

ZULU

21.11.1898

File 74, p. 71.

71 <Language.>

Ingwavuma, per Zulu and personal knowledge. Mbikiza speaks the Swazi language, due to residence in Swaziland.¹ Some of his people speak Swazi, others Zulu. Sambana's, Mtshelékwane's and Mkakwa's people are influenced by Swazi dialect to a certain extent.²

21.11.1898

File 74, p. 69.

69 <Contact with civilized races.>

Natal. Zulu, aged about 34, tells me, 21.11.1898, that he thinks it will be a very long time before the *consulting of diviners (ukubul' ezinyangeni)* custom dies out even in Natal.³ He has lived chiefly near Marwaqa, then close to Stuartstown, then in Eshowe District.⁴ He says the *izinyanga* are afraid now to *smell out (nuka)* anybody, afraid of being arrested and punished. But it very frequently happens that when people are very or seriously ill, people send to a witchdoctor to *bula* in order to find out from the doctor what medicine doctor or herbalist has, medicine which can cure the sickness. When Zulu has himself been ill this has been done by the people with him. To smell out or *nuka* is totally prohibited in Natal, as well as for a doctor to find out medicines or rather who has medicines which can cure the disease or illness come about. Nevertheless *bula* still goes on by stealth; the doctor and parties who solicit his aid, for fear of arrest by native police, leave the kraal and proceed into forest or bushes or somewhere out of sight and there *bula*.

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File 74, pp. 40-1.

40 <Customs.>

Natal. Zulu [*vide* p. 69] tells me, 21.11.1898, that *izinyanga who bula - izanusi* or *umgoma* or *isangoma, isingoma*⁵ - are supposed to be in touch with the *amadhlozi*,

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amatongo, *izituta* or departed spirits. Hence in calling them witch-doctors we err because, in the first place, a witch is a woman and, secondly, a witch is, according to Ogilvie's *Smaller English Dictionary*, 'a woman given to mystical and unlawful arts; a woman supposed to have formed a compact with the devil, or with evil spirits, and by their means to operate supernaturally; one who practises enchantment'. In the case of the Natal native the compact is made with good, not evil spirits [except *abatakati*, see below, p. 41]. Colenso defines *idhlozi* as 'ancestral spirit = *iTongo*', and *itongo* as 'ancestral spirit; may be used as equivalent to good genius or saviour'.⁶ It seems a man may become an *isanusi* only after he has had a long illness which has greatly reduced his size, caused him to become emaciated; it is the intensity of the illness that seems to establish the communication between the man and the world of spirits. Sometimes *izangoma*, although properly qualified, although at one time admittedly endowed with much power of perspicacity or divination, seem to lose their old power in a remarkable degree; this happened with Mhlakaza, a well-known man living close to Eshowe township.

Isanusi, *umgoma*, *isangoma*, *isingoma* - all these, Zulu says, mean just about the same thing. They each apply equally to men as to women. Women therefore may
41 *etwasa* like men and there are as many women *izanusu* as men.⁷ *Izanusi* carry medicines for causing other *izanusu* to *etwasa*; those are the only drugs they carry and therefore differ from *izinyanga* of medicines (*izinyanga ze miti*). *Isanusu* may know *amakambi* and children's medicines and other 'small' medicines but he does not lay himself out to acquire a thorough knowledge of herbs, etc.⁸ When people are *etwasaing* they get very ill and emaciated; they feel pain in different parts of the body. People then go and *bula* before *izangoma*, and if each *isangoma* says he is *etwasaing*, or majority say so, then it is said that his illness is due to *etwasa* and it is prescribed that he shall be *pehlelwa*'d for with *isangoma* medicines,⁹ which is calculated to 'pierce' (*boboza*) him and let out the 'spirit' (*dhlozi*) that is in him in order that illness may leave him. After *izangoma* have given their decision it is then said that the illness, whatever it was, was caused by the *amadhlozi*.

22.11.1898

File 74, pp. 41-3.

<Customs.>

Amadhlozi are also called *izituta* or *amatongo*; they are all good spirits. A person who gets ill and is said by *isangoma* to be caused his illness by *idhlozi* is afflicted not by an evil but by a good spirit because, as the *isangoma* believes, he will recover. Often people die who have been said to *have been killed by amadhlozi*, but this shows, as Z. believes, that they did not know their business. The *dhlozi* is a harmless snake. If it should be seen entering a cattle kraal a beast is killed or *beer* is *made* and the *amadhlozi* are *praised*. The *amadhlozi* are prayed to as well as praised, i.e. *kulekelwa*'d and *bongwa*'d.¹⁰ They are prayed to when a beast has been killed and when the family and relations are gathered together. The prayer is that those praying, as well as those absent who belong to the same family, i.e. near relations, may be looked after and protected. The *bongaing* and *kulekelaing* seems to be done on one

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and the same occasion. Zulu does not know of evil spirits; there are none believed in. *Abatakati* are not spirits but carnate beings. *Abatakati*, however, seem to have some mystical powers, for, nowadays in Natal, Zulu says, the *amadhlozi* are not as often seen about kraals as formerly; this is taken to be due to *abatakati* who, when a person has died and been buried, come the same day of his burial to his grave, take some of the earth from it, and mixing that with their own drugs, succeed in enchanting the dead man's spirit or *dhlozi* and causing it never to appear again. For this reason, it is becoming customary for people to watch the grave at night and see that the *abatakati* do not come near it. Again it is being customary on this account to bury the body closer to the kraal than before, either in the cattle kraal or just outside so that it can be properly protected. [At Ndaba's kraal, a Tonga in Ingwavuma District, I remember
42 noticing that people were buried at the kraal. This I should think was due to different reasons.]

If *amadhlozi* are good spirits and contact with them is contrived by *izangoma* etc. then it is natural to suppose that *abatakati* who have the power of 'killing' the spirit or *dhlozi* of a person have connection with evil spirits. Zulu does not enlighten. Zulu, although he has lived for many years amongst white people, says he has not been converted to Christianity. He says a subject which is frequently discussed is that respecting *kolwas*. People remark it as strange that *kolwas* who no longer pray to or praise *amadhlozi* do not die or <become> affected in anyway thereby, for a man who forsakes his *dhlozi* should die by rights. Just as when, if by mistake a person kills a *dhlozi* or injures it, he must and does make reparation for his act; he excuses himself, states that it was not his intention to injure the snake. Zulu remembers a *dhlozi* once having found its way into the large mealie basket (*isilulu*) inside a hut and coiled itself up in there, mealies were taken out, care being taken not to disturb it. A beast (goat, I think) was killed, *amadhlozi* were *praised*, and next day the *dhlozi* had made its way out of the basket and disappeared. When an *idhlozi* is killed by mistake or intent, it is believed that it does not die for it revives and goes off and its dead body becomes again alive.

Zulu has considerable faith in *izangoma*. He was ill, seriously ill, a year ago; his people proceeded to a doctor, then in succession to three others. All differed as to the nature of his illness. One said that he was going to *etwasa* and was being made ill by *amadhlozi*; another said he had malarial fever (an illness unknown in that part of the country); the last ordered him drugs which cured him completely. European doctors are not as successful amongst natives as native doctors. Zulu says it is quite common for *izamusu* or *izangoma* to fall off in their powers of divination; when that occurs it is said, '*We have eaten imbumba and become weak*' (*sadhl' imbumba, se si pupile*).¹¹ He says there is no homestead where *bulaing* does not go on; every kraal does it, all over Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, as far as he knows; it is the creed, the belief of the people, moreover all believe in, pray to and *give praise to the amadhlozi*. Now the *amadhlozi* prayed to are that family's ancestors who are deceased; if grandfather be living he is not addressed; all are called on as far as can be remembered. This religious custom of praying to and *giving praise* is so thoroughly ingrained into the character or genius of the people that Zulu does not believe any regulations or laws will ever put a stop to it. Although each family prays to its own *amadhlozi*, Zulu

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thinks that the king of a country may well address those *amadhlozi* who are of a national type, for instance all preceding kings as far back as can be remembered. This probably still takes place in Swaziland. Zulu says the belief of natives in the
43 existence of the spirits of their departed ancestors is very firm and universal. It is the keynote of the position.

Izinswelaboya are ordinary men who sit in ambush in a bush or forest and watch and catch and kill passers-by with violence.¹² *Abatakati* kill with medicines. Appeal to *izangoma* often enables a man to get well, i.e. because he has appealed to *amadhlozi*, but *abatakati* are regarded as more powerful, even though sometimes people who it was thought were going to die recover. All obvious diseases, i.e. known diseases, are supposed to be natural and therefore not caused either by *amadhlozi* or *abatakati*. *Amadhlozi* are in the snake-form and that alone. Zulu does not know if women can be *amadhlozi* or their spirits can be incarnate in any other snake-form; he says he knows of the *isicatshakazana* or *idhlozi of old women*, which is a small animal like the *intulo lizard* and sometimes places itself on a *roof-prop* in a hut and remains still even if touched, that is not killed.¹³ This animal also causes people to *make beer*, drink and *give praise*. The owner of kraal, when beer is ready, says, '*Here, then, is your beer*,' addressing the *amadhlozi* as <evidenced> by *isicatshakazana*.

Zulu's information appertains to his own people of course. He lived near Marwaqa but his father was a Zulu. He says he does not know of the existence of evil spirits which are consulted by *abatakati* who have power to destroy *amadhlozi* as above stated. *Abatakati* consult one another, learn from one another. *The big doctors of healing (izinyanga zo kwe lapa)* have medicines which can kill or poison people and they of course can become *abatakati* if they like, but usually an *umtakati* is a man who goes to *izinyanga* and purchases from them their most poisonous drugs and then keeps only these poisonous drugs for evil purposes. Zulu says *amadhlozi* have no definite place where they reside; they go over the world in the form of the well-known snake. Natives believe in the existence of a creator of all things, viz. Umvelinqangi or Nkulunkulu. When men were created, so legend goes, Nkulunkulu ordered the chameleon to go and say to them they were not to die; the *intulo* overheard this and although the chameleon had got a start it delayed on the way by eating *ubukwebezana berries*; the *intulo* shot by and *memeza'd* (proclaimed) that all men were to die. When the chameleon arrived and spoke, men said, '*Se si bamb' e le ntulo*.'¹⁴ Zulu cannot explain what connection there is between *umVelinqangi* and the *amadhlozi*; he has never heard anything about that. As a boy, Zulu and others with him used to kill the *intulo* and pound it for bringing such a message, and the chameleon too was killed for its delay. The *intulo* used to be struck a blow, but not killed, then addressed the question, 'Is it nice dying?'; afterwards it was killed.

22.11.1898

File 74, p. 71.

71 <Language.>

Swaziland, per Zulu and self. The Zulu says *inswelaboya*, the Swazi *ijabane*; *beka* is *golotela* - to look at or expect;¹⁵ Zulu *intombi i ngi qomile*, S. *intombi i ngi*

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ganile;¹⁶ Z. *when a man courts a girl and she does not like him, it is said that he xoxa's her*; S. *he soma's her*;¹⁷ Z. *soma*, have connection with a girl after she has accepted a man, S. *juma*; Z. *cel' utshwala*¹⁸ = S. *shinga*; Z. *ngi cel' inyama*,¹⁹ S. *ngi comisa*.

24.11.1898

File 74, pp. 43, 94-6.

43 <Customs.>

The beer-drinking customs or habits, per Zulu. Zulu was born at Emqeku, at kwa Bacela near Mgeni river some way below Baynes's drift.²⁰ Does not remember Emqeku; after leaving there his father lived in what is now Ngangezwe's.²¹ At about 11 or 12 left to live near Marwaqa in Polela division. Worked many years for white
94 people, especially in Pietermaritzburg; used to visit his relations in Ngoza's location (now Ngangezwe's location) whilst working.²² Has also lived under Ngcukumana at Ixopo several years,²³ also Eshowe District near Matikulu, also Ingwavuma, also at Bremersdorp (Swaziland).

The custom concerning the Bacas at Ixopo is as follows. The womenkind (married) sit on one side of the hut and men on the opposite side, i.e. the right hand side 'entering'. Good order prevails until after the company have had drink, then women and men intermingle, the one sex going to the side of the hut belonging to the other, to ask for snuff or whatnot and the women will even start *giyaing* inside. One will now be unable to see *the umsamu* because of said intermingling,²⁴ and every now and then the beer, in *pots (kambas)*, will be passed through those sitting *at the umsamu* to the others. There will then be *sinaing* (dancing) and *hlabelela* (singing) inside, women brushing up against men or sitting immediately in front of them to ask for snuff or taking up the *kamba* of beer before the man, although not her husband, and, asking permission, proceed to drink out of it there and then. At Marwaqa and all over Zululand, Zulu adds, the men usually sit in one hut, men (*amadoda*) on the right, *youths (izinsizwa)* on the left, whilst the women (married) are given another hut to drink in. Among Bacas the girls too, when called in, may enter the hut where drinking is going on and be given beer, but must leave again after they have had a drink. According to Zulu custom, one woman may be called in at a time to drink; as soon as she finishes she goes out, then another called, and so on. Amongst Zulus, girls may be sent for too and they may come two or three at a time. They are permitted to take up a position on the left side *at the umsamu*, may drink there and leave hut when they like. A married woman, à la Zulus, may sometimes fear to come into hut although called; this is often because newly married; she then appears at the door of the hut and is handed beer which she drinks there. Among Zulus and Bacas it is not all girls who are permitted to attend a beer-drink, only those who come from kraals in the immediate neighbourhood. Women, however, may come to the drink from kraals further off although in Zululand the rule is that only women from immediate neighbourhood come to the drink. Among Zulus *beer* is not *poured* where it is dark but where what is being done can be clearly seen; amongst Bacas beer is *poured at the umsamu* and therefore in the dark more or less.

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95 In Swaziland men and women come into hut at about the same time. Women sit on the left, men on right; after these, girls too come in and sit in front of their fathers, whom they practically hide from view. Zulu thinks that women enjoy greater liberties in Swaziland than even among Bacas. A noticeable feature in Swaziland is that a child or a woman may call out to a man, saying, 'We, So-and so, come and have a drink,' and the man goes forward and drinks. The beer is *poured at the hearth (eziko)* where the *imbiza* of beer is set up.²⁵ People may sit all about the hut, even with their backs to the *imbiza*. Those who enter after drinking has begun may sit on either side of hut, but close about the *ziko*, although they be women or men.

In Zululand if the company is small, women may enter same hut as men and sit on their side (left); *youths* would then move on to men's side, but should more men arrive, the women would have to leave the hut and go to another.

In Zululand no *praising* of *amadhlozi* takes place at a beer-drink. This, of course, refers to the greater part of Natal which is much like Zululand in custom; among Bacas too there is no ceremony or invoking of spirits at a beer-drink. Sometimes, however, the Zulus will cause beer to be made which is *amadhlozi* beer; it is called *utshwala ba se kaya*, or *boku busa*.²⁶ This is not all drunk by the assembled company but some is set by in a *kamba* for the consumption of the inmates of kraal. No reference is made in public, as Zulu believes, to the fact that *amadhlozi* beer is such; it is drunk off like other beer although neighbours may learn that the beer is *boku busa*. Thanks are often expressed by individuals to kraal owner on their leaving; they say, 'We have drunk well, you of such-and-such a people' (*Sidhlile wena wase kutini*), and then *bonga* him.

Among Zulus it is the head of kraal who owns the beer, this is also the case in Swaziland and among Bacas. The kraal owner will sometimes ask his wife or women to make him beer, calling it then *izinsipo*,²⁷ and sometimes instruct them as their lord. In its preparation, women may ask girls of neighbouring kraals to help. When ready, the woman whose *mabele* have been used (wives take it in turn as a rule to supply *mabele*) will herself report that the beer is ready and that *it is in the impofana* or *isoco* or *umpongolo* (various sizes of *izimbiza*; the largest *izimbiza*, viz. *imipongolo*, are found only in Natal).²⁸ Woman may call the *imbiza* after the name of its maker (some woman, of course). After this, the kraal owner will send a boy to invite several of his neighbours. People who are not invited may and do come and get a drink and as a rule many turn up, having noticed by the smoke (cooking) that beer is being prepared at that particular kraal. Sometimes when head of kraal wishes to kill a beast he will direct all his women to make (*gaya*) beer; each woman then supplies her own *mabele*. In Swaziland, after the drinking is over, one person, man or woman, will in an audible voice say the *praises* of the head of the kraal who has given the drink, whereupon all immediately follow, as, for instance, as Zulu has experienced at Mabola's kraal close by, 'Ndinise!' then all together, 'Ndinise, Mafuleka, we have drunk well!', where the two first words are *praises* of the kraal head Mabola. Zulu does not know Ingwavuma customs re drinking beer.

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<25.11.1898>

File 74, p. 96.

96 <Customs.>

Natal, per Zulu. *Izangoma zi twasiswa amadhlozi a kubo*, each doctor is inspired or 'called' by the spirits belonging to his own particular ancestors. Zulu thinks *umfazi u twasiswa amadhloz' a kub' uyise*, i.e. a woman is inspired or 'called' by the spirits of her father's kraal. [See last ten lines p. 13, where it is said a woman is severed from her father's kraal and therefore *lobola* is a purchase.]²⁹ If a girl is married having already *etwasa'd*, the husband, as I understood Z. to say, *etwasa's* too, when the *amadhlozi* of both kraals *join together* (*hlangana*).

<26.11.1898 - evidence given 25.11.1898>

File 74, pp. 114-15.

114 <Contact with civilized races.>

Natal, per Zulu, yesterday, 25.11.1898, taken down. We say the white people *be zile*, i.e. have come to stay. That they will turn us into coolies, make us build houses like those of coolies. Our reason for such conclusion is because hut tax was fixed first at 7s, then at 14s per hut, then *the number of cattle was fixed* (*sa nqunyel' izinkomo*), that is, a definite number of cattle were said to be for *lobola*, viz. 10; then to pay dog tax. Why should dogs be paid for, seeing they cannot speak? There was at one time a rumour to the effect that children, cattle and goats would be paid for. What will eventually happen when everything that can be got has been obtained from us is that natives will be sold to other people, so that some kind of further profit may be made out of them. Each year a new law is proclaimed, and each has to be learnt and grasped. I cannot think what the end of all this will be. Natives, speaking amongst themselves, say what fools they are to have quarrelled amongst themselves, fought with one another and so become disintegrated. If they were united they could fight and clear out the white people. As it is, no single headman or chief can speak for others, but only his own people. Other natives say no fighting can take place, because the black people haven't got arms and ammunition. The reply is, that does not matter for the plan would then be to decoy the enemy into rough and broken country. Should an *impi* come we could then approach it from all sides, swoop on it and cause it and all other whites to leave the country to ourselves and re-cross the sea. We would take up our position in inaccessible places where white people's guns would not be able to do much mischief. Having once cleared out the white man, he would be afraid to come back again.

A law was proclaimed to the effect *that taking numbers of wives* (*izitembu*) *should cease*.³⁰ People replied to Magistrates or other officers that it would be impossible to discontinue that custom as it was a very old one. They considered they were being made like coolies. Now beer is put a stop to; it may not be taken to (the town) where the *magistrate's office* (*nkantolo*) is, and when *holding a dance* (*sina-ing*) not many people may attend and beer sufficient only for those who have come is to be made. The first order re beer was that it must not be sold (at town) where office was, then it was said no beer at all was to be brought on any account.

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Missionaries. These go about to all the kraals charging natives to leave off beer-drinking to become Christians, to become monogamists etc. How is a man to leave off beer and to build only one hut? In times gone by, God has looked after us although we were not Christians; why should he not continue to do so now? And there have always been *izitembu* from the very beginning. White people should not insist that we should become like themselves. We were allowed by the Creator (UmVelingqangi) to have
115 *izitembu*, whereas white people were only allowed one wife. God has been as much with us as with the white man. The object of the missionaries in going about as stated is to get money. For why do they ask those who have become converted to contribute their sixpences and their shillings? When we heard of this request for contributions we exclaimed, 'Oh it is the money that they are really after!' At Ixopo all who have *kolwa'd* have left off beer drinking. Some *kolwas* when alone will *drink*, but, when other *kolwas* are present, will desist. We have noticed this. Some say after they have drunk and got drunk they will go and *tandaza*, i.e. pray; 'We cannot make head or tail of the *kolwas*.'

[A careful description of Dhlozi's kraal is required,³¹ if possible from himself, and his own attitude towards his children should be carefully noted, especially where girls wish to eat meat *which has been slaughtered for the amadhlozi*, which missionaries forbid *kolwas* to eat.]

26.11.1898

File 74, pp. 112-14.

112 Contact with civilized races. Natal, per Zulu, 26.11.1898.

113 Women *takata* their husbands to a greater extent than they did formerly. The *takataing* of men by their wives is very old and was done *when the Zulu country still ruled itself (ku sa buswa kwa Zulu)*. The woman, if found out (smelt out), was put to death. In Natal she was usually expelled from the kraal, not being put to death although she had killed her husband. [Civilization does therefore leave the public to some extent unprotected on this account. J.S.] Zulus and others do firmly believe in the possibility of being killed even though drugs may be made to touch only the outside of one's person. For instance a *qondo*, as it is called, may be used;³² a girl may be touched *on the navel* or elsewhere; she will instantly take the poison and then communicate it to her *soka* or lover. Or a man, having taken the well-known poison *mdhlebe*,³³ may mix it with other things such as *clotted blood of a sheep (ihlule le mvu)* and blood from the assegai wound in a beast etc.; this may then be powdered down and thrown across some spot which will be walked over by that person's enemy; no sooner does he walk over than he is affected; blood comes from his nose, eyes, ears, gums etc. and he dies. There is a very strong belief in the native mind of the existence of such violent poison. Natives are extremely credulous and superstitious. [This being so, and until natives are educated and cease to be superstitious, it is fair to them that they should be protected from one another. J.S.] The custom of *smelling-out (nuka-ing)* checked this poisoning one another, because a man who used drugs would be afraid of being smelt out as an *umtakati*. [Here more

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than anywhere the native was controlled by fear of consequences to himself. He does not understand the wrong of killing a person; he is not conscience-stricken, especially if that man was his enemy and had done him wrong, it is but just revenge. It is wrong to kill a man not because God or *amadhlozi* disapprove, but because the king disapproves; God and *dhlozis* do not come at all into the reckoning. J.S.]

The superstitions of natives in regard to the power of drugs and medicines are extraordinarily numerous and are most firmly believed in. If a man, like Zulu, is called upon to justify his belief, he will point to a specific case like a man (doctor) who *treated* Ngcukumana, caused two 'snakes' to come out of him and got him well. He claimed 5 head of cattle; N. would not pay. The doctor took case to Mr Chadwick, R.M.,³⁴ who decided doctor was only to get 1 head which was amount already agreed upon by N. The beast was paid over in the presence of Zulu and others. On that occasion, in refusing to take this beast, for N. had promised more, he made the remarkable statement that within two years Ngcukumana and his *induna* would die, one being followed by the other. N. was, before a year had passed, taken ill and he died; the *induna* also died. When doctor made statement, several people wanted to pay full amount claimed but only one was given. The doctor lived in another part of Natal and, after leaving N. and his *induna*, did not afterwards come near them as far as Zulu knows. This is taken by Zulu as proof that the doctor killed N. and *induna* and that he did so at a distance, and nothing will shake him from that belief. Zulu says he thinks doctors often cheat people, give them drugs that have no virtue. He himself
114 has paid a great deal of money to various doctors in search of *love medicine (umuti we zintombi)* and believes now that there is no such medicine. He has however heard of a liquid medicine owned by the white people which, if sprinkled on a handkerchief and the handkerchief flapped in a girl's face, would make the girl like the person doing that.

29.11.1898

File 49, item 9, pp. 1-3.

- 1 When a child *still being carried on the back* dies a doctor is *sought* in order to *strengthen the body*; he gives *ikubalo* ['medicine made of leaves, wood, etc., mixed with meat, given as a charm to persons in whose family a death has happened; any kind of charm' - Colenso].³⁵ The *kubalo* comes from a *herbalist (inyanga yo kwe lapa)*; it has nothing to do with *amadhlozi*, and so *isangoma* does not furnish the drug. At death a *steer* may be killed; *the meat of the limbs, together with meat from inside, is cut up into small pieces which are all mixed together; it is mixed with the medicines, and then cooked. The ikubalo is eaten by all the people of umuzi, including children.*

<At this point in the original, Stuart has recorded a list of questions which, it seems, he intended to put to Zulu. The first four questions have been scored out. The first seven questions are followed by marginal notes in which Stuart recorded answers given to them, presumably by Zulu. We here give the full list of questions and recorded answers – eds.>

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Who have given up belief in *amadhlozi*? *Amakolwa*.

To what extent has your own belief in *amadhlozi* been shaken and by what? When *kolwas* get ill doesn't think cause is *amadhlozi* because <*amakolwa*> do not give praise to them; they - even Z.'s relations - only give praise to Nkulunkulu.

Do even *kolwas* believe in *amadhlozi* in any way? No. Many of them will not even eat the *meat slaughtered for the amadhlozi*.

Is it on the advice of an *isangoma* that the beast is killed? Yes. The doctor is consulted away from kraal.

Would a *herbalist (inyanga yokwelapa)* have power to cause a beast to be given to *amadhlozi*? No. He will sometimes refer people to *isangoma* so that the illness which has so far resisted his drugs may become known (*kanya*). He may need a beast to kill to mix parts of it, blood, muscles etc., with his medicines. This is not a fee. Meat belongs to him and he may carry away.

Supposing when the invocation made does not succeed in making the person well, is the beast *bonga'd* by killed? No; it is then left to be killed on some future other occasion.

Is the witchdoctor present at *bongaing* before beast to be sacrificed? Or at its killing? Does he not say anything? No, he is present on neither occasion.

2 It is the *dhlozis* <that> cause illness and they cause recovery. Is that so?

What do you mean by *gayaing tshwala*?³⁶

Is the assegai that kills beast a particular one?

Who stabs the beast?

What message is sent to the men summoned to feast?

You say the beast is eaten on the day following its stabbing. That its gall is sprinkled over the recovered person when in a hut and in the evening, and that he wears the gall round his wrist as an amulet. What is the particular property in the gall? What connection is there between *amadhlozi* and gall? What is supposed to be the function of the gall to the beast? What part does recovered man eat of, is there no taboo?

Whereabouts in the kraal does feast take place? Why there and not at the top end? Why in kraal at all? Why not in *isigcau* or *enkundhleni*?³⁷

May any besides the relatives partake of beast?

To what degree of relationship are people invited?

Are not people of another *sibongo* invited? If so, do they join in the prayers or do they sit out?

Why does the man (owner of kraal) walk about when *bongaing*?

Is it known only as *bonga*, is it not to *kuleka*?

Why is *eating-mat (isitebe)* taken? There are many *eating-mats*, which is taken?

3 Why does he hold like a *shield (ihawu)*? Is it for protection?

Are the spirits gods that they are called *makosi*, what is it that confers the right to be addressed as *makosi*?³⁸

What do you mean by *patwe nina*?³⁹

As a rule one remembers about 10 to 15 ancestors, are all these *bonga'd* in turn?

Are none but the kraal owner's immediate ancestors *bonga'd*?

Are not the king's ancestors *bonga'd*?

Was king of country never prayed for?

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How many ancestors are *bonga'd*? Is it compulsory to go through the lot? What causes owner of <kraal> to stop when he does?

Where is it thought the *dhlozis* dwell? How are they to *come together (hlangana)*? The snakes never go about in twos and threes, how then can *amadhlozi hlangana*?

Is it the snakes that are prayed to? Or are snakes only taken to be visible signs of the presence of some of the ancestors? It is not all ancestors that invest snakes is it?

What parts of beast are reserved for kraal owner? Does *insonyama* go to Chief?⁴⁰ What do women and children eat? What may they not eat?

<The paragraph that follows has been scored out in the original – eds.>

Dhlozis attack people in different ways. In Zulu's family the mother, as soon as she bore a child, got ill; this was found on reference to an *isangoma*, to be due to *amadhlozi*. A goat was ordered to be killed for the *amadhlozi* (its skin being a *carrying-skin (imbeleko)* for the child). Latterly there is no reference to *isangoma*.

19.12.1898

File 74, p. 98.

98 <Customs.>

Natal, per Zulu, 19.12.1898. Should a man fall into a trance, be taken for dead, have grave dug and come to after the grave had been dug, a toad (frog?) would be got and thrown into the grave which would then be partly filled up.

19.12.1898

File 74, p. 121.

121 <Contact with civilized races.>

Natal, per Zulu, 19.12.1898. Zulu thinks the great thing which causes natives to become Christians is the teaching about the immortality of the soul. A person dies, his 'breath', i.e. soul, goes somewhere, the body remains and is buried. Where does this soul go to if not to its maker? A miracle is known as *umlingo*.⁴¹ Kindling a fire on top of a hut without its burning is a miracle. People do not attribute miracles to the *amadhlozi* but rather to Mvelinqangi, i.e. the Creator. *Mlingo* is a great incentive to belief. *Amadhlozi* are supposed not to know anything about miracles.

[Turn to p. 91.]

29.12.1898

File 74, pp. 34-5.

34 Legends. Zululand (per Zulu, 29.12.1898).

Zulu says he heard following from his aunt (father's sister) Matunzi ka Mzenzi ka Nonutu, Nonutu being Zulu's great grandfather. Matunzi is dead now. She told Zulu when he was about 8 or 9 years old, i.e. about year 1874. Zulu's father Mzenzi used to live in Zululand in the old days near Mpapala close to the Matikulu river, Eshowe

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District.⁴² Matunzi was married and also lived in Zululand. Zulu thinks this legend is unaffected by Christianity.

At the beginning there was uVelingqangi who had created all things. He created a man and a woman, the one a *youth (insizwa)*, the other a *young woman (intombi)*. From these two all the black people have come. Velingqangi came to the man and the woman and told them that the *mabele* they found growing in a *bed of reeds (emhlangeni)* would *pilisa* them (give them life). They accordingly took the *mabele*, *ground them up* and *cooked* them. Velingqangi too told them that by *rubbing (pehlaing)* two pieces of wood they could get fire. As for *pots (izimbiza)*, these they made without any divine instruction; they *took handfuls of clay and made them themselves*. After this the man knew the woman; he *made her pregnant*; she *gave birth*, but tradition does not say whether the first child was a girl or a boy. Up to this time only *mabele* were consumed. Immediately after or very soon after the birth of the child, the woman went to the *reed bed* to get some *mabele*, leaving the baby at home with the husband. As she got to the *reed bed* she saw a *tanga* (pumpkin) and some mealies. The *tanga* was broken open, and the mealies examined, and as both looked good the woman took them home. She proceeded to cook both pumpkin and mealies together, having *ground up* the latter. The man inquired what she was doing with wild plants; the woman replied she wanted to see what sort of food they made. Upon this the man remonstrated, saying it was dangerous to eat these wild things and it would be her own fault if she died. The woman partook of the food and *went back* time after time to get more mealies and pumpkins. (Zulu does not appear sure if the *tanga* was found first alone and mealies afterwards or both together.) The woman soon *became fat* on this food, whereupon the man came to partake of it too.

After this the children of the original couple grew up, intermarried and had their own children who were given names, because they were regarded as 'off-shoots' or separated from the parents. People *multiplied*; they learnt to *place* and then *plant seeds* at the proper time. They grew and multiplied and *formed isifunda*.⁴³ At first there was very little illness and physical suffering. The only kind of death occurred when people were very old indeed; there was then no crying when they died but rejoicing for they were said to have *goduka'd* (gone home). In these days, Zulu adds, it sometimes happens that a very old man will ask that a beast may be killed to *pelekezela* (accompany) him, which is done. In course of time Velingqangi ordered the *chameleon* to go and tell men and women that they were not to die etc., etc., hence it is now that people die at all stages of life.

- 35 White people are said to have come from the sea and are like fishes, for they are white and cannot exist on land without clothes. They are therefore not included in the above legend.

29.12.1898

File 74, p. 91.

- 91 Contact with civilized races. Natal (per Zulu, 29.12.1898).

There was a rumour some time ago in Natal that *izitembu* were going to be put a stop to and men allowed to marry only one woman each. Natives discussed the matter

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amongst themselves a good deal and were determined that their custom would not be put a stop to; *a sife kanye*, i.e. we may as well be killed, meaning that they would defend it with their lives. It seems white people force their own custom on the natives by might, not by reason. Sometimes a man marries a sickly woman, hence the necessity that there should be someone to help her.

5.1.1899

File 74, p. 92.

92 <Contact with civilized races.>

Natal (per Zulu, 5.1.1899). Natives are reconciled to the Hut Tax, they understand it and regard it as *etula*.⁴⁴ The following are their grievances. The dog tax because they do not understand why dogs should be paid for. The having to take out licences to cut wood even if required for building a hut or calf-house. The having to pay taxes twice over if one lives on private lands, once to Government and then rent to owner of farm. There are many others. European influence is felt in regard to children, boys and girls, who now often go to towns and there lead immoral lives, become prostitutes etc., the parents having no control over them.

Another point, and a very important one, is the *abatakati*. Zulu says *abatakati* have greatly increased in numbers in Natal, and instead of bewitching or poisoning one secretly they now do it openly, for they state in the presence of others that something evil will happen. They make threats openly. Zulu refers for illustrations of this to a young man whom he caused to be removed from a kraal site to some other place close by. This man prophesied evil of Zulu, and *izinsingizi* (birds of evil omen) flew over his kraal in different directions, then when above his hut flapped their wings and flew straight up into the air.⁴⁵ On another occasion a girl who had come to marry was taken ill the day of her marriage; a sister of Zulu's died; also a little girl. He mentioned also Dhlozi's case.⁴⁶ Yamela in Zululand has a method of dealing with *abatakati*;⁴⁷ he says people must find some complaint against him, the case is then tried and the man removed but not told because he is *umtakati*. There is great difficulty of getting rid of other *abatakati*. Natives are afraid to go to courts even when a threat is made for it will be said they *are smelling out a person*, which in itself is an offence. When the *izinsingizi* came, Zulu went to *bula*; the doctor said they had been sent by someone. The doctor came to Zulu's kraal, had a beast killed, and he used his medicines this way and that. Zulu paid him a beast for his services; the *izinsingizi* did not return. After this, Zulu's enemy said he, Z., was protected by a doctor but the doctor himself was now bitten by a snake and nearly died. *Bulaing* was done, the verdict being that the snake was sent by someone. Zulu assures me that this sort of thing is always going on in Natal, which shows the superstitious tendencies clearly.

Notes

¹ Mbikiza kaLubelo of the abakwaMngomezulu people was a chief in the Lubombo region about the Ngwavuma river. He died in 1918.

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² Sambana(e) kaSilevana of the abakwaNyawo people was a chief in the southern Lubombo region. He died in 1911. Mtshelkwana kaGamula(?) of the abakwaMathenjwa (Matsenjwa) people was a chief in the northern Lubombo region about the uSuthu (Lusutfu) river. He died in 1904. Mkakwa kaSiphike of the abakwaMyeni people was a chief in the Lubombo region near the Ngwavuma river. He died in 1905.

³ *Ukubhula* literally means to beat, thresh. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 54, under *Bula*, comments that the meaning of consulting a diviner possibly comes from a former practice ‘- now only partially retained - of beating on a hide during the process’. On p. 464 he gives *inyanga* (loc. pl. *ezinyangeni*) as ‘An expert, one skilled in any handicraft or profession; hence, one skilled in medicine, ... in necromancy or witchery ... or in divination ...’.

⁴ Mahwaqa (Mahwanqa) mountain overlooks the village of Bulwer. Stuartstown (named after James Stuart’s father Martinus, who had been magistrate there before his death in the Anglo-Transvaal War in 1881) was also known as Ixopo.

⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 8, gives *isangoma* (pl. *izangoma*) as ‘Necromancer, so-called “witchdoctor”, Native diviner ...’. On pp. 9 and 424 he gives *isanusi* (pl. *izanusu*), *umngoma* (pl. *abangoma*) and *isingoma* (pl. *izingoma*) as equivalents of *isangoma*.

⁶ See Colenso, *Dictionary*, pp. 106, 595.

⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 135, gives *etwasa* (*ukwethwasa*) as the equivalent of *twasa* (*ukuthwasa*). On p. 699 he gives the latter as ‘Come out (into public view) for the first time ... as ... a young *um-Ngoma* emerging from his initiation and starting practice’. Doke and Vilakazi, *Dictionary*, p. 195, give *ethwasa* as ‘... Show signs of changing state, as by spirit-possession to become a diviner or doctor’.

⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 290, gives *ikambi* (*ikhambi*, pl. *amakhambi*) as ‘Medicinal herb, of any kind, such as grows on the veldt and the fresh leaves or roots of which are common “household remedies” ... (not applied to “professional” medicines, such as are used by Native doctors, and which consist mainly of barks, dry roots, powders and the like ...)’.

⁹ *Pehlelwa’d* derives from the verb *ukuphehla*, to stir vigorously.

¹⁰ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 327, gives *kuleka* (*ukukhuleka*) as ‘Salute a person ... from respect, ... do reverence to by voice, ... pray, utter a petition ...’.

¹¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 56, gives *imbumba* as ‘Kind of small black bean cultivated and much liked by the Natives ...’. On p. 518, he gives *pupa* (*ukuphupha*) as ‘... be quite stale and flavourless, as old beer ...; become quite “white” i.e. a dirty grey from loss of original colour, as some washed-out prints, ... or the body of a Native when sickly or unwashed ...’.

¹² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 656, gives *intswelaboya* (*inswelaboya*, pl. *izinswelaboya*) as one who murders ‘not by secret methods and merely to kill or remove a particular individual, but openly, on the highways, any likely person he may come across and with the sole purpose of obtaining certain portions of his body to be afterwards used in the preparation of “poisons” ...’.

¹³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 69, gives *isicashakazana* as ‘Certain small salamander, superstitiously regarded as the *i-Dhlozi* of some old woman, and which is carefully avoided, if it should enter a hut, lest it fall down and get killed, whereupon evil might be expected ...’.

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¹⁴ A proverb which translates literally as ‘We now hold to the word of the *intulo* lizard’. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 660, glosses this to mean that ‘we adhere to what was spoken first, when a second report gives rise to doubt ...’. See also Nyembezi, *Zulu Proverbs*, pp. 208-9.

¹⁵ *Ukubheka* (with aspirated ‘b’) means to look at (as distinct from *ukubeka*, with implosive ‘b’, to put, place).

¹⁶ I.e. ‘the girl has chosen me’.

¹⁷ *Ukuxoxa* is to court, woo.

¹⁸ I.e. ‘ask for beer’.

¹⁹ I.e. ‘I ask for meat’.

²⁰ Baynes’ Drift crosses the Mngeni some fifteen kilometres north-north-east of Pietermaritzburg.

²¹ Ngangezwe kaNomsimekwana of the abakwaCoseli (abakwaNyavu or abakwaNyamvu, as distinct from the abasoNyavini or abasoNyamvini) people was a chief with adherents in the Camperdown, New Hanover, and Umgeni Divisions. He seems to have lived near Table Mountain (emKhambathini), which lies some twenty-five kilometres east of Pietermaritzburg. He was another of Stuart’s informants: his evidence appears in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 5. He should not be confused with a contemporary chief, Ngangezwe kaSambela of the abakwaMkhize people.

²² Ngoza kaLudaba of the abakwaMajozi people was principal *induna* to Theophilus Shepstone, who was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876.

²³ Ngcukumana kaZuhayi of the abasemaBomvini people was a chief in the Ixopo division.

²⁴ The *umsamu* (*umsamo*) is the back part of the inside of a hut.

²⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 40, gives *imbiza* as ‘General name for any of the larger-sized earthenware pots in Native use (not those used for actual “table” use i.e. for eating or drinking out of ...).

²⁶ *Utshwala basekhaya* translates as beer of the home. *Utshwala bokubusa* could be rendered as beer made for household custom or rites.

²⁷ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 654, gives *izintsipo* (*izinsipho*) as ‘Dregs of *u-tshwala*, which are squeezed out again with water and drunk as a kind of small-beer; such small-beer itself’.

²⁸ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 393, gives *impofana* (pl. *izimpofana*) as ‘Small *imbiza* used for the purpose of containing the ordinary private and continuous supply of beer in a family, not that used for the public beer-drink ...’. On p. 474, he gives *isoco* (pl. *izoco*) as ‘Earthen vessel used for cooking ...’. On p. 508, he gives *umpongolo* (*umphongolo*, pl. *imiphongolo*) as ‘Barrel, cask’.

²⁹ The reference is to the testimony of Mabola on 25.11.1898: see *Stuart Archive*, vol. 2, pp. 8-9.

³⁰ *Isithembu* (pl. *izithembu*) means plurality of wives; polygyny.

³¹ Dlozi kaLanga, who was in Stuart’s employ, was another of the latter’s informants: his evidence appears in *Stuart Archive*, vol. 1.

³² Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 541, gives *iqondo* as ‘... directions given by a Native doctor as to the manner of administering a medicine ...’.

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³³ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 100, gives *umdhlebe* (*umdlebe*) as a species of bush, and comments, 'The bark of this tree, mixed with other ingredients, makes a powerful *um-Bulelo* ...'. On p. 55 he gives *umbulelo* (*umbhulelo*) as 'Certain class of poisons or injurious medicines placed in a kraal, along paths, etc., by an *umtakati*, for the purpose of causing fatal disease in those who should come in contact with them'. Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk, *The Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of Southern Africa*, p. 106, give *umdlebe* (*Synadenium arborescens*) as an apparently 'highly dangerous' species of euphorbia.

³⁴ J.C.C. Chadwick was Resident Magistrate in the Ixopo Division, where Chief Ngcukumana lived, from 1886 to 1897.

³⁵ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 324, gives *ikubalo* (*ikhubalo*, pl. *amakhubalo*) as 'Any Native wood-medicine ..., as medicinal roots, bark and the like, not leaves, bulbs, stones or animal powders ...'. He comments, '*Amakubalo* are eaten always upon the death of one of the family, in order to strengthen against ill-effects that might otherwise follow'. The words in parentheses in Stuart's text are quoted directly from Colenso, *Dictionary*, p. 283.

³⁶ Literally, grinding beer.

³⁷ The *isigcawu* or *inkundla* was the location outside the *umuzi* where gatherings or dances took place.

³⁸ *Amakhosi* here means the deity.

³⁹ Literally, 'ruled by you' or 'carried by you'. What this refers to is not made clear.

⁴⁰ The *insonyama* or rib-meat of a slaughtered beast was highly prized. The *insonyama* of the side with the stab-wound was the perquisite of the chief.

⁴¹ Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 358, gives *umlingo* as 'Any unusually strange, awe-inspiring, preternatural, magical performance ...'.

⁴² 'Father' in this sentence should read 'grandfather'.

⁴³ An *isifunda* is a 'district' or neighbourhood, or, collectively, its inhabitants.

⁴⁴ *Ukwethula* is to make a presentation to a superior as a sign of respect or submission.

⁴⁵ *Insingizi* (pl. *izinsingizi*) is the ground hornbill.

⁴⁶ Stuart does not indicate what this refers to.

⁴⁷ Yamela kaPhangandawo of the abakwaTshange people had been chief *induna* to Melmoth Osborn who, under various titles, had been the senior British official in Zululand from 1880 to 1893.