paunch, of cattle ...'.

⁸⁵ Probably a reference to Qethuka kaManqondo of the Magwaza people who was a chief in Mpande's time.

⁸⁶ Cetshwayo's forces defeated those of Mbuyazi, his brother and rival for the Zulu kingship, at Ndongakusuka on the north bank of the lower Thukela in 1856. Cetshwayo was installed as king in 1873 after the death of his father Mpande the previous year.

⁸⁷ *Imitheveya* is the *ukuthefula* form of *imithelela*, which derives from the verb *ukuthela*, to pour.

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⁸⁸ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

⁸⁹ The Ncome (Blood) river was the scene of a Boer victory over the Zulu in December 1838.

⁹⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 362, gives *isilomo* as 'Man who, holding no official position, is by the friendship of the king, a foremost man at court'.

⁹¹ Dingane ordered the burning of umGungundlovu after the Boer victory over the Zulu at the Ncome river in December 1838. Bhongoza led a force of Boers into an ambush a few days later. Dingane made a peace agreement with the Boers in March 1839, and sometime later sent them a presentation of ivory.

⁹² The uPhathe stream flows into the White Mfolozi below the Mthonjaneni heights. The broken country near the confluence was the scene of the ambush referred to in the previous note.

⁹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 665, gives *isithunyisa* (*isitunyisa* in his orthography) as the equivalent of *isithunqisa* (*isitunqisa*). On p. 664 he gives this as 'Gun (an original Zulu name therefor) ...'.

⁹⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 22, gives *isibango* (pl. *izibango*) as 'Charm, or incantation, by herbs, etc. (C.N.)'. On p. 110* of the prefatory section of his *Dictionary*, Bryant indicates that 'C.N.' signifies 'Colenso-Natal, i.e. a word given in Colenso's Dictionary as used in Natal, though unknown or unused in Zululand'.

⁹⁵ '*Ngi saya ngapandhle*' in the original, a euphemism for going to defecate.

⁹⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 223, gives *isihanga* (pl. *izihanga*) as 'Fierce tempered, ferocious person or animal ...'. Doke and Vilikazi, *Dictionary*, p. 296, give this meaning and also the meanings 'Fair-complexioned Native; yellow-skinned Native; tanned European'; and 'Roaming person or beast; term also applied to Hottentots and Trek-Boers.' On the same page they give *umhanga* (pl. *imihanga*) as 'Fierce-tempered, ferocious person or animal', 'Fair-complexioned Native; tanned European', and 'Broad-brimmed hat'.

⁹⁷ The Imfolozi (imFolozi, imFolozi) river is given as the Umfolozi in much of the literature.

⁹⁸ A reference to the killing of numbers of Boer families and their retainers by Zulu forces in the Weenen-Estcourt region in February 1838.

⁹⁹ Some sources give Zibizendlela as supposedly a son of Shaka.

¹⁰⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 173, gives *umgazi* as 'Small opaque dark-red beads with white inside (used collect.)'. On p. 609 he gives *ithambo* (*itambo* in his orthography as 'Bone; small white bead or beads (collect. ...)').

¹⁰¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 650, gives *utshodo* as 'Dark-blue cotton-gauze or veiling ...'.

¹⁰² Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 403-4, as 'Any brother or sister younger than oneself ...; used by married women to their brothers (married or unmarried) even when older than themselves ...'.

¹⁰³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 171, gives *umganu* as 'Certain wild fruit-tree (*Sclerocarya caffra*), whose wood is used for pot and tray carving, the bark being good for tanning, and from whose fruit an intoxicating drink is made'.

¹⁰⁴ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 585, gives *umshwili* as 'Certain veldt-plant bearing edible peas ... and also roots ...'. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 752, identify it as *Vigna marginata*. On p. 35 they give *imbexe* as 'Species of herb yielding a fibre for the tail-pieces of young men and boys'.

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¹⁰⁵ The reference to nbk. 22, p. 4 is to a statement made by Thununu on the age of the imiKhulutshane (umKhulutshane) *ibutho*. Stuart recorded it in File 60, nbk. 22, and subsequently wrote it up in File 70, p.95: see above in the text, p. 253. The reference to nbk. 25, p. 23 is to a statement made by Thununu about his affiliation to the iHlaba *ibutho*: see below in the text, p. 278.

¹⁰⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 203, gives *ukugqwayiza* as ‘Act or speak in a sharp-spirited, energetic, fiery manner’.

¹⁰⁷ The original has ‘... *patel'd inyon' eziko*’, literally, put the bird in the hearth’.

¹⁰⁸ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 290, give *igxeba* as ‘Species of small bushveld tree’.

¹⁰⁹ I.e. when Shaka returned from the Mthethwa country to become chief in the Zulu country. Ngomane was an important figure in the Mthethwa kingdom in the early nineteenth century.

¹¹⁰ The reference is to an attack made by a force of British troops, Boers, and men from the Gcaleka, Thembu and Mpondo chiefdoms on a migrating group of people under Matiwane kaMasumpa of the amaNgwane at Mbholompo, west of present-day Mthatha, in August 1828.

¹¹¹ John Shepstone had a long career in government service in Natal from 1846 onward. He was Acting Secretary for Native Affairs from 1876 to 1884.

¹¹² Possibly a reference to Nongalaza kaNondela, who was an important figure in the Zulu kingdom in the early years of Mpande’s reign.

¹¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 103, gives *indlondlo* (*indhlonhlo* in his orthography) as ‘Large dark-coloured variety of cerastes or horned viper ... of a very venomous nature, and regarded by the Natives as the most dreaded of snakes ...’.

¹¹⁴ It is not clear what passage Stuart is referring to here.

¹¹⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 621, gives *ukuthemeleza* (*ukutemeleza* in his orthography) as ‘Speak away continuously in one long uninterrupted effort, as an *imbongi* when citing the praises of a chief ...’.

¹¹⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 624, gives *ukuthetha* (*ukuteta* in his orthography) as ‘Speak the praises, etc. of the *ama-Dhlozi* or ancestral spirits ... at the sacrifice of a beast, or of a brave when he displays his feats ... at a dance ...’.

¹¹⁷ The date in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹¹⁸ In the original, the words ‘had *their umuzi*’ are indicated by means of ditto marks.

¹¹⁹ The original has *uNomahala a ba pung' uvovo wo mhlaba*’.

¹²⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 553, gives *iqwaningi* as ‘Thorny climber ..., used in various ways as a charm against several kinds of ill-fortune ...’.

¹²¹ In the original the date ‘1815’ has been written over another date, making the latter illegible, and ‘1812’ has been written in above ‘1815’.

¹²² In the passages that follow, Stuart mostly writes ‘*izimpohlo*’ with a lower-case initial ‘i’, though occasionally he writes the word as ‘*Izimpohlo*’ with a capital initial ‘I’. For Thununu’s elaboration of the meaning of the name, see his evidence below.

¹²³ In the margin of the original, the following names are written in against this paragraph: ‘Amatshudu ka Tulwana’, ‘Izipangane’, ‘Izinyatshana’. The pertinence of the first two names is explained in the text; the pertinence of the name ‘Izinyatshana’, which means ‘little buffaloes’, is left unexplained.

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¹²⁴ Mthonga was a son of Nomantshali.

¹²⁵ Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house. He made a devastating attack on Cetshwayo's chief umuzi, oNdini or uluNdi, in July 1883.

¹²⁶ The reference is to the map of the 'Zoolu country' in Allen Gardiner's *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country* (1836).

¹²⁷ On Nzibe see note 14 above.

¹²⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, does not have an entry for *umlambo*. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 447, give it as river or low-lying march. *Umlambongwenya* means river of the crocodile.

¹²⁹ On the reference to nbk. 22, p. 4 see note 105 above. The reference to nbk. 24, p. 24 is to a statement made by Thununu about his affiliation to the imiKhulutshane: see above in the text, p. 271. The reference to nbk. 26, p. 8 is to a statement made by Thununu on which Stuart based a calculation as to his age: see below in the text, p. 280.

¹³⁰ This and the next sentence appear in the original as marginal insertions.

¹³¹ In April 1838 a Zulu force overwhelmed a party of cattle-raiders, led by British hunters and traders from Port Natal, at Ndondakusuka near the mouth of the Thukela.

¹³² Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 685, give *iqadasi* (pl. *amaqadasi*) as 'Boer'. For 'bad', Stuart presumably meant to write 'big'.

¹³³ Dingane put Ngwadi to death soon after the assassination of Shaka.

¹³⁴ Ndlovu kaThimuni, Mhuyi kaThimuni and Jantshi kaNongila were others of Stuart's informants. Their testimony appears in previous volumes of the [Stuart Archive](#).

¹³⁵ In other accounts, Nzibe is said to have died on the expedition sent by Shaka against Soshangane, ruler of the Gaza kingdom in southern Mozambique, in 1828.

¹³⁶ The reference is to an extract from the papers of Henry Fynn published in Bird, ed., *Annals of Natal* (1888), vol. 1, pp. 64-5.

¹³⁷ The note in parentheses appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. The Zulu sentence translates as 'I do not take snuff'.

¹³⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 643, gives *ukuthopa* (*ukutopa* in his orthography) as '... polish a person (acc.) up i.e. flatter him by saying nice things to him and about him ...'.

¹³⁹ Presumably the Myandeya (Mlandela) of the Mthethwa people who had been installed as a chief by Shaka.

¹⁴⁰ In the margin of the original Stuart makes a calculation to the effect that Thununu must have been born in about 1814. He cross-refers to 'Nbk 25, p. 23, & refs. there'. See the text above, p. 278.

¹⁴¹ Phunga and Mageba were ancestral Zulu chiefs.

¹⁴² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 694, gives *wethu* (*wetu* in his orthography), meaning 'one of ours', as '... the common term of familiarity used by one young-man addressing another, even though not of the same age'.

¹⁴³ Mnyamana's territory lay on the isiKhwebezi river west of what is now Nongoma.

¹⁴⁴ Soshangane kaZikode was the first ruler of the Gaza kingdom in southern Mozambique. He died in 1858.

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¹⁴⁵ The original of the song reads (Stuart has it running on): ‘*uSotshangana ka Zikode a ngahla sine nje, ayi amaqilikazana, a tat’ amanga ku Sotshangana ka Zikode*’. In his transcription of this song as published in his Zulu reader *uVusezakiti* (1926), p. 49, Stuart has ‘*Angahl’ a sine nje?*’ as a question. In this case the translation would be ‘Sotshangana ka Zikode, might he perform a dance?’ We are not sure as to the meaning of *amaqilikazana*. It may derive from *iqili*, a cunning person, in which case it would mean ‘the clever young women’. Our colleague Mbongiseni Buthelezi suggests that ‘dance’ may be a metaphor for ‘war’. In the original, the words ‘Used in Vusezakiti’ appear as a marginal insertion.

¹⁴⁶ *Ababomvana* translates as ‘the little red ones’, and *izilwanyana* as ‘the little wild beasts’.

¹⁴⁷ Sotobe kaMpangalala led an embassy from Shaka that travelled by sea to Port Elizabeth and back in 1828.

¹⁴⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 118, gives *umdudla* (*umdudhla*) as ‘... tall bulky person; long and big-bodied person, i.e. with long full belly ...’.

¹⁴⁹ Manyosi kaDlekezele was a noted glutton in the time of Shaka.

¹⁵⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 25, gives *isibhaxa* (*isibaxa* in his orthography) as ‘Young fat-bodied girl, of about nine years of age, such as were common in the royal kraal ...’. On p. 536 he gives *iqhikiza* (*iqikiza* in his orthography) as ‘Girl, anywhere between the ages of about 16 and 25, but not yet wearing the topknot ...’.

¹⁵¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 366, gives *umlumbi* (pl. *abalumbi*) as ‘One who does wonderful things - see *lumba*; also originally applied to “a Whiteman” (see *um-Lungu*)’. On the same page he gives *ukulumba* as ‘Do or make anything ... of a wonderful nature, or with surprising skill ...; (in a particular sense) work evil of a surprising nature upon a person, as *abatakati* are supposed to do when they cause a man ... to become insane or dumb ...; speak lies, “things causing amazement” ...’. *Abalumb’ abalumba konke* translates as ‘The skilled ones who crafted everything’.

¹⁵² A reference to the attack made by a Zulu force on the trading settlement at Port Natal in April 1838.

¹⁵³ Dr Andrew Cowan led an official expedition from the Cape into the interior in 1808. The expedition disappeared without trace in the territory north of the Vaal river. For a recent discussion see Crampton, ‘The explorer who got lost’.

¹⁵⁴ Alexander Cowie and Benjamin Green travelled from the eastern Cape to the Zulu kingdom and then to Delagoa Bay in 1828-9. Both died of fever soon after beginning their return journey.

¹⁵⁵ 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’.

¹⁵⁶ *IziGqoza* was a collective name for the supporters of Mbuyazi in his dispute with his brother Cetshwayo over the succession to the Zulu kingship.

¹⁵⁷ *USuthu* was a collective name for Cetshwayo’s adherents in his dispute with Mbuyazi: see the previous note. Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 579-80, gives *umshokobezi* (pl. *abashokobezi*) as ‘Wearer of *ubu-Shokobezi* i.e. a warrior of the *u-Sutu* or Cetshwayo’s army (not that of *u-Zibebu*), who adopted this custom’. On p. 580 he gives *ubushokobezi* as ‘Head-ornament made of the bush of a cow’s tail and carried

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in two pieces erect on the top of the head’.

¹⁵⁸ Mqalana was a well-known medicine-man in the time of Shaka and Dingane.

¹⁵⁹ UGcongco is the name of a ridge that falls steeply to the Nsuze river in the Nkandla region.

¹⁶⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 338, gives *khwashaza* (*kwashaza* in his orthography) as ‘Make a rustling noise, as a person stirring on the floor, going through the grass ...’.

¹⁶¹ Manzolwandle was a son of Cetshwayo who disputed the succession to the latter’s position with his brother Dinuzulu.

¹⁶² Yamela was chief *induna* to Melmoth Osborn who, in various capacities, was the senior British official in Zululand from 1880 to 1893.

¹⁶³ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁶⁴ UmDumezulu was a Zulu royal *umuzi*. *Zo mlomo* literally means ‘of the mouth’.

¹⁶⁵ The original has ‘*Onke amakosi a yi bon’ emanzini impi*’.

¹⁶⁶ Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 596-7, give *ukunqwamba* as ‘Undergo charm medication against dangers, esp. in time of war’.

¹⁶⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 620, gives *intelezi* as ‘General name for all those medicinal charms whose object is to counteract evil by rendering its causes innocuous, unsuccessful ... and gen. administered by a “sprinkling” process ... and not carried about on the person ...’.

¹⁶⁸ The words in parentheses appear in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. Stuart’s Book of Eulogies is to be found in File 75 of the Stuart Collection.

¹⁶⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 546, gives *isiqubulo* as ‘Certain quiet, stately kind of dance (with accompanying song) performed by men at the royal festival and at weddings ...’.

¹⁷⁰ The original reads:

*U yaliw’ uMnguni wa kiti ohlangeni,
Si buza kini e na ni kutsh’ eNcome mzukwa nilwayo,
Waye kon ini, waye ngeko,
Uyaliw’ uMnguni wa kiti ohlangeni.*

UMnguni wa kiti (‘Mnguni of our place’) is probably a reference to Dingane. On *uhlanga* see note 79 above.

¹⁷¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 304, gives *isikhexe* (*isikexe* in his orthography) as ‘... central party of a row of dancers ...’. On p. 556 he gives *ukuklaza* (*rraza* in his orthography) as ‘Sing the shrill female accompaniment to a Native dance-song, as do the girls when singing along with the men (not used of their singing alone) ...’.

¹⁷² The original reads:

*Hlom’ uhlasela ekuBuyangwe,
Uhlom’ uhlasel’ Emhlongamvula enhla nezwe,
Suka n<d>hlovu, hlasela le, enhla,
U ya ngenis’ oBalule,
Iwu! Iwu! Iwu! Si ba ngenis’ eMpama,
Ba ya zi leta nkosi yetu yomNguni,
Mnguni hlom’ uzidhle!*

Mhlongamvula is a mountain north of the upper Phongolo river. UBhalule is the Olifants river. Mpama was a locality in the Magaliesberg region.

¹⁷³ AbaNgunyana is the diminutive of abaNguni.

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¹⁷⁴ Matshwili (Mashwili) of the Mthethwa people was a chief with adherents in the Lower Tugela and Mapumulo divisions.

¹⁷⁵ *Isikulu* here probably means the *isibaya esikhulu*, ‘the great enclosure’. For the position of this and of the *uhlangothi* (or ‘flank’), see the sketch in the text below.

¹⁷⁶ *Igubu* (pl. *amagubu*, loc. pl. *emagushini*) means ‘corner’; *isisu* means ‘stomach’.

¹⁷⁷ *Umhlabulo* is ribs of meat.

¹⁷⁸ *Isixhanti* is the meat of a beast’s hump.

¹⁷⁹ The names of the three ‘regiments’ appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

¹⁸⁰ This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page. We have been unable to establish the meaning of *izitungutu* (*izithunguthu*). It may derive from *ukuthungulula*, to open the eyes, discover, untie, undo.

¹⁸¹ *Ukucubuza* means to break up; *ukuhlephula* means to break off a piece.

¹⁸² ‘D.’ is Dingiswayo, ruler of the Mthethwa kingdom in the early nineteenth century.

¹⁸³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 32, gives *imbenge* (pl. *izimbenge*) as ‘Small Native basket, about the size of a large bowl ...’. We have been unable to establish the meaning of *umncono*.

¹⁸⁴ In Thununu’s time, the word *abelungu* (sing. *umlungu*) meant ‘white people’, which is its common meaning in isiZulu today. How far back in time this meaning goes remains a matter for research. See also note 151 above.

¹⁸⁵ This sentence appears in the original in the top margin of the page. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 347, gives *isilalo* as ‘Old painful bruise or contusion that has not healed internally, and situated on any part of the body (save the head, where it is termed *inGozi*) ...’.

¹⁸⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 462, gives *umnyakanya* (pl. *iminyakanya*) as ‘Single stick of *i(li)-Sakabuli* feathers, of which a couple ... are fixed to head as an ornament at dances, etc.’. The *isakabuli* is the long-tailed widow bird.

¹⁸⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 544, gives *isiqhova* (pl. *iziqhova*) - *isiqova* in his orthography - as ‘Crest, tuft, or plume of any kind on the head of some birds, or as worn as an ornament by men whether on the top, back, front or sides of head ...’. On p. 204 he gives *igubela* (pl. *amagubela*) as the equivalent of *igojela*, which on p. 189 he gives as ‘Long tail-feather (of which there are usually two) of cock, *sakabuli*, etc., used as head ornament ...’. On p. 427 he gives *umngqithi* (pl. *imingqithi*) as the kori bustard.

¹⁸⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 22, gives *imbhangayiya* (*imbangayiya* in his orthography) as ‘Long tail-feather or feathers, gen. of the ostrich, worn on the head ...’. On p. 540 he gives *iqholo* (pl. *amaqholo*) - *iqolo* in his orthography - as ‘Large bunch of ostrich feathers stuck into a kind of small basket and worn on the head by young men at the *um-kosi*’.

¹⁸⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 705, gives *ixhoza* (*ixoza* in his orthography) as ‘Large, powerful male dog (of any breed ...) ...’.

¹⁹⁰ Baleni kaSilwana was another of Stuart’s informants: see his statement in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1, p. 19. The iVuna river rises north-west of Nongoma and flows southwards into the Black Mfolozi.

¹⁹¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 436, gives *inkengane* (pl. *amankengane*) as ‘Any poor, destitute, common fellow ...; applied contemptuously to any individual of a foreign tribe, as a Tonga or Suto’.

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¹⁹² The Ncome river is marked on older maps as the Blood. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 264, gives *ihobo* or *ihobe* (pl. *amahobo*, *amahobe*) as ‘Man destitute of cattle’.

¹⁹³ For the position of the *isicamelo*, or ‘headrest’, in an *ikhanda*, see the sketch in the text above.

¹⁹⁴ The words in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

EziMfemfeni was a Zulu royal *umuzi*.

¹⁹⁵ *Ingqwanga* is the framework onto which a headring is bound. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 542, gives *uqondo* as ‘Inner framework of a man’s *isi-Coco* or head-ring and which is formed of a rope of palm-fibres ... bound round by string or tendon ...’.

¹⁹⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 81, gives *ukucubukeza* as the equivalent of *ukucubuza*, which, on p. 82, he gives as ‘Squash or crush up anything ...; “break up” or “break down” a person ..., get the better of him thoroughly (in a good or bad sense) ...’.

¹⁹⁷ *Impohlo* (pl. *izimpohlo*) means unmarried man.

¹⁹⁸ Mbopha kaSithayi was one of Shaka’s assassins.

¹⁹⁹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 173, gives *ukugcagca* as ‘Go through the wedding-dance (or marriage ceremony generally), as a girl marrying; dance the wedding-dance, as the bridal-party (*um-Timba*), males and females, at a wedding’.

²⁰⁰ Jama was father of Senzangakhona.

²⁰¹ Mkhanyile and Maphitha were senior members of the Zulu chiefly house.

²⁰² *Esihlahleni*, literally ‘in the bush’, means that he was conceived illegitimately.

²⁰³ The expression ‘*Induku eyomgawuli*’ literally means ‘the stick belongs to the one who cuts it’. The custom referred to concerned rights in children in cases where women took a second husband. See the statements of Ndukwana in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, pp. 317 and 352, given respectively on 21.10.1900 and in July 1902.

²⁰⁴ Zibizendlela was said to have been a son of Shaka.

²⁰⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 332, gives *ikhunzana* (*ikunzana* in his orthography) as ‘Petty chief, or headman with a few people under him (seldom used, and only in jocular sense)’.

²⁰⁶ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 557, gives *umklele* (*umrrele* in his orthography) as a certain bush which bears red, edible berries. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, give it as *Ehretia hottentotica*. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 166 gives *ugagane* as ‘Small thorn-tree of the mimosa kind’. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 227 give it as *Dichrostachys glomerata* and *D. nyassana*.

²⁰⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 650, gives *umtshezi* as ‘Light reddish-brown thing, as an ox ...’. On p. 315 he gives *inkone* as ‘Beast, black or red, having a white patch along the back ...’.

²⁰⁸ *Ukugcwala* literally means ‘to become full’. Here it seems to mean ‘to die’. Ngomane kaMqomboli was a man of importance in the Mthethwa kingdom under Dingiswayo, and a patron of Shaka’s during the latter’s sojourn in the Mthethwa country.

²⁰⁹ This sentence appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

²¹⁰ Mbhengi was ruler of the eLangeni chiefdom.

²¹¹ This sentence appears in the original as an insertion in the top margin of the page.

²¹² Mpande returned from Natal to become Zulu king in 1840.

²¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 368, gives *ilunga* as ‘... beast ... of a black colour with white on the back ...; old man, from the whiteness of the hair (a name not liked by the old people themselves)’. *Ixhegu* means ‘old man’.

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²¹⁴ We have been unable to establish the meaning of *'didiza'*. It may derive from the verb *ukudida*, to confuse, mislead.

²¹⁵ The uKhahlamba mountains are otherwise known as the Drakensberg. For discussion of the terms *ukudabula*, meaning to divide, separate off, in their transitive sense, and of *ukudabuka*, to divide, separate off, in their intransitive sense, see Hamilton, 'Restructuring within the Zulu royal house' (1997).

²¹⁶ Mvelinqangi and Nkulunkulu are Zulu words for the deity.

²¹⁷ For discussion of the term 'ntungwa' see Hamilton, 'Political centralisation' (2012).

²¹⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 611, gives *intando* as 'Love-charm used by women to secure their husband's favour ...'. At the time of Stuart's conversations with Thununu as rendered here, Matshwili (Mashwili) of the Mthethwa people was a chief with adherents in the Lower Tugela and Mapumulo divisions.

²¹⁹ The note in parentheses appears in the original as a marginal insertion. The word *ingxongolo* does not appear in Bryant's *Dictionary*: what Stuart probably means here, as in other similar notes, is that he made a note of the meaning in his own copy of Bryant's work. In the top margin of the page on which he recorded Thununu's statement, Stuart noted that *ingxongolo* means 'faction, party'.

²²⁰ The notes in this and the next sentence appear in the original as insertions in the top margin of the page.

²²¹ The Zulu original reads:

Kutsh' isifazane esiklazayo
Nga sal' ebayeni (not *tefula* but *y* for *l* as a song: *bayeni* = *baleni*)
Indawo nge ya obaba pambili,
Se si hlal' emnyango.

Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 556 gives *ukuklaza* as 'Sing the shrill female accompaniment to a Native dance-song, as do the girls when singing along with the men (not used of their singing alone) ...'. On this song see also the evidence of Ndukwana, given on 1.10.1900, in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, p. 301

²²² The Zulu original reads:

I ha yehe
Ba yaz' ilok' ukuba itin' e sa tolwa amandulo,
Inani, bantu, Iha yehe,
Ba yaz' ilok' etc.

²²³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 303, gives *ukukhetha* (*ukuketa* in his orthography) as '... perform certain show dances ...'.

²²⁴ Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi people was chief counsellor to Cetshwayo. Ngqengelele is said at one stage to have been a menial in the service of the Zulu royal house.

²²⁵ Masiphula was chief counsellor to Mpande. He died suddenly in August 1873. On the story about the beerpot, see also the evidence of Ndukwana in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 4, p. 301.

²²⁶ *Izikhonzi* (sing. *isikhonzi*), from the verb *ukukhonza*, to pay allegiance, were men who had come to the *ikhanda* to display their allegiance to the king.

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²²⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 557, gives *umklele* (*umrrele* in his orthography) as a certain bush which bears red, edible berries. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, give it as *Ehretia hottentotica*.

²²⁸ Mawa is usually given as a sister of Dingane's father, Senzangakhona.

²²⁹ Probably Mbilini kaCungeya of the Mthethwa who was a senior counsellor to Mpande early in his reign.

²³⁰ This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion.

²³¹ *Vumela* here has the sense of 'give praise to'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 634, gives *inhlanzane* (*intlazane* in orthography) as 'Native custom of bringing the cattle home for milking at about 11 a.m. ...'.